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THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF URBAN AREAS

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ANKARA
FEBRUARY 1978

DEPARTMENT OF CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING
COURSE OUTLINE SERIES NO: 7

TABLE OF CONTENTS

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

As a specific field of interest 'urban economics' has a recent background. It has been welcomed both by the urban planners and economists alike. Though their approach show some differences,one can contend that while 'urban economics' lead to a more compartimentalization of the field of economics,it helped to broaden the perspectives of urban planners. From the very beginning the nature of their study forced urban planners to consider totality as an important element in their methodology. In the absence of a consistent theory which integrated this positive element into a synthesized whole,it brought along with it the malady of eclecticism. Being a new discipline,urban planning had to recruit theorists from a wide variety of disciplines. They all transfered what they have got from their ex-disciplines and attempted to eclect them into the new discipline. Excessive fragmentalization of the social sciences by bourgeois theorists which resulted in narrow,one-sided study areas has been an important hinderance to the development of a comprehensive theory which synhesizes a great many diffuse,discrete fields of interest. Fortunately, today as Behr et.al. pointed, "The social sciences are increasingly under attack as being overly narrow,compartmentalized,specialized, irrelevant,apologetic,and subservient to techniques and to the interests of the status quo."[1] In short,it should always be kept in mind that specific aspects of a whole possesses meaning only within their total context. And parts "acquire significance only in terms of...their relations with other parts and with the whole."[2]

While criticisms of bourgeois social theories intensify,planners' attempt to incorporate various disciplines of social sciences into a synthesized theory of urban planning. This,however is not at all a facile task and for the moment it is far from an accomplished one. Urban planners generally have very superficial knowledge of economics and the only perspective presented by the conventional bourgeois economics texts is the neo-classical one. Thus,the choice of problems, the choice of appropriate methodology,categorization etc.,are made with the aid of the concepts developed in this problematic. Still, however,urban economics by drawing planners' attention to the field of economics made it possible for them to get involved in other perspectives in the field. This will help planners to enlarge their vision on this vital subject. Furthermore,profound knowledge of economics can be a fruitful starting point in developing a general theory on urban planning. Here,two points have to be taken into consideration: a)embodiment of economics within the context of social structure, b)presentations of different perspectives which,"tends to interpret the sources of the problems differently,and each tends to suggest varying solutions."[3] As long as planners are abide by these principles, the study of urban economics can produce very fruitful results.

This study is planned to be completed in two volumes. This first volume covers the topics of the State,Employment and Education. The prospective one will analyze the problems of Housing,Transportation

and Environment. These notes on urban economics would provide a provocative introduction to the kinds of problems studied in orthodox urban economics courses. Being an introductory one it is not attempted here to deal with all the complexities of the subject. In the space available,I have only pursued to present a general framework. Needless to add,it will be beneficial to the reader as long as it is read critically.

I do accept that the amount of quotations given in the notes are above the normal standards. This,however can be defended if we take into consideration the scope and the purpose of this work. In addition emphasis has been given to the systematic arrangement of the quotations within the general framework. One of the purposes of this work which affect its scope,is presenting -though incomplete- and comparing varying perspectives on the urban problems. This,however does not mean that my approach is 'neutral','totally objective' or 'apolitical'. At this point I would like to quote Che Guevara's frequently cited answer which I do share wholeheartly:

> When asked whether or not we are Marxist,our position is the same as that of a physicist or a biologist when asked if he is a "Newtonian" or if he is a "Pasteurian".
>
> There are truths so evident,so much a part of people's knowledge,that it is now useless to discuss them. One ought to be "Marxist" with the same naturalness with which one is "Newtonian" in physics,or "Pasteurian" in biology,considering that if facts determine new concepts, these new concepts will never divest themselves of that portion of truth possessed by the older concepts they have outdated...
>
> The advances in social and political science,as in other fields,belong to a long historical process whose links are connecting,adding up,molding and constantly perfecting themselves.[4]

In these notes,I have chosen to emphasize the Marxist analysis of the selected topics which are presented in this volume. For Marxist analysis has been neglected for a long time in the university curriculums on the pretext of being an ideology and not a science. And.I believe that it "provides the only valid framework within which to understand their origins,manifestations,and potential solutions."[5] Furthermore,Marxist analysis will serve to 'debunk and demystify' neo-classical economic analysis and social science in general.

On the other hand,to present varying views on the same topic is very instructive and I believe it should be an indispensable part of the content in an introductory text. As Hegel puts it, "Reality is total." Although it is legitimate to investigate only one aspect of the total for analytical purposes,it might be harmful and misguiding to do so in an introudctory text on a certain subject. Dialectics conceive things,phenomenon etc.,'as a sum and

unity of opposites.' And,one of the fundamental aims of this study which is to assist students in developing the dialectical way of thinking,requisite to examine the totality of all the opposing theories on each subject. "The question" as Peabody noted,"is not which view is 'objective' but which more adequately describes the problem at hand."[6]

Comprehensive bibliographies have been added to the end of each part to facilitate students' reference to the first-hand sources on particular topics in cases where the brief summary is found inadequate or not clear enough. In addition to to that,bibliographies will also aid them at the beginning of their further research on particular topics.

I will not attempt here to review the contents of each part,for I believe that the introductions given at the beginnings of each part will suffice. At the end of this general introduction,I would like to re-emphasize the point that all criticisms are welcomed wholehearthly. They will all be treated as sincere advices with no exceptions.

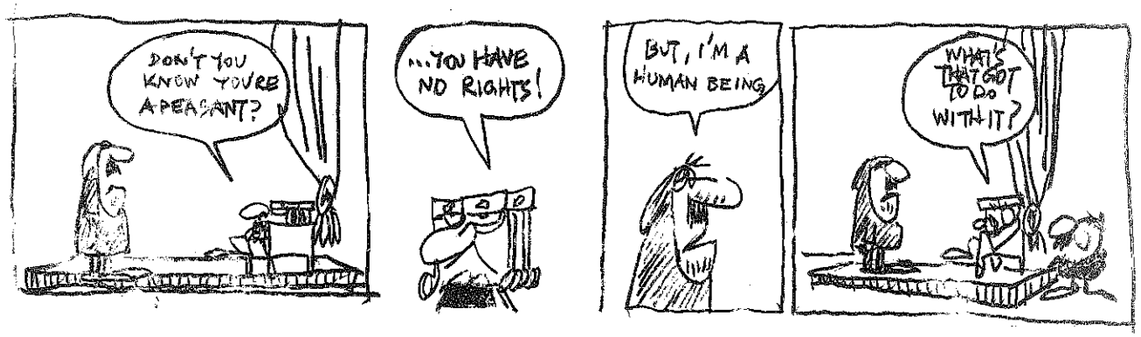
part one

the state

INTRODUCTION

The first part of this volume is devoted to the study of the State in general and the Capitalist State in particular. At first sight it might seem misplaced or rather unusual to include such a study topic into a work which is supposed to deal with the problems of the political economy of urban areas. Yet,I do believe that the inclusion of a part which deals with the State is imperative and should constitute an indispensable component of such a work. Firstly,throughout the study of public policies,proposals will be advised on urban problems which directly or indirectly involve the interference of State action at local or national levels. Proposals which argue both for and against the involvement of the State action would be suspended in the mid air, if we do not have scientific answers to the questions such as: What is the State? How did it evolve? To whom it serves? etc.

Secondly,the graduates of urban planning schools generally hold jobs in public agencies. In cases of private jobs they come in close connection with the State agencies. Idealist 'public servants' freshly graduated from university may become pessimistic,cynical and -sometime later- even corrupt bureaucrats once they face the reality of what the State's bureacratic apparatus expects and obliges them to do in contradiction to what they idealized in the beginning. In short,the true knowledge on the nature and the function of the State will enable students of planning to comprehend and evaluate the policies and the proposals made by other planners or officers more realistically and place his own proposals on a scientific base. Furthermore,the true knowledge of the nature and the functions of the State structures will assist planners in directing their struggle for a democratic society.



SECTION 1
1. Evolution of the State

In his prominent research on the origin of the family,private property and the State Engels stated that:

> The State...has not existed from all eternity. There have been societies that did without it,that had no idea of the State and state power...At a certain stage of economic development,which was necessarily bound up with the split of society into classes,the State became a necessity owing to this split.[1]

The crucial question at this point then is to discover when,how and why state power emerged. Again Engels paints a vivid picture of the social life in primitive communes,where there existed no political supremacy,oppression or domination,in short no state power,that is worth citing at some length:

> As men first emerged from the animal world-in the narrower sense of the term-so they made their entry into history; still half animal,brutal,still helpless in face of the forces of nature,still ignorant of their own:and consequently as poor as the animals and hardly more productive than these. There prevailed a certain equality in the conditions of existence,and for the heads of families also a kind of equality of social position-at least an absence of social classes-which continued among the natural agricultural communities of the civilised peoples of a later period. In each such community there were from the beginning certain common interests the safeguarding of which had to be handed over to individuals,even though under the control of the community as a whole:such were the adjudication of disputes;repression of encroachments by individuals on the rights of others;control of water supplies,especially in hot countries;and finally,when conditions were still absolutely primitive,religious functions.[2]

In primitive communes,on the other hand,productive forces were very undeveloped. Hence,at this low stage of social production and therefore limited wealth of society,"social order appears to be dominated by ties of sex."[3]

However,productive forces continued to increase within this structure which brought along with it the increment of the productivity of labor,"private property and exchange,differences in wealth,the possibility of utilising the labor power of others,and thereby the basis of class antagonisms."[4] In the following citation Engels summarizes this development:

> In short,wealth is praised and respected as the highest treasure,and the old gentile institutions are perverted

> in order to justify forcible robbery of wealth. Only one thing was missing:an institution that would not only safeguard the newly-acquired property of private individuals against the communistic traditions of the gentile order would not only sanctify private property,formerly held in such high esteem,and pronounce this sanctification the highest purpose of human society,but would also stamp the gradually developing new forms of acquiring property, and consequently,of constantly accelerating increase in wealth,with the seal of general public recognition; an institution that would perpetuate,not only the newly-rising class division of society,but also the right of the possessing class to exploit the non-possessing classes and the rule of the former over the latter.
>
> And this institution arrived. The State was invented.[5]

According to Marx and Engels the State first appeared in Asiatic societies,in which there existed no private ownership of land. In such societies,as Engels noted,"Society creates for itself an organ for the safeguarding of its common interests against internal and external attacks. This organ is the state power."[6]

With the development of class societies,however the functions of the State witnessed a dramatic change:

> Society divides into classes:the priviliged and the dispossessed, the exploiters and the exploited,the rulers and the ruled;and the State,which the primitive groups of communities of the same tribe had at first arrived at only for safeguarding their common interests (such as irrigation in the East) and providing protection against external enemies,from this stage onwards acquires just as much the function of maintaining by force the economic and political position of the ruling class against the subject class.[7]

In other words,the State,that is political supremacy existed as long as it exercised a social function.In fact,the State fulfilled such a social function in class societies at the beginning. Consider the following:

> |the State| is a product of society at a certain stage of development;it is admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it has split into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel. But in order that these antagonisms,classes with conflicting economic interests,might not consume themselves and society in fruitless strugle, it became necessary to have a power seemingly standing above society that would alleviate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of 'order';and this power,arisen out of society but placing itself above it,and alienating itself more and more from it,is the State.[8]

In other words,the State has been presented as being a force standing above society as the official representative of it. By increasingly seperating itself from the society the State became an independent power vis-a-vis the society. The State appeared as a pretext in reconcilation of the class conflict and become more and more indispensable in class societies."According to Marx," writes Lenin "the State could neither arise nor maintain itself if a reconciliation of classes were possible"[9] That is,the very existence of the State proves the incompatibility of class conflicts.

According to Lenin,the State has first emerged within the slave-owning society,and its prime function was to ensure the hegemony of slave owners over the slaves.Lenin stated:

> Toplumda henüz sınıflar yokken,kölecilik çağından önce insanlar daha eşit ilkel koşullar altında...çalışırken... toplumun geri kalan kısmını yönetmek ve egemenlik altına almakla görevli bir grup insan çıkmamıştı ve çıkamazdı. Ancak toplumun sınıflara bölünmesinin ilk biçimi,yani kölelik belirdiğinde,devletin ortaya çıkması gerekliydi.[10]

The following excerpts from Lenin's works expose his views about the emergence of the State in class societies:

> Society,in the period of civilization,is broken up into antagonistic and,indeed,irreconcilably antagonistic classes, which,if armed in a 'self-acting' manner,would come into armed struggle with each other. A State is formed,a special power is created in the form of special bodies of armed men.[11]

> The state is the product and the manifestations of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms. The state arises when,where,and to the extent that the class antagonisms cannot be objectively reconciled. And,conversely,the existence of the State proves that the class antagonisms are irreconcilable.[12]

In sum,materialist doctrine asserts that the State is not the initiator of the class struggle,neither is it a power forced on society from without. Rather,it is the indirect product of the class struggle; that is,it is determined by classes and the class struggle.[13]

SECTION 2
2. Theories of State: Marxist vs Bourgeois. General Outlook

Practically all theorists' works on Marxist theory of State are discontented with the lack of systemic study of the State and of political power by Marx. Indeed,Marx never attempted a systemic and complete theory of the State. And,as Poulantzas rightly pointed out, because of the lack of a scientific theory, "bourgeois conceptions of the state and of political power have pre-empted the terrain of political theory,almost unchallenged."[1] Here,it will suffice to cite some Marxist and non-Marxist studies alike,in order to shed some light upon the subject matter,rather than try to develop a formal theory.

According to Marx and Engels,when we talk in the concept of long-term, the State has always been an organ which functions for the benefit of ruling classes. In Miliband's words: "the state in...class societies is primarily and inevitably the guardian and protector of the economic interests which are dominant in them. Its 'real' purpose and mission is to ensure their continued predominance,not to prevent it."[2] "According to Marx," says Lenin,"The state is an organ of class domination,an organ of oppression of one class by another;its aim is the creation of 'order' which legalizes and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the collisions between the classes."[3] Luxemburg answers the question of "where does the State comes from?" in a similar manner. She argues that the State,

> is the product of a long and arduous struggle in which the class which occupies what is for the time the key positions in the process of production gets the upper hand over its rivals and fashions a state which will enforce that set of property relations which is in its own interest. In other words any particular state is the child of the class or classes in society which benefit from the particular set of property relations which it is the state's obligation to enforce.[4]

To Engels,since the State arose in the midst of the class conflict to keep the class antagonisms in check,the State is,

> as a rule,the state of the most powerful,economically dominant class,which,through the medium of the state, becomes also the politically dominant class,and thus acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class. Thus,the state of antiquity was above all the state of the slave owners for the purpose of holding down the slaves,as the feudal state was the organ of the nobility for holding down the peasant serfs and bondsmen,and the modern representative state is an instrument of exploitation of wage labour by capital.[5]

This does not mean,however,that there has been no significant change in the forms of the state apparatus hitherto since the appearance of the State. Rather,depending on the class struggle,and the level of development of the productive forces,the State has acquired different forms. As we can see,the primary function of the State,according to Marxist perspective,is to protect private property,in particular,and the status quo,in general. This,however "does not mean that it performs no other functions of economic importance. On the contrary, the State has always been a very significant factor in the functioning of the system of property relations which it guarantees."[6] In fact, the State's role in the functioning of the economy has increased during the monopoly capitalistic period. Lange summarizes this development in the following quotation:

> Serbest rekabitci kapitalizm çağındaki burjuva Devlet de bir sınıf devletiydi şüphesiz,ama bu sınıf karakteri içinde burjuva Devlet daha farklıydı. Devletin,mülkiyetin güvenliği,para sistemi,haberleşme;v.b. gibi kapitalist ekonominin genel şartlarını korumakla sınırlı olduğu liberalizm çağında,Devletin sınıf karakteri derhal göze çarpmıyordu. Bu yön sadece Devletin işçi sınıfı ile ilişkisi içinde görülebiliyordu;toplumun bütün burjuva katıyla ve toprak sahipleriyle olan ilişkisi içinde ise Devlet,bütün kapitalist sınıflara ve toprak sahiplerine eşit derecede hizmet ediyordu. Özel mülkiyetin,haberleşmenin,para sisteminin ve kapitalist sistemin bütün diğer genel şartlarının bekçiliğinin yapılması ve Devletin iktisadi hayata müdahale ederek,kapitalistlerin iktisadi faaliyetlerini engellememesi gerektiği fikri gerçekten çok basitti. Bundan dolayı, laissez-faire koşulları içindeyken.kapitalistler kendilerini iktisadi faaliyetleriyle sınırlayarak,Devlet yönetimini eski aristokrasiye ve meslekten politikacılara kendi istekleriyle bıraktılar.
>
> Tekelci kapitalizmde ise durum farklıdır. Devletin ekonomik hayata doğrudan müdahalesi (gümrükler.ticaret ve sömürge politikaları v.b.) büyük sermayeye sağlanan aşırı karların kaynağıdır. Her özel kapitalist payına düşen kar düzeyini,Devlet yaptığı müdahale ile düzenler.[7]

In short,in the monopoly capitalistic period,the State took upon itself another function,that is,to interfere into economic sphere. Sweezy summarizes "the principles underlying the use of the State as an economic instrument" as follows:

> In the first place,the State comes into action in the economic sphere in order to solve problems which are posed by the development of capitalism. In the second place, where the interests of capitalist class are concerned, there is a strong predisposition to use the State power freely. And,finally,the State may be used to make concessions to the working class provided that the consequences of not doing so are sufficiently dangerous to the stability and functioning of the system as a whole.[8]

In content,Engels argues,the capitalist state -even in its democratic republic form- is :

> only the organisation with which bourgeois society provides itself in order to maintain the general external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against encroachments either by the workers or by individual capitalists. The modern state,whatever its form,is an essentially capitalist machine; it is the state of capitalists,the ideal collective body of all capitalists. The more productive forces it takes over as its property the more it becomes the real collective body of all the capitalists,the more citizens it exploits. The workers remain wage-earnerners,proletarians. The capitalist relationship is not abolished,it is rather pushed to an extreme. But at this extreme it is transformed into its opposite. State ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict,but it contains within itself the formal means,the key to the solution.[9]

For Lenin, "as long as there is private property" the State," is nothing but a machine used by the capitalists to suppress the workers, and the freer the state,the more clearly is this expressed."[10]

It is obvious that such a brief presentation of Marxist theories of State is inadequate even for understaning the general framework of the discussions. Therefore,it is imperative to point out -though briefly- some relevant topics of interest in the field on which a fruitful discussion continues.

2.1. Primacy of the Economy over Politics and Law.

A topic discussion,in the theories of State, is the question of "which has predominance over the other:state power or economic structure?" Some thinkers argue that State power,e.g. force,and law dominates and controls the economic structure. Marxists,on the other hand,claim that it is the economic structure which,in the last instance,controls and dominates over state power and the sphere of law. This assertion however,is true,Marxists point oft,only in the long-term,and for the general tendency of this change.[11] Hegel could be put into the former category. Engels wrote:

> The traditional conception,to which Hegel,too,pays homage saw in the state the determining element,and in civil society the element determined by it. Appearances correspond to this. As all the driving forces of the actions of any individual person must pass through his brain,and transform themselves into motives of this will in order to set him into action,so also all the needs of civil society-no matter which class happens to be the ruling one-must pass through the will of the state in order to secure general validity in the form of laws.[12]

For the dialectical materialist view we will refer again to Engels. He explains the interconnection between the political struggles and economic relations as follows:

> In modern history at least it is...proved that all political struggles are class struggles,and all class struggles for emancipation,despite their necessarily political form-for every class struggle is a political struggle-turn ultimately on the question of economic emancipation. Therefore,here at least,the State-the political order-is the subordinate,and civil society-the realm of economic relations-the decisive element.13

In sum,as mentioned before,the State is a product of class struggle rather than being its initiator. Hence,the State is not the determinor of the social processes but an institution determined by another structure,that is,classes and class struggle. However,it should be kept in mind that this is true only in the long-term and as far as the general tendency is concerned,since in everday life,this interconnection becomes 'dulled and can be lost altogether'. Consider the following:

> so the struggle between the classes already existing and fighting with one another is reflected in the struggle between government and opposition,but likewise in inverted form,no longer directly but indirectly,not as a class struggle but as a fight for political principles,and so distorted that it has taken us thousands of years to get behind it.14

In elsewhere Engels draws attention to the similar mystification created by the legal system:

> once the state has become an independent power vis-a-vis society,it produces fortwith a further ideology. It is indeed amoung professional politicians,theorists of public law and jurists of private law that the connection with economic facts gets lost for fair. Since in each particular case the economic facts must assume the form of juristic motives in order to receive legal sanction; and since,in so doing,consideration of course has to be given to the whole legal system already in operation, the juristic form is,in consequence,made everything and the economic content nothing.15

Before closing this section,we would like to mention very briefly the different views hold by anarchists and economists -two deviances in the leftist circles- on this specific topic.

According to the anarchist view,economic power is a product of political power. And,state power is the chief evil of the capitalist society. Hence,destruction of the state power should be the main target of the revolutionaries. Engels criticizes Bakunin's view on state power in his letter to Cuno. It reads:

> While the great mass of the social-democratic workers hold our view that state power is nothing more than the organisation which the ruling classes-landowners and capitalists-have provided for themselves in order to protect their social priviliges. Bakunin maintains that it is the state which has created capital,that the capitalist has his capital only by the grace of the state. As,therefore,the state is the chief evil, it is above all the state which must be done away with and then capitalism will go to blazes of itself. We,on the contrary,say: Do away with capital,the concentration of all means of production in the hands of the few,and the state will fall of itself. The difference is an essential one: Without a previous social revolution the abolition of the state is nonesense; the abolition of capital is precisely the social revolution and involves a change in the whole mode of production. Now then,inasmuch as to Bakunin the state is the main evil,nothing must be done which can keep the state-that is,any state,whether it be a republic,a monarchy or anything else-alive. Hence complete absention from all politics. To commit a political act,especially to take part in an election would be a betrayal of principle.

Economism,a distinct right deviation of the Second International can be located at a diametrical opposition to the anarchist view in this respect. Here,it is solely the economic level which dominates over all the other realms of the society including the state power.

> In effect,economism considers that other levels of social reality,including the state,are simple epiphenomena reducible to the economic 'base'. Thereby a specific study of the State becomes superfluous. Parallel with this,economism considers that every change in the social system happens first of all in the economy and that political action should have the economy as its principal objective. Once again,a specific study of the State is redundant. Thus economism leads either to reformism and trade-unionism,or to forms of 'leftism' such as syndicalism.17

2.2 State Power vs Class Power

As we can see,the previous discussion revolves around the question of the location of power in a society.This is very usual since as Miliband reminds us, "A theory of the State is also a theory of society and of the distribution of power in that society."18 It will be helpful to shed some more light upon this subject,which is quite a fundamental topic of discussion between the Marxist and the Bourgeois theories of the state.

Current bourgeois theories exist which present the State "either

as the exclusive foundation of political power,independent of the economic,or as the foundation of political power,independent from,but parallel to,economic power."[19] Poulantzas criticizes these views in general by arguing that, "the major defect of these theories consists in the fact that they do not provide any explanation of the foundation of political power."[20]

According to Marxist perspective,on the other hand,the source of power in a class society is not the state but social classes.As Miliband points out,"State power is the main and ultimate-but not the only- means whereby class power is assured and maintained."[21] As we have mentioned previously,it is the classes and the class struggle which made the appearance of the State as a 'reconcilator','above the classes'. The crucial question arose at this point: If the source of power is the r ruling class in a class society,how can one explain the relative autonomy of the State;its adoption of policies in certain periods which are not compatible with the interests of the ruling class. This brings us to the new topic that is the relative autonomy of the State.

2.3 Relative Autonomy of the State

What Marx and Engels said in the Communist Manifesto about the nature of the capitalist state has given birth to a lively topic of discussion. This formulation which is the best known interpretation of functions of the State read:

> the bourgeoisie has at last,since the estabilshment of Modern Industry and of the world-market,conquered for itself, in the modern representative State,exclusive political sway. The executive of the Modern State is but a committee formanaging the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.[22]

Some authors criticisized Marx and Engels's above-stated formulation by arguing that it is non-dialectical,it "postulates a simple one-to-one connection between economic and political interests."[23]As Miliband informs us,this formulation,

> has regularly been taken to mean not only that the state acts on behalf of the dominant or 'ruling' class,which is one thing,but that it acts at the behest of that class which is an altogether different assertion and,as I would argue,a vulgar deformation of the thought of Marx and Engels.[24]

Defenders of Marxism have contended that the aforementioned views are the product of superflous examination of the works of Marx and Engels. In this discussion the terms of the "non-homogenous composition of the ruling class" and the "State's relative autonomy" have been referred to frequently. For instance,Miliband argues that these notions are in fact implicit in the above cited formulation of Marx and Engels. He says:

> For what they are saying is that 'the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie':the notion of common affairs assumes the existence of particular ones;and the notion of the whole bourgeoisie implies the existence of seperate elements which make up that whole. This being the case,there is an obvious need for an institution of the kind they refer to,namely the state; and the state cannot meet this need without enjoying a certain degree of autonomy. In other words,the notion of autonomy is embedded in the definition itself,is an intrinsic part of it.[25]

Some other apologists,on the other hand,contend that the formulation in the Communist Manifesto cannot be taken as a basis for judging Marxist views on the State. They say that Marx in his mature and more scientific writings argues for the political autonomy of the State. These writings put it succinctly that:

> the political sphere is not a simple reflection of the economic structure and therefore cannot be reduced to straight-forward class interests. The relation of politics to economics is uneven and contradictory :the non-dialectical polemical concept of the modern state as 'a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie'... does not represent Marx's final position on its role in a modern capitalist society.[26]

Now,we may deal with the relative autonomy of the State,in depth. Though it is abstract,the word 'relative' must be attached to the word 'autonomy', "since the concept of the absolute autonomy of the state would be un-marxist and false."[27]

The relationship between the ruling class and the State was relatively simple and easy to grasp in the pre-capitalist modes of production. This relatively direct relationship was basically due to the simplicity of the class compositions in those societies. In the capitalist society,however,this relationship has acquired new dimensions. It became blurred and indirect. It is unquestionably true that Marx and Engels stressed the relationship between the capitalist class and the Capitalist state;they also contended that it is class power which has primacy over state power. All these arguments,however,are not "inconsistent to say that state action may run counter to the immediate economic interests of some even all of the capitalists provided only that the overriding aim of preserving the system intact us promoted."[28] In other words,to assert that the capitalist state always protects the general interests of the bourgeoisie in the long-term,does not imply that it has to act similarly,in the short-term, as an instrument or tool of the bourgeoisie. As Engels points out: "periods occur in which the warring classes balance each other so nearly that the state power,as ostensible mediator,acquires,for the

moment, acertaindegree of independence of both."[29] In the folllowing long quotation Engels summarizes this development in a more general context :

> The thing is easiest to grasp from the point of view of the division of labour. Society gives rise to certain common function which it cannot dispense with. The persons appointed for this purpose form a new branch of the division of labour within society.This gives tham particular interests,distinct,too,from the interests of those who empowered them; they make themselves independent of the latter and the state is in being. And now things proceed in a way similar to that in commodity trade and later in money trade :the new independent power,while having in the main to follow the movement of production,reacts in its turn,by virtue of its inherent relative independence -that is,the relative independence once transfered to it and gradually further developed- upon the conditions and course of production. It is the interaction of two unequal forces: on the one hand,the economic movement on the other,the new political power,which strives for as much independence as possible,and which,having once been established,is endowed with a movement of its own. On the whole,the economic movement gets its way,but it has also to suffer reactions from the political movement which it itself established and endowed with relative independence,from the movement of the state power, on the one hand,and of the opposition simultaneously engendered, on the other.[30]

As mentioned above the class composition in the capitalist society becomes quite complex and intricate. First of all,the ruling class "is not economically homogenous;rarely is it politically united."[31] Indeed,as Swingewood wrote:

> at no point does Marx argue that political domination is exercised by an homogenous,unified ruling class; rather,class domination is compounded from diverse elements including bureaucrats,political representatives and the various groups engaged in finance and industrial capitalism.[32]

As long as diverse fractions continue to exist within the ruling class,this will reflect itself in the political sphere too. In short,in the capitalist society the State cannot have a monolithic structure. Various branches of this structure are subject to the hegemony of the different interests. Furthermore,diverse factions of the ruling class form different compositions in specific conjuncture. All of these make it possible for the State to exercise a degree of autonomy "from the diverse fractions of this class,precisely in order to be able to organize the hegemony of the whole of this class."[33] In sum,relative autonomy of the state is imperative if it is to serve the general interest of capital. Some difficulties arose

however with this concept,for instance:

> in specifying the nature,limits and determinants of that relative autonomy. Some writers have attempted to argue that the degree of autonomy varies historically, and that 'late capitalism' is characterized by the 'autonomization of the state apparatus' But these arguments have an ad hoc quality,and they share an analytical problem derived from the phrase 'relative autonomy from ruling-class control.'[34]

Block further continues:

> The basic problem in formulations of 'relative autonomy' is the conceptualization of the ruling class. Relative autonomy theories assume that the ruling class will respond effectively to the state's abuse of that autonomy. But for the ruling class to be capable of taking such corrective actions,it must have some degree of political sophistication. In sum,the theory requires that the ruling class,or a portion of it,be class conscious,that is,aware of what is necessary to reproduce capitalist social relations in changing historical circumstances. Yet if the ruling class or a segment of it is class-conscious,then the degree of autonomy of the state is clearly quite limited. At this point the theory of relative autonomy collapses back into a slightly more sophisticated version of instrumentalism. State policies continue to be seen as the reflection of inputs by a class-conscious ruling class.[35]

2.4 Members of the State Apparatus

Now,we will deal with the question of the members of the State apparatus,which includes administrative bureaucrarcy,the judiciary, the army and the police. This also continues to be a vital topic of discussion. Some of the bourgeois thinkers claim that:

> the capitalist class has never truly governed in capitalist societies,in the sense that its members have rarely participated directly in the government: others claim that the members of the State apparatus,the 'civil servants',are neutral with respect to the interests of social groups.[36]

Pluralist's views should also be included in this section. Though we have dealt with the Pluralist perspective in the latter part of this section,it will suffice from here on to cite their views on the state bureaucracies. According to these theorists:

> State bureaucracies become the battleground for specific

> interest groups,and competition between agencies for limited funding either reinforces or supplants party competition. The proliferation of programs and agencies on the one hand,and the differentitation of state levels on the other,is viewed as providing greater access for any interest to block gross injustice and at least secure on minimum foothold in the state.[37]

According to Marxist theories,though appearances correspond to the bourgeois 'explanations',in reality,members of the state apparatus are not neutral or above classes. A social class is defined by Marxists "both in terms of property ownership or non-ownership and thus the degree of control over,or subservience to,exploitation,and the degree of personal freedom its members enjoy."[38] Hence,in the Marxist scheme, "the 'ruling class' of capitalist society is that class which owns and controls the means of production and which is able,by virtue of the economic power thus conferred upon it,to use the state as its instrument for the domination of society."[39] Coming to the problem of the members of the state,or the 'bureaucrarcy' in general,we are faced with similar questions. Do they form a class?, if not,how come they protect the interests of the ruling class,even if in the long-term. Poulantzas gives the following reply to these and similar questions:

> According to Marx,Engels and Lenin,the members of the state apparatus,which it is convenient to call the ' 'bureaucracy' in the general sense,constitue a specific social category -not a class. This means that,although the members of the State apparatus belong,by their class origin,to different classes,they function according to a specific internal unity. Their class origin -class situation - recedes into the background in relation to that which unifies them-their class position :that is to say,the fact that they belong precisely to the State apparatus and that they have as their objective function the actualization of the role of the state. This in its turn means that the bureacracy,as a specific and relatively 'united' social category,is the 'servant' of the ruling class,not by reason of its personal relations with the ruling class,but by reason of the fact that its internal unity derives from its actualization of the objective role of the State. The totality of this role itself coincides with the interests of the ruling class.[40]

Instrumentalists attempt to demonstrate the personal relations between the members of the state apparatus and the ruling-class members. In addition to this some talk about the politically engaged ruling-class members,in order to explain the bureaucracy's tendency to advance policies in the interests of the ruling-class. Structuralists, on the other hand,oppose this approach definitely. They argue that "one does not need to be of the ruling-class to 'represent' it politically;when there are no ruling-class individuals around, individuals from other social classes will eagerly fill the role of

ruling-class 'representatives'."[41] They further continue:

> For Marx,representation was an objective relationship -one did not to be of a class,to be its representative. And,in fact,representatives and their classes did not always see eye to eye,since their different positions could lead to different perspectives. In sum,representatives are not typical members of their classes,and it is a mistake to attribute to the class as a whole,the consciousness that parlimentary or literary representatives display. Marx's idea of representation suggests the general structural links between the capitalists and those who manage the state apparatus.[42]

Before closing,an influential theory of power in modern societies, namely 'the theory of managerialism' should also be reviewed under this section. Theorists of this approach argue that:

> the rapid growth of large-scale industrial and financial organisations within capitalism has led inevitably to a seperation between the ownersof capital and the controllers -what Dahrendorf calls 'the decomposition of capital'. The result is the emergence of a new elite of managers who because they own a small fraction of the assets they control extend allegiance to the firm and its workers rather than to profit maximisation and a capitalist class. Arguing that 'post-capitalist' society is now composed of a plurality of 'imperatively co-ordinated associations.' Dahrendorf asserts that a divorce between ownership and control has created 'a significant change in the basis of legitimacy of enterpreneurial authority' which is based on some form 'of consensus amoung those who are bound to obey (managerial commands'. Private property is no longer the main axis of authority in modern society as the capitalist class has virtually disappeared, leaving decision-making in the hands of a non-propertied managerial stratum whose commands are obeyed because of their position in the association (i.e. companies and firms). The conclusion follows that this elite takes decisions in the interests of the whole community.[43]

In short,they contend that:

> Marx's theory of the ruling class is no longer appropriate for a modern,complex industrial society since the economic basis for such a group has been eroded by the 'decomoposition of 'laissez-faire capitalism' into 'post-capitalism', and the elimination of private property as the basic source of class division. Capitalism and the capitalist class have given way to a bureaucratic society in which power is diffused over many competing 'interest groups' and where managers,although non-owners of property,take all effective decisions. It is argued that Marx failed to

> predict the emergence of this disticnt,functional stratum of managers and bureaucrats and that he misunderstood the dynamics of industrialisation in seperating ownership from control in large-scale industry.[44]

According to the apologists of managerialism,therefore,economic power is transferred from entrepreneurs to managers. In the words of Poulantzas "We are now confronted with a 'plurality of elites' of which the managers are one."[45]

Miliband,in his well-known work on the Capitalist State attempted to show that " in fact,managers do seek profit as the goal of their actions,for this is how the capitalist system works."[46] Hence,he contends that managers constitute "one amoung the distinct economic elites composing the ruling class."[47] Poulantzas opposes this way of presenting the problem categorically. He argues that "the distinctive criterion for membership of the capitalist class for Marx is in no way a motivation of conduct,that is to say the search for profit as the 'aim of action'... Marx's criterion is the objective place in production and the ownership of the means of production." According to this approach non-propertied managers do not constitute a part of the dominant class. Since,

> they own no property in the means of production;if they own capital they belong to the capitalist class by virtue of their exploitative function within capitalist production. Class position is determined largely by the objective position of definite strata in the productive system and not,as with the non-propertied managers,in term of shared values and ideology with owners. As the administrators of capital they function outside the dominant class even though sharing its basic assumptions and aspirations... It is crucial to distinguish between the 'agents' of capital and the owners...it is capital and its domination over labour which for Marx forms the axis of class power within capitalist society.[49]

SECTION 3

3. Theories of the Capitalist State

Poulantzas pp. 263-267

3.1 Pluralist Perspective

The term of 'pluralism' has been used by various groups of thinkers who defined it differently in different contexts. Here,we will deal only with the pluralist theories developed by American political and social theorists.

In the years of the cold war,pluralist theory developed and played the role of an ideology un the U.S to justify the prevailing political system. In the words of Nicholls:

> In the fifties there was a significant development in American pluralist theory. More and more it took on the role of an 'ideology',designed to explain and to justify the system of government found in the United States. Pluralism became not only an account of what is, but an oftline of what ought to be. A free society,as opposed to totalitarianism,is characterised,and is protected,by the existence of semi-autonomous groups with overlapping membership; there is thus no single center of power,no monolithic body,attempting to impose upon the country some total way of life,but rather a b benevolent umpire ensuring that all groups are able to have a foot in the political door...the normative belief that ' a pluralistic society-one in which many interest groups act and react with each other- is a democratic one and therefore is preferable to other systems.[1]

In short,this liberal perspective dominated the American social sciences deeply and has been used to the full in propagating the "democratic structure" of the advanced capitalist societies. According to the pluralist view,the power structure of the democratic societies can be characterised as one "in which power is scattered through a wide variety of elite occupations so that no one group can effectively dominate the others."[2] Bently,father of the American pluralists, "portrayed the political arena as being composed of a large number of groups each attempting to forward some particular interest."[3] In other words,it is assumed that in western societies,there exists no predominant classes,interests or groups. Hence,power "is competitive,fragmented and diffused: everybody,directly or through organised groups,has some power and nobody has or can have too much of it."[4] In short,interests are diversified amoung various organized groups which include business,labor,farmers,consumers, voteds,political parties,etc. All of these and many other aggregates:

> have an impact on policy outcomes;that none of the aggregates is homogenous for all purposes:that each of them is highly influential over some scopes but weak over many others: and that the power to reject undesired alternatives is more

common than the power to dominate over outcomes directly.[5]

Riesman,a well-known American pluralist,views the power structure in U.S as one which is composed of two layers. In the words of Kornhauser Riesman's upper level

> consists of 'veto groups' : a diversified and balanced plurality of interest groups,each of which is primarily concerned with protecting its juristiction by blocking efforts of other groups that seem to threaten that jurisdiction. There is no decisive ruling group here, but rather an amorphous structure of power centering on the interplay among these interest groups. The lower level... comprises the more or less unorganized public which is sought as an ally (rather than dominated) by the interest groups in their maneauvers against actual or threatened encroachments on the jurisdiction each claims for itself.[6]

Pluralists do not deny the existence of elites and other "pyramids of power". What they claim is,since they lack the necessary degree of cohesion these elites cannot form dominant or ruling classes. "In fact,'elite pluralism',with the competition it entails between different elites,is itself prime guarantee that power in society will be diffused and not concentrated."[7]

On the evolution of the pluralist political and social structure Lippmann argued that:

> it is machine technology which,in making social relations complex,undermines a centralised system of power:the real law in the modern state is the consequence of decisions made by millions of people. 'The power is distributed and qualified so that power is exerted not by command but by interaction.[8]

Now,we come to the role of the state in such a political environment. Liberal theorists "interpret the state as an institution established in the interests of society as a whole for the purpose of mediating and reconciling the antagonisms to which social existence inevitably gives rise."[9] As summarized above,society is viewed as made up of competing "blocks of interests" and thes competition "is sanctioned and guaranteed by the state itself."[10] In other words, the state is neutral and it represents the general intersts. Hence,governments do not endeavor to influence the power structure in the society;rather each active and legitimate interst group "brings pressure to bear" and the governments passively play the function of harmonising,of comprimising.of mediating "between the intersts of different groups, a situation of balance and equilibrium."[11] Therefore, in the end everybody get served.and in the words of Dahl,they "can make themselves heard at some crucial stage in the process of decision."[12] Another point which should be added here is that,"The eventual equilibrium is therefore the result not of reason or morality but of group pressures;all the argumentation

which goes on is incidental to the argumentation and makes sense only when it is seen as a reflection of group interest."[13] Before passing to the criticism of the pluralist view,it might be helpfull to quote the summary,presented very eloquently by Miliband,of this view:

> In short,the state,subjected as it is to a multitude of conflicting pressures from organised groups and interests, cannot show any marked bias towards some and against others: its special role,in fact,is to accommodate and reconcile them all. In that role,the state is only the mirror which society holds up to itself. The reflection may not always be pleasing,but this is the price that has to be paid,and which is eminently worth paying,for democratic,competitive and pluralist politics in modern industrial societies.[14]

Pluralist perspective has been attacked by various authors. Here,it will suffice to cite only a few points mentioned in those studies. Ahistoricity of the pluralist perspective is a point of criticism. Sweezy elaborates this point in the following quotation:

> the weakness of this theory is not difficult to discover. It lies in the assumption of an immutable and,so to speak self-maintaining class structure of society. The superficiality of this assumption is indicated by the most cursory study of history. The fact is that many forms of property relations with their concomitant class structures have come and gone in the past,and there is no reason to assume that they will not continue to do so in the future. The class structure of society is no part of the natural order of things; it is the product of past social development,and it will change in the course of future social development.[15]

Another point of criticism is the pluralist conception of power. Some argue,for instance that pluralists "by concentrating on the decision-making process they ignore the 'other face' of power,which is the ability to influence values and to determine which matters emerge as issues demanding a decision."[16]

Marxists view the question of power from a completely different problematic. Briefly,for them,the source of power is objectively determined social classes,rather than the 'interest groups' within a society. Miliband,in the following quotation shows the ideological content of the pluralist concept of power very succinctly:

> What is wrong with the pluralist-democratic theory is not its insistence on the fact of competition [over the state policies] but its claim (very often its implicit assumption) that the major organised 'interests' in these societies,and notably capital and labor,compete on more or less equal terms,and that none of them is therefore able to achieve a decisive and perament advantage in the

> process of competition. This is where ideology enters,and turns observations into myth.[17]

Before closing this section on pluralism,I would like to cite Mill's study on the power structure in American society. Being a non-Marxist American sociologist,Mills de eloped the most systematic and influential attack on the pluralist conception of power. According to Mills,in Kornhauser's words, American society has a pyramidial power structure:

> The apex of the pyramid (A) is the 'power elite': a unified power group composed of the top government executives, military officials,and corporation directors. The second level (B) comprises the 'middle levels of power': a diversified and balanced plurality of interest groups, perhaps most visibly at work in the halls of Congress. The third level (C) is the 'mass society': the powerless maze of unorganized and atomized people who are controlled from above.

Membersof the 'power elite' occupy pivotal positions in the society. "They rule the big corporations. They run the machinery of the state and claim its prerogatives. They direct the military establishment."[19] Mills summarizes the changes in the economic,political and military order which gave rise to the power elite as follows:

> The economy -once a great scatter of small prodictive units in autonomous balance- has become dominated by two or three hundred giant corporations,administratively and politically interrelated,which together hold the keys to economic decisions.
>
> The political order,once a decentralized set of several dozen states with a weak spinal cord,has become a centralized,executive establishment which has taken up into itsel f many powers previously scattered,and now enters into each and every crany of the social structure.
>
> The military order,once a slim establishment in a context of distrust fed by state militia,has become the largest and most expensive feature of government, and,although well versed in smiling public relations, now has all the grim and clumsy efficiency of a sprawling bureaucratic domain.[20]

Mills' view of power structure in American society is diametrically opposed to the pluralist perspective. In fact,the concept of a 'power elite' implies an "organised conspiracy of the rich and the powerful against the 'people'."[21] This view necesarilly implies class conscious ruling class. Swingewood criticizes Mills' "conspiracy theory" as follows:

> This is reminiscent of Pareto's emphasis on elite cunning and his cynical assesment of the masses as passive tools of an all-powerful ruling elite: the

> degree of self-awareness which this involves combined with a consciousness of selfish interest can hardly constitute a sound basis for rule. Undoubtedly Mills's 'conspiracy theory' is false,for...political domination in a modern society requires some form of legitimization through ideology and no group can rule- for long- if it believes only in its own private interests.[22]

3.2 Instrumentalist Perspective

The Instrumentalist theory of state asserts that the state is only an indirect, "simple tool or instrument manipulated at will by the ruling class"[23] Instrumentalists basically intensify their efforts in investigating the nature of the ruling class,the mechanisms which connects ruling class with the state and the concrete interrelations between state policies and the class interests.[24]

Instrumentalists view the state as an 'object' of the class struggle. In other words, "devlet herhangi bir nitelikten yoksundur. Bir çeşit sopa gibi bir şeydir. Kimin elindeyse,onun istekleriyle özdeştir. Yani devlet,bir araçtır ve bunun dışında herhangi bir işlevi olmadığı için özerkliği de yoktur."[25] In the following pages,we would like to present some examples of this approach. However,it should always be kept in mind that there is almost no 'pure' example of this approach. As Gold,Lo,and Wright have stated: "Biz,devletin 'araççı teorisi' derken, yönetici sınıfla devlet arasındaki bağları sistematik bir biçimde inceleyen,fakat bu bağların içinde oluştuğu yapısal bağlamı teorik bir dağınıkyıklık içinde bırakan görüş tarzını kasdediyoruz."[26]

We will begin with the theory of 'corporate liberalism' which is a "sophisticated version" of this view.

> This theory stresses the ability of progressive fractions of capital to preemptively determine the limits of reform through corporate financed,controlled and staffed policy research and policy formation groups which originate model legislation and set the ideological boundaries within which partisan battles will be contained. The theory of corporate liberalism thus allows a political analysis of institutionalization and the cycles of capitalist participation.[27]

Most of Domhoff's works,for instance,basically deals with social relations among persons who hold economic power. His definition of the ruling class is in harmony with the traditional western sociology which emphasizes the social group analysis. According to Domhoff:

> American upper class is a governing class,by which I mean a social upper class...contributes a disproportinate number of its members to governmental bodies and decision-making groups,and dominates the policy-forming process through a variety of means...The governing class manifest

itself through a power elite which is its operating arm.[28]

He argues that the members of the social upper class dominate the political process, and they,

> sit in pivotal government offices, define most major policy issues, shape the policy proposals on issues raised outside their circles, and mold the rules of government. Legally, the government is of all of us, but members of the upper class have the predominant, all-pervasive influence.[29]

Domhoff extends the direct influence of the members of the social upper class to the members of the state bureaucracy, too. He has stated:

> Leaders within the upper class do not labor alone in dominating the political process. They have the help of hired employees: high-level managers and officials in corporations, law firm, foundations and associations controlled by members of the upper class. Together, these upper-class leaders and their high-level employees constitute the power elite. I define the power elite as active, working members of the upper class and high-level employees in institutions controlled by members of the upper class. The power elite has its roots in and serves the interests of the social upper class. It is the operating arm of the upper class. It functions to maintain and manage a socioeconomic system which is organized in such a way that it yields an amazing proportion of its wealt to a minuscule upper class of big businessmen and their descendants.[30]

Sweezy's view on the state-with some reservations- can be included into this group. Sweezy argues that, "classes are the product of historical development...the state [is] an instrument in the hands of the ruling classes for enforcing and guaranteering the stability of the class structure itself."[31] Elsewhere he states:

> we should naturally expect that the state power under capitalism would be used first and foremost in the interest of the capitalist class since the state is dedicated to the preservation of the structure of capitalism and must therefore be staffed by those who fully accept the postulates and objectives of this form of society.[32]

Miliband, though he attacks the instrumentalist perspective and attempts to place the analysis of the personal interconnections within a structural context, has been accused for his overemphasis on the personal interconnections. He says:

> business, particularly large-scale business, did enjoy such an advantage [over the state policies] inside the state system, by virtue of the composition and ideological inclinations of the state elite...

> business enjoys a massive superiority outside the state system as well, in terms of the immensely stronger pressures which, as compared with labour and any other interest, it is able to exercise in the pursuit of its purposes.[33]

Gold, Lo, and Wright evaluate the above citation as follows: "Böylece, devletin işlevini yerine getirmesi, esas olarak, stratejik mevkilerdeki kişiler tarafından, ya doğrudan doğruya devlet politikalarının yürütülmesi veya dolaylı olarak devlete baskı yapılması yoluyla, bir arçsal kuvvet uygulaması şeklinde anlaşılmaktadır."[34]

The last example of the instrumentalist perspective is the orthodox communist thesis of state-monopoly capitalism. In this thesis the state is treated as an object. According to this thesis,

> tekelci kapitalistler, yani bir avuç burjuva, ekonomik güçleri sonucunda devleti zorlayarak kendilerine boyun eğdirmişlerdir ve devlet artık sadece onların aracı durumundadır. Buna karşı toplumda tekelci burjuvazi dışında kalan kesimler ona karşı birleşecek, gene devlet üzerinde mücadele ederek tekelci kesimi geriletecek, devleti demokratikleştirecektir. Böylece, devletin tekelci kapitalizm eline geçişi de, tekelci kapitalizm elinden kurtarılışı da, 'nesne olorak devlet' kavramından kaynaklanmaktadır.[35]

Adherents of this view argue that the present form of the State is characterised by close inter-personal relations between the monopolies and the members of the state apparatus. Hence, we can talk about the "fusion of state and monopolies into a single mechanism."[36] This thesis is presented by Lange in his work so eloquently that we can do no better than borrow his words:

> Kısacası, kapitalist gruplar tekelci konumlarını, sadece iktisadi güçleri sayesinde değil, aynı zamanda siyasal güçleriyle, Devleti iktisadi hayatta kendi çıkarları için çalışan uysal bir müdahale aracı haline sokarak elde ederler.
>
> Böylece, kapitalist devletin temel fonksiyonunda bir değişme meydana gelir...Devlet, iktisadi hayatın faal bir düzenleyicisi haline gelir.[37]

Elsewhere, he concludes:

> Sonuç olarak, tekelci birleşmelerin başında bulunan oligarşi, artık devlet yönetimini başka bir toplumsal tabakanın eline bırakmağa razı olamaz. Gerçekten de, tekel karlarının düzeyi ve genişliği, ve hatta bu karların bütün varlığı, Devletin kapitalist oligarşinin arzularını yerine getirip getirmemeğe hazır oluşuna bağlıdır. Bu oligarşi bütün devlet aygıtını doğrudan, tek başına kendi denetimi altına almağa çalışır ve bu sonuca varmak için Devlete hakim olmak üzere bütün gücünü seferber eder.

> O zaman kapitalizm mahiyet olarak siyasallaşır. Kapitalist hükümdarlar artık,Devletin yönetimini,toprok sahibi aristokrasinin ve meslekten politikacıların eline bırakmaz, tersine Devleti doğrudan denetimi altına almayı amaçlar. Parlementoda kendileri oturur,Devlet kurumlarında mevkiler ele geçirir ya da oralara temsilcilerini yollarlar, siyasette faal olurlar.
>
> Çağdaş Devlet gittikçe daha az,toplumdaki bütün burjuva tabakalarının ortak temsilcisi olur,gitgide daha çok kapitalist tekellerin kendi tekelinde daha artan bir derecede,onların çıkarları tarafından belirlenir.[38]

Recent developments in Marxist theory of state usually start with the critique of instrumentalism. They all stressed the inadequacy of the instrumentalist view as a guide to understand the nature of the state in capitalist societies. Gold,Lo,and Wright have stated:

> while many policies are the outcome of control by specific capitalists,and some government agencies appear to be the tools of specific capitalist interests,it is impossible to see how the complex apparatus of the state can be understood adequately in a model which sees policy outcomes primarily in terms of class-conscious manipulations by the ruling class.[39]

The same authors added the following on the same topic:

> Araççı görüşün genel bir kapitalist devlet teorisi olmasını engelleyen bazı büyük kusurları vardır. Ampirik çalışmalarının büyük bir kısmına,plüralistlerin vardığı sonuçları çürütmek amacıyla girişilmiştir. Bunda oldukça başarılı olmasına karşın,plüralistlerin kullandığı çerçeveyi aşmayı başaramamıştır. Özellikle Amerikan iktidar yapısının araştırılmasında,araçcılar,üretim araçlarıyla olan ilişkilerine göre belirlenen sınıflar yerine,sosyal ve politik gruplaşmaları vurgulamışlardır. Ayrıca plüralistlerin bir çoğu gibi,araçcı yazarlar da toplumsal nedenleri(cause),sadece,kişi ve grupların strateji ve eylemlerine ilişkin olarak görme eğimindedir. Plüralist teoride bu çeşit,hepsi de kendi çıkarları için çalışan ve devleti bu yönde etkileyen grupların sayısının bir hayli olmasına karşılık,araçcı teoride kesinlikle hakim durumda olan sadece bir tek grup vardır. Fakat toplumsal nedenselliğin mantığı onlarda da aynıdır. Bir kaç istisna bir tarafa bırakılacak olursa,yönetici-sınıf gruplarının strateji ve eylemlerinin,kişisel olmayan, yapısal nedenlerle nasıl kısıtlandığı hakkında sistematik bir analiz yoktur. İktidar uygulaması ve devlet politikasının şekillenmesi,bazan,güçlü kişilerin iradesine bağlı bir olgu düzeyine indirgenmiş gibi görünür.[40]

According to Block,pitfalls of the instrumentalist perspective could

be brought together under two points:

> First,it neglects the ideological role of the state. The state plays a critical role in maintaining the legitimacy of the social order,and this requires that the state appear to be neutral in the class struggle. In short,even if the state is an instrument of ruling-class purpose,the fact that it must appear otherwise indicates the need for a more complex framework for analyzing state policies. Second,instrumentalism fails to recognize that to act in the general interest of capital,the state must be able to take actions against the particular interests of capitalists. Price controls or restrictions on the export of capital,for example, might be in the general interst of capital in a particular period,even if they temporarily reduced the profits of most capitalists. To carry through such policies,the state must have more autonomy from direct capitalist control than the instrumentalist view would allow.[41]

The instrumentalist view has been accused of tending to be "somewhat situational and voluntaristic since it does not relate present class action to be historically determined constraints of the system."[42] I would like to close this critique with the following citation which elaborates on the above criticism:

> The instrumentalist perspective does not identify systemic constraints and imperatives that operate at all levels of society,including the state,which define and limit the range and form of possible class action. Thus,the instrumentalist perspective will tend to ignore the extent to which the demands and interests of the dominant class must take into account the limits of direct manipulation imposed by a historical social formation:internal state structure,state-economy relations and economic structure.[43]

3.3 Structuralist Perspective

Structuralists' view of the state oppose the instrumentalist perspective absolutely. They explain systematically how the state policies are prepared by the capitalistic system's urges and contradictions. According to Structuralists,state structures are,

> determined by the systemic constraints and contradictions of capitalism. These constraints and contradictions need not effect state structure and function through overt political struggle and participation by individuals, interst groups,classes or parties. Rather,to the extent that the survival of the system is dependent upon the containment and solution of recurrent crises,overt class

> participation may not be required at all. The emphasis of the structuralist Marxist approach is on the inherent dynamics and imperatives of the social formation in which the state is embedded.[44]

Before proceeding on,it would be helpful to clarify what structuralists mean by 'structure'. Godelier has stated:

> For Marx,the scientific understanding of the capitalist system consists in the discovery of the internal structure hidden behind its visible functioning.
>
> Thus,for Marx,as for Claude Levi-Strauss,'structures' should not be confused with visible 'social relations' but constitude a level of reality invisible but present behind the visible social relations. The logic of the latter,and the laws of social practice more generally, depend on the functioning of these hidden structures and the discovery of these last should allow us to 'account for all the facts observed.' [45]

Poulantzas,for instance,suggests in "comprehending social classes and the State as objective structures,and their relations as an objective system of regular connections,a structure and a system whose agents,'men' are in the words of Marx,'bearers' of it-.[46] Again,elsewhere he argues that,"the State is precisely the factor of cohesion of a social formation and the factor of reproduction of the conditions of production of a system-that itself determines the domination of one class over the others."[47]

It should be clear at this point that for structuralists,people are unconscious agents of the social structure. Poulantzas wrote: "political class struggle has nothing to do with a...process...'acted' by...the class subject."[48] Hence,according to structuralist perspective, "the structural mechanisms that make the state serve capitalist ends regardless of whether capitalists intervene directly and consciously."[49]

In short,the fundamental thesis of this view is that it is the social structures which determine the functions of the State rather than the politically conscious social classes. The following citation exposes the structuralist view very succintly:

> the direct participation of members of the capitalist class in the State apparatus and in the government, even where it exists,is not the important side of the matter. The relation between the bourgeois class and the state is an objective relation.This means that if the function of the State in a determinate social formation and the interests of the dominant class in this formation coincide,it is by reason of the system itself:the direct participation of members of the ruling class in the State apparatus is not the cause but the effect,and moreover a chance and contingent one,of this objective coincide.[50]

As to the power structure suggested by the structuralist approach, Anderson,Friedland and Wright have commented that:

> structuralist approaches to the state do not locate power in decision-making processes,elite preemption and cooptation,or the conversion of economic power into observable political power. Rather power is located in the ability of the state to reproduce class relations and class domination through structural relations that need not be immediately visable. Thus while the apparent determinants of state action may involve the political defeat of the bourgeoisie,the consequences of that state action reproduce and reinforce that class domination.[51]

For structuralist analysis the main arena of research is the social class structure in the society in general and the contradictions which are imbedded in the economic structure,in particular. Then,it tries to ascertain the special arrangements created by the state structures to respond to the instrinsic necessities of capital.[52]

> Yapısalcı devlet teorisi,böylece,devletin bir bütün olarak toplumun yeniden üretmek için yerine getirmesi gereken işlevleri ortaya koymaya girişir. Bu işlevler devletin özgül politikalarını ve örgütlenmesini belirler. Yapısalcılara göre,devletin sözkonusu işlevleri,gördüğü somut biçimler,kapitalist gelişme düzeyi ve sınıf mücadelesinin şekilleri gibi etkenlere göre değişir.[53]

Structuralist perspective was also not immune from criticisms within the left circles. First,overemphasis on 'structure', 'systemic logic', 'objective relations' has been criticised deeply. According to Miliband,all the above terms suggested that:

> what the state does is in every particular and at all times wholly determined by these 'objective relations': in other words,that the structural constraints of the system are so absolutely compelling as to turn those who run the state into the mere functionaries and executants of policies imposed upon them by 'the system'.[54]

Furthermore,Miliband accusses Poulantzas for his one-sided and mechanical view,following the same logic Poulantzas used in his criticism of the instrumentalist perspective. After pointing out Poulantzas' stress of the 'relative autonomy of the state', Miliband argues that:

> all that this seems to me to do is to substitute the notion of 'objective structures' and 'objective relations' for the notion of 'ruling class'... [Poulantzas'S] analysis seems to me to lead straight towards a kind of structural determinism,or rather a structural super-determinism which makes impossible a truly realistic consideration of the dialectical relationship between the state and 'the system'.[55]

According to structuralist view class originated inputs and demands are " 'passive' responses to stimuli born out of the structure". Hence, they are unable "to explain class action that arises from class consciousness. Class located individuals respond to the stimuli born out of the systemic logic,rather than act on the basis of self-conscious political practice."[56]

Another point connected with the previous discussion is structuralists inability to "explain the social mechanisms which actually generate a class policy that is compatible with the needs of the system."[57] In other words,what are the social mechanisms which guarantee the state's function within the framework of the capitalist system? To overcome this impasse the concept of 'class consciousness' could be referred to. However,structuralist view "reject the idea of a class-conscious ruling class" categorically in explanation of social processes. In sum, "Araççı görüş devlet faaliyetlerini açıklarken voluntarizme (iradeyi ön planda görme) kayarken,yapısalcılar da bilinçli eylemi analizlerinden,neredeyse tamamen çıkarmışlardır."[58]

3.4 Recent Developments in Marxist Theories of the Capitalist State

Many of the recent studies on Marxist theory of the capitalist state contend that both the instrumentalist and the structuralist perspectives are inadequate in understanding the nature of the state in capitalist societies. New departures attempted to overcome these weaknesses. As Gold,Lo and Wright point out: "Many of the recent developments in Marxist theories of the capitalist state can be interpreted as attempts to restore the dialectic to the analysis of the state,thereby applying the methodology that Marx himself used so successfully."[59]

Here,we will not deal with these new attempts even in a summary,since, firstly they all are still fragmentary,shaky and incomplete,inother words,none of them represent a fully elaborated theory of the state, and secondly the scope of this study makes such an attempt unnecessary and complicating. However,I think it will be instructive to cite a number of general propositions developed by Gold,Lo and Wright "which define the contours within which such a general theory of the capitalist state might be developed.". Their preliminary formulation is so instructive that we can do no better than borrow their words though in a unusually long quotation:

> 1) The capitalist state must be conceived both as a structure constained by the logic of the society within which it functions and as an organization manipulated behind the scenes by the ruling class and its representatives. The extent to which actual state policies can be explained through structural or instrumental processes is historically contingent. There are periods in which the state can be reasonably understood as a self-reproducing structure which functions largely independently of any external manipulation,and other times when it is best viewed as a simple tool in the hands of the ruling class. Certain parts of the state apparatus may be highly manipulated by specific capitalsit intersts while other parts may have much more structural autonomy. But in no situation can state activity be completely reduced to either structural or instrumental causation. The state is always relatively autonomous: it is neither completely autonomous (i.e., free from active control by the capitalist class) nor simply manipulated by members of the ruling class (i.e., free from any structural constraints). As Marx put it so eloquently in his analysis of the French state in the mid-nineteenth century: 'Men make their own history,but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves,but under circumstances directly encountered,given and transmitted from the past.'
>
> 2) The internal structures of the state,as well as the concrete state policies shaped within those structures are the objects of class struggle.A theory of state must not regard the structures of the state as historical givens but must attempt to explain the development of the structures themselves. Otherwise the analysis takes on a static quality... To say that the structures of the state are the objects of class struggle and that class struggle explains the specific evolution of structures is only a starting point. It is further necessary to develop a proper theory of such political class struggle itself.
>
> 3) The notion of the 'relative autonomy of the state' needs further theorethical development. Structuralist writers have conceptualized this notion by treating the state as relatively autonomous with respect to direct,instrumental manipulations by the capitalist class... The word 'relative' is crucial; there is no implication that the capitalist state can ever be emancipated from the constraints of a capitalist social formation. But there is the implication that as the state becomes more and more implicated in the productive sphere itself, as larger realms of social activity become decommodified (in the sense that production becomes organized around politically determined use-values rather than exchange-values),the state can develop a much greater degree of autonomy than is understood by the conventional Marxist notion of 'relative autonomy'. This further suggests that it may make sense to talk of the state as such having an emergent 'interest',rather than simply seeing the state as in some sense reflecting the interests of the bourgeoisie.
>
> 4) With the development of capitalism from the early phases of monopoly capitalism into advanced monopoly capitalism the reproduction of favorable conditions for accumulation depends more and more upon the active intervention of the state...
>
> It is especially imporant that future theorethical

and empirical work on the capitalist state should attempt to understand the relationship of the internationalization of capital to the dynamics of state involvement in accumulation...

5) The increasing pressure on the state to become involved in the acc mulation process has a number of contradictory consequences which in turn will shape the further development of state structures and state policies:

a) The institutionalized mechanisms that evolved in earlier periods of capitalist development become less and less effective as mechanisms for policy formation under the newer requirments for accumulation... This points to the likelihood that there will be a period of greater instrumental manipulation of the state by ruling-class groups in attempts to restructure the state in ways more compatible with the new requirements for accumulation...

b) Simultaneously,however,the increasing involvement of the state directly in the accumulation process has the effect of politicizing the accumulation process itself in the sense that more and more decisions about accumulation are at least partially made in public agencies rather than in private corporate offices. Explicit or implicit political criteria increasingly enter into the organization of production...The result is that class struggle in turn tends to become more politicized.[60]

SECTION 4
4. The Future of the State Apparatus

Pluralists argue that in modern society there exists no unified ruling class,instead we have a complex structure of competing interest groups. In prospect this tendency will continue. Thus,power will be increasingly dispersed which will strengthen the democratic nature of these societies. The nature of the state has already experienced a profound change and "the capitalist state has...'withered away' as the agency of class rule: neutral,benevolent and autonomous it functions merely as the 'umpire' in the peaceful conflict between 'elites' and 'interest groups',guaranteeing the rights of the individual and the dictates of the 'national interest'."[1]

Concerning the future of the State,varying views exist in the left circles. We will start with the right-deviation,that is,modern social democracy, "which assumes that changes in government,for instance the election of a social-democratic government,accompanied by some changes in the personnel of the state system,are sufficient to impart an entirely new charcter to the nature and role of the state."[2] This view sees the state as a 'subject' :

> Devleti 'özne' olarak görmek,toplumda varolan bütün gücün,bütün iktidarın,sınıflardan bağımsız şekilde,bu kurumda cisimleştiğini varsaymak demektir... Bunların arasında sosyal-demokrasinin evrensel devlet görüşü ilk ağızda sayabiliriz. Buna göre,devlet,hakim sınıflardan bağımsız olarak bir güce,iktidara sahip olduğu için, toplumun çeşitli sınıflarının çelişik çıkarlarını,ortak bir yarar doğrultusunda uyumlandırabilir,uzlaştırabilir.[3]

According to the modern Social Democrat view,the democratic state is "the limit which cannot be overstepped". Origins of this approach within the leftist circles goes back to the Second International.[4] Theorists of the Second International who advised for the revision of the Marxist theory according to the changing conditions of time proposed " a progressive reform of capitalist property and the capitalist state in the direction of socialism."[5] Bernstein, a well-known leader of this movement,argued for the possibility of the peaceful evolution of capitalism to socialism. To Bernstein, trade unions,social reforms and "the political democratization of the state are the means of the progressive realization of socialism."[6]

In sum, struggle for reforms within the framework of the present system,has been advocated to achieve socialism peacefully. This revisionist theory brought about an intense discussion on the limits of the reforms put into effect by the capitalist State.
Marxism teaches that the struggle for reforms within the framework of the capitalist system is necessary and should constitute the part of the program. Lenin's writings on the bourgeois republic, parliment,universal suffrage etc.,are clear enough. This,however is only one side of the coin. Since according to Marxist view,

as long as class society exists,so will exploitation. In fact,the subjective side of the struggle for reforms is more important. Consider the following:

> Marksistler,belli bir reformun neden olduğu sosyalizme doğru ilerlemenin derecesinin,reformun doğasından çok,onu elde etmek için verilen kavganın doğasına dayandığı anlamında,reformların devrimci mücadelenin yan ürünleri oldukları sonucuna varırlar. Belli bir reform için verilen mücadelenin değeri,reformun getirdiklerinin sınıflı toplumun varolan kurumlarını ne ölçüde değiştireceği ile ölçülmez; bu tek mücadelenin sınıflar arasındaki büyük mücadelenin ilerlemesindeki etkisi ile ölçülür. Bu etki sözkonusu reforma bağlı diğer reformların niteliği,reform etrafında toplanan sınıf kümelenmeleri,onu elde etmenin temposu ve yöntemleri,ve kavgaya katılan kitlelerin niceliği gibi etmenlere bağlı olacaktır. Reformlar sömürüyü ortadan kaldırmaz. Ama,doğru bir önderlikle,reformlar için mücadele devrimci güçleri örgütleyebilir ve eğitebilir.[7]

In other words, Marxists reject categorically the view which asserts that socialism can be achieved peacefully through the political democratization of the state and the social reforms can put an end to the exploitation of man by man. In sum,according to the Marxist doctrine, struggle for reforms are to be regarded as necessary means to achieve its aim,that is,social revolution; only through which,they argue, socialism can be made possible.

After seeing very shortly the left-deviation which is the anarchist perspective on the future of the state,we will end this section with the orthodox Marxist view.

Anarchist doctrine which sees in the state apparatus the evil of the capitalist society proposes the 'abolition' of the state,i.e., the destruction of the state apparatus within the capitalist framework of social production.

Finally, we will see what Marxists say on this subject. As Lenin pointed: "Marx deducted from the whole history of socialism and political struggle that the state was bound to disappear."[8] In the following quotations Engels explains this 'inevitable fall' of the state:

> We are now rapidly approaching a stage in the development of production at which the existence of these classes not only will have ceased to be a necessity,but will become a positive hinderance to production. They will fall as inevitably as they arose at an earlier stage. Along with them the state will inevitably fall. Society,which will reorganize production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers,will put the whole machinery of state where it will then belong: into the museum of antiquities,by the side of spinning wheel and the bronze axe.[9]

> When ultimately ... the state becomes really represantative of society as a whole,it makes itself superfluous. As soon as there is no longer any class of society to be held in subjection;as soon as, along with class domination and the struggle for individual existence based on the former anarchy of production, the collisions and excesses from these have also been abolished,there is nothing more to be repressed which would make a special repressive force,a state,necessary. The first act in which the state really comes forward as the representative of society as a whole-the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society- is at the same time its last independent act as a state. The interfrence of the state power in social relations becomes superfluous in one sphere after another,and then ceases of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and the direction of the processes of production. The state is not 'abolished'. it withers away.[10]

Lenin in his interpretation of Marx's and Engels writings on the state makes the following vital distinction between the "destruction of the bourgeoi state by the proletarian revolution" and its withering away which "refer to the remains of proletarian statehood after the socialist revolution." He states:"The bourgeois state does not 'wither away' according to Engels,but is 'put to an end' by the proletariat in the course of the revolution. What withers away after the revolution is the proletarian state or semistate."[11] After the 'destruction' of the bourgeoi state apparatus by the proletarian revolution, a transitional form of the new society is characterized by the organization of the proletariat as a ruling class. This period is called 'dictatorship of the proletariat' in the Marxist doctrine. In the words of Lenin:

> The difference between proletarian dictaroship and bourgeois dictatorship is that the former strikes at the exploiting minority in the interest of the exploited majority,and that it is exercised -also through individual persons- not only by the masses of the toiler and exploited but also by organizations which are built in such a way as to rouse among the masses the historical creative spirit.[12]

In this phase of communist society Lenin says, " 'bourgeois right' is not abolished in its entirety,but only in part, only in proportion to the economic transformation so far attained."[13] Hence,the state continues to exist in this period,too. As Lenin puts it; "While the state exists there is no freedom. When there is freedom,there will be no state."[14] "Only communism renders the state absolutely unnecessary" argues Lenin and further continues:

> for there is no one to be suppressed-'no one' in the sense of a class, in the sense of a systematic struggle

with a definite section of the population. We are not utopians, and we do not in the least deny the possibility and inevitability of excesses on the part of individual persons, nor the need to suppress such excesses. But, in the first place, no special machinery, no special machinery, no special apparatus of repression is needed for this; this will be done by the armed people itself...And, secondly, we know that the fundamental social cause of excesses which consist in violating the rules of excesses which consist in violating the rules of social life is the exploitation of the masses, their want and their poverty. With the removal of this chief cause, excesses will inevitably begin to 'wither away'...With their withering away, the state will also wither away.

It is accepted that the brief that the brief summary given above cannot be a satisfying one for an interested reader who tends to further deepen his studies . However, the extent and the content of this review have been determined both by the undeveloped stage of the Marxist theory of State, and the belief that such an introductory study will suffice within the general framework of this work.

Notes / Part 1

Section 1.

1) 5:330
2) 4:197-198
3) Preface to the First Edition (1884) 5:191
4) Preface to the First Edition (1884) 5:191
5) 5:275
6) 6:371
7) 4:165
8) 5:326-327
9) V.I Lenin, Collected Works, VII, 9 Cited in 23:189
10) V.I Lenin, Devlet , Par.17, Cited in 20:20
11) V.I.Lenin, Selected Works, VII, 11 f Cited in 23:190
12) V.I,Lenin, Selected Works, VII, 8, Cited in 23:189
13) Önsöz 17:24

Section 2

1) 24:240
2) 16:265-266
3) V.I.Lenin, Selected Works VII, 9, Cited in 23:189-190.
4) 14:242
5) 5:328
6) 25:244
7) 13:24
8) 25:249
9) 4:304
10) V.I,Lenin, The State , July 11,1919, Selected Works, XI ,654 f, Cited in 23:163
11) 20:47-48
12) 6:369
13) 6:369
14) 10:491, v.3
15) 6:371
16) Engels to T.Cuno, January 24,1872, in 10:425, v:2
17) 24:239
18) 16:2
19) 19:89
20) Cited in 19:89
21) 19:87
22) 11:110-111
23) 26:142
24) 19:85 Footnote
25) 19:85 Footnote
26) 26:143
27) 2:9
28) 25:248
29) 5:328
30) Engels to C.Schmidt, Oct.27,1890, in 10:3491
31) 26:146
32) 26:142
33) 24:247
34) 2:9
35) 2:35
36) 24:245
37) 1:187
38) 26:114
39) 16:23
40) 24:247
41) 2:13-14
42) 2:11-12
43) 26:164
44) 26:138
45) 24:243
46) 24:243
47) 24:243
48) 24:243
49) 26:164-165

Section 3

1) 21:25
2) 26:159
3) 21:19-20
4) 16:2
5) 3:108
6) 12:43
7) 16:4
8) 21:22
9) 25:240
10) 16:3
11) 26:59
12) Cited in 16:2
13) 21:20
14) 16:4
15) 25:241
16) 21:30
17) 16:146
18) 12:43
19) 15:4
20) 15:7
21) 26:160
22) 26:161
23) 24:247
24) 8:41
25) 17:27
26) 8:40
27) 1:187-188
28) 3:109
29) 3:105-106
30) 3:106-107
31) 25:243
32) 25:248
33) 16:146
34) 8:42
35) 17:27
36) 24:249-250
37) 13:17-18
38) 13:25
39) 9:36
40) 8:42
41) 2:8-9
42) 1:189
43) 1:189
44) 1:189
45) 7:335-336
46) 24:242
47) 24:246
48) Poulantzas,Nicos, Political Power and Social Classes ,London,1973, p.77. Cited in Footnote 1:216.
49) 2:12
50) 24:245
51) 1:189
52) 8:42
53) 8:42-43
54) 18:258
55) 18:259
56) 1:189
57) 9:36
58) 8:42
59) 9:45
60) 9:46-48

Section 4

1) 26:139
2) 18:260
3) 17:26
4) During 1897-98,Eduard Bernstein published a series of articles in Neue Zeit ,the theoretical organ of the SPD,in which he attempted to refute the basic tenets of scientific socialism particularly the Marxist assenttion that capitalism contains within itself the seeds of its own destructuion,that is cannot maintain itself forever. He denied the materialistic conception of history,the growing acuteness of capitalist contradictions,and the theory of class struggle. He concluded that revolution was not necessary,that socialism could be achieved by gradual reform of the capitalist system,through mechanisms like consumers' cooperatives,trade unions,and the gradual extension of political democracy. The SPD,he asserted,should be transformed from a party of social revolution into a party of social reforms. Cited in 14:33
5) 14:56
6) 14:48
7) 20:52-53
8)
9) 5:330
10) 4:306-307
11) V.I Lenin, Selected Works, VII, 18f, Cited in 23:191-192
12) V.I Lenin, The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government, April 1915, Selected Works ,VII, 341 f,Cited in 23:184.
13) V.I Lenin, Selected Works, VII, 85f, Cited in 23:204
14) V.I Lenin, Selected works ,VII, 87f, Cited in 23:205
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part two

employment

Introduction

This study is about urban unemployment,underemployment and poverty in urban areas. Although every text on urban economics customarily devotes a chapter to "urban poverty",detailer examination of its basic cause i.e. the problem of urban unemployment did not receive the attention it deserved. It has been left to the domain of labor economics. However, I believe that every student of urban economics should at least be aware of the subject of unemployment and underemployment in urban areas and the basic problems attached to it, in order to comprehend the fundamental mechanism of urban economy. In this study we have attempted to present a beginning in this direction, I hope that the bibliography will be of use to the reader who wants to deepen his study on a specific issue in the subject. An incomplete framework has been tried to be formed. Though not inclusive,various developed theories and empirical studies made on the subject have been quoted. An effort has been particularly made to cover the subject so that the reader acquires an overall idea of all the different views on this topic and therefore the estabilshment of dogmas is prevented in favor of stimulating further research.

Let us now review briefly the content of the parts of the study. This study is composed of three parts. After the introduction and before the first part a section titled "definitions" is put. I thought it would be of convenience to the reader to have the definitions of various terms related to employment used throughout the study at hand.

The first section presents a summary of classical,Marxian and Neo Classical theories of distribution. This is highly theorethical but a necessary part for such a study. It will help us to review,though very briefly, various views on the theory of distribution. The second part is devoted to the urban underemployment and poverty in developed countries,particularly in the United States. Orthodox (Neo-Classical),Dual and Radical Labor market theories are explained. It should be added that this classification is borrowed from Gordon's book titled Theories of Underemployment and Poverty. Their definition of the problem,developed hypothesis on the causes of underemployment,suggestions as to remedies,public policies to deal with the problem are all presented in this section of the study. Third section gathers the information available on the extent and characteristics of urban unemployment and related problems in underdeveloped countries. It includes a description of the dualistic structure of the economy witnessed at a national and urban levels. Theories about their evolution and functioning have been given. Again, suggesstet policies to alleviate the problem are presented at the end of the section.

Definitions.

A Study on underemployment should provide the reader with a definition of the term "underemployment",at least in a footnote. Since the term itself is a subcategory in a more general framework,I prefered to devote a section to the discussion of the main terms connected with employment. I hope this section will prevent many very probable confusions and misunderstanding from the very beginning of the study.

In the preparation of statistics on employment,in the United States each member of the family,16 years and over is counted by the investigators and classified into one of these groups:[1] 1) Employed, 2) Unemployed, and 3) Not in the Labor Force. Labor Force,is the sum of the first two, i.e.,'employed' and 'unemployed'. Let's start with the first category.

Employed :This category includes all those who work full time or part time in any occupation. "A person is officially employed if he/she performed paid work during the survey period or was not at work because of illness or temporary absence".[2]
Full-time Work "is defined as work involving 35 hours a week or more. Part-time Work is defined as involving fewer than 35 hours a week."[3]

Unemployed :" A person is officially counted as unemployed if he/she did not work during the survey period,was available for work at that time and had looked for work at some time during the past four weeks."[4] According to this definition "those who are not working,could work,but have not been looking for a job" are not counted as "unemployed". In other words,all those counted as "unemployed" are "involuntarily unemployed", which is defined by Maunder as follows: "if a worker is willing to work in any occupation in any locality at any (non-zero) wage,but no employment is offered to him,he is involuntarily unemployed."[5]

In this group we include frictional,cyclical,structural and chronic unemployment. Frictional Unemployment is, "due to the normal process of adjustment of a specialized labor force reacting to the changing demand of a dynamic economy, a problem of microeconomics,specially the efficiency of local labor markets"[6] Cyclical Unemployment founded in changes in aggregate spending, a macroeconomic problem of national proportions."[7] Though it may seem to be an extension of frictional unemployment, Structural Unemployment implies some other qualification. It is, "the term coined to categorize frictional unemployment which: a) requires a basic adaptation on the part of the displaced worker, b) tends to persist much longer,and c) poses a graver social problem"[8] The last type is Chronic Unemployment :

> in which unemployment becomes concentrated on a small proportion of the labor force. The chronically unemployed class find their lot only slightly improved during business recoveries (a little part time work to do) and only slightly worsened by recessions... Chronic unemployment ...can be characterized as another variation on the theme of structural unemployment,at the opposite end of the scale from frictional. Structural unemployment,then, would range from minor problems in labor market efficiency (frictional) to major problems in social welfare and urban poverty (chronic unemployment).[9]

Before passing to the next category a widely used term,that is, "disguised unemployment" should be explained within this category. Disguised unemployment is " a potential addtion to the labor force which does not reveal itself unless opportunities are actually available. Consequently,it does not show up in unemployed statistics."[10] It is included in this term the "people who are unable to find a job and eke out a livelihood through shining shoes,selling matches,etc. An alternative possibility in some cases is to help out on the family farm or in the family store,sharing in what is usually already the meager family income."[11]

Not in the Labor Force : Seperation between unemployed and 'not in the labor force' usually creates some throny problems. The solution is,

> to count as in the labor force only those who are actually employed or are reported as having engaged in a specific job-seeking activity during the four weeks preceding the time of the survey. And all those who are not employed or who have not recently looked for a job (including those who have not looked because they know very well that jobs are not to be had) are by this definition not in the labor force.[12]

To give clearer picture,some of the reasons given by persons (not included in the Labor Force) for not looking for a job should be mentioned. The most frequently cited ones are:school attendance, ill-health, disability, home responsibilities, the thought that a job cannot be found (Discouraged workers).
Now,we are supplied with enough definitions to define underemployment.

Underemployment :We will start with the definition given by the Ninth International Conference of Labor Statisticians (1957). It reads:

> Underemployment exists when persons in employment who are not working full time would be able and willing to do more work than they are actually performing...The following major categories of underemployment may be distinguished:
> a) Visible underemploymentwhich involves shorter than normal periods of work and which is characteristic of persons involuntarily working part time;
> b) Invisible underemployment which is characteristic of persons whose working time is not abnormally reduced but whose earnings are abnormally low or whose jobs do not permit full use of their capacities or skills (sometimes called 'disguised underemployment'),or who are employed in estabilshments or economic units whose productivity is abnormally low (sometimes called 'potential underemployment')[13]

About the laborers included in the last subsection (whom they called 'subemployed') of the above definition of underemployment, editors of Monthly Review point oft the following:

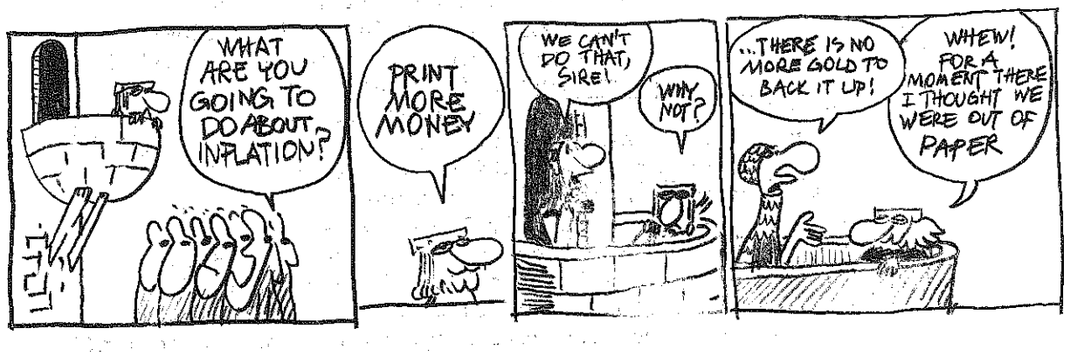
> Doubtless many of these people could without unduly streching the concept be included in the disguised unemployment category; and yet for the great majority, so classifying them would be misleading. They are workers who receive wages and produce surplus value, and as a group they constitute a permanent part of the labor force. Above all, and unlike the disguised unemployed, from the point of view of capital they are absolutely indispensable for the very existence of a huge number of capitalist enterprises which in the aggregate play an important part in the functioning of the capitalist economy.[14]

On the definition of "underemployment" Gordon says that "almost all discussions of underemployment include for separete groups" and makes the following classification:

> 1) Those who are unemployed -by official government definitions- looking for work but unable to find any;
> 2) those who are discouraged workers ,people who are unemployed and want work but are not actually looking for a job because they believe that no jobs are available;
> 3) those who work part-time involuntarily ,people who want full-time jobs but cannot find them; and
> 4) those who are low-wage workers ,who work full-time but earn inadequate wages, receiving too little to support a decent standanr of living for them and their families.[15]

We can find out the number of underemployed by counting these four groups.

It should be noted before closing this section that the above presented classifications are not at all inclusive. Besides, not being accepted internationally, new concepts and new classifications are being developed by various researchers.



SECTION 1

1. Theories of Distribution

1.1 Classical Political Economy

In the Preface to his Principles Ricardo said : "The produce of the earth... is divided amoung three classes of the community, namely, the proprietor of the land, the owner of the stock or capital necessary for its cultivation, and the laborers by whose industry it is cultivated."[1] Furthermore, he asserted, that "to determine the laws which regulate this distribution [distribution of the produce of the earth to the aforementioned classes under the names of rent, profit, and wage, respectively] is the principal problem in Political Economy."[2] In this section we will briefly explain Ricardian analysis of the subject.

In the classical model, economy is divided into two major sectors: Agriculture and Industry. Rent arises in the agricultural sector because of "the difference in the quality of ... two portions of land."[3] Rent is thus identified with differential rent. The least fertile land, i.e., 'marginal land' utilized in the production of raw produce paid no rent. Therefore, on no-rent land only wages and profits are left to play with. In the classical economics wages are determined by the supply price of labor which is and remains constant in terms of corn. In other words, "Wages equalled the amount of commodities necessary to feed and clothe a worker and his family, which represented the cost to society of 'enabling the labourers to subsist and to perpetuate their race'"[4] Profits are a residue, that is, the difference between the marginal product of labor and the rate of wages. The rate of profit on the capital employed is determined by the resulting ratio; Profits/Wages. Higher the wages, ceteris paribus, lower the ratio. This ratio which prevails on the no-rent land must be the same in industry, too.

According to the Classical school, in an advanced economy, as population grows we encounter more and more rapidly diminishing returns. Cost of labor increases, profits - source of all accumulation - fall. "Then investment drops, technological progress is retarded, the wages fund ceases to grow, and so population also ceases to grow. In the classical model, the end result of capitalist development is stagnation."[5]

1.2 Marxian Political Economy

According to Marxian analysis net product is divided into two components; variable capital (v), and surplus value (s). Variable capital is the wages bill. Surplus value implies profit, rent and interest. Constant capital (c) is the difference between gross and net product. It consists of plant and raw materials.[6]

Contrary to Classical Economics Marx made no analytical distinction between rents and profits. They both were parts of surplus value. Active living labor is the sole source of output. Hence, we will start the analysis with labor power. In the capitalist mode of production labor power becomes a commodity. Being a commodity it has a twofold character: Use-value and Exchange-value. On the market, the capitalist buys labor-power and pays its owner a wage in exchange. This is an exchange of equal quantities and none of the parties deceives other. Exchange value of labor-power is measured by the amount of socially necessary time required for its production. In other words, "Like that of every other commodity its value is determined by the quantity of labour necessary to produce it."[7] The second question, is about the surplus value which is the key concept of the whole Marxian analysis. How does it arise?

Surplus arises in the sphere of production and as a result of the peculiar quality of the labor-power. In the process of exchange the capitalist who buys the labor-power obtains its use-value. Contrary to other commodities labor-power creates exchange-value when it is used (consumed). The source of surplus value is when in a certain period, the laborer produces more than what is required for his maintenance. In short, "Surplus value is the difference between the value created by the labor power and the value of that labor power."[8] Marx examines the factors which determine the relative sizes of variable capital and surplus value. In the determination of wage labor, Marx emphasizes the peculiarity of labor-power, that is, labor power is a commodity attached to human beings. Firstly, he made it clear that value of labor-power is not determined simply by physical subsistence. At an individual level a distinction should be made between simple and skilled labor. For the latter, expenses of special education and training enter into the calculation of wages. Furthermore, Marx stresses the importance of the historical or social element in the determination of wage level. Habits and customs, bargaining power of the laboring class influence the share of wages. For Marx, the real wage level is neither solely exogenously determined as in the classical thought, "nor can it be determined directly by the class struggle, as it is postulated in French literature by Marchal and others."[9] Marx did not suppose that, "it would be possible for trade union action indefinitely to raise wages and squeeze profits, so long as the capitalist wage-system existed."[10] However, just as Ricardo, he treated "the matter as entirely indeterminate and unpredictable"[11] Mandel summarizes this process very succintly in the following passage:

> The rise in real wages does not follow automatically from the rise in the productivity of labour. The latter only creates the possibility of such a rise, within the capitalist framework, provided profit is not threatened. For this potential increase to become actual, two interlinked conditions are needed: a favorable evolution of relations of strength in the labour market... and effective organization... of the wage workers which enables them to abolish competition among themselves and so to take advantage of these 'favorable market conditions'.[12]

Now, we will investigate the matter in the long run. In all socio-economic formations production includes reproduction. In the capitalist mode of production after the realisation of surplus value, portion of it is converted into additional capital. Therefore accumulation involves an increase in the demand for labor power.

> As long as we are dealing with Simple Reproduction it was possible to assume that labor power was selling at its value. There was no contradiction involved in such an assumption since there are no forces operating to produce a deviation between the price of labor power and its value. As soon as accumulation is taken into account, however, this ceases to be the case. Accumulation raises the demand for labor power, and it is no longer legitimate simply to postulate an equality between wages and the value of labor power.[13]

Hence, if there can be found no equilibrating mechanism "the validity of Marx's whole theoretical structure is called into question."[14] In classical political economics Malthusian population theory provided the mechanism by which wages remain at about the subsistence level. However, Marx rejected and repudiated the Malthusian population theory. His approach to the problem is provided by the 'reserve army of labor'. "The reserve army consists of unemployed workers who, through their active competition on the labor market, exercise a continuous downward pressure on the wage level."[15] By developing such a concept, Marx showed-contrary to the classical view in which the wages are regulated by factors exogenous to the system, i.e., by population theory-that capitalist system contains an endogenous regulating mechanism for keeping wage level within limits. Capitalist accumulation results on the one hand in the centralization and contentration of capital-and on the other hand in the relative decline in variable capital. In the long run Marx expected that i) "if any rise in real wages per head took place at all, it would be very slow and inconsiderable"[16] and ii) that relative wages would fall. In short, the problem of unemployment exists structurally in the capitalist system. The whole process is summarized by J. Robinson so eloquently that the long quoation deserves mentioning:

> The helpless situation of the workers is due to the industrial reserve army. So long as there is unemployment their bargaining power is chronically weak. The accumulation of capital, however, is going on all the time, and at some periods the stock of capital, which governs the amount of employment offered, catches up upon the supply of labor. Their bargaining position is then strong and real wages tend to rise. Profits consequently fall, and the rate

> of accumulation is slowed up relatively to the growth of population, so that the reserve army grows again. Meanwhile, the capitalist system, which cannot tolerate low profits, reacts by adopting new techniques which economise labor. Under the sitimulus of high wages labor-saving inventions are made, so that a given amount of capital henceforth offers less employment. The reserve army of labor is thus further recruited by technological unemployment. Moreover, there is a fresh motive for extending capitalism into new spheres, and finding new labor to exploit. The temporary bargaining strength of the workers is destroyed by these means, and real wages fall again.[17]

After summarizing the American experience in his article Currie clearly explains the impasse of the capitalist system on the question of full employment in the following citation:

> On the one hand, high and sustained levels of unemployment can be costly to capital, by lowering demand, diminishing productivity, and slowing growth. And high unemployment has dangerous political consequences as well, threathening serious instability and loss of legitimacy for capitalist governments.. For these reasons, at least since World War II, all but the most ardently reactionary sectors of business have recognized the need for some measure of job creation and/or income maintenance in times of high unemployment, and have generally favored government funded programs to train the unemployed to meet the skill requirements of the private sector and to develop better labor market information to match workers with available jobs.
>
> But on the other hand, nearly full employment -as Marx noted long ago and as employers have often candidly admitted- seriously cripples the ability of employers to enforce labor discipline. The presence of a substantial, 'reserve army' of the unemployed dampens labor militancy and depresses wages by keeping the threat of unemployment in front of workers in the workplace and making even low-wage, demeaning labor at attractive alternative to no work at all.[18]

In sum, capitalist development and the problem of unemployment goes hand in hand. All measures taken within the framework of this system are in vain. In other words, unemployment is an indispesable feature of the capitalistic structure.

Before closing this section on Marxien Political Economy, I would like to mention about the so-called 'Price-value Theorem'. This, in fact is absolutely necessary, if we want to comprehend the economic substance of the discussions centered around the dualist theory, which will be dealt in the latter parts of this study. However, before explaining the 'price-value theorem' a very brief summary of the 'Transformation Problem' should be given. This will help us in understanding the price-value theorem.

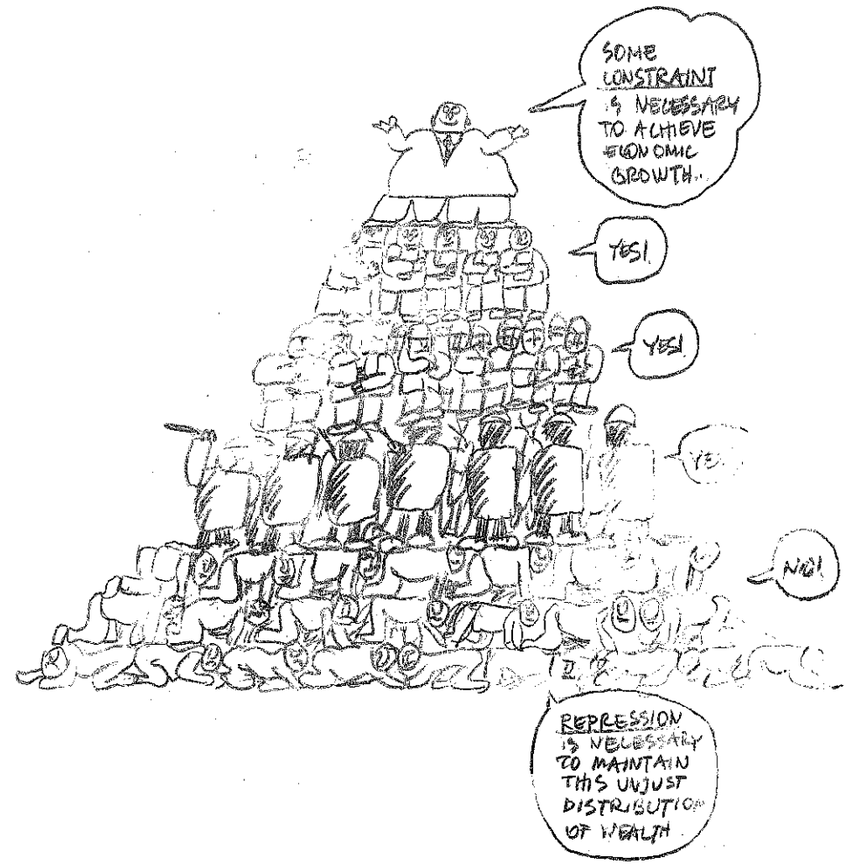
In the first volume of Capital, Marx presents his analysis of the capitalist system at a very abstract level. Throughout the first volume it is assumed that conditions of simple commodity production

prevails and commodities are exchanged proportional to their values, that is, socially necessary labor time to produce them. (Labor theory of Value). Furthermore, it is also assumed that organic composition of capital (c/v) is the same in all the branches of economy, where the uniform rate of surplus value (s/v) prevails. In the third volume of Capital, however economic relations under the conditions of competitive market economy are investigated. The level of abstraction of the analysis is also lowered. Hence, some of the assumptions of the first volume must have been released. Firstly, in competitive market conditions uniform rate of profit prevails. Rate of profit, (r) in Marxien terminology is equal to $r = s'(1-c')$, where (s') and (c') stand for rate of surplus value and organic composition of capital, respectively. Now it is evident from the above formula that if the uniform rate of profit and uniform rate of surplus value (this assumption is retained) is to prevail, organic composition of capital must also be the same in all the branches of the economy, which is not at all the case for capitalist production. Seemingly, we trapped in an impasse, that is, either the commodities are sold at their values (in other words, labor theory of value is valid), but the rate of profit is different in all the branches of the economy or the uniform rate of profit prevails in the economy, in this case, however, labor theory of value is no longer valid. This deadlock is called the 'Great Contradiction' by Blaug.19 Marx, however was aware of this 'contradiction' from the very beginning, and was prepared for it. The solutuion is provided by a new term, the 'prices of production', and the transformation of values into these prices of production. 'Transformation Problem' deals with this transformation process. By means of this device the validity and the applicability of the labor theory of value is extended to the capitalist mode of production under the assumptions of uniform rate of profit and differing organic compositions of capital in all branches of the economy.[20] Price-Price-value theorem arises out of this transformation process. Price-value theorem states that:

> prices of production of commodities with a higher than average organic composition of capital will be above their values; the prices of production of those commodities which have a lower than average organic compositions of capital will be below their values; and commodities with an average organic composition of capital will be sold at prices of production equal to their values[21]

The price-value theorem has important implications. This theorem has relevance whenever different techniques and technologies are employed by producers. In other words, whenever a different organic compositions of capital prevails in all branches of the economy, the price-value theorem provides us with the hints to foresee its long-term effects of interrelations among the branches. The price-value theorem brings along the following implications: In the first place, exchange relations among the different spheres of production will be affected, if their organic compositions of capital are not equal. In this case, transformation of values into the prices of production will change the terms of trade among different spheres of production, which will "result in the deterioration in terms of trade of the commodities whose production requires lower than the average compositions of capital."[22]

In short, while the sectors of the economy which employ modern technologices, i.e., having higher organic compositions of capital will benefit from the exchange, others will face progressive deterioration of the terms of trade. This process of exchange results in the redistribution of the surplus value among different sectors. Consequently, sectors with higher organic composition of capital will appropriate more surplus value than that created within those sectors. This redistribution of resources will affect accumulation in the sectors involved. Hence, the branches of the economy employing modern technologies will promote the accumulation of capital at the expense of the others. In sum, this redistribution of surplus in favor of capital-ihtensive sectors of the economy is structural. It is unavoidable. Therefore, no remedies can alter this flow significantly as long as the basic capitalist institutions exist.



1.3 Neo-classical Economic Theory

'Neo-classical' or 'Modern Economy' comprises several variants. Still, the followings can be asserted as being the main features of the new economy:[23]

a) Neo-classical economists regarded society as an agglomeration of individuals. Rather than composed of different social classes. (Individualistic, atomist view of society)

b) New economy emphasized consumption, demand and utility, contrary to classicists' emphasis of production, supply and cost. (Subjectivist analysis)

c) Subject matter of economy, for the classical school, was the dynamic change of society and the distribution of product among the different classes of society. For the neo-classical school it is the most efficient use of given resources. (Static view)

d) Modern economy rejected the classical labor theory of value and development the concept of 'marginal utility' as the basic determinant of the value of a commodity. (Marginalism)

Modern economy locates the "theory of distribution entirely within the circle of market relations or the sphere of exchange.[24] Hence, as Marx pointed out it 'deals with the appearances only' in contradistinction to the classical view which sought it in social relations of production. Marx showed that laws of exchange in capitalism prevented the laborer to receive the full product of his labor. This characteristic of the laws of distribution leaves no possibility of reform in the system. The marginalist doctrine, as a conscious counter-revolution against the classical school asserted, "that any factor variable in supply will obtain a remuneration which under competitive conditions must correspond to its marginal product."[24] In this fashion the distribution of wealth in capitalist society is proved to be just and equitable. Every factor of production (including capital, of course) is remunerated on the basis of their marginal productivity. Hence, it is absurd to mention surplus in this distribution. Returns to capital is a just category of income.

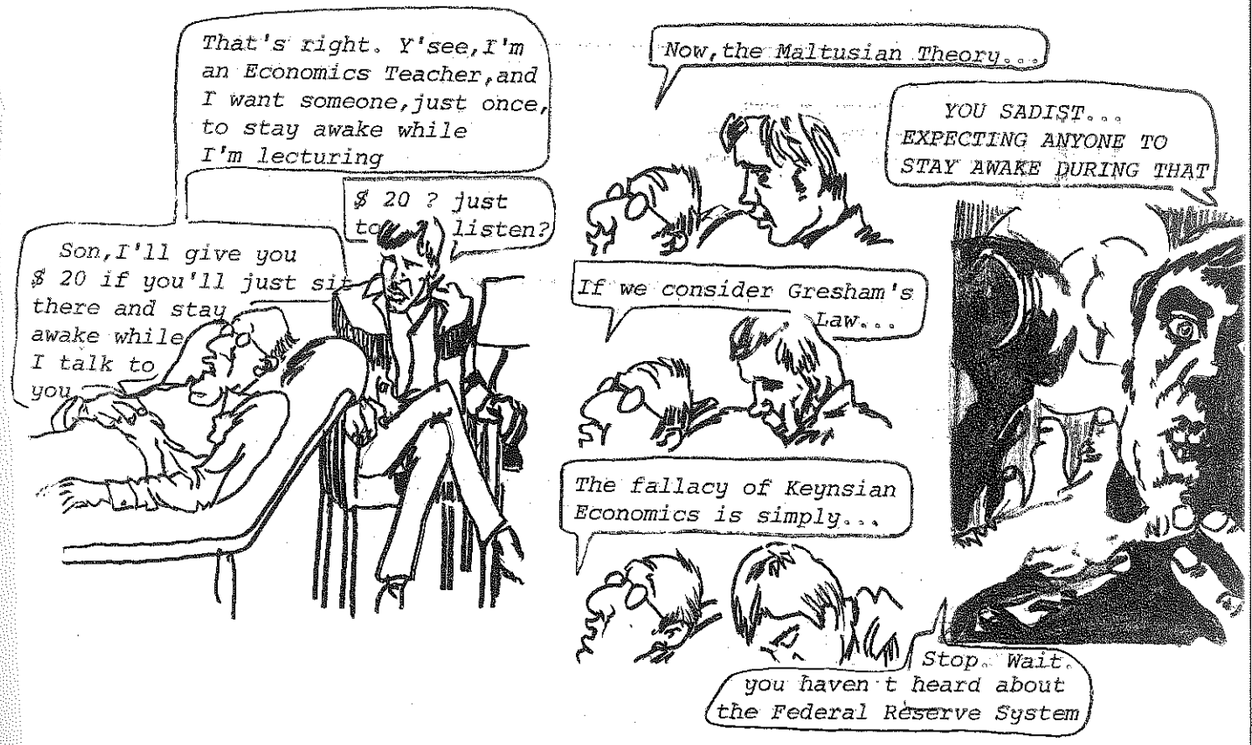
Although from the beginning of the 19 th century bourgeois economists developed various terminologies and explanations to justify profit as an earned income-as a reward to a capitalist, it is Clark who established the basic framework of the modern theory. As Hunt and Sherman put it:

> It is dedicated to the propositions that workers and capitalists each receive in income exactly what they contribute as their marginal product and that this is an ethically just system. In other words, a worker's wage will just equal to the additional (or marginal) product he adds to output. Likewise, the capitalist's profit just will equal to the additional (or marginal) amount of product added by the piece of capital he adds to the productive process.[25]

In relation to income distribution, marginal productivity theory has been attacked on several levels. It has been claimed that, it is a tautology. Actually, it added very little to our knowledge. As Marshall pointed out:

> This theory has sometimes been put forward as a theory of wages. But there is no valid ground for any such pretension. The doctrine that the earnings of a worker tend to be equal to the net product of his work, has by itself no real meaning; since in order to estimate net product, we have to take for granted all the expenses of production of the commodity on which he works, other than his own wages.[26]

Another important problem is that the marginal product of capital cannot really be measured. And, lastly it is claimed that "it confuses the prouductivity of capital and the productivity of the capitalist"[29] Since we will deal with the neo-classical theory (under the title of orthodox theory) in the next part of this study, extensively, we think this brief introduction will suffice for our purposes.



SECTION 2
2. Theories of Underemployment in Advanced Capitalist Countries.

2.1 Orthodox Theory

During the 1960's orthodox economists began to apply their theory to the problems of urban poverty and underemployment. However, it is not possible to speak of an unified, coherent, easily articulated orthodox theory of income determination and distribution.[1]

Before proceeding onwards, it is worth citing Gordon's analysis at some length to understand the fundamental analytic methodology of orthodox theory:

> Orthodox economic theory... concentrates on partial analysis. Its analysts are inclined to fix the institutional environment in order to model the choices which individuals make within that environment. The analysis value specificty and concreteness... These methodological inclinations lead to a fairly static analysis... Even if the analyst admits that the world is changing, he must act, for the moment, as if it is not. Given the choice between an analysis which develops rigorous hypothesis and tests from an abstract, static model, on the one hand, and an analysis which develops much vaguer more untestable hypothesis from a model emphasizing change, on the other. The orthodox analyst will generally choose the former. He will often try to show how individuals choices will tend to preserve the world as it is or has been, restoring society to its natural equilibrium or reinforcing an existing equilibrium.[2]

Since wages constitute the major share of the total income, we will deal with wages specifically in our analysis of problems of urban poverty and underamployment. In an economy with perfect competition and in equilibrium, neo-classical factor shares theory hypothesize that, "labor income is determined by labor's marginal productivity. Workers are paid according to how much they contribute to marginal increase in output."[3] The distribution of marginal products is identical with the distribution of earned income. As Throw puts it, "higher earnings merely reflect a higher marginal productivity for labor."[4] Reynolds expresses it with different words as follows: "The perfect labor market usually assumed in discussions of wages tend toward an equilibrium position in which workers of equal ability working equally hard at identical jobs under uniform conditions would receive equal wage rates."[5] In sum, orthodox economists try to explain the problems of urban poverty and underemployment with the above mentioned single parameter, that is, marginal productivity.

> There is practically no direct information on whether or not labor is paid its marginal product. Economists take it as an article of faith or else claim that it is the best null hypothesis and economic theory is based on the assumption that labor is indeed paid its marginal product. Without this assumption, much of economic analysis falls apart.[6]

Results of some empirical studies raise grave doubts concerning the validity of the theory. Thurow made estimations of the marginal products of capital and labor and the corresponding actual average returns since 1929 in the U.S. He concluded:

> These data indicate tnat there are large differences between the actual returns and marginal products of both capital and labor. The actual returns do not equal the marginal product. The marginal product of labor is larger than the actual compensation of employees and the marginal product of capital is smaller than the actual returns to capital. The gaps are not only large, they vary over a period of time.[7]

In his study of southern U.S. companies Lester found that:

> Many company policies in the labor market simply do not conform to the precepts of pecuniary marginalism so that 'each worker receives the value of his marginal product under competition' Consequently, a wide diversity of wage rates may exist and persist in the same locality for workers of equal skill, ability and effectiveness.[8]

As mentioned previously, orthodox theories stress the determining role of the sphere of exchange in economic relations. Therefore, distribution of labor income, too, ultimately depends upon the interaction of supply and demand forces in the labor market. However, measurment of demand creates important problems. As Gordon puts it:

> Short run variations in demand for labor should reflect variations in the marginal physical productivities of workers, but marginal physical products cannot often be measured or specified in homogenous units. Since the theory of demand is after all, a matter of the enterrelation of prices and quantities of homogenous goods.[9]

Analysis of supply of labor productivities poses no such great problems. Individuals are supposed to have varying amounts of 'human capital', which we will examine in detail in the next sections. In sum, in the analysis of urban poverty and underemployment it is presumed that those who are poor, have relatively small amounts of 'human capital'. On the emprical ground, Lester's findings do not confirm the orthodox theory. It reads:

> In considerable measure, their [companies] labor market policies do not strictly follow demand, supply, or mere price considerations. Usually employers make wage increases or decreases across-the-board for the various occupations and not in terms of local demands and supply for each occuppation.[10]

In their hypothesis about the effects of economic growth on unemployment, orthodox economists apply the 'queue theory' of labor economics:

> According to queue theory of the labor market workers are arranged along a continuum in order of their desirability to employers. Employers choose their workers from as for up the queue as possible, but as the demand for labor expands the dividing line between employed and unemployed shifts closer to the lower end... subgroup's employment situation will be sensitive to the aggregate level of demand for labor.[11]

Aggregate level of demand for labor is assumed to be reduced if employers are forced to pay laborers above their marginal product. Such is the case with minimum wage laws:

> Each worker receives the value of his marginal product under competition. If a minimum wage is effective, it must therefore have one of the two effects: first, workers whose services are worth less than the minimum wage are discharged (and thus forced into unregulated fields of employment, or into unemployment or retirment from the labor force), or second, the productivity of low-efficiency workers is increased.[12]

Hence, increments of wages above their marginal product via legal procedures result in the augmentation of unemployment. Lester's findings, however, contradict this view; "It is clear from numerous interviews that most business executives do not think of employment as a function of wage rates but as a function of output."[13]

Before proceeding onwards quite a new term which is used extensively in recent writings on labor economics, namely, the concept of 'human capital' should be clarified. The new concept which is developed by orthodox economists during the 1960's applied as a new tool in explaining the phenomena of urban poverty and underemployment. It is clamed by the adherents of this theory that the new concept can help fill the vacuum in ortodox theory regarding income determination and distribution. Investments in numan capital can be classified into five major categories: 1) health facilities and services, 2) on-the-job training and experience, 3) formal education, 4) study programs for adults and 5) migration.[14] Human capital analysts argue that much of what is conventionally classified as consumption is in fact investments in human capital. Health facilities and services "include all expenditures that effect the life expenctancy, strength and stamina, and the vigor and vtility of a people."[15]

> General education is presumed primarily to affect an individual's ability to read and reason, and these abilities are presumed to influence an individual's marginal productivity. Vocational education teaches individuals a norrower set of productive abilities which increases their productivities in some jobs. On-the-job training and experience provide overlapping kinds of productivities, but one can distinguish them heuristically; on-the-job training provides skills applicable only to the present job... while on-the-job experience develops a set of productive abilities and worker can apply to any job.[16]

Schultz, in emphasising the importance of the new concept asserts that returns to investments in human capital "has grown in western societies at a much faster rate than conventional (non-human) capital."[17] He says that the "estimates ... imply that between 36 and 70 percent of the hitherto unexplained rise in the earnings of labor is explained by returns to the additional education of workers."[18]

In applying the concept of human capital to the orthodox theory of income distribution economists first hypothesis is that, investments in human capital will increase the marginal productivity of workers. Higher the investments during one's lifetime in his human capital, higher will be his productivity and consequently his income. Rigourous studies have been made to determine the 'returns to investments in human capital'. Becker in his estimates based on urban males adjusted for ability, race, unemployment and mortality ascertain returns of 9 per cent to college education.[19] Schultzclaims that, "Even the lower limits of the estimates show that the return to such education has been in the neighbourhood of the return to nonhuman capital."[20]

The new concept has been used widely by the orthodox economists to justify the present distribution of income in western societies. Thurow summarizes the whole view succinctly as follows:

> Human capital... is one of the key determinants of the distribution of income. Individuals with little education, training, and skills have low marginal productivites and earn low incomes. With very little human capital, they earn poverty incomes. Blacks who have less capital than whites earn less.[21]

Although generally all economists agree on the positive effects of education on one's income, their expectations differ, about the returns to education among different groups. Orthodox analysis presume "that all groups in the labor market... realize monetary returns to their marginal investments in additional education, ceteris paribus."[22] This view, however is not confirmed by empirical findings. Ivar Berg in his study concludes that educational achievement has very little relationship to productivity of both blue-collar and white-collar workers. It reads:

> The data with respect to educational achievement correlated with productivity... gave no support to the contention that educational requirments are a useful screening device in blue-collar employee selection. The education of high producers did not differ from that of low producers to any statistically significant degree, although less productive ones were slightly better educated.[23]

Similarly, orthodox theorists claim that higher on-the-job experience and training is associated with higher incomes for all group of workers via increasin their marginal productivities. Other views assert that this is not true at least for all groups, and returns are quite different for different employee groups. For instance, Throw finds

pervasive inequalities in returns to experience between the races.[24] Harrison, in his study on the central city poverty areas in twelve largest metropolises of U.S., finds that, "White workers in these geographically extensive low-income areas earn on the average well over twice as much per extra year of schooling as nonwhites."[25] On the other hand, Solie, in his empirical study about the effects of training programs concluded that: "Evidence obtained in this and other studies strogly suggest that retraining programs do improve the employment experience of unemployed workers" And added immediately, "the improvements attributable to the programs is normally overstated, however, since ... part of the advantage of the Completes is the result of their more favorable socio-demographic characteristics."[26] He further commented that, "there is some evidence in both the present study and the West Virginia Study which suggests that the benefits of training are rather short-lived and consists principally of facilitating a rapid return to gainful employment for unemployed workers."[27] Main found that manpower training programs, "had no effect on weekly wages for those who found full-time employment after training."[28] What Currie says about training programs is even more pessimistic. It reads:

> Most federal efforts under the Manpower Development and Training Act (1961) and the Economic Opportunity Act (1964) went for skill training and education, especially targeted to the most 'disadvantaged' youth, usually male. The programs were never designed to offset high levels of sustained unemployment or to provide good jobs for people who completed enrollees were several hundred dollars below the poverty line. The programs did, however, fit well with the private sector's growing awareness of the need to upgrade the skills and mobility of the labor force.[29]

In sum, many analysts have reservations and skepticism concerning the positive effects of training in raising the productivity and income of the laborers.

Market Imperfections: Up to now, we have summarized the orthodox economists views on urban underemployment and poverty. We also added the results of a few empirical study. Every reader should easily have observed the inconsistencies and even contradictions of the orthodox theory and the objective reality. How do the theorists react to this anomaly? Actually, they admit the occurence of anomalies and give 'explanations' to these inconsistencies. Firstly, they say that, pure competition and state of equilibrium should prevail in the labor market. They admit that most of the time this is not the case. However, they usually assume that those historical departures from the conditions of perfect competition will erode through time. On the long run equilibrium and harmony will be achieved thanks to the competitive mechanism in the product and factor markets. Imperfections and monopolies in the markets are another source of divergence between the distribution of earned income and the distribution of marginal productivities. Imperfections

like industrial concentration, unionization, minimum wage legislation, imperfect market information, residential segregation, racial dis crimination etc., prevents markets to produce desired results. Let us analyze them further in detail.

In general, orthodox economist oppose unions of every kind. Producers', workers' and consumers' unions all prevent the free interplay of demand and supply forces in commodity and factor markets. Trade unions and/or minimum wage legislations, they argue, play an important role in the remuneration of certain groups of workers above their marginal productivity and cause unemployment of certain portions of the employable workers. Imperfect market information is another cause of unemployment. Parnes comments: "The average manual workers seems to have very limited knowledge of job opportunities in the labor market and even less information regarding the specific characteristics of jobs in establishments other than his own."[30] Limited labor mobility is presumably another cause of market imperfection. It is hypothesized to play a significant role in preserving the forces of labor market competition.[31] Findings of Parnes' empirical study, however, indicate that the labor mobility is characteristics of minority. It reads:

> A major portion of the total movement amoung jobs is attributable to a minority of workers... but it is an even smaller minority who make several job changes per year who account for most of the total movement. Moreover, the substantial number of workers who keep the same job for long periods indicates that to a large extent the same workers make job changes year after year.[32]

Results seem to support the dual market theory rather than the orthodox theory.

In various studies prejudice and discrimination are mentioned as important factors in creating market imperfections. Many theories give importance to them as significant sources of minority inequality. Thurow stresses discriminations vital role in black poverty.[33] In his well-known book Gunnar Myrdal[34] examines the same subject in length. In the words of Barrea:

> Basically, he seems racial prejudice among whites as producing discrimination, and discrimination as producing inequality. The disadvantaged condition of Blacks then reinforces the prejudice of whites by confirming their low opinion of Blacks, so that a strong vicious circle is set up.[35]

In recent studies it is hypothesized that the residential segregation and the inefficient transportation system affects the urban labor market. The present spatial structure of metropolitan areas is assumed to prevent the free play of forces in the urban labor market. We have devoted somewhat longer space in examining this source of market imperfection since it concerns spatial planners deeply. Now,

let's elaborate the subject. As it is known, American cities have undergone a rapid structural spatial change quickened particularly after World War II, due primarily to technological changes in transportation.[36] This residential segregation is followed by the suburbanization of the industry. Kain summarizes the two facets of the process as follows: "1) the rapid dispersal of suburbanization of employment, particularly blue collar employment within metropolitan areas; and 2) the continued segregation and isolation of Negro in massive and rapidly growing central city ghettos."[37] It is argued by some analysts that the residential segregation operates to limit job opportunities for Blacks. Kain puts it as follows:

> The ghetto has isolated the Negro economically as well as socially. In the first place, the Negro has inadequate access to the job market. For him, informal methods of job search, common to low skilled employment, are largely limited to the ghetto. Jobs may be plentiful, outside the ghetto, yet he will know little or nothing of these opportunities.[38]

On the other hand, the radial charter of the conventional transit system which usually do not provide adequate services in connecting the ghetto and suburban work places engraves this situation. Therefore, both the dispersal of the job market and the inadequate transit systems created serious problems for low-income blacks. In sum:

> As jobs and particularly blue-collar jobs, have shifted from areas that are relatively well served by public transit to areas that are poorly served, employment opportunities for low income households dependent on public transit service have been reduced. Increasingly, low-income workers are forced to choose between a higher-paying job that is ineccessible by public transit, and thereby pay more for transportation... or a lower-paying job that is served by transit.[39]

Following this theorethical framework findings of a few empirical study should be mentioned. Originator of the theory, John F. Kain, conducts an empirical study by using the data for the Chicago and Detroit Metropolitan areas. In the study he tests the following hypotheses: "racial segregation in the housing market 1) affects the distribution of Negro employment and 2) reduces Negro job opportunities, and that 3) post war suburbanization of employment has seriously aggravated the problem."[40] His findings support the first hypothesis which is, "housing market segregation does strongly affect the location of Negro employment."[41] As for the second hypothesis, although highly tentative, his findings, "suggest that housing market segregation may reduce the level of Negro employment and thereby contribute to the high unemployment rates of metropolitan Negroes."[42] Support for the third hypothesis is less certain. The related conclusion reads: "the continued high levels of Negro unemployment in a full employment economy may be partially attibutable to the rapid and adverse (for the Negro) shifts in the location of

jobs."[43] By applying Kain's method Mooney examines the twenty-five largest metropolitan areas. He says:

> On the basis of these preliminary results, it might be concluded that although the geographic seperation of the ghetto Negro from the burgeoning job areas in the fringe areas reduces to some extent his employment opportunities, aggregate demand conditions, characterized by the unemployment rate in a particular SMSA, play a more important role. It was also found that the geographic seperation of inner city Negro females from growing job centers in the suburbs had an almost negligible effects on their employment opportunities.[44]

In their paper, Offner and Saks arrive at opposite empirical results by using Kain's data for Chicago. They pointed out that, "the removal of residential segregation might have resulted in a relative job loss for Chicago Negroes."[45] Authors emphasized the employers' discrimination in favor of blacks in or near the gnetto. They concluded that: "whatever the change in overall Negro employment resulting from the end of residential segregation, there would be relative losses in the skilled and higher-status categories."[46] Another market imperfection has been argued to be the inefficient public transportation system of the metropolitan areas. The Mc. Cone Commission in their investigation on the causes of Watts riots in 1965 reported as follows:

> Our investigation has brought into focus the fact that the inadequate and costly public transportation currently existing throughout the Los Angeles area seriously restricts the residents of the disadvantaged areas... This lack of adequate transportation handicaps them in seeking and holding jobs, attending schools, shopping and fulfilling other needs.[47]

This and similar conclusions initiated some demonstration projects designed to ascertain the relationships between the transportation system and the black unemployment. 'South Central and East Los Angeles Project' is one of such projects. Empirical findings of the study, however, do not support Mc. Cone Commissions' asserttions. Progress Report on Los Angeles Project, for instance, reads:

> Prior to the establishment of the three community bus operations, there were strong indications from all directions that lack of transportation was the key factor in preventing many qualified unemployed persons from obtaining jobs in the widely scattered industrial areas... After more then four months of operation, however, the services are struggling to carry enough passengers to justify the trips. It seems that as transportation is made available, anticipated job opportunities disappear.[48]

Progress Report No. 8 arrived at the following conclusion: "There is increasing evidence that the demonstration bus services are not by themselves creating jobs and that there will be no potential for movement until there is a demand for the available skills and a willingness to hire."[49] Up to now, we have stated briefly the market imperfections which are claimed by some analysts to be the main sources of the inconsistency between the orthodox theory and the findings of empirical studies. Some theorists, on the other hand approach the problem from a subjective point. They, sometimes implicitly, sometimes openly, accuse individuals and claim that their irrational decisions are one of the fundamental reasons of their poverty and underemployment. As Gordon points out:

> this ammounts to a kind of assumption about worker sovereignty'. The theories imply, in effect, that workers have had a variety of choices (about hours, schooling, and training, and job quality) and that their present situations, ceteris paribus, can be viewed as optima freely choosen.[50]

Another inclination of analysts in facing anomalies is:

> to argue that economic analysis could only explain a limited set of phenomena. Some of the puzzles emerging in the study of ghetto employment problems, according to this view, reflect the consequences of changing tastes or other exogenous factors for whose presence, structure or change economic analyses does not intend to try to provide an explanation.[51]

Policy Implications: As a general strategy, in solving the problems of poverty and underemployment, orthodox economists advice the following policy: Every attampt should be taken to improve the marginal productivity of workers, since increased productivity will result in higher incomes. Thurow summarizes the strategy as follows:

> Coordinated programs for creating tight labor markets, improving the distribution of human capital, increasing labor mobility, ending discrimination, and providing for those outside the labor force are all necessary to eliminate poverty and discrimination. No one program can work by itself.[52]

Thurow emphasizes the importance of tight labor markets especially in the increase of the blacks' incomes.[53] Improvement in education is presumed to be one of the most effective ways of eliminating poverty. In increasing equality of distribution of personal income, free education is an important instrument. Hence, accuruement of returns from public investment in human capital to the individuals in whom it is made should be supported in the name of the welfare goal of society.[54] On the other hand, Thurow warns that: "No program to raise incomes through raising education will succeed unless other measures are also taken."[55] Therefore, programs designed to eliminate all

white poverty "would only partially eliminate Negro poverty. Specific programs must be designed to eliminate discrimination, oriented to Negro poverty, not white."[56] In sum, besides improving marginal productivity of workers, its' full realization should be secured. Thus, if there are imperfections in the labor market, they should be overcome, "by adjusting the price parameters to which individual workers and employers respond."[57] To achieve these, public programs should be devised to correct market imperfections and lags in economic adjustment.

Thompson warns the reader about the market imperfections caused by imperfect information channels in urban labor markets. As he puts the matter, "Good lines of communication are a prerequisite in building an efficient local labor market."[58] Hence, the preliminary signals, first warnings emitted by the free market price system could be made more obvious. Job counseling is proposed by Thompson as an effective instrument in achievening this end. The job counselor, who is a specialist in urban labor market, gives information to the underemployed and advise them what to do. Thompson goes even further, he says: "Job counseling... becomes a key instrument in any realistic unemployment program but a pro forma provision of the service is not enough. The workers must be gently coerced into consuming the service."[59]

In alleviation of underemployment Thompson presents an another proposal: Subsidization of the low productivity workers. He suggests that, "the public economy may employ these low productivity workers at wage rates above their productivity"[60] Or, an alternative, he adds, "would be government subsidies to private employers who hired submarginal workers."[61] Kain makes a similar proposal for ghetto underemployment.[62] Friedman recommends that subsidization should be made to the underemployed in cash, rather that to the firms. His solution to the alleviation of poverty is 'negative income tax'.[63] However, as a strong proponent of the free market system he immediately adds, "so far as possible the program should, while operating through the market, not distort the market or impede its functioning."[64]

Kain calls a set of public programs and policies designed in response to high levels of black unemployment. He starts with clarifying what he means by the 'gilding programs'. He says:

> Included prominently among these programs are a variety of proposals designed to attract industry to metropolitan ghettos. There have also been numerous proposals for massive expenditures on compensatory education, housing, welfare and the like. Model cities programs must be included under this rubric. All such proposals aim at raising the employment, incomes, and well-being of ghetto residents, within the existing framework of racial discrimination.[65]

He rejects these programs strongly on moral as well as economic grounds. His major objections to 'gilding programs' are:

> 1) They accept that the existence of, indeed strengthen the ghetto, and 2) they are highly ineffient. These programs ignore the fact that existing patterns of housing market segregation impose heavy costs on the Negro community and are the principal cause of, or a major contributor to, nearly every urban problem.[66]

His proposed policy involves the increment of employment opportunities of ghetto blacks without strenghthening the ghetto.[67] 'Weakening the ghetto', or 'ghetto dispersal' should be the only strategy for the long-run. He says: "Such a strategy is not only consistent with the nation's long-run goals, but will often be sustantially cheaper in the short-run."[68] To achieve this end in the short run he proposes "an efficient wage subsidy scheme for the hard core unemployed."[61], "provision of faster and cheaper transportation services between central city ghettos and outlying employment centers."[70] and, "much enlarged and improved formal labor market devices to replace the more usual informal arrangements."[71]

Offner and Saks who in their paper arrived at opposite conclusions to Kains', rejected the policies aimed at residential desegregation. They say: "Policies aimed at fostering residential integration of our urban areas have a significant cost to Negroes that has received little attention in the past. The cost may be temporary and it may be small compared to the benefits, but it is still important."[72] As for the utility of transportation in reducing the urban poverty and under-employment we encounter conflicting policies. The Mc. Cone Commission recommends that the public transit services should be expanded and subsidized.[73] In general, it is claimed that subsidies for urban transportation help the poor. Public programs are given credit and received wide support on this ground. However, in recent studies it is argued that "the main beneficiaries of today's subsidies are the more affluent riders of transit."[74] It is wealthier classes of the society who benefited from the high-speed, long-distance rail commuter system.[75] Hence, it is concluded that within the present structure, "public transit systems... are incapable of increasing the mobility of the poor."[76]

In sum, as Althuser points out:

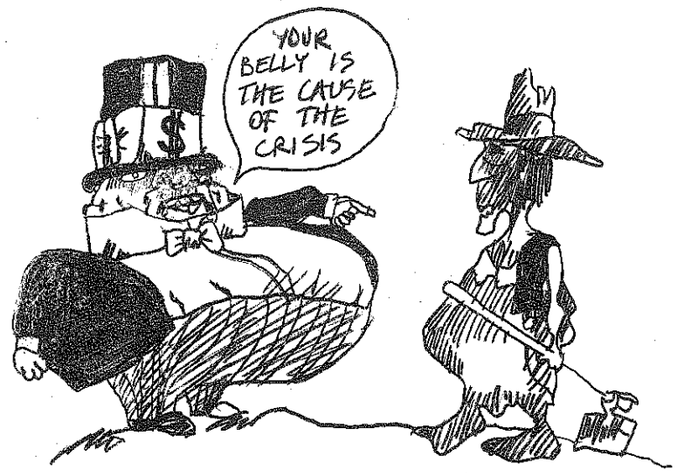
> At the moment, we know precious little about the potential value of transit subsidization as an instrument of anti-poverty policy... our knowledge of the strength and configuration of the link between transport-deprivation and unemployment is almost wholly anecdotal.[77]

Ornati stresses the necessity of different public programs to alleviate poverty for each city. According to him strategies aimed at the betterment of the conditions of the poor will have different impact on different cities depending on the demographic characteristics of their poor.[78]

> To sum up, in view of the multiplicity of the corrallaries of poverty, the reduction of the size and future probable size, of the poverty populations of American cities calls for different programs geared to different potential beneficiaries at different dollar levels of income.[79]

Although this list of orthodox public policies and programs aiming at ameliorating the conditions of the underemployed can be enlarged, I think it will suffice for this study. Before closing this section I would like to quote Killingsworth's general evaluation on the effectiveness of these prescriptions.

> some of the remedies most often prescribed for Negro unemployment are likely to yield disappointingly small results. Antidiscrimination laws, higher rates of attandance at today's schools, faster economic growth, the normal operation of push-pull forces in the labor market-none of these seem to hold the promise of substantial impack on the basic sources of Negro disadvantage.[80]



"ALL THEY THINK ABOUT IS MONEY"

2.2 Dual Labor Market

Another important theory which tries to explain the urban poverty and underemployment is the Dual Labor Market Theory. Various recent empirical studies on labor markets come up consistently with the conclusions that some divisions exist among workers by race, sex, educational credentials, industrial grouping and so forth. It is also observed that these groups seem to operate in different labor markets, possessing completely distinct qualifications. Tools of neoclassical economy proved to be insufficient to deal with such segmentation. Since, "Orthodox theory assumes that profit-maximizing employers evaluate workers in terms of their individual characteristics and predicts that labor market differences among groups will decline over time because of competitive mechanisms."[81]

Vietorisz and Harrison assert that,

> There can be no theory of labor market segmentation as an endogenous phenomenon within the economic system so long as the theory remains committed to the neo classical paradigm, because labor market segmentation is an instance of divergent development rather than of convergence to equilibrium. Orthodox analysis cannot begin to account for divergent development without invoking such a long list of qualifications and special assumptions that it losses all of its coherence.[82]

Hence, dual market theory arised in response to insufficiency of neo-classical theory in explaining the observed phenomenon. New theory suggests a dualism of the market into primary and secondary market which have seperate characteristics. At first it was created for replacing some aspects of the orthodox theory. Then it has been enlarged to include some important hypothesis of their own. The dual labor market theory has a position which stands in between the orthodox and radical theories. Now a days its founders have begun to take a more radical approach and they have tried to incorporate the central features of the theory into the radical theory. One of the weaknesses of the theory was that there was not much investigation on how much of the labor force was employed in the secondary market. In apittion the importance of this market in the whole economy as measured by value added, for instance, was not known. So the quantitative aspects were weak for testing the theory's importance. But the theory is still being used to explain some aspects of the unemployment problem.

In the late half of the 1960's the dual labor market theory has emerged as a result of the increasing emphasis on the dualism of American market economy. Averitt's approach is one of the earliest. In his book, The Dual Economy,[83] he has tried to explain American economy in terms of two different types of firms: Center and Periphery firms. Center firms are large in size, they tend toward vertical integration, geographic

dispersion, product diversification and managerial decentralization, whereas the Periphery firms are relatively smaller, they may be an economic satellite of a center firm or cluster of center firms.[84] As for their existence, Reich, Gordon and Edwards argue that it is the changing structure of the American economy that gave rise to systematic forces which help develope dual structure.

> The rise of giant corporations and the emergence of a monopolistic core in the economy sharply accentuated some systematic market forces that stimulated and reinforced segmentation. As different firms and industries grew at different rates, a dichotomization of industrial structure developed. The larger, more capital-intensive firms were generally shelthered by barriers to entry, enjoyed technological, market power, and financial economies of scale and generated higher rakes of profit and growth than their smaller, labor-intensive competitive counter parts.[85]

They furthermore commented that along with this daulism in the industrial structure,

> There developed a corresponding dualism of working environments, wages, and mobility patterns. Monopoly corporations, with more stable production and sales, developed job structures and internal relations reflecting that stability. For example, the bureaucratization of work rewarded and elicited stable work habits in employees. In peripheral firms, where product demand was unstable, jobs, and workers tended to be marked also by instability. The results was the dichotomization of the urban labor market into 'primary' and 'secondary' sectors.[86]

In sum, it is being assesed in this that there are primary and secondary labor markets in the economy, with their own internal dynamics and completely distinct qualifications. Piore, defines primary and secondary markets as follows:

> The primary market offers jobs which possess several of the following traits: high wages, good working conditions, employment stability and job security, equity and due process in the administration of work rules, and chances for advancement. The other, or secondary sector, has jobs which, relative to those in the primary sector, are decidedly less attractive. They tend to involve low wages, poor working conditions, considerable variability in employment, harsh and often arbitrary discipline, and little opportunity to advance.[87]

The Dual Labor Market Theory has grown but of some casual observations on ghetto labor markets, Here some jobs were found to be common for the ghetto inhabitants. These were jobs with poor working conditions

and low wages and with no or little opportunity for improvement. These were called secondary jobs belonging to a secondary labor markets. The workers in that market could not worth for the primary market even though their qualifications would bring them better paid jobs. Two of the theoreticians of this theory. Deoringer and Piore postulate three kinds of employment in the secondary market:

> completely unstructured employment, classically competitive; clusters of secondary jobs with no internal job structure, as in foundary work; and secondary jobs with no internal job structure which are attached to primary markets, like wood yard jobs in pulp and paper mills.[88]

Factors That Determine the Secondary Market: Vietorisz and Harrison interpreted dualism in the labor market as a process of divergent development and attempted to explain it by positive feedback that connects technical change, labor productivity, and the money wage bargain they assert:

> The emerging segments are prevented from coalescing by low mobility between them. Low mobility is endogenous to the system and results from divergent education, training, and skills associated with distinct labor market segments. Thus the mobility barriers are themselves maintained by positive feedback. Forces of negative feedback are present but are too weak to prevent segmentation.[89]

These authors, however, claim that within each individual market negative feedback operaties through labor mobility and wages tend toward uniformity within each segment. Positive feedback and its consequence, namely divergent development are being suggested as being the "inherent in the core institutions of modern market society."[90]

The benefits that can be got from the secondary market is seeked intentionally by some groups. They do not prefer permanent employment and chances of advancement. Among them, certain working mothers may be cited. They work to finance the growth of children or the purchase of some household durables. Also students and "moonlighters are among the most well known."[91] Certainly there are benefits that employers get from a castelike secondary market. Since one of the attributes of the secondary market is an unstable labor force, the employers that use these kinds of workers may apply two strategies to respond to the situation. They are shaping up and overmanning by which the management seems to get better off. In the shaping up, the company will hire each day from a group of workers waiting for employment, a number equal to the number of work stations. Since this labor force is not stable there is a danger that all of the work stations may not be filled. So on most days the number of workers that are waiting for employment will be larger than the required ones by the firm. This means an increased percentage of unemployment. The second strategy is overmanning. In contrast to shaping up, it tries to employ more

people than required for each of work stations. That means lower productivity per worker. As a result the wages are lowered to compensate for the low productivity. In reality the first and second strategies are used together, so there is a high unemployment and low wages both.[92] Also the employer does not invest in on-the-job training, because the labor force is unstable. The above were some responses to an unstable labor force. But there are some kinds of jobs which are unstable structurally. One classical example is construction business which has the usual characteristics of highly seasonal industries with short employment periods. In other industries, the nature of them may take turnover inexpensive although the job, itself may be stable, like menial jobs in hospitals.

Trade unions of the primary markets may also influence the secondary markets in a negative way. The attractiveness of the jobs in the primary market increase and the entrance requirements are controlled by the unions. This results in "the encourgement of some types of secondary employment," such as temporary employment."[93] Other limiting factors may be the impacts of labor legislation, on-the-job training, and low income life styles.[94] Another important aspect here is racial discrimination. It influences the division of the market into two, too. Baron and Hymer say:

> Racial dualism in the urban labor market is a structural phenomenon... a dual structure based upon race is not merely a slight deviation from some acceptable norm as to how the labor market should function, but an essential feature of urban labor markets and American race relations.[95]

Structurally speaking subjective events like habit formation through behavioral determinants have great weight in developing the character of the secondary market. Piore cites mainly five factors which try to explain the seperation of the market into two, and the differences of behaviour between them:[96] 1) behavioural requirements of the secondary sector especially in employment stability are different in that they tend to be unstable, 2) some workers may work in this sector, because their characteristics may resemble to those working in that sector, this is a subjective but valid situation, 3) the differences between jobs in two sectors are not determined by rational criteria like technology, but rather by historical forces, 4) working in the secondary sector makes one get used to working in that sector, 5) various historical forces such as the need to retain employees which require on-the-job training, the differing rate of union strength in various industries have increasingly divided into two markets.

Dual market theory emphasizes interaction and change. It's analysts assert that one should concentrate on the "dynamic nature of institutions and the interactions between institutional and individual change."[97] In order to understand the changing character of poverty and underemployment. On the other side, they put too much emphasis on "the mutual delight of all parties with the emerging trends as if a harmony of interest was driving the evolution of a dual structure." Dual market theory does not rely on the class concept although the divisions

of primary and secondary markets may be tied to potential class divisions.[98]

Another discussion is on the relationships between technology, jobs and people. On this topic orthodox analysts argue that there is a two dimensional relationship between labor, capital and technology. If one takes this position from a static viewpoint, it can be seen that for every given capital/labor ratio there is only one most efficient job resign and job structure. When speaking dynamically, if the price of labor goes up, capital and technology adapts itself to this change. Hence, a new set of the most efficient job structure and design is ascertained for the new equilibrium. On the contrary, the dual labor market theory discusses that:

> the definition of job structures and job designs constitutes an independent economic parameter, seperate from choices about either technology or labor, and that employer interests, employees, and technologies interact simultaneously in the long run to determine the characteristics of both jobs and people, defining the nature of the jobs and the behaviour of the workers who pass through them. The dual labor market theory rather, informally, suggests that this interaction has constituted the central source of an increasing dichotomization of the labor market.[99]

Dual labor market theorists have not developed an explicitly formulated hypothesis of their own. However, they do not adopt the neo-classical view on the relationships between jobs, technology and people, which after all a technical one. Another issue is on the market imperfections. As told in the previous section, orthodox theorists believe that market imperfections will be eroded over time thru the free competition of market forces. Orthodox ecomonists suggest that.

> such imperfections consist primarily of some walls erected artificially among groups of workers and that the behaviour of workers in any sector can be explained by the same sets of behavioural hypothesis as that the characteristics, attidues and personality traits of workers remain constant among sector.[100]

On the contrary, dual theorists assert that market imperfections may accumulate with drastic consequences instead of them being eroded. On the latter issue,

> they argue in slightly different ways that the basic behaviour of workers in different sectors may differ quite fundamentally. Underlying this argument lie their hypothesis about the ways in which both worker behaviour and worker attidues are not determined totally exogenously of the economic system, and the ways in which some

> underlying and evolving differences in labor market structures among sectors will inevitably produce some underlying differences in behaviour and attitudes amoung their respective workers through the interaction of job and worker a characteristics.[101]

In sum, for dual market theorists worker behaviour and attitudes are endogenous to the economic system. Secondary market help develop certain behavioural traits on employees which are quite distinct from the requirements of the primary market. Hence, once trapped in the secondary sector, if not totally impossible, it becomes quite improbable to move up to the primery one.

Policies: As Doeringer and Piore say "It is the permanent and involuntary confinement in the secondary market of workers with major family responsibilities that poses the problem of public policy."[102] In order to overcome the generally unsatisfactory characteristics of the Secondary market, two policies may be used. The first one is to change the secondary work force and adapt them to employment in the primary market. In order to understand how they would adapt to this problem, we may divide the labor force into these groups; 1) Persons with stable, but low-wage work experiences, 2) teenagers, 3) adults with a work history of chronic turnover, 4) persons with handicaps to employment, such as mothers with young children, alcoholics, mentally handicapped, 5) persons not in the labor force who have sources of income.[103] The first group may quickly adopt to the primary market. However, the second group is the one that is most difficult to adopt. The other groups require some types of assistence.

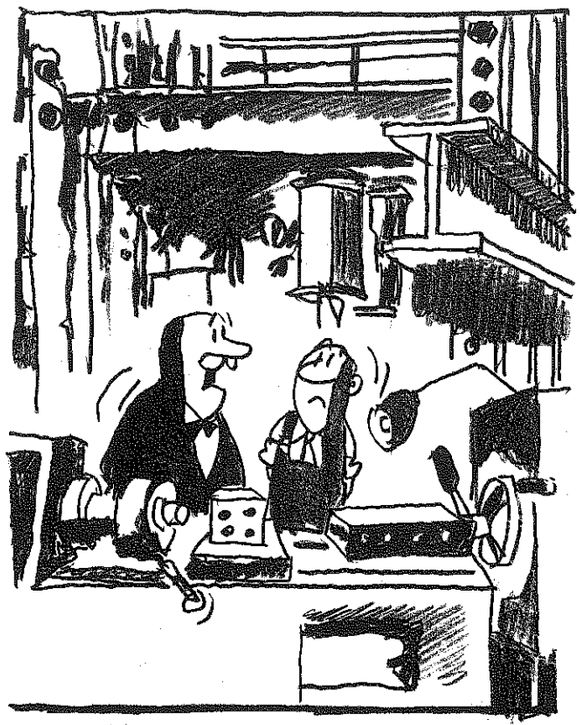
The second policy is trying to convert secondary employment into primary jobs. This has not been applied yet. But it may be possible "to stabilize most secondary jobs and build into them the kind of career ladders, skill level, and wage rates which characterize primary employment.[104] Some dual market theorists have another opinion and they claim that the primary sector has a limit as for absorption capacity and when all the unemployed and other primary market laborers are employed, the primary sector will stop growing. Then, further labor demand will be met by the secondary sector which would not be converted into the primary sector's jobs Therefore the secondary sector will not loose its importance in the capitalist market structure.

Radicals have different views on the policy directions of the dual labor market theory. Firstly, they claim that there is no possibility of channelizing secondary workers to the primary sector through education and training programs. That is because "an opening of primary employment to secondary workers would entail too much disruption in the normal procedures of the establishments."[105] Secondly, the forces that separate the market into two can be studied since they are considered to be endogenous phenomena. So one can find the inderect policy instruments which try to weakenthe barriers between the two markets. Thirdly, analysis of the influence of attitudes on work requirements and organization are important. The status quo is

beneficial to primary employers and employees as well as secondary employers. Therefore indirect policy measurements may be better for not disturbing directly the interests of these three groups of people. As a result, policies that create high paying stable public service employment for the secondary workers should be popular ones. In sum, as Cain puts it briefly, proposed set of policies is,

> most clearly distinguished by a focus on the demand side of the labor market. Specifically, public employment, wage subsidy, and antidiscrimination progmams are stressed. Intervantion on the supply side of the market, particularly the human capital investment programs of education, training and job search assistance, is deemphasized, if not rejected.[106]

As we will see in the next section, radicals critism of and suggestions for the proposed remedies, however are quite different from the orthodox analysts'.



"A MIXED ECONOMY, PARSONS, MEANS THAT YOU DO THE WORK AND WE GET THE PROFITS!"

2.3 Radical View

Development of the Radical Economics in the United States does not have a long history. In the 1960's emerging radical views in economics are accompanied by the intensification of public concern on the problems of urban poverty and underemployment. Radicals' interpretations and explanations of the current problems have drawn considerable attention and unrest in the monolithic world of neo-classical economists.

The relationship between radical analysis and orthodox Marxism is not quite clear. Some radicals claim that, "The more recent tradition seem to be concentrating on an application of the basic Marxist or radical framework toward an understanding of current social and economic problems."[107]

In this application, "much of the classical Marxist methodology has been retained while some of the substance generalizations of nineteenth-century Marxism have been revised to fit current realities."[108] How successfull is this application? Are there great inconsistencies and contradictions with the main theses of orthodox Marxism? These are the questions which deserve further and detailed investigation.

Radical theory of labor market analysis cannot adequately be understood without previous knowledge of some concepts. We will start by giving a brief explanation of one such basic component of the radical analysis, namely, the concept of class.

Social Classes: Analysis of class, class consciousness and class struggle constitute the most prominent feature of the Marxian political economy. The Manifesto of the Communist Party begins with the following assertion:

> The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.
>
> Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppresor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on uninterrupted, now hiden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.[109]

Before elaborating the Marxian concept of 'class' the long celebrated passage of the Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy must be cited. This citation presents the best summary of the 'guding thread' of Marx's studies. Furthermore, it will help us to grasp to holistic view of the Marxian political economy, as well as introducing the basic terminology used in this secton, thereafter.

> In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contraray, their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or-what is but a legal expression for the same thing-with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution.[110]

Now, we can investigate the origins of classes. Each productive force, unless it is a quantitative extension of known productive forces, causes a further development of the existing division of labor.[111] The social division of labor "is not only made possible by, but increases the further possibilities of producing a surplus over and above what is needed to maintain the individual and the community of which he is a part."[112] Changes in the method of economic production and distribution, accompanied by new social divisions of labor bring with it the birth of new political classes. The sphere of production, where the surplus is created, and the social relations of production which determines the specific form of appropriation it, constitutes the core of class analysis.

> The class formations of pre-capitalist systems were analyzed by Marx in terms of the social relations surrounding the production and appropriation of surplus in particular, the peculiar qualitative form which surplus took in those societies as well as its quantitative changes over time.[113]

Although, Marx did not produce a complete and comprehensive analysis of class, the main features of it can be traced from the sattered pieces throughout his works. Marx does not define the concept of 'class' in terms of work function, income or consumption. Social relations in the production process of a mode plays a determining role in the formation of classes objectively. Wachtel points out clearly that,

> Classes in Marx's formulation are defined at the highest level of abstraction in terms of whether one produces the surplus, or controls the production of the surplus and lives off the production of that surplus, the one class producing the surplus and the other class appropriating the surplus.[114]

On the same topic Marx says the following :

> Whenever a part of society has a monopoly of the means of production, the laborer, free or not free, must add to the working time necessary for his own maintenance and extra working time necessary for his own maintenance and extra working time necessary in order to produce the means of subsistence for the owners of the means of production, whether this owner be Athenian aristocrat, Etruscan theocrat, Roman citizen, Norman baron, American slaveowner, Wallachian Boyard, modern landlord, or capitalist.[115]

Hence, the definition of a social class in Marx's analysis is made, "both in terms of property ownership or non-ownership and thus the degree of control over, or subservience to, exploitation, and degree of personal freedom its members enjoy."[116] To form a class, the social group is to share similar work function, values, aspirations and interests. In his analysis of the small-holding peasantry in France, Marx argues that:

> In so far as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that seperate their mode of life, their interest and their culture from those of the other classes and put them in hostile opposition to the latter, they form a class. In so far as there is merely a local interconnection among these small-holding peasants, and the identity of their interests begets no cummunity, no national bond, and no political organization among them, they do not form a class. They are consequently incapable of enforcing their class interest in their own name.[117]

Thus far, we have mentioned the objective preconditions which give birth to classes in history. This, however, is only one facet of the process and presents a very incomplete picture of reality. The missing link in the aforementioned analysis is the Subjective, facet of the process. This analysis should begin with the well-known distinction of Marx between class 'in itself' (Klasse an sich) and 'class 'for itself' (Klasse für sich) This will be followed by the elaboration of the concept of 'class consciousness' in Marxian sense.

> For Marx, a class 'in itself' was one in which the various strata, although engaged in dissimilar work activities, are united by their broad social and economic ties; objectively they form a class against capital, but remain non-conscious of the antagonistic relation with the oppressing class. A class 'for itself' is a class in which the members have become frofoundly aware of their objective, conflictive connection with another class thus developing the appropriate consciousness and action necessary to defend its interest.[118]

On the same line Marx says the following:

> This mass (mass of workers united in large-scale industry) is thus already a class as against capital, but not yet for itself. In the struggle... this mass becomes united, and constitutes itself as a class for itself. The interests it defends becomes class interests.[119]

In other words, he suggests that "in the long run the class struggle would generate not only a common sense of class identity, but a high degree of class solidarity and common devotion to class gouls."[120]

In sum, a group of people who satisfy the objective, economic criteria do not form a class in Marxian sense, Members of the same group should also develop class consciousness. It is the dialectical relation and conjunction of these two components which help us to comprehend the concept of class in Marxian terms.

Before closing this section, few words should be added on the class consciousness. It plays a central role in understanding "the dynamics of class relations which form the basis for an analysis of social change."[121] Economic order creates the milleux for the potential existence of classes, however they are organized for conflict as a result of agitation.[122] In other words, classes become revolutionary when they acquire class consciousness. Existence of a proletarian class is only one of the preconditions of being a revolutionary force. As Sweezy points, "in Marx's view the proletariat was not a revolutionary force from its birth, but on the contraray acquired this quality in the course of capitalistic development."[123] On the 'class consciousness' American sociologist, Mills adds the following:

> Class consciousness has always been understood as a political consciousness of one's own rational class interests and their opposition to the interests of other classes. Economic potentiality becomes politically realized : a 'class in itself' becomes a 'class for itself'. Thus for class consciousness, there must be 1) a rational awareness, and identification with one's own class interests, 2) an awareness of and rejection of other class interests as illegitimate, and

> 3) an awareness of and a readiness to use collective political means to the collective political end of realizing one's interest.[124]

Propertylessness, the mere existence of privation is not a significant factor of determining consciousness. Objective conditions in which workers are related to production process creates a class instinct in them. Class manner, on the other hand, is something more than class instinct. Class instinct is subjective and spontaneous, while class manner is objective and rational. To achieve class manner, the class instinct of the proletariat must be educated.[125] This education is provided by both the economic and political struggle and the theory of the proletarian party.

> class consciousness is dialectical in its development and contradictory in structure. Marx himself argued that working-class consciousness is not a given datum, but is created in struggle and struggle can take many forms, from trade-union and strike activity to direct political confrontation.[126]

To sum up, education provided by the economic-political struggle help develop the spontaneous consciousness of the proletarian class and transforms it into science, rather than abolishing it.

Productivity and Income Determination: Now, we can summarize shortly the radical theory of income distribution. Since it has already been explained in the first section of this study, here we would like to emphasize its comparison with the orthodox view in particular.

Radical view synthasizes concepts of 'productivity' and 'class struggle' in its explanation of income distribution. Gordor, in the following passage makes this comparasion very succinctly:

> According to orthodox theory... wage equals marginal product in equilibrium, and the distribution of wages corresponds to the distribution of marginal products. In radical theory, there are two stages to the determination and distribution of income. First, a complex set of individual, social, economic, and technological forces determines on individual worker's productivity ... which he belongs.[127]

The entire process is dynamic. Both capitalists and workers struggle for maintaining and enlarging their share of the total product.

> The capitalist drive for accumulation and the internal contradictions of capitalism all bring continous changes in the institutions of a given capitalist society. At the same time, continous changes in a society's 'superstructure' affect the distributions of productivity and of class power.[128]

As for the changes in the determination and distribution of productivity the radical theory is similar to dual market analysis. Firstly, it is hypothesized that "variations in worker productivity have grown increasingly dependent on the amount of time workers spend on their specific jobs."[129] It will be reminded that 'job stability' was the key word in the dual labor market analyses. In modern technology production process tned increasingly to become more complex hierarchical, and interdependent. Job stability, familiarity with the whole work process and so forth replaced 'general skills' as being measures of workers' productivities. In sum, "In general, potential job stability has probably become an increasingly important criterion to employers in filling many jobs, for workers are likely to become increasingly productive on that job the longer they remain on the job."[130]

If job stability tends to become the key factor in measuring laborers' productivity, it will probably be "more and more difficult for a firm to devise tests which accurately measure a worker's potential productivity."[131] An increasingly complex production process, significance of job stability and so forth aid employers to create excuses for their discrimination on certain groups. They will "seek to balkanize the labor market, defining different clusters of jobs for which they establish quite different entry requirements".[132]

Thus, we have come to the very core of the radical analysis of labor markets. Basic terms of this analysis are job stratification, and labor market segmentation. While dual analysts divide labor market into two segments and do not refer to the concept of class in their analyses, radicals, argue that this segmentation is also valid within the segments. Furthermore, radicals use the concepts of class, class consciousness and class strugle extensively, in their analysis. According to them, processes of job stratification and labor market segmentation is to be investigated in the historical context beginning with the birth of capitalism. We will follow the same path.

Development of Capitalism, Jo. Stratification, and Labor Market Segmentation: Capitalist development previous to its monopolistic stage experiences two quite distinct phases, namely a) the period of manufacture proper, and b) the period of modern industry. The following citation which pinpoints the differences between handicraft production and manufacture is Sweezy's:

> Manufacture differs from handicraft production in its organization of the labor process, not in its basic methods and instruments. In handicraft production artisans produce saleable commodities and buy what they need (both consumption goods and means of production) from other similarly situated commodity producers. Division of labor within the workshop is severly limited by the fact that the master workman has at most a few journey men and apprentices working with him.

> the guilds, with their strict rules and standards; gave appropriate institutional form to this mode of production and fought a long and bitter, though successful, battle to preserve its integrity.[133]

Manufacture was based on the division of manual labor and this reorganization, though the methods and instruments of production employed were not quite different from those of the artisans. According to Marx, however, this period lacks the revolutionary potential, it is essentially conservative.

> it is not only in... technological sense that such an economy is conservative. It also creates a highly differentiated labor force, dominated, numerically and otherwise, by skilled workers who tend to be contentious and undisciplined but incapable of sustained revolutionary activity. The economy and society based on manufacture is thus inherently change-resistant.[134]

A radical change in the methods and instruments of production is witnessed, however, in the second phase of the capitalist development, namely the period of modern industry based on machinery. According to Marx, replacement of handwork by machinery constituted the essence of the industrial revolution.

> Marx saw two respects in which an economy based on modern industry differs fundamentally from one based on manufacture. The first relates to the modus operandi of the production process itself; the second to the composition and nature of the working class. The net effect of these factors was to transform capitalism from a relatively conservative and change-resistent society into a super-dynamic society, headed in Marx's view, for inevitable recolutionary overthrow.[135]

In modern industry, technological progress in no longer depending "on the ingenuity of the skilled laborer and/or the genius of the great inventor as it did in manufacture."[136] In modern industry, the subjective principle of the division of labor is replaced by the objective production process. Here the worker becomes only an appendage to the machinery. Machinery reduces the need for special skills. What is required from the laborer is mainly quickness and dexterity. In short, "The consolidation of the competitive phase of capitalism produced a homogenous labor force in which workers were, for the most part, deprived of their skills and forced into relatively undifferentiated and unskilled jobs."[137]

This subjugation of labor by capital, however is the womb which gives birth to the emergence of the revolutionary labor-force. Sweezy explains this process so eloquently in the following passage that it deserve to be cited.

> But there are no medals without two sides. Economically, the power of the proletariat under modern industry us much reduced compared to that of its predecessor in the period of manufacture. But politically, its potential power is infinitely greater. Old geographical and craft divisions and craft divisions and jealousies are eliminated or minimized. The nature of work in the modern factory requires the organization and disciplining of the workers, thereby preparing them for organized and disciplined action in other fields. The extreme of exploitation to which they are subjected deprives them to live in which morality is meaningless and family life impossible, and ends by totally alienating them from their work, their products, their society, and even themselves. Unlike their predecessors in the period of manufacture, these workers form a proletariat which is both capable of and has every interest in, revolutionary action to overthrow the existing social order.[138]

Radicals claim that this process of creating homogenous and proletarianized labor help develop class consciousness among laborers to the system and began to shake the very foundations of it. especially during the end of the last and the beginnings of this century. Origins of the present labor market segmentation are to be sought in this transition period from competitive to monopoly capitalism. The increasing homogenous and proletarian character of the work force resulted in tremendous upsurges in the labor conflict. Furthermore, workers' demands changed its characters from mere economic ones to political. This development had to be controlled if the system was to survive.

> The captains of the new monopoly capitalist era , now released from short-run competitive pressures and in search of long-run stability, turned to the capture of strategic control over product and factor markets. Their new concerns were the creation and exploitation of monopolistic control, rather than the allocational calculus of short-run profit maximization...
>
> The new needs of monopoly capitalism for control were threatened by the consequences of homogenization and proletarianization of the work force. Evidence abounds that large corporations were painfully aware of the potentially revolutionary character of these movements.[139]

The general stragey followed by monopoly capitalists to reduce this consciousness among workers to 'acceptable' levels, had been to foster "stratification of labor in which workers became highly differentiated.[140] and work in a hierarchically organized relation

of production. This reorganization of the labor process was accompanied by the delibare segmentation of the labor market. Therefore, the hypothesis that age-old 'divide and conquer' strategy of the exploiter has been put into practice consciously by the capitalists is still valid. Before talking about the hierarchical structure of the labor process and the consequent segmentation of the labor market, a frequently sustained argument in favor of the stratification should be mentioned. It is argued that the roots of this new organization of the labor process is due to technological changes. Therefore, it is a technical necessity and once the new technology is adopted, it is unavoidable. This argument. Howevęr challenged by various researchers. Braveman indicates that: "Although there is a general impression that all this is happening because of the rise of scientific technology and the development of machinery, this process of degradation of work us not dependent upon technology at all."[141]

On the contraray, modern technology, Braveman asserts, has a powerful tendency to make ancient divisions of labor obsolete by reunifying production processes. He says:

> The reunified process in which the execution of all the steps is built in to the working mechanism of a signle machine would seem now to render it suitable for a collective of associated pnoducers, none of whom need spend all their time at any single function, and all of whom can participate in the engineering design, improvement, repair , and operation of these ever more productive machines. Such a system need show no significant loss of production.[142]

Marglin's study examines this process in detail for nineteeth century England. He suggests that the factory system was not the unavoidable consequence of that periods' technoolgy. Rather, it was the desire to control the work process by capitalists which made the new organization successful. He suggests:

> I. The capitalist division of labor ... was the result of a search not for a technologically superior organization of work, but for an organization which guaranteed the entrepreneur an essential role in the production process, as integrator of a seperate efforts of his workers into a marketable product.
> II. Like wise, the origin and success of the factory lay not in technological superiority, but in the substitution of the capitalist's for the worker's control of the work process.[143]

Now, we can elaborate the concepts of work, stratification and labor market segmentation. For radicals, by work stratification objective divisions among members of a class are to be understood. Work stratification contributes heavily to the emerge of labor market

segmentation which is defined, "as the historical process whereby political economic forces encourge the division of the labor market into seperate submarkets, or segments, distinguished by different labor market characteristics and behavioral rules"[144]

Work stratification is created both within and between the occupations. The first gross stratification is created between manual and non-manual in other words, between blue-collar and fhite-collar jobs. In developed economies we observe that white-collar increasingly constitute a significant portion of the total labor force within the manufacturing sector of the economy. Furthermore,

> As the member of white-collar jobs has grown, the character of these jobs has been transformed. First, the greatest increases (in absolute numbers) in white-collar jobs have occured in the low-level clerical and sales categories. Second, the growth of bureaucracies and the increasing importance of machinery of various types in modern offices ... have made much work in the modern office resemble factory and assembly-line labor.[145]

Hence, Though objectively they can be seen as a part of the working class, blue-collar/ white-collar distinction helps develop false consciousness amoung them. In general, high prestige is attributed to the white-collar occupations.

> However, the prestige claimed by many white.collar occupations produces a halo effect that reflects onto those nonmanual jobs that require little skill and command less income than many blue-collar occupations. Particularly men reared and socialized in the white-collar class tend to place much significance on nonmanual work and often prefer it to better-paid jobs involving manual labor.[146]

Similar stratifications are reproduced within these large groupings. Internal relations of firms are reorganized on these lines which result in the hierarchical control and bureaucratic form of modern corporations.

> The effect of bureaucratization was to establish a rigidly graded hierarchy of jobs and power by which 'top-down' authority could be exercised. The restructuring of the internal relations of the firm furthered labor market segmentation through the creation of segmented 'internal labor markets'. Job ladders were created, with definite 'entry level' jobs and patterns of promotion. White-collar workers entered the firm's work force and were promoted within it in different ways from the blue-collar production force. Workers not having the qualifications

> for particular entry-level jobs were excluded from access to that entire job ladder.[147]

Control of the labor process based on such organization, creates social relations which hinder the formation of class consciousness. As puts it for the case of blue-collar workers:

> Blue collar workers range from tool-and die-makers and other skilled workmen to floor.sweepers. This job differentiation prompts a sense of hierarchy among manual workers... Status ranking makes it difficult for workmen to associate on a sustained basis, either with a labor union or labor party.[148]

This internal segmentation is deepened while similar efforts were undertaken in external relations of the firms. Employers consciously used race, ethnic and sex differences to divide the work-force. We would like to close this section by citing Reich, Gordon and Edward's conclusion on market segmentation, which summarizes it's existence, perpetuation, in short. its rationality very eloquently.

> Labor market segmentation arose and is perpetuated because it is <u>functional</u>- that is, it facilitates the operation of capitalist institutions. Segmentation is functional primarily because it helps reproduce capitalist hegemony. First, as the historical analysis makes quite clear, segmentation divides workers and forestalls potential movements uniting all workers against employers... Second, segmentation establishes 'fire trails' across vertical job ladders and, to the extent that workers perceive separate segments with different criteria for access, workers limit their own aspirations for mobility. Less pressure is then placed on other institutions-the schools and family, for example-that reproduce the class structure. Third division of workers into segments legitimizes inequalities in authority and control between superiors and subordinates.[149]

Policies: The radical analysts' suggestions on policies are entirely different from previous views. Although, radicals are in agreement with dual market theorists about the description of labor markets, substantial differences exist between them in explaining the causes of labor market segmentation. By emphasizing the technical nature of this segmentation process, dualists imply that remedies can be found within the capitalist system. Radicals argue, on the other hand, that labor market segmentation is functional and structural to the system. Therefore, it is imaginary to expect significant amelioration of the situation as long as the basic institutions of the capitalist system survive. After this brief introducing we can go into detail.

Both in Liberal and dual market policies the task of remedying the situation is entrusted to the State. On the contrary,

radicals "expect that the State will not act spontaneously to ameliorate the conditions of secondary workers as long as their current situations serve the interests of the capitalist class."[150] A short theorethical explanation of these entirely different views on the functions of the State has already been given in the first part of this volume. However, a very brief summary might be helpful.

In general, liberals interpret the State "as an institution established in the interests of society as a whole for the purpose of mediating and reconciling the antogonisms to which social existence inevitably gives rise."[151] Radical strongly oppose to this interpretation, since, they say, Liberal's "class mediation theory assumes, usually implicitly, that the underlying class structure, ... the system of property relations is an immutable datum."[152] Radicals recognize that classes develop historically, far from being inevitable they are temporary categories. Radicals argue "that the State serves the interest of the dominant class in society. It does this both by providing services directly to members of that class and by helping stabilize the institutional system within which that class flourishes."[153]

Evidence of the above analysis is the employment policies of the Governments of the States. Up to today, Currie asserts, Employment Acts have never attempted or even demanded public rather than private determination of the structure of employment. The following quotation explains the reasons in class terms:

> Public job creation poses the greatest threat in this regard, since it not only diminishes the 'reserve army' as a whole, but also can offer already emploled workers an attractive alternative to unpleasant and badly paid work in the private sector. Private employers who offer only indecent jobs at indecent wages would be forced to raise wage levels and/or greatly improve conditions of work or face the loss of their work force altogether.[154]

After examining all Employment Acts of the States, Currie comes to the conclusion: The corporate conception that "it is better for the government to use its funds to 'prime the pump' through private enterprise than through its own direct spending' ... has guided job policy in the United States ever since."[155]

It is frequently asserted especially by orthodox economists, that improvement of productivities of workers will result in higher wages. Among others, investments in education are presented as the most popular means in improving labor productivity. Radicals are pessimistic concerning the effects of public policies designed to provide educational facilities to the poor, to increase their income via increased productivities. I think, the radicals view on the functions of educational institutions in a capitalist society should be mentioned briefly.[156] This review will be made by presenting radicals' counter arguments on Liberals' assumptions on education. Radicals argue that class stratification prevents the potential of education for increasing the individuals' income. Returns to education differ by class as well

as race. They also argue that rather than increasingly one's productivity by improving his cognitive ability, education plays a role of a screening device in the employment policy of firms. Contrary to the liberal view radicals claim that education has not functioned to ameliorate distribution of income. They rather help preserve class stratification. Governments' finance and programs tend to reinforce this inequality among localities. And over the long term there exist no signs as for increasing educational mobility. In sum, radicals argue that the social division of labor based on the hierarchical structure of production gives rise to distinct class subcultures. Educational institutions help develop personality traits corresponding to each strata of hiedadchical structure. According to radicals, fundamental function educational institutions play in a capitalist society is to legitimize and reproduce the social division of labor.

I would like to close this section on policies with Gordon's words on the matter :

> In short, the radical analysis argues that we cannot expect relative workers 'productivities' to change very much in response to marginal investments in their 'productivities'. Given that expectation, it argues that we can therefore expect the incomes of the poor to improve only if their relative class share increases-if, and only if, through heightened class consciousness and more determined class action, they can increase their relative bargaining power. If and when they intensify their efforts radically to increase their power, given the current utility of secondary markets to the capitalist class, one can only expect that the struggle will be intense.[157]

SECTION 3

3. Unemployment, Underemployment and Powerty in Underdeveloped Capitalist Countries

In this part of the study, problems of underemployment and poverty in the cities of underdeveloped countries will be reviewed. The basic concepts that will be argued are Dual Economy, Tertiary Sector, Informal Sector and Underemployment. In the first place the creation of the dual economic structures of underdeveloped countries are examined in the international and national context - past and present. Then the role of the tertiary sector is treated. This is an examination from a viewpoint of labor demand or jobs. And then there is the examination of the labor supply, that is the informal sector. The resulting unemployment problem is also important from the viewpoint of decision makers as well as social scientists are examined. Lastly various policies to solve the unemployment and related problems are gathered.

3.1 The International Context: The urbanisation and the resulting employment structure as well as problems like unemployment in the cities seem to be the direct result of colonization of feudal or pre-capitalist type of countries by the developed capitalist countries, and the problems of these feudal, present day underdeveloped capitalist countries in the decolonisation period. Although various theories have been developed on the economic structure of urban areas in under-developed countries, the most frequently emhasized one is the dual socio-economic structure they posses. 'Modern' vs 'Traditional' or 'firm-centered' vs 'marginal' sectors, characterized by capital and labor-intensive technique they employ respectivaly, are frequently encountered terms. To be able to follow discussions on this topic, roots of the theory of dual economy and the dual social structure should be known. This section will be dealing with this task.

The theory of 'dualism' is not new at all. It has been widely used by the 'development economists' after World War II, in describing the socio-economic structure of the underdevelopment. Dutch sociologist, Boeke, who can be regarded as the leading exponent of the theory, first used the term in describing the term in describing the socio-economic structure of Indonesia in 1940's. He claimed that his countrymen have colonized only a small part of Indonesia, while the remaining largest part has been left to its own devices. Hence, the country developed a dual structure. A modern, capitalist, export sector was created in the colonized metropolitan enclave, "while the majority of Indonesia's people has been left to continue their age-old and traditional subsistence economy quite outside of the metropolitan-centered world imperialist or capitalist system."[1] Boeke defines social dualism as follows: "Social dualism is the clashing of an imported social system with an indigenous social system of another style."[2] Boeke critisizes strongly the researchers who attempted to analysize the traditional sector, which is characterized by limited needs, backward-sloping supply curves of effort and risk-taking, and a complete absence of profit seeking, by applying neo-classical techniques used in Western countries. As for policies, firstly he suggests that: "one policy for the whole country is not possible, and second that what is beneficial for one section of society may be harmful for the other."[3] However, Boeke's theory is a pessimistic one. He believed that the dual society had come to stay and it was not possible to transform the traditional sector to the modern one, because "there is no question of the eastern producers adopting himself to the western example technologically, economically or socially."[4] Higgins is another well-known economist who has explicitly advanced and defended the theory of dualism. However, he rejects social dualism of Boeke. Higgins argues that dualism has a technological and economic basis. He says: "it is my present conclusion that the chief cause of the 'dualism' of underdeveloped areas is the interrelationship between factor endowment and techniques of production."[5]

Higgins Economic Development pp. 19-20 (Technological Dualism)

From the 1950's on, the theory of dualism has been widely used by various authors to 'explain' the Underdevelopment of different third world countries. As Frank points:

> Evident inequalities of income and differences in culture have led many observers to see 'dual' societies and economies in the underdeveloped countries. Each of the two parts is supposed to have a history of its own, a structure, and a contemporary dynamic largely independent of the other. Supposedly, only one part of the economy and society has been importantly affected by intimate economic relations with the 'outside' capitalist world; and that part, it is held, became modern, capitalist, and relatively developed precisely because of this contact. The other part is widely regarded as variously isolated, subsistence-based, feudal, or precapitalist, and therefore more underdeveloped.[6]

The following quotation which is cited from French geographer Lambert's book titled The Two Brazils, is a succinct example of this trend:

> The Brazilians are divided into two systems of economic and social organization which are as different in levels as in styles of life. These two societies did not evolve at the same rate and did not attain the same face; they are not seperated by a different in their natures but by differences in age.[7]

Stravenhagen paints such a vivid picture of the dualists thesis that I found it worth citing at some length:

> "In essence this thesis affirms that two different, and to a certain extent independent-though necessarily connected-societies exist in the Latin American countries: one is an archaic, traditional, agrarian, and stagnant or retrogressive society; the other is a modern, urban, industrialized dynamic, progressive, developing society. The 'archaic society' is characterized by personal and family (kinship) relations; by traditional institutions... by rigid stratification of ascribed social statuses... and by norms and values which exalt... the status quo and the inherited traditional forms of social life, which are said to constitute an obstacle to economically 'rational' thought. The 'modern society', on the other hand, supposedly consists of the type of social relations which sociologists call secondary, determined by interpersonal actions which are motivated by rational and utilitarian ends; by functionally oriented institutions; and by comparatively flexible social stratifications, in which status is attained through personal effor, and is expressed by quantitative

> indices... and social function. In the so-called 'modern society', the norms and values of the people tend to be oriented toward change, progress, innovation, and economic rationality.[8]

Dualist theories claim that the 'archaic' or 'traditional' sector is stagnant, or changes very slowly. It's internal structure is not oriented towards change. Hence, changes are not internally generated but are imposed upon it by the 'modern' sector. This view gives way to the 'diffusionist' theory and policy for development. This diffusion involves the spread of knowledge, skills, organization, values, technology and capital "from the metropolis of the advanced capitalist countries out to the national capitalists of the underdeveloped ones and from these in turn out to their provincial capitalst and finally to the peripheral hinterland."[9]

Although the dualist theory has been attacked by various authors, most criticisms were on minor points, and in general the theory retained its popularity among the scholars. It is Frank who rejected the dualist theory entirely and developed a radical and consistent counter theory. He says:

> I believe... that the entire 'dual society' thesis is false and that the policy recommendations to which it leads will, if acted upon, serve only to intensify and perpetuate the very conditions of underdevelopment they are supposedly designed to remedy.[10]

On the theorethical level, he opposes the theory on grounds of holism, structuralism and historicity. We can do no better than borrow his words to expose his opposition:

> Dualism is not only theorethically inadequate because it misrepresents and fails to analyze the capitalist system on the international, national, and local levels, but also because it fails to adhere to the standarts of holism, structuralism, and historicity. Dualist contravene holism in explicitly setting up tow or more theorethical wholes to confront a single whole which they can not or will not seen. As for structuralism, dualists fall far short because if they see and deal with any structure at all it is at best the structures of the parts. They do not deal with, and even deny the existence of the structure of the whole system, through which the parts are related - that is, the structure which determines the duality of wealth and poverty, of one culture and another, and so on. As to the historical development of the social phenomena they study, dualists and diffusionists either deny andy history to one part altogether

> or, observe its ongoing social change without the historical perspective necessary to interpret it adequately; and they steadfastly abstain, of course from giving any consideration whatsoever to the historical development of the social system of which diffusing donor and acculturating recipient are but parts.[11]

Being a dialectician Frank claims that dualism is only in appearance, in essence there exists no duality but a unity of oppositions. This coexistence of exploiting and exploited parts represent the functioning of a single unified whole. This unity of opposites arises out of the internal contradictions of the capitalist system. In fact, what is important is not to point the mere existence of two poles, "but rather the relationships which exist between these two 'worlds' and which bind them into a functional whole."[12] Frank asserts that dualism, namely the co-existence of two contradictory worlds in a capitalist society, originate in the course of a single historical process. Each sector does not have a separate history of its own. Frank asserts, rather they evolved simultaneously, in a single historical process. On the international level, Frank summarizes this process as follows:

> the economic and political expansion of Europe since the fifteenth century has come to incorporate the now underdeveloped countries into a single stream of world history, which has given rise simultaneously to the present development of some countries and the present underdevelopment of others.[13]

On the national level the 'traditional', 'archaic', 'backward', regions come into existence largely in response to the needs of the 'modern', 'capitalist' metropoles. Frank's analysis of this process deserves to be quoted:

> the expansion of the capitalist system over the past centuries effectively and entirely penetrated even the apparently most isolated sectors of the underdeveloped world. Therefore, the economic, political, social, and cultural institutions and relations we now observe there are the products of the historical development of the capitalist system no less than are the seemingly more modern or capitalist features of the national metropoles of these underdeveloped countries. Analogously to the relations between development and underdevelopment on the international level, the contemporary underdeveloped institutions of the so-called backward or feudal domestic areas of an underdeveloped country are no less the product of the single historical process of capitalist development than are the so-called capitalist institutions of the supposedly more progressive areas.[14]

As above citations indicate explicitly, for Frank underdevelopment followed upon and did not precede development. In short, contrary to dualist theory Frank claims that:

> underdevelopment is not due to the survival of archaic institutions and the existence of capital shortage in regions that have remained isolated from the stream of world history on the contrary, underdevelopment was and still generated by the very same historical process which also generated economic development: the development of capitalism itself.[15]

Frank's theory of underdevelopment is summarized clearly by Santos in his review, as follows:

> According to Gunder Frank, underdevelopment is a consequence of the internal contradictions of capitalism... which results from the expropriation of the economic surplusses produced by the many and appropriated by the few. Axpropriation of this surplus is effected through a chain of exploitations whose strongest link is the center of world capitalism at any given historical period... A second contradiction... the metropolis-satellite contradiction, is repeated in the internal economy of the colony.[16]

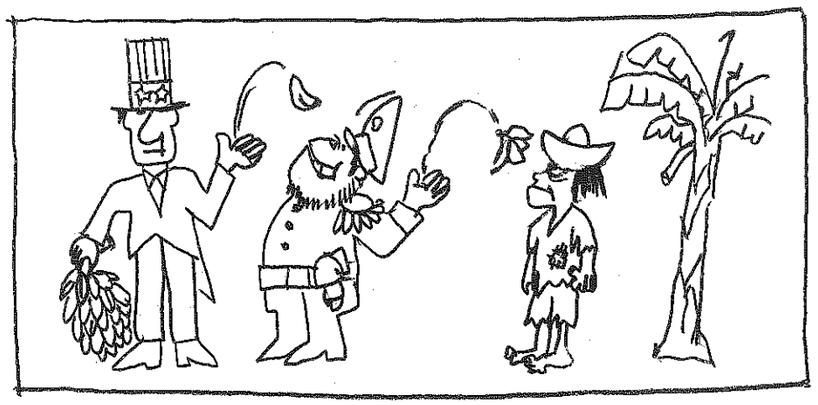
As pointed briefly in the above quotations, Frank's metropolis-periphery relationship is duplicated at different levels. The following citation is again from Frank:

> Capitalism's essential internal contradiction between the exploiting and exploited appears within nations no less than between them. And imperialism's consequent essential structure of the exploitative relations between the developing metropolis and the underdeveloping periphery is particularlly duplicated within each society, each nation-state, end indeed within their regions and sectors... in the metropolis-periphery relationship of each of these levely... the metropolis sucks capital out of the periphery and uses its power to maintain the economic, political, social and cultural structure of the periphery and its peripheral metropoles and therewith to maintain as long as possible the capitalist imperialist system which permits this exploitation.[17]

In sum, Frank argues that there exist a whole system which consists of constellations of metropoles and satellites which connect the imperialist metropolitan centers in the West to the farthest o post in an underdeveloped capitalist country on the system.

The economic base of the Frank's theory can be derived from the implications of the 'price-value' theorem of Marxist literature. Since the theorem and its implications have already been summarized in the first part of this study, we do not want to review it here.[18]

Frank's aforementioned scheme can easily be extended to the urban systems. Some descriptive studies conducted on national and regional level point out systemic interconnections among cities of different sizes. Similarly, analysts of urban uconomics indicated the existence of different levels of markets. However, what is important is not just to describe these divergences, but explain their existence and survival. According to Frank this relation of exploitation will always work to the the benefit of the exploiting. And this relation of exploiting and exploited will deepen with time, diffusionist help from 'growth centers' to the peripnery cannot change this structural relationship. The whole system of relationship can only be changed radically by revolutionary means.



3.2 The National Context: The unemployment problem has its roots in the process called 'over-urbanization' or 'demographic urbanization' or 'nyper-urbanization' which is defined as an excessive degree of urbanization relative to the level of development.[19] Cites in under-developed countries are growing, at an unprecedented rate. Annual urban population growth rates of 5-8 percent which are common in underdeveloped countries for exceeds the European experience, where few cities grew more than 3-4 percent yearly in 19 th century. Hence, whereas the total urban population of under developed and developed countries were 100 and 260 million in 1920, respectively, it rose to 410 and 580 million and expected to be 930 and 850 million in 1980 respectively.[20] In the first place, though very briefly, we should examine this process of over-urbanisation to understand the basis of the employment characteristics of the underdeveloped countries.

There two basic processes which result in this phenomenon. They are: fast rural-urban drift and considerable natural increase in the population of towns. The fast rural-urban drift may have three causes:

a) Demographic inflation in rural areas and the resulting heavy density of settlement in agricultural areas which are related to the rights of heritage also,

b) Wide difference between rural and urban income levels. In the underdeveloped countries as a whole, employment in the urban areas have grown faster than in the whole country. Between 1950-70 urban employment increase was 160 % as compared to 60 % for the country. Furthermore, we witness great wage differentials between Agricultural and Non-agricultural sectors. In the western countries of 19th century this gap was extremely low, changing only between 10 to 30 per cent. Excluding the extreme cases, today in under developed countries average gap between wages is around 100 to 200 per cent. And the gap continues to widen.[22] As Lewis puts it: "Whatever the cause may be, the effect of the widening gap between urban and rural earnings is an unprecedented outflow of people from the countryside, faster than they can be absorved by the towns.[23]

c) Very rapid growth of educated people: In underdeveloped countries stock of educated persons (with secondary education or above) is increasing rapidly by 10-15 per cent per annum.[24] As the young people in the rural areas are educated, their sphere of perception increases, and they have a tendency to compare themselves with the seemingly 'ignorant' compatriots of the same village. And this desire urges them to leave the rural employment. Also the attraction of the urban way of life and the existence of certain social restrictions in the rural society are important factors.

The other process is the considerable natural increase in the population of towns. In fact, here in relation to the age composition of the population, there are reduced death rates and high birts rates. According to Davis, this constitutes the major cause of rapid growth of urban population in under-developed countries.[25] These two processes cause over-urbanisation. As a result, a very serious disequilibrium in the

job supply and demand situation occurs in the urban areas. Swelling of the tertiary sector, urban unemployment and considerable under-employment in a number of economic sectors are the inescapable consequences. So it is seen that the urbanisation problem is closely linked with employment and related problems.

The Nature and Characteristics of the Unemployment in the Underdeveloped Countries: As mentioned above, enormous influx of people from rural to urban areas plus explosive population growth in underdeveloped countries resulted in a serious disequilibrium in the labor market. As Bairoch puts it:

> The number of additional active persons reaching the employment market in the towns of the developing countries in censequence of the migratory movements that occured between 1950 and 1970 may be estimated at 60 to 70 million, which is approximately equal to, or even a little larger than, the total number of jobs existing in those urban areas around 1950. That imbalance was reflected in a swelling of the tertiary sector, considerable unemployment in a number of sectors, in particular, urban unemployment which reached extremely high rates in a large number of developing countries.[26]

In many underdeveloped countries open unemployment affects 15-25 percent of the labor force.[27] The unemployment problem in the under-developed countries is so prominent that the economist Bairoch speaks of 'over-unemployment' which he defines as, "a high level of structural unemployment resulting from a disequilibrium between supply and demand caused especially by a massive inflow of an active population cast out of a rural environment."28 During the period of economic take-off of Western societies,

> average level of 'unemployment' was much lower than it is today in the towns of third world. Fluctuations in the rates of urban unemployment were however, probably more pronounced during the nineteenth century. It might almost be said that urban unemployment in the Western countries during their take-off phase was essentially cyclical, not structural, in character.[29]

For some time it has been assumed that the problem of unemployment in the underdeveloped countries is a temporary phenomenon and will erode in the process of development. However, though most of the underdeveloped countries already achieved growth rates more than 4 per cent per annum, unemployment problem still preserves its seriousness. Although the unemployment rates do not ries appreciably, absolute numbers are increasing. In short, this development indicates that the unemployment problem unemployment in underdeveloped countries is chronic, not cyclical. As Jolly et.al., correctly point out, employment problems are not confined merely to the openly unemployed. It brings along with it "a range of related problems... most extending well beyond the groups directly affected by open unemployment"30

Though reliable data roes not exist it is not difficult to pressume that urban underemployment greatly exceed open unemployment. "The available estimate for Latin America", says Bairoch, "reveal very high rates of urban underemployment, ranging from 20 percent in Panama to 28 per cent in Chile."[31]

Characteristics of Urban Unemployment: Bairoch gives some characteristics of urban unemployment in the underdeveloped countries by grouping them demographically, that if by sex, age group, level of education and by distribution, type and size of town and duration. The first one is a universal feature which is applicable both to developed and under-developed countries; it is the fact that the unemployment rate is higher among women that in men. An examination of age groups show that the young people, especially the 15-24 age bracket have the highest percentage of unemployment. Jolly et.al. say, "In almost all the twenty or so Third World countries for which data exist, the rate of open unemployment among persons aged fifteen to twenty-four is double or more the rate among the labor force as a whole."[32] How-ever, this not a feature of the underdeveloped countries only. The reason for this in the underdeveloped countries is mainly that of the large inflow of young migrants to the towns. As for the level of education, "the unemployed urban workers is in most cases one having moderate educational qualifications, that is a young person who went to school for six to elevan years.[33] From the viewpoint of the distribution by type of town, it seems that urban unemployment rates are higher in towns than the capital cities. And unemployment appears to be basically medium-term in duration. Among all the underdeveloped urban unemployment was 6-8 million in 1950 and this has increased to 20-24 million in 1970.[34]

After presenting the unemployment and underemployment problem in the underdeveloped countries in macro terms descriptively, now we would like to mention very briefly about the economic models of unemployment. Theorethical formal models developed by economists in dealing with the problem of unemployment in underdeveloped countries are essentially of three types:

> a) models concerned with the transfer of labor from rural to urban areas or from the subsistence to the modern sector, b) models focused on the growth of output and employment, c) models concerned with factor price disequilibrium particularly in relation to the employment of labor in relation to some quantity of capital, land and other resources.[35]

First group is named Lewis-Fei-Ranis model by Jolly et.al. They summarize it as follows:

> In the Lewis-Fei-Ranis model, the underdeveloped economy comprises two sectors - the agricultural, subsistence sector characterized by surplus labor, and an industrial, modern sector into which labor

from the subsistence sector is gradually transferred. The focus of model is both on the process of transfer and on the growth of employment in the modern sector. Both transfer and labor absorption in the modern sector take place at a rate which is given by the excess of profits over wages, on the assumption that 'capitalists' re-invest the entire surplus. The level of wages in the industrial sector in the original Lewis model is assumed constant, fixed as a proportion of the subsistence level of wages in the traditional sector. As the transfer of labor proceeds, unemployment (or underemployment) in the rural sector would be reduced as employment in the modern industrial sector increases."[36]

As explained above, this theory distinguishes at least two sectors in the economy, and concerned with the transfer of labor between them. Model assumes surplus labor in the rural areas and full employment in the urban. In other words, the modern sector absorbs the whole surplus labor transferred from the traditional sector. Furthermore, constant real wages are assumed in the model during the transfer of labor from one sector to the other. Todaro formalizes the Lewis-Fei-Ranis model by providing a quantitative analysis of the transfer of labor between sectors. His model, "formalizes the individual decision to migrate as a function of the expected gains from migration. Expected gains are measured by the difference in real incomes between rural and urban work and the probability of a new migrant obtaining an urban job."[37]

As for the second model, economic growth theory of Harrod-Domar should se known, since the second employment model is an extension of it. Following are the major assumptions of the theory a closed economy, no savings from wages, 100 per cent savings by capitalists from profits, all savings invested, a constant capital-output ratio and decreasing returns. Employment model based on Harrod-Domar theory is assumed to be of use basically in analyzing the employment growth in the modern sector of the economy. About the model Jolly et. al. say the following:

The second type of employment model is a variant of a basic Harrod-Domar model, with attention focused on the growth of employment rather then of output. This is the model (implicitly or explicitly) most commonly used both in planning the rate of economic growth required to absorb the forthcoming additions to the labor force and in calculating the size of the unemployment gap if such growth is not achieved. Employment growth is related to output either by assuming constant labor-output coefficients or by incorporating productivity productivity assumptions in which the output-labor coefficient increases often steadily and usually exogenously over time. The growth of employment is

then essentially a function of the level and change in productivity, the rate of savings and the capital-output ratio.

The growth of labor force in such models is usually a function of the growth of population... Unemployment is then the gap between the projected labor force supply and the demand given by the projected number of job opportunities.[38]

Basic criticisms directed to the Harrod-Domar model are; the exogenous treatment of productivity and the assumption of a fixed capital-output ratio. In it's applicability to the underdeveloped countries' economies, this model has certain weaknesses.

In terms of relevance for analysing developing country problems, a major weakness of the Harrod-Domar approach is its failure to distinguish between the different sectors of a fragmented economy or to be concerned with the transfer of labor between them. It is perhaps better seen as a more complete model of the growth of modern sector employment within the framework of a Lewis type model.[39]

Third approach is the Eckaus-Blaug model of unemployment problem in underdeveloped countries. This model "has emphasized the results of factor price disequilibrium for resource use and allocation, particularly of employment."[40] The Eckaus-Blaug model "draws direct attention to the process of adjustment or maladjustment within the labor markets, in relation both to the conditions of production and to relative factor prices"[41] About the future of the unemployment problem in underdeveloped countries above summarized models have different implications:

The Blaug-Layard-Woodhall model achieves full employment, or at least moves toward the reduction of unemployment, by a reduction in wages set in motion by competition in the labor market. In constrast, Harrod-Domar model and the Eckaus approach embody the possibility of situations in which adjustments may not be automatic and, in some cases, in which the elimination of unemployment may not be possible. For them, it all depends on the nature of the production functions and the extent to which factor prices and technology are flexible... Thus two models (Lewis-Fei-Ranis and Blaug) tend to lead to a more optimistic future prediction in which, after a lag, longer or shorter, unemployment cures itself... The other two models (Harrod-Domar and Eckaus) draw attention to the possibilty of underlying conditions which would lead to perpetual unemployment, if not ever-widening gaps between forthcoming supply of job seekers and the number of job opportunities created by the economy.[42]

The Capacity to Absorbs Labor: We have already explained the labor supply side of the unemployment and underemployment problem in urban areas of underdeveloped countries. Now, we would like to mention about the demand side of the process, in other words, capacity of the urban manufacturing sector to absorb the surplus labor transferred from the rural areas.

Number of empirical studies have been made on the absorbing capacity of the dynamic sector of the economy, i.e., manufacturing sector. They showed that this sector's absorption rate "fall behind the growth rate of the urban population in many countries... it even fall behind the general growth rate of the population." The estimates made showed that, "in the developing countries with market economies the active population in the manufacturing sector dropped from 8.5 to 7 6 per cant, whereas in the middle of the nineteenth century the figure was pobably around 10 per cent."[44]

Bairoch adds the following:

> During that 30-year period (1920-1950), employment expansion in manifacturing was so slow that it could not absarb even the natural increase in the active population working in this sector-in fact, the increase in employment corresponded to only about half the natural increase in the active population.[45]

The picture was quite different in the nineteenth century European countries. Absorption rate of the manufacturing sector varied "from 40 to over 100 per cent, with an average around 50 per cent. For all the continental European countries that have long been industrializated, this rate was around 80 per cent between 1880 and 1900."[46] Most writers attribute this result to the adoption of relatively capital-intensive techniques employed in manufacturing sector. Modern technology with its labor destroying innovations tend to use more machinery per worker. This results on the one hand in the higher productivities per worker, and on the other decrease in the labor demanded. In addition to this development Baer and Herve argue that even the old capacity is being modernized in a more capital-intensive way. They say:

> Not only was there an increase in industries which by their very nature are fairly capital-intensive (such as chemical, metal products, etc?) but the installed per-capita power capacity or electricity consumption per capita has rapidly increased in the more traditional industries, which presumably are more labor-intensive in nature.[47]

According to them the basic reason of this process is not the scarcity of labor-intensive technologies. They argue that:

> The argument is not that older and more labor-intensive technologies are not available for given industries. They are indeed, in the sense that secondhand equipment can be bought. However, after acquiring an older plant, it will be found that the spare parts are not produced any more and that it would be considered a questionable use of capital to establish special spare parts industries to service outmoded machinery. Furthermore, the technicians who are contracted to install new industries will usually be conversant mainly with the most up-to-date methods.[48]

The fundamental reason to employ capital-intensive technologies however, is the inefficiency of labor-intensive techniques of production. In other words, returns to capital invested in labor-intensive technologies is low. Various development economists however, suggested labor-intensive technologies for underdeveloped countries, as a remedy to unemployment problem. They argue, since unskilled labor is abundant or even 'unlimited' and can be put into production with subsistence wages, it is advisable to get the benefit of this factor. ILO (International Labor Organization) reports the following to warn the proponents of the above view:

> as techniques are made less capital-intensive, more labor can, of course, be employed with any given volume of investment, but it does not appear to be the case that techniques that employ more labor per unit of capital always yield a larger output per unit of capital. Indeed, in a number of cases it has been observed that same techniques that use much labor also use much capital per unit of output.[49]

For Marxists, on the other hand this process of centralization and concentration of capital is unavoidable, it is functional and structural within the framework of capitalist mode of production. Redistribution of surplus in the favor of industries which employ more capital-intensive techniques and the destruction of the ones which use primitive technologies is inescapable.[50] This is an important dilemna we face with in underdeveloped economies: Abundant unskilled labor supply on the one hand, and inefficient labor-intensive techniques of production on the other. Either employment or economic development, but not the both at the same time in a market economy. The desire is of course, to achieve both "rising employment with rising per capita real income."[51]

Tertiary Sector: As mentioned above, disequilibrium in urban labor market caused by demographic over-urbanization in the supply side and the insufficient absorbing capacity of manufacturing sector in the demand side resulted in the overdistension of the tertiary sector.

Swelling of tertiary activities is a common characteristics of the great majority of underdeveloped countries. For the time being, all workers not absorbed in agriculture and industry unless listed as openly unemployed will be assumed to be amployed in tertiary sector, which may be defined as "activites producing a non-material output."[52] Dual structure in this sector, characterized by productive and parasitic qualities respectively, will be examined closely in the latter sections of this part.

As mentioned above we witness substantial overgrowth of the tertiary sector in underdeveloped countries. For example, the tertiary sector occupied " 69 % in Langoon's 1953 population and 73 % in Phom-pehn's 1959 population."[53] Following are the comparasions with the 19th century Europe:

> The overgrowth of the tertiary sector is particularly pronounced in Latin America where ,in 1960, the number of persons engaging in tertiary activities accounted for 30 per cent of the employed population-a rate that must have been attained in Europe around 1955, that is, at a time when income per head was about twice as high in that region as in Latin America.[54]
>
> The proportion of the working population employed in that sector was about the same in south and east Asia in 1960 as in Europe in 1850, although that region's income per head in 1960 was equivalent to only about 50 per cent of Europe's in 1850.[55]

Empirical researchs and theorethical studies made on the employment in the tertiary sector are quite insufficient. Attempts have been done, however, particularly for the developed economies, to explain the relatively faster growth of employment in services sector and its relation with other sectors. These can be grouped into three:

1. The income and expenditure approach, which use the structure of demand asan explanatory variable,
2. The productivity approach, which ascribes employment growth in services to that sector's relatively slower growth of productivity.
3. The employment approach, which correlates tertiary employment with manufacturing employment.[56]

Proponents of the first group are Clark and Fisher. They hypothesize that economic progress characterized by higher levels of invome per head, is generally associated with relative increase in the service sector's share of the labor force. Their view can be summarized as follows: higher the standard of living is, higher the proportion of labor in tertiary sector. Clark says:

> Studying economic progress in relation to the economic structure of different countries, we find a very firmly established generalisation that a high average level of real income per head is always associated with a high proportion of the working population engaged in tertiary industries[57]

Prof. Fisher writes the following on the same line: "The shifts of employment towards secondary and tertiary production revealed sy the census are the inescapable reflection of economic progress"[58]

Clark and Fisher's approach is logical for the demand-determined modern service employment,

> The analytical reasoning purporting to sustain the generalisation seems to be based on the view that tertiary sector is less essential than primary or secondary production; and that its products are in the nature of luxuries which cannot be afforded in economies with low real incomes. In essence the argument is that the income elasticity of demand for tertiary products increases relatively more rapidly with economic progress. Moreover, it is argued that technical progress is relatively slower in tertiary production.[59]

Bauer and Yamey oppose this view and argue that observed correlation between economic progress and occupational distribution presented by Clark and Fisher is a mere 'statistical accident'. They critisize the hypothesis on several grounds of which, the following are the most important:

> First, a substantial proportion of tertiary products are not luxuries with a relatively high income elasticity of demand; conversely, some products of primary and secondary production, possibly on a large scale in their aggregate, are such luxuries. Secondly, there may be large-scale substitution of capital for labor in tertiary production in the course of economic progress. Thirdly, the concept of income elasticity of demand applied to a whole economy raises problems of aggregation which render outful any universal proposition about changes in its average value in conditions of change and economic growth.[60]

Bairoch argues that the overdistention of tertiary sector in under-developed countries is harmful to their economic progress. He says:

> overdistention of the tertiary sector is... harmful to the economy as a whole... an expansion of that tertiary sector in the context of an economy in which

> agricultural and industrial productivity is relatively low will impede development. In such cases, over distention of the tertiary sector is prejudicial to development by reason of the pressure which the additional cost of distribution brings to bear on the level of living and especially on prices in the sectors of production. That pressure diminishes the scope of profits and, consequently, for productive investment. Moreover by reason of the self-financing proc-livities of all sectors, there will be a tendency for any savings in the tertiary sector to be invested in the same sector.[61]

Frank is of the same opinion, when he speaks of the situation of tertiary sector workers in the Chilean cities:

> Far from being a mark of development... this structure and distribution are a reflection of Chile's structural underdevelopment: 60 per cent of the employed, not to speak of the unemployed and underemployed, work in activities that do not produce goods-in a society that obviously in a high degree lack goods.[62]

On the other hand, Triantis in his study comes up with the parallel conclusions to that of Clark and Fisher's. He, in his study firstly divides tertiary activities into three broad classes as a) those which produce services brought directly by the consumer, b) those which facilitate the movement of goods through time and space and transfer of factors of production, and c) public services.[63] He suggests that:

> data available for some underdeveloped countries suggest that the income elasticity of demand for the first class of tertiary products exceeds unity... Concerning the second and third classes of tertiary products will be accompanied by a relative increase in the demand for such services.[64]

In short, he like Clark and proponents of his view argue that economic development accompanied by large increases in the percentage of the labor force employed in services sector. Hirschman gives the most lucid explanation among the proponents of the writers who theorize in favor of the usefullness of the tertiary sector. He presupposes that the swelling of the tertiary sector is attemporary phenomenon, and as the economic growth gets bigger, it will assume a normal quantity. As modern economy infiltrates the economic structure of a country it cannot absors the surplus labor, because it is capital intensive. And this surplus labor goes into the small scale industry in the tertiary sector. "But this situation is not permanent, because "the growth of the 'capital-intensive' sector is eventually sufficient to iron out the unbalancing effects of retardation in the tertiary and

agricultural sectors of the economy."[65] Bhalla, in his analysis occupies a place in between the two views. In the first place he proposes that:

> For a proper economic analysis, <u>therefore</u>, it would be useful to disaggregate total services employment into its 'modern' (demand-determined) and 'traditional' (supply-determined) components. The 'characteristics of labor' criterion provides a tentative though not a very satisfactory answer to the problem of separatingnig data and of analysing growth of employment in the services sector. As a rough approximation, all wage-earning and salaried employment... may be considered as 'modern' whereas all non-wage or self-employment... and unpaid family labor... may be deemed 'traditional'[66]

Bhalla concludes that Clark's thesis has validity for underdeveloped countries, too, however only partly, for the former group i.e., only for the 'modern' (demand-determined) component of the services sector. Following citation clarifies his view on the matter:

> Colin Clark's thesis that, at higher levels of income per head, a redistribution of labor takes place in favour of the services sector. The fact that the services sector's share of the labor force is quite large in countries with low income levels does not invalidate Clark's proposition, which applies mainly to the 'modern', demand-induced types of services. The concept of income elasticity of demand does not explain a large proportion of the self-supporting labor in 'traditional' services which inflates the services' share in the total labor worce.[67]

Now, we would like to mention briefly about the 'employment Approach' in the analysis of tertiary sector. A proponent of the theory, Galenson, in his study of 25 countries representative of different standards of living examined the relationships between employment and output in manufacturing industry and employment in tertiary activities. Though tentatively, he concludes:

> 1. It is not in the manufacturing sector of newly developeng countries, but in the tertiary sector, that the bulk of the new employment is likely to be located...
>
> 2. In most developing economies it is the growth of the manufacturing sector which is apt to be the dynamic force in generating new employment. The more rapid the rise of manufacturing output... the more employment can be afforded by the tertiary sector...

> 3. The promotion of employment is best pursued by ensuring a rapid growth of manufacturing capacity and output. Using highly labor-intensive techniques in manufacturing may create more jobs in the manufacturing sector, but if this is accomplished at the expense of immediate production or of the rate of growth of manufacturing capacity, there may be an offsetting loss of job opportunities in tertiary employment.[68]

Revolutionary Potential of the Urban Poor: In this section of the study we will focus on the short and long-run political role of the urban poor, in other words, of their revolutionary potential. The past decade witnessed a large descriptive literature hypothesizing that rapid urbanization constitutes an important agent of political instability. Most of the studies made in this context paid attention mainly to the new migrants.

> uprooted, isolated, disappointed and frustrated, they are viewed as tinder for any demagogic or extremist spark. Other theorists argue just the opposite: new migrants are politically, passive. The threat to political stability lies not with newcomers, but with those deprived and frustrated slum and shanty dwellers who are longer urban residents, or with the second generation.[69]

Nelso calls the former group of theorists as 'The Distruptive Migrants' and the latter 'Radical Marginals'. If not impossible, it is very difficult to place this group of people into a certain category. Hoselits distinguish them from the 'industrial reserve army'. For him, a member of this group,

> literally lives hand to mouth; he is available for any job to be had... he becomes demoralized and easy prey for radical agitatiors of all hues; he lives in unspeakably rotton slums... A large proportion of the poor people in many underdeveloped towns are not an 'industrial reserve army', but a demoralized, unhealty, pitiful lumpenproletariat. Even if a sudden spurt of industrial investment were to take place in these cities, it would be difficult to transform these people into disciplined, effective factory workers.[70]

In his study of the Indian case, Tangri comes to the same conclusion. He defines them as a revolution-oriented population and argues that "it is easier to turn them into a riotous mob; it needs lass training and discipline, and the demand for this alternative is fairly high and frequent in the cities."[71] Fanon was the most enthusiastic amoung these believers in revolutionary potential. The following are quoted from his well-known book, named The Wretched of the Earth:

> The Lumpen-proletariat, once it is constituted, brings all its forces to endanger the 'security' of the town, and is the sign of the irrevocabel decay, the gangrene ever present at the hearth of colonial domination. So the pimps, the hooligans, the unemployed and the pettycriminals. urged on from behind, throw themselves into the struggle for liberation like stout working man. These classless idlers will be militant and decisive action discover the path leads to nationhood.[72]

> It is within this mass of humanity, this people of the shanty towns, at the core of the lumpen-proletariat that the rebellion will find its urban spearhead. For the lumpen-proletariat, that horde of starving men, uprooted from their tribe and from their clan, constitutes one of the most spontaneous and most radically revolutionary forces of a colonized people."[73]

As Caute rightly pointed out, Fanon does not differ corrupted lumpenproletariat from the migrant peasants newly arrived to town.[74] Cabral, on the other hand makes this distinction carefully. Though not entrusted in the actual lumpenproletariat he sees a revolutionary potential in the case of peasant migrants. "they", he asserts,

> gradually come to make a comparison between the standard of living of their own families and that of the Portuguese; they begin to understand the sacrifices being borne by the Africans. They have proved extremely dynamic in the struggle. Many of these people joined the struggle right from the beginning and it is amoung this group that we found many of the cadres whom we have since trained.[75]

Cornelius, after looking into the studies made of Latin America, which hypothesize the political radicalism of the urban poor, summarizes their themes or clusters of interrelated propositions -personal disorientation, social disintegration and political distruption- so eloquently that we can do no better than quote this quite lang summary.

> 1. Urbanization breeds economic frustration amoung the migrant population, which aspires high but fails to participate in the material rewards of urban society... Migrants are deficient in both the skills to earn a living in their new environment and the education needed to learn the skills; upward mobility is sharply restricted. Moreover, the accelerated population input into cities makes it impossible for the public and private sectors to provide adequate housing, education,

and other essential urban services. Thus for the majority of migrants, the city brings thwarted mobility expectations and objective living conditions often worse than those endured in the countryside. And the 'demonstration effect' of concentrated buying power and highly cospicious forms of consumption in urban areas makes the migrants increasingly conscious of their marginal role in society. Cognitive mechanisms of relative deprivation lead to alienation and increase the migrants propensity to engage in radical political activity.

2. Migrants experience major difficulties in adjusting socially and psychologically to the urban environment. Such difficulties originate in culture conflicts, the disorganization of previous living habits and customs, personal 'identity crises', and primary-group breakdown. Large nucliear families and kinship ties tend to disintegrate in urban society with its new standards, economic demands and mobility patterns. The tradational social controls on deviant behavior may be weakened. Ruralistic norms and modes of social interaction are found to be either irrelevant or harmful under urban conditions. Orthodox religious values are undermined, accompanied by a sense of normlessness, insecurity, and felt need for social reintegration by entry into new protective groupings. There results an 'anomic gap', a time lag between the abondment of the traditional value system and the acceptance of a replacement system. During this period the migrant is particularly vulnerable to recruitment into extremist political movements which seek to satisfy his psychological need for reintegration. Personal anomia and feelings of social isolation may persist long after the migrant is assimilated economically into his urban surroundings threatening a chronic suspectibility to manipulation by demagogic political leaders.

3. Urbanization increased awareness of government and politics, and mobilization of radical opposition force go hand in hand. Exposure to the urban environment with its higher level of social communication, intense competition among diverse social and economic interests, and salience of organized political activity accelerates the politicization of migrant and creates conditions for mass involvement in direct political action. Migrant frustrations and enxieties stemming from problems of assimilation into the urban environment are translated into support for opposition political parties and aggressive protest movements against established urban governments. We may expect the anti-system, protest vote in a given area or locality to increase in response to

> high rates of in-migration, Large influxes of migrants tend to exacerbate the destabilizing forces already at work in major cities, inviting extreme responses from either governments or populations or both. Radical agitation among the increasingly politicized urban masses, made less patient by the visible abundance of the city and more powerful by their concentration, becomes one of the greatest long-term threats to orderly development within a non-authoritian framework.[76]

Now, we can mention the theorethical and empirical studies which oppose the above developed view. In other works, Marx and Engels on more than one occasion pointed out the unreliability and danger of lumpenproletariat for the revolution. The following are cited from their various studies:

> The 'dangerous class', the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society may here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution, its conditions of life, however, prepare it for more the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.[77]

> lumpanproletariat, which in all big towns forms a mass sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat, a recruiting ground for thieves, and criminals of all kinds, living on the crumbs of society, people without a definite trade, vagabonds... varying according to the degree of civilisation of the nation to which they belong, but never renouncing their lazzaroni character; at the youthful age... throughly malleable, as capable of the most heroic deeds and the most exalted sacrifices as of the basest banditary and the foulest corruption.[78]

> The lumpenproletariat, this scum of depraved elements rom all classes, with headquarters in the big cities, is the worst of all the possible allies. This rabble is absolutely venal and absolutely brazen... Every leader of the workers who uses these scoundrels as guards or relies on them for support proves himself by this action alone a traitor to the movement.[79]

As Wood is indicated clearly,

> Marx did not deny that some individuals, even of the lumpenproletariat, could play a positive role. But as a class, or rather sub-class, it could only be swept into movement by the proletariat at a time of revolution; it certainly could not initiate or lead a revolution; it regarded as a main force of the revolution, let alone displace the proletariat as the leading force in the towns, as Fanon claims.[80]

In critisizing Fanon's ascription of the revolutionary role of the lumpenproletariat, Wood is draws attention to the fundamental distinction between mede destruction, rioting and genuie revolution. On this regard he makes the following critism:

> Fanon obsessed with violence, too glibly equates revolution with destruction. In town riotes the declassed and criminal elements are always ready to lend a hand, quick to let loose their blind anger against society in general, to burn, to loot , to destroy. But this cannot make them a 'revolutionary force'. Revolution involves the replacement of the old society by a new higher form of society. Such a fundamental change requires an understanding of the class or classes against whom the revolution is directed, an appreciation of the class forces which make up the revolutionary allience, and a comprehension of the shape of the new society which is to emerge.[81]

Cornelius in his empirical study conducted in Mexico, a country which has experienced a rapid urbanization in the last decade came up with the following findings regarding the political effects of rapid urbanization process:

> In any event, we find little empirical evidence to support the standard conception of the city as essentially a radicalizing environment. Nor does there appear to be an empirical basis for frequent perceptions of imminent threat to existing authority structures stemming from the rapid influx of migrants to cities.[82]

He argues that even they realize the contradictions in the society, rather than questioning the political legitimacy of the system, they refer this to the 'malfunctioning' of the authority structure and to the corrupt, unresponsive politicians, bureaucrats, etc. Furthermore, he finds no significant difference on political attitudes between migrants and urban-born individuals.[83]
Sares and Hamblin, in their study of the radical votes in the 1952 presidential elections in Chile found that "the percent vote for the radical left... was negatively instead of positively related to the percent in the tertiary sector".[84]
According to Nelson,

> The assumptio that migrants are uprooted and isolated in the city are grossly overdrawn. The assumption that most are disappointed and frustrated by economic conditios is simply wrong. Some migrants undoubtly are disillusioned, but lack of widespread contacts plus political inexperience and tradational patterns of difference makes it most unlikely that newcomers' frustrations

> will be translated into destabilizing political action[85].

In connection to the shock of urban life on migrants, he argues that since most of the migrants emmigrate not directly from villages but from small towns to bigger ones, the supposed urban schok is not that serious. Regaring isolation, Nelson claims that most of the migrants have compatriots in towns and furthermore they do not cut off their interrelations with their native towns and villages immediately. As for economic conditions, in the first place Nelson points out the surveys' findings which "consistently show lower rates of open unemployment among migrants than among native urbanites"[86] According to him:

> From the viewpoints of welfare and economic development, the growth of a large marginal urban population is not necessarily detrimental. Despite insure jobs and squalid living conditions, most migrants feel that they are better off than they were before coming to city. The movement to the cities facilitates wider distribution of certain services, particularly schools and clinics. Concern on grounds of welfare therefore is probably misplaced. Rural-to-urban migration also removes redundant labor from agriculture. While productivity in the overloaded service sector is falling in many developing nations, it is still substantially higher than productivity in agriculture. Though seperate data are not available on productivity in intermittent day labor or construction jobs and in low-paid segments of the service sector (vending, loading and carrying, domestic help, petty personal services), these ways of scraping by are probably not less productive than marginal production in agriculture. Moreover, residence in the city exposes the migrant to modernizing influences, and improves his opportunity to acquire skills, however modest."[87]

Theoreticians of the second category which Nelson names 'Radical Marginal'ists, though share the view that the people who newly migrated to the towns do not constitute a serious danger politically, ask the following question: "As migrants become established urbanities with urban aspirations and attidues, but still eke out a marginal existence, will not they or their children sooner or later express growing frustration through political radicalism or violence?"[88]
Nelson though conceded that the radicalization theory has more validity, still is of the opinion that it is seriously overstated. Regarding the aspiration-achievment gap he says: "Aspirations undoubtedly rise, but they probably do so quite gradually... Rising aspirations for better jobs, housing and status are more marked, however, among the skilled than among the unskilled workers"[89] Hence, he continues that,

> The slow rise of aspirations and the wide incidence of modest progress may explain the otherwise puzzling finding that even among groups reporting that their economic situation has deteriorated in the past few years, overwhelming majorities express optimism about the future, and belief that the economic and social system is open to talent and hard work"[90]

And, finally political action is not the single channel to leak into, in the case of conversion of frustration to action. "In fact, the bulk of economic and social frustration is likely to leak into alternative channels, including nonradical political action"[91] Moreover he says:

> The urban poor are particularly unlikely to chose aggressive political action to express their grievances... They are unorganized, their level of political awareness is low, and these conditions are perpetuated by the constant inflow of additional unskilled, poorly educated migrants, ... poor and uneducated are less likely to slame the authorities for general economic difficulties"[92]

In sum, for Nelson, the urban lower class is the least to turn to "if we want to locate the sources of urban turbulence and extremism" lhe Structure of Dual Economy of Urban Areas; The Case of Underdeveloped Countries: There are not many interpretative studies of economical pattern of the third world cities. But among them Geerts's study of two Indonesian towns, Modjokurto and Tabanan carry implications for explaining the dual economic structure of the underdeveloped countries' cities.

Geertz claims that the economic structure of the town of Modjokurto was composed of two parts: Firstly, the town had a bazaar economy from its beginning. A bazaar economy is the

> one in which the total flow of commerce is fragmented into a very great number of unrelated person to person transactions... this sort of economy is based of the independent activities of a set of highly competitive commodity traders who relate to one another mainly by means of an incredible volume of ad hoc acts of exchange"[93]

Secondly a firm centered economy resembling those in the West, "where trade and industry occur through a set of imporsonally defined institutions with respect to some particular productive or distributive end"[94] In order to analyze the Bazaar system more closely three aspects should be examined. Firstly, bazaar system as a flow of goods and services, and lastly "as a social and cultural system in which those mechanisms imbedded."[95] For the first aspect it can be said that the

> most important characteristic is the type of goods which flow through the market. In general, the small, easily transportable, storable products allow a flow through the market which tends to move in circles, passing from traders over an extended period.[96]

Among the characteristics of the economic mechanisms three are most important: " 1) a sliding price system, 2) a complex balance of carefully managed credit relationships, 3) an extensive fractionation of risks and as a corrolarly, of profit margins."[97] The third aspect, that is the social and cultural system operates on an imporsonal basis.[98] This is significant, because it claims that personal relationships are not the most important behavior pattern in the bazaar system. As a result, Geertz puts this striking viewpoint for the bazaar economy, "all four of the quarted of defining attributes -specificity, universalism, achievement and neutrality- commonly held to be distinctive of highly economic structures are characteristic of the (bazaar) pattern as well."[99] The modern sector of Modjokuto is taking a line similar to what happened in the West in terms of attidues towards profit maximization:

> economic development is tending to take, despite marked cultural differences, the classical form we have known in the West: an at least in part religiously motivated, generally disesteemed group of small shopkeepers and petty manufacturers arising out of a traditional trading class in attempting to secure an improved status in a changing society-one in which the established barriers to mobility are weakening-through the rational, systematic pursuit of wealth.[100]

McGee in his analysis of Geertz's data on Indonesie accepts that the picture put forth there is an example of the dual economic model. And, he also accepts that there are resemblances with Higgin's clear cut dualistic theory by seeing the fact that the firm centered economy is mainly capital intensive and the bazaar economy is labor intensive. But he adds that, "it must be made clear that the acceptance of such a viewpoint does not inhibit the view of the city's economy as a whole, for these two sectors do not fall into distinct boxes: indeed they are interlaced."[101] He sees the most obvious difference between these two sectors in the quantity of employment they can offer:

> in the capital-intensive sector, where productivity is high, the possibilities for employment are limited by labor-destroying innovations; on the other hand, in the bazaar-type economy, the possibilites for employment are much greater even through returns are much smaller and the -product of this situation is frequently what Wertheim has called a condition of 'shared poverty' and Breese, less satisfactorily- 'subsistence urbanization'.[102]

Two Descriptive-Conceptual Models of Dual Economy:

There are two highly indicative conceptual models for understanding the structure of Dual economy in urban areas. Friedman and Sullivan's is in a general context and Keith Hart's based on Ghanainan experience. The former author's analysis is about the stratification of the work force in the traditional sectors. Hart's article is about the composition of the tradational labor force and he names it the 'informal sector'.

The Dual Work Force in the Urban Areas: Friedman and Sullivan divide the urban economy in an underdeveloped country into three major employment sectors. They are, the individual-enterprise sector (designated 'I'), family-enterprise sector (F), and corporate sector (C). They are placed hierarchically, the 'C' sector being at the top naturally, and below that the 'F' sector, and 'I' sector at the bottom. Labor productivity becomes higher as one goes up the hierarchy. Structurally speaking,

> each of the three major employment sectors functions as a distinct subsystem of the urban economy. The functional linkages among these sub-systems are not very well understood, though in some countries, notably in Mexico and Japan, the C-and F sectors are interrelated in manufacturing through subcontracting. In addition... each sector is characterized by social relations and rules of ethical conduct.[103]

The previliges are given according to hierarchy. For instance, "The I and F sectors... are for the most part self-financed, whereas the C-sector has direct access to government revenues, bank credit and corporate profits."[104] Now, the contents of each employment sector will be examined:

1) The individual-enterprise sector. It includes these categories: a) unemployed workers (U) subsector which comprises 5-15 per cent of the total urban labor force, b) individual-enterprise subsector (I) which makes up the 20-25 per cent of the total labor force. Now, let's see them closely.

(U) subsector includes the following groups of people: i) First time job seekers. They are the offspring primarily of urban residents and for the most part dependent adolescents and school leavers. They comprise the most crowded section of the unemployed group with 40-60 per cent of the urban unemployed. [105] They wait the longest time for employment. ii) Recent migrants to the city. They,

> tend out be most qualified workers. They are often equal, if not superior, to the resident population in education, ability and skills, and there is evidence that, after their arrical in the city, most migrants remain in open unemployment for only short periods of time.[106]

iii) and lastly "workers laid off from jobs in any of the subsectors above, up to and including corporate production. They may be less skilled than those still working."[107]

(I) subsector workers, though not very different from the open unemployed group, "its members do produce some income, however small, and contribute to family upkeep."[108] The professions enumerated here are:

> Handicraft workers(steamstresses, embroidery makers, basket and mat makers, rope makers, silversmiths) working on their own account, street traders and service workers (peddlers, shoeshine boys, parking lot attendants, messengers, street entertainers, repairmen, gardeners, masseurs, food vendors, public letter writers), causal construction workers (carpenters, briklayers, plumbers, electricians) and 'underground' occupations (prostitutes, professional beggars, police spies, dope peddlers, pick pockets)[109]

Their jobs may be stable or they have to hustle jobs. Their place of work is usually in the old portions of the central city location and on the streets or bazaar, also in the case of artisans, their home is their workplace. The labor market for the workers of this subsector is very competitive. And job specialization is such that one person may be able to perform different jobs. Against this competition, there is the division of income between relatives and friend if they are out of jobs. Another fact is that the workers in the I subsector usually do not have a legal existence. They very on without a license.

2) The family enterprise sector (F): There are some characteristics of this sector which makes it different from the I sector. This sector, "a) involves a higher degree of organisation, b) employers both wage and unpaid family workers (the letter working primarily for room and board), c) has a fixed abode and, d) operates with a larger amount of capital per worker."[110] This sector may comprise 35-45 per cent of the whole urban labor force. So, "this is a key sector of the urban economy"[111] The pricing in this sector is highly competitive. This may be so much that the family incomes would suffice only for a subsistence level. The financing of thes sector is largely done through the non-institutional organizations such as private money lenders or the advances given by some bigger firms for the coming supply of manufactured goods, or it may be that large families may gather to pool their monetary resources, and get the profits later. There are mainly two subsectors in this category: a) Trade and service establishments: Domestic servants (D), small shop proprietors, salesman in small businesses, garage mechanics, truck, bus and taxi drivers, barbers, restaurant workers. b) Manufacturing workshops: Workers in various kinds of small - scale manufacturing, such as bakeries, rice milly, noddle shops, shoe and bathware manufacture, tailoring, carpentry and metal work.[112] As for the type of work

they do, "they are engaged in the production of traditional commodities that are characterized by their appeal to a low-income mass-market, a lack of standardization and quality control and the use of indigenous raw materials."[113]

3) The corporate sector (F): This category has three subsectors: a) Corporate-production subsector (C_p); office workersB minor officials and teachers, trade and service workers, another group in this subsector involves factor workers, skilled construction workers. b) Corporate supervisory subsector (Cs) ; owner-enterpreneurs, middle-level officials, supervisors, c) Professional-managerial elite (P/M); Senior government officials and military officers, business leaders and corporate managers, university professors, and free professionals.

The (Cp) subsector workers are, under the protection of impersonal organisations to which they belong, they are the luckiest portion amoung the workers. Because they get priveliges like paid vacations, minimum working hours. These come to them as either the result of militant unionism or the "social legislation passed in imitation of advanced industrial societies."[114] This subsector, which has only 10-30 percent of the urban labor force, plays an important role in the national economy although with drawbacks:

> as the principal beneficiary of development policy, corporate manufacturing is also the most productive source of work in the urban economy. Gains in excess of 7 per cent in industrial output are no longer unusual, but increases in employment are generally only half as much. Indeed, on a net basis, and accounting for the jobs eliminated in the F-sector by the expansion of corporate enterprise, employment changes for the industrial sector as a whole may be negative[115]

The (Cs) subsector does not differentitate with the Cp subsector on functional basis. This is an account of the educational level of the subsector. And it comprises around 2-5 per cent of the work force of urban areas. The professional-managerial elite (P/M) is at the top of the pyramid. It is less than 3 percent of the urban labor force, but it has the power to rule, and the power to accumulate:

> The urban elite is... the only subsector of the urban economy capable of accumulate. A sizeable income surplus. It is protected against excessive sharing of incomes (or wealth) by the impermeable social barriers which seperate it from lower-ranking employment subsectors. Much of this surplus, however, will be channeled into conspicious consumption such as villas, automobiles, servants, jewelry, travel, private education, and art objects, and into 'safe' but profitable investments such as real estate.[116]

Market relations and labor mobility, examined according to the conceptual framework formulated above give clues on the dynamics of this model. Market relations give these results:

> 1) "The individual-enterprise subsector sells directly to all other subsectors in the urban economy. This helps explain the relative size of this subsection (20-25 per cent of urban labor force)"[117]
>
> 2) "The markets for F and C sectors are partially overlapping, for reasons of design, quality, and prestige (and sometimes even price), the C sector will tend to dominate in most situations where the two sectors compete (e.g., super markets versus grocery stores)"[118]
>
> 3)"In the case of the P/M subsector, market relations apply-strictly speaking-only to the university professors and free professionals... the intensity of competition here is similar to that encountred in the 'I' subsector"[119]

But this has an antidote, namely favorable legislation, which is often used. As for the labor mobility:

> 1. Individual mobility paths conform to a loose hierarchical structure. Although some subsectors may be skipped, top occupations are generally reached only from 'superior' subsectors... Downward mobility on the other hand, particularly to (U) is possible from any employment subsector without regard to hierarchical position,
>
> 2. Four major reasons may be advanced to account for Downward job mobility: a) the destruction of jobs in F by an increase of competitive production in Cp; b) overtraining in relation to avaible job openings, particularly at Cs and P/M level and in the white-collar groupings of the Cp-subsector; c) prolonged unemployment (or below subsistence employment) coupled with inability or unwilingness of kinfolk or mutual aid societies to continue maintenance support (in this event, return migration may occur to rural areas); and d) incompatibilty of work discipline in the Cp subsector with personal inclinations.[120]
>
> 3. Upward job mobility may require: a) social contacts: a heavy investment of time in maintaining and strengthening kinship, tribal, friendship, and patronage relations is generally required to advance up the occupational ladders the absence of such contacts will almost

> certainly foreclose most mobility channels;
> b) education: credentialism is especially important for reaching white-collar occupations in the corporate sector, since functional illiterates tend to be concentrated in U, I and D subsectors; and c) capital, for most workers, little capital is needed to achieve upward occupational mobility. Participation in the I subsector calls for only modest amounts of equipment, such as trade tools; largeramounts will be needed to start a business in the F sector. Beyond the F sector... the capital requirements for establishing a private professional practice turn out to be prohibitive for all but a small minority of well-situated individuals.[121]

B) Informal Sector: The Labor Supply Side: Hart based on data collected in Ghana gives an analysis of the informal sector which constitutes the unorganized labor supply side of the urban areas. This sector has usually been called 'marginal sector' or the 'low-productivity urban sector' 'the reserve army of underemployed and unemployed', 'the urban traditional sector'.[122] According to Hart, "The distinction between formal and informal income opportunities is based essentially on that between wage-earning and self-employment, and he continues:

> The key variable is the degree of rationalisation of work-that is to say, whether or not labor is labor is recruited on a permanent and regular basis for fixed rewards. Most enterprises run with some measure of bureaucracy are amenable to enumeration by surveys and-as such-constitute the 'modern sector' of the urban economy.[123]

The remainder is called the Informal sector. So this sector corresponds to the I sector of Friedman and Sullivan's analysis, and their Corporate sector corresponds to the 'modern sector' of Hart's. He states that "the informal sector may be identified for heurisitic purposes with the sub-proletariat of the slum- a reasonable assumption despite the participation of many in the wage economy, and of a few members of higher income groups in certain lucrative informal activities"[124] The income opportunities in the informal sector may be either legitimate or illegitimate. In the following typology of urban income opportunities the activities or roles are mentioned, not persons; "actual individuals are often to be found on both sides of the analytical divide and in more than one capacity."[125]

Characteristics of the Informal Sector : There are some characteristics of the informal sector which explain the nature of it. 1) One of them is the job seeking. Information about vacancies of jobs travel along informal information channels, that is from mouth to ear. Since ethnic affiliations, tribal ties are important in Ghanaian society migrants from one village or area tend to be clustered occupationally. And job duplication is also seen: "informal occupational roles take on

a more favorable aspects as a substitute for a complementary to, forms of employment with a low wages ceiling"[126] 2) Another characteristics is the combination of income sources. For example in the primary and secondary activities, on the urban-rural fringe,

> many urban dwellers purchase, rent, or occupy plots of land to farm on as a sideline... (they) manage to find a small place on the outskirts of the city to grow corn and vegetables. The high cost of food makes gardening, whether for one's own consumption or for sale, a profitable business"[127]

Although one may earn enough money from informal activities, a job from the formal sector is tried to be retained because of its reliability however small income that it may bring. 3) Internal income Distribution: Although there is a great amount of differentiation in the members of the informal sector which are based on "differences in life-style, wealth, and social status are, however mitigated by the system of patronage and familial/ethnic obligation which ensures a more equitable distribution"[128] In short, various mechanisms prevent significant private accumulation within this group.

Projective Stage: In this section of the study we would like draw attention to some of the views centered mainly on the likely situations that would develop in the future, in other words, the projective stage of the unemployment and urbanization problem in underdeveloped countries.

The first approach is by Friedman and Sullivan. In their analysis of the urban economic structure in the underdeveloped countries, they give three hypothesis to explain the dynamics of urban employment which seem to be relevant in practical instances. They are:

1) Equilibrium Unemployment: The very high percentage of the individual enterprise sector (I) and unemployed subsector tend to remain constant for a long time. But this is contrary to what may be expected from neoclassical economic theory, because according to this theory unemployment and underemployment would tend to decrease the wages till there is almost no unemployment left. But this does not happen. The point is why? It is claimed that two factors determine the rate of entry into the I sector. They are:" 1) expectations of finding steady employment at subsistence levels or better, and 2) the total surplus over subsistence available in the urban economy"[129] So when there is a possibility of finding new jobs in the city, the first factor comes into picture and the rural-urban drift begins. And it constitutes till the total available income is divided among the newcomers. Thus this second income is divided among the newcomers.

2) Pressure to Subsistence: There are two typical ways of sharing incomes in the urban economy, which is relevant particularly for the family enterprise and corporate producing sector spoken of above. The first one is sharing the earned income with the needy kinsmen, friends

or caste members. The second is to transfer the earned income to rural areas. This income may be one of the main contributions to the rural economy in some instances. The result is the same for these two ways: "whatever the form of income sharing that is used, however- and different forms may be in use at the same time-the result will be a relatively flat income distribution across all urban subsectors... at close to the subsistence minimum."[130] And refusal to share the income is seemed not to be feasible:" for many urban dwellers, each of whom may some day be himself in need of help, refusal is not an available option."[131]

3) Proletarianization: There are four possible causes for this pauperisation process. In the first place it is that, as a result of the second hypothesis üold above, shared poverty will be lot for the people living in the individual and family enterprise sectors. Secondly, as the production of Corporate sector increases, it will push the goods produced ih the similar industries by the famely sector, out of the market. And the high labor productivity of the corporate sector will result in low pace of job increases in this sector, which constitutes the third cause. And lastly, the limited capacity of the rural economy to absorb additional labir force the unemployed not to look towards agriculture for a job. Specifically, these will force, "the labor from affected regular employment in small-scale enterprise (family enterprise sector) into the I sector"

And generally speaking, "accelarated industrialization in the Corporate sector will... be accompanied by increased unemployment, a lowering of labor productivity in the aggregate, and the growing imporerishment of the production in both the I and F sectors of the urban economy"[132]

The second approach is by McGee. He has tried to give an adequate answer to the contentions of two groups of writers. Whether the capitalist way of development as indicated in the swelling of the tertiary sector would result in the overthrow of existing governments or would this situation be corrected through time. He reasons that as the Capitalist way of development as practiced in the underdeveloped countries participates in the Bazaar sector, a change in the urban-bazaar system emerges. This change has the following economically aspects:

> a) the growth of larger scale operations;
> b) a greater concentration of capital in the hands of the (modern) enterpreneur;
> c) the reluctance of the new style enterpreneurs to spread his business widely among his fellow traders as is typical of the (bazaar) system...
> d) a reduction in the flow of goods in hundreds of little trickles, funneled through an enourmous number of transactions, which characterize the absorptive (bazaar) system...
> e) a decline in labor input and a tightening rein placed on the capacity of the dwindling (bazaar)

> system to absorb labor and keep an underemployed (in western terms) urban work force at an acceptable if subsistence, standard of living.[133]

The more important change that influences the bazaar system is "the way (the old fashioned structure) changes attitudes and creates a new and expanding range of felt needs"[134] As a result of these developments a class system begin to emerge and a western type of petty commercial capitalist group begins to take shape. This group quickens the transformation of the bazaar system and it gets many jobs from this sector to the capital-intensive modern sector.

There is another process of capitalist penetration, which disturb the traditional economy where "an interlocking urban-bazaar, rural-peasant agricultural structure" exists. The urban-bazaar sector gives non-agricultural supplies to the rural sector and it absorbs surplus labor from agriculture; and the rural sector gives food to the urban sector. As a result,

> The function of the urban tertiary sector as a safety valve is... heavily dependent on the close ties it has with the peasant sector. Consequently, its capacity to absorbs labor and to act as a cushion against urban and rural discontent depends to an important extent on the continued existence of its peasant-agricultural resource base.[135]

If capitalism penetrates the whole of economy dual economy extinguishes, just like in pre-revolutionary Cuba and contemporary Puerto-Rico. The capitalistic way is also seen in the agricultural sector, where the capital intensive methods are used for cash-crop production. The result is clear,

> As the capital-intensive forms of production move into agriculture, larger scale, more mechanized techniques drive labor from the land... With its product supply base reduced, the bazaar sector's activities decrease. At the same time, landless peasants pour into the cities looking for work which neither the capitalist nor weakened bazaar sectors can provide in sufficient quantitiy.[136]

Therefore McGee asserts that every third world country will go through the stage in which pre-revolutionary Cuba was, that is to say that, dual structure will cease to exist, in its place a complete capitalist penetration will occur. He concludes that,

> Revolutionary change will not proceed along a broad front it the short or even medium term. Rather it appears more logical that the revolutionary changes will be delayed longer in countries where the traditional structures are more resilient and where there are social and

> economic outlets for the indigenous population, than in countries where these structures have been subverted by capitalist penetration, or where no effective traditional structures ever existed.[137]

Policies: As pointed out in the earlier sections, today chronic unemployment is staring underdeveloped countries in the face. We have also seen that radical and liberal analysis of the problem are quite different. So are the remedies. Radicals suggest that in the long run social revolutions are inescapable; and the successful remedial measures for the problems of underemployment and poverty can only be designed in the totally re organized centrally planned economic structure of the new society. Liberals, however, have faith in the capitalist system. Hence, their suggestions are applicable within the framework of the present system. Though various-and sometimes contradictody-remedies are suggested by Liberals, we would like to put them together under few headings.

The first group of writers suggest that the basic remedy is rapid growth of the urban manufacturing sector. This growth, however must "occur by investing in relatively labor-intensive activities rather than those which are capital-intensive."[138] This, they argue, is logical from various points of view. In the first place, using of relatively most abundant and cheapest factor of production, namely labor, will increase the rate of growth of employment for any given level of investment. This is also rational from the point of view of minimizing cost.
Frank says:

> Even in cases, however, when the labor-intensive investment is less than optimal from the point of view of growth, it may be justified if a high enough priority is given to growth in employment and/or reduction in unemployment.[139]

Another group of professionals emphasize in particular the significance of urban-rural income and wage differentials in urban unemployment problem. Frank is in favor of this view, when he says in his paper that,

> for the typical African country neither high rates of growth in the modern sector nor an attempt to resort to labor-intensive techniques in that sector is likely to have much effect on the magnitude of the urban unemployment problem. The answer, if one exists, to the problem of urban unemployment must be sought through examination of urban-rural income differentias and the distribution of public goods and services to urban and rural areas.[140]

Todaro, on the other hand point out an important observation by saying that "the magnetic force of the town may be derived from the multiplicity of income opportunities rather than merely from wage levels"[141] On the same line, Lewis claims that a wider distribution of development and welfare measures will help check the ever-widening gap of urban-rural incomes.[142]

The third group of policies deal mainly with the rate of population growth in urban areas. A slowing-down of the process of urbanisation which implies of reduction of the scale of the rural-urban drift is suggested by this group as a remedy to urban unemployment. According to Bairoch this conclusion arose out of the choice between the two alternatives of urban over-unemployment and rural underemployment. He is for the latter alternative since a) the absorptive capacity of urban manufacturing sector is insufficient to pace with the rapid urbanisation, which in turn results in the over distention of the low-productivity tertiary sector. This process "would transform many of the towns in the Third World into huge camps of destitute people"[143] And here an anguish for the heating of political climate is felt, b) secondly, the cities are thought to be the factors of modernisation and hence of increased demand for "conspicious consumption". This results in the strong propensity to importation which slow down the pace of development, c) thirdly "the cost of creating an agricultural job is generally smaller than the cost of creating an industrial job"[144], d) and lastly he adds that "both at the personal level and at the level of society as a whole, rural underemployment is to be preferred to urban over-unemployment."[145] Because of these reasons the choice of alternative policies fall upon this: "a reduction of urban over-unemployment should be made through a slowing -down of the process of urbanisation, which in turn implies a slowing down of the rural-urban drift"[146] After making this choice Bairoch proposes two sets of measures for solving the unemployment problem in underdeveloped countries. Emergency measures include; urban rehabilitation programs, re-training of the unemployed, increment of employment in manufacturing, temporary control of migration to urban centres. The fundamental medium term solutions of the urban unemployment may be termed measures for diminishing the rural-urban drift. It basically includes; increment of the weighting of agriculture in development programs, deceleration of demographic growth, reduction of the differences between urban and rural incomes, modification of the content and form of education, improvement of social facilities in rural areas.

Before closing this section, it should be immediately be indicated that, these three major proposals are not at all inclusive. Furthermore, nearly all of the writers-though they emphasize the one/s in favor of the other one/s - include all three groups of measurements in their proposed policies.

Abbrevations Used in Bibliography

AER	American Economic Review
APRS	American Political Science Review
CT	Catalyst
EDCC	Economic Development and Cultural Change
EJ	The Economic Journal
FMD	ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi
ILRR	Industrial and Labor Relations Review
ILR	International Labor Review
JAIP	Journal of American Institute of Planners
JEL	Journal of Economic Literature
JMAS	Journal of Modern African Studies
MR	Monthly Review
PI	Public Interest
QJE	Quarterly Journal of Economics
RES	Review of Economics and Statistics
SR	Socialist Revolution
RRPE	The Review of Radical Political Economists
WP	World Politics
WT	World Today

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Notes / PART II

Notes / Part 2

Definitions:

1) 27:8
2) 44:24
3) 44:24
4) 44:24
5) 70:7
6) 116:217
7) 116:217
8) 116:218
9) 116:218
10) 7:120
11) 27:6
12) 27:8-9
13) Cited in 64:254 Footnote
14) 27:6-7
15) 44:24

Section 1.

1) 95:49
2) 95:49
3) 95:94
4) 24:91
5) 48:64
6) 98:6 /Followings are the basic sources used for the remaining part of this section: 55,65,94,87,101,113.
7) 71:56
8) 122:52
9) 86:226
10) 24:97
11) 24:97
12) 43:66
13) 110:84
14) 110:85
15) 110:87
16) 81:117
17) 98:31-32
18) 22:95
19) 12:230
20) For detailed analysis see: 103:101
21) 122:66
22) 122:132
23) 104:256-259
24) 25:205
24) 59:219
25) 53:242
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27) 53:244

Section 2.

1) 43:26
2) 43:86
3) 117:26
4) 117:26
5) 94:366
6) 43:28
7) 118:28
8) 66:148
9) 43:31
10) 66:147
11) 117:48-49
12) 108:358
13) 67:67
14) 102:36
15) 102:36
16) 43:31-32
17) 102:24
18) 101:28
19) Cited in 101:27 Footnote
20) 102:42
21) 117:66
22) 43:117
23) 11:87-88
24) 117:76-81
25) 47:184
26) 106:225
27) 106:225
28) 43:123
29) 22:101
30) 89:187
31) 43:112
32) 89:97
33) 117
34) 84
35) 9:35
36) For a brief summary of the process see 100. For a detailed study see 46.
37) 58:80
38) 56:77
39) 57:79
40) 60:176
41) 60:183
42) 60:196
43) 60:197
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51) 43:39
52) 117:159
53) 117:155
54) 102:42
55) 117:157
56) 117:155
57) 43:92
58) 111:224
59) 111:225
60) 116:241
61) 111:241
62) 58:82
63) 39:151-155
64) 39:152
65) 56:86
66) 58:80
67) 58:82
68) 56:87
69) 58:82
70) 56:81
71) 56:81
72) 87:156
73) Cited in 57:76
74) 1:85
75) 57:76
76) 57:84
77) 1: 84-85
78) 88
79) 88:342
80) 63:71-72
81) 93:359
82) 124:367
83) 3
84) 3:1
85) 93:363
86) 93:363-364
87) 91
88) 43:46
89) 124:374
90) 124:375
91) 26:170
92) 26:172

93) 26:173
94) 26:174-175
95) 8:100
96) 91
97) 43:87
98) 43:88
99) 43:89
100) 43:90-91
101) 43:91
102) 26:167
103) 26:179
104) 26:181
105) 43:94
106) 19:20
107) 43:53 Footnote
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121) 125:1-2
122) 21:157
123) 113:150
124) 82:325
125) 2:21 22
126) 114:119
127) 43:64-65
128) 43:65
129) 43:70
130) 43:71
131) 43:72
132) 43:71
133) 111:129
134) 111:130
135) 111:135
136) 111:135
137) 125:1
138) 111:138-139
140) 125:1
141) 18:22-23
142) 18:24
143) 69:62
144) 93:359
145) 93:179
146) 13:62-63
147) 93:147
148) 65:28
149) 93:364
150) 42:95
151) 110:240
152) 110:241
153) 42:24
154) 22:95
155) 22:100
156) Basic readings on radicals view on education are: 15,16,17 For a summary in turkish see 30.
157) 43:95

Section 3.

1) 35:222
2) Boeke J.H., Economics and Economic Policy of Dual Societies ,New York:1953 Cited in 49:100
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5) 49:112
6) 36:18-19
7) Cited in 35:222-223
8) 107:102-103
9) 34:19
10) 36:19

11) 34:61
12) 107:104
13) 34:37
14) 36:19
15) 36:23
16) Cited in 32:5
17) 35:227-228
18) See pp.
19) 6:85
20) 123:7
21) 6:66
22) 6:30-32
23) 68:15
24) 55:17
25) 23:18-19
26) 6:85-86
27) 55:9 See also 121, 4.
28) 6:67
29) 6:55-56
30) 55:9
31) 6:62
32) 55:10
33) 6:59
34) 6:86
35) 55:12
36) 55:12-13
37) 55:13
38) 55:14
39) 55:14
40) 55:15
41) 55:16
42) 55:16
43) 4:89
44) 6:10
45) 6:10
46) 6:12-13 See also 52.
47) 4:90-93
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63) 120:628
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66) 10:288
67) 10:288-289
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79) 29:163
80) 126:80
81) 126:82
82) 20:855
83) 20:555
84) 105:1058
85) 85:399
86) 85:398
87) 85:395
88) 85:399
89) 85:403
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122) 62:68
123) 62:68
124) 62:86
125) 62:68-69
126) 62:78
127) 62:70
128) 62:87
129) 38:398
130) 38:400
131) 38:400
132) 38:401
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145) 6:83
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part three

education

* Schooling in Capitalist America - S. Bowles
H. Gintis

* The Relationship Between Capitalism
& Progressive Education, G. Gonzales, The Insurgent Sociologist v. 6, n. 4
pp 25-43

Some Definitions

Forces of Production : "the technological, organizational, and laboring capacities of the population and the stock of machinery and other equipment which make up the society's overall productive capacity."[1]

Social Relations of Production : "the rules of authority among those engaged in production, the system of control over the work process, and the relations of property which govern the ownership of the product."[2]

Cognitive Characteristics: "individual capacities to logically combine, analyze, interpret, and apply informational symbols."[3] Cognitive traits "include knowledge and skills that are internalized intellectually."[4] Example: reading ability, mathematical skill, etc.

Affective (Non cognitive Characteristics: "propensities, codified in the individual's personality structure, to respond in stable emotional patterns, to demands made upon him in concrete social situations."[5] They "refer to assorted social skills and personality traits that are developed as a consequence of schooling."[6] Example: Motivation, punctuality, etc.

Ability Grouping (Tracking, Streaming): "the classification of the pupils of the school into groups which, within reasonable limits, are homogeneous in ability to perform the kind of task which confronts those pupils in the classroom."[7]

Ascriptive Characteristics: "such non-operational attributes as the individual's race, sex, caste, religion, social class, eye color, geographical region, etc."[8]

I.Q : " 'gifted' child is one with Stanford-Binet I.Q score of 140 or over."[10]

School Services : Components measured in Guthrie et al., 's study can be classified generally into five categories:
"1) administrative services, 2) equipment and facilities,
3) curricular and instructional ararngements, 4) staff characteristics, and 5) student environment."[11]

SECTION 1

1. Basic Functions and General Characteristics of Educational Institutions

Throughout the history of mankid education has been an indispensable social phenomenon of all societies. Needs of perpetuation and the development of societies forced them to "provide arrangements for raising children and for their development into adults."[1] In other words, education is a general, universal and necessary social category. This does not mean, however, that it is unchangeable; on the contrary, as a social phenomenon it undergoes a qualitative as well as quantitative change parallel to the evolution of the societies. In short,

> education in the broadest sense is the transmission of culture through the socialisation of individuals; every society is, in a manner of speaking, an educative society, providing for the transmission of its culture and the formation of the personalities of its members; and there is always the dual problem, at once social-psychological and sociological, of analysing these processes and the institutional framework within which they take place.[3]

Prior to the industrial revolution, the relationship between education and social structure was relatively simple. Family and the religious organizations were among the most important and effective institutions in educating the masses.
The onset of industrial revolution has changed this structure drastically. In the words of Floud and Halsey:

> industrialism throws new burdens on educational institutions- the burdens of mass instruction, promotion of scientific and technological advance, occupational recruitment and social selection. Under conditions of advanced industrialism, indeed, the economy becomes increasingly dominated by institutions of research and technological innovation with the result that the differentiation of educational institutions and functions assumes new proportions.[4]

In industrial societies school which is defined by Illich as "the age-specific, teacher-related process requiring full-time attendance at an obligatory curriculum."[5] has been developed as the most fundamental institution of education. In the words of Herskovitz:

> A much more restricted sense of the word 'education' limits its use to those processes of teaching and learning carried on at specific times, in particular places outside the home, for definite periods, by persons especially prepared or trained for the task. This assigns to education the meaning of schooling.[6]

The following can be cited as the main characteristics of schools: First, They are "found in industrial societies or in the industrialized sectors of societies which are otherwise nonindustrialized"[7] second, "schooling... should be viewed as a transitional phase linking stages in the life cycle"[8] and finally "it represents a link not only between successive phases of the life cycle but between the private realm of the family and the larger public domain"[9] The main functions of schooling can be grouped into two broad categories: the expansion of the material forces of production and the reproduction of the social relations of production.

> the contribution of education to the forces of production takes two main forms: first, the development of workers with those technical and scientific capacities needed for efficient production; and second the inculcation of values expectations, beliefs, and modes of behavior required for the adequate performance of adult work roles. Although very few of the intellectual skills learned in school are directly transferable to the workplace, basic scientific knowledge as well as communication skills and mathematical abilities are an essential ingredient in becoming and remaining competent in some jobs, particularly those involving directing and technical functions.[10]

As an important socialization institution, education plays a direct role in maintaining the existing social structure by reproducing the social relations of production. As Gintis puts it:

> The function of education in any society is the socialization of new individuals in accordance with predominant social and cultural patterns: on the one hand, schooling represents a major force in the institutionalization of dominant value, norm and belief systems necessary to the integration of individuals in society; on the other, schooling provides the individual competencies necessary for the adequate performance of social roles. Thus educational systems are fundamental to the stability and functioning of any society.[11]

This stability and functioning of society is provided by creating 'responsible citizens' who can "fulfill the social obligations that their society and culture will place on them"[12] On the socialization function of schooling Parsons adds the followings:

> The socialization function may be summed up as the development in individuals of the commitments and capacities which are essential prerequisites of their future role-performance. Commitments may be broken down in turn into two components: commitment to the implementation of the broad values of society, and commitment to the performance of a specific type of role within the structure of society... Capacities can also be broken down into two components, the first being competence or the skill to perform the tasks involved in the individual's roles, and the second being 'role-responsibility' or the capacity to live up to other people's expectations of the interpersonal behavior appropriate to these roles.[13]

Socialization function of schooling is not conveyed by the formal curriculum, but by means of social relations which prevail in schools.

School is not all the only agency of socialization even after the industrial revolution. Institutions such as the family, informal 'peer groups', religious institutions and actual on-the-job training. In the words of Illich:

> Of course, school is not, by any means, the only modern institution which has as its primary purposes the shaping of man's vision of reality. The hidden curriculum of family life, health-care, so-called professionalism, or of the media play an important part in the institutional manipulation of man's world-vision, language and demands. But school enslaves more profoundly and more systematically, since only school is credited with the principal function of forming critical judgement, and paradoxically, tries to do so by making learning about oneself, about others, and about nature depend on a prepackaged process. School touches us so intimately that none of us can expect to be liberated from it by something else.[14]

In short, school can be regarded as the major socializing agency. Among others, however, family is the most effective socialization institution next to school.

> The parantel activities... include instructing children about the physical, personal, and social realities of their environment and how to cope with them, sanctioning their behaviour, and expressing a broad range of beliefs, judgements, and emotions about events both within the family and outside it.[15]

These social relations shaped deeply by the parents class position help mold the personality attributes of the child. Socialization in school show distinctions from the family's. Social relations in school, in contrast to informal, emotional and more humanistic type of relations within the family, are formal, bureaucratic and less human. School provides: "1) an emancipation of the child from primary emotional attachment to his family, 2) an internalization of a level of societal values and norms that is a step higher than

those he can learn in his family alone"[16] However, the relationship between family and school socialization can be considered as complementary rather than opposing. And, as Bowles rightly notes "schools are probably more effective where they attempt to complement and reinforce rather than oppose the socialization processes of the home and neighbourhood."[17]

Different sociological theories of education have exagerated the former or the latter functions of the schools. The structural-functionalist school place special emphasis on the problem of socialisation, of 'genetic psychology'.

> The structural-functionalist is preoccupied with social integration based on shared values- i.e., with consensus- and he conducts his analysis solely in terms of the motivated actions of individuals. For him, therefore, education is a means of motivating individuals to behave in ways appropriate to maintain the society in a state of equilibrium.[18]

Pragmatists, on the other hand, give emphasis to the problems of social change. They believed that education can act as a direct agent of social change. Dewey, the father of American pragmatists, wished the schools to push society in a progressive direction. He suggests that, "schools should take an active part in directing social change, and share in construction of a new social order."[19] For him, in fact,

> the problem is not whether the schools should participate in the production of a future society (since they do so anyway) but whether they should do it blindly and irresponsibly or with the maximum possible of courageous intelligence and responsibility.[20]

For Dewey, stated Novack;

> education was to be the main means for correcting economic evils and attaining progressive political ends. The school system was to serve as the major institution for carrying the democratic processes... He fervently believed in Emerson's prochecy: 'Efficient universal education... is the mother of national prosperity... We shall one day learn to supersede politics by education'.
>
> 'Education', Dewey declared... 'is the fundamental method of social progress and reform'. ... He assumed that either his aims of democratic education could be fitted into the priorities of the capitalist regime, or, where these come into conflict, the democratized schools, with their supporters and graduates, would prevail against the forces of reaction.[21]

The delineation of the two views can be summed as follows:
1) Schools are active elements of change, they initiate change; and "liberate the child from the confines-moral and emotional as well as intellectual- of his earliest environment and to open higher horizons for him."[22]
2) Schools are passive elements of superstructure, they always follow and can never initiate change. It is an 'adaptive' institution dependent on the form of social structure and hence fundamentally a conservative institution. In the words of Banfield:

> the school does not liberate the child from his class culture but instead confines him in it even more securely-it thickens the walls that separate him from the rest of society. The child has absorbed the elements of his class culture long before reaching school; what the school roes is to 'socialize' him into it more fully and to make him more aware of the differences that seperate him and his kind from others.[23]

According to Lenin, education, as an obligatory category of social life, should be studied in its own dialectic. As Gunther and Konig inform us that Lenin opposed strongly to the non-partisan views which claim the ahistoricity and classlessness of education in class societies. He also rejected completely the anarchic and secterian views in education which refused the pedagogic heritage nihilistically. He argued consistently that to point out the class function of education in class societies does not necessitate the complete rejection of it. He also fought against the view which replaced political struggle with education. Let's start with the class quality of education. The fololwing citation sum up Lenin's view on this respect very succinctly:

> İkisinden biri çok sayın Bay Küçük - burjuva:
> Ya sınıflara bölünmüş bir toplumdan söz edeceksiniz,
> ya da sınıflara bölünmemiş bir toplumdan. Birinci
> durumda, sınıflara bağlı olmayan bir eğitim de
> olamaz. İkinci durumda ise_ ne bir sınıf devleti
> ne bir sınıf ulusu, ne de sınıflardan birine dahil
> olan bir kişi olabilir.[24]

About the political nature of education in class societies he says:

> for along the whole line of our educational work
> we have to abandon the old standpoint that education
> should be non-political; we cannot conduct educational
> work in isolation from politics.
>
> That idea has always predominated in bourgeois society.
> The very term 'apolitical' or 'non-political' education
> is a piece of bourgeois hypocrisy, nothing but humbuggery
> practised on the masses... In all bourgeois states the
> connection between the political apparatus and education is
> very strong, although bourgeois society cannot frankly
> acknowledge it. Nevertheless, this society indoctrinates

> the masses through the church and the institution of private property.[25]

In his studies Lenin concludes that the bourgeois society has never aimed at using schools as a means of educating the personality of individuals, rather, he said, the bourgeoisie used schools to bring up decile and faithful servants, slaves of capital who apply its orders.[26] Although Lenin refused the view which replaces the political struggle of workers with education, he emphasized the importance of education in this struggle. Hoernle summarizes Lenin's teachings on this respect in the following quatation:

> Eğitimin içeriğinin, biçiminin ve amacının söz konusu sosyal yapıdan v.b. çıktığını söylemek yetmez; ayrıca devam ederek, her eğitim sisteminin yalnızca sınıf savaşımının bir sonucu olduğunu değil, ayrıca sınıf savaşımının bir silahı ve aleti de olduğunu, yani sınıfların elinde bulunduğunu ve sınıf amaçları için kullanıldığını söylemek cesaretini de göstermek gerekir.[27]

In short, dialectical materialist world view synthesizes the two opposing views on the functions of educational institutions which assign education either passive, adoptive or active, initiator role in social change. Cornforth presents dialectical materialist view so eloquently that we can do no better than borrow his words:

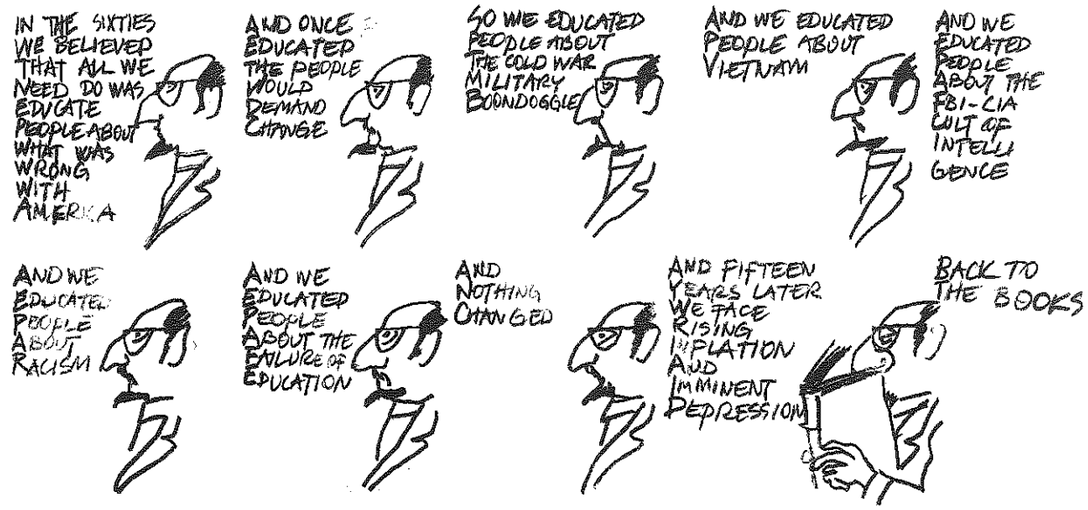
> the mechanistic materialist-and this applied above all to the utopian socialists-thought that what a man was, his character and his activities, was determined by his environment and education. Therefore they proclaimed that to make men better, happier and more rational it was smiply necessary to place them in better conditions and to give them a better education.

But to this Marx replied in his Theses on Feuerbach:

> The materialist doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing and that, therefore, changed men are produced by changed circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that circumstances are changed precisely by men and that the educator must himself be educated."
>
> If men are simply the products of circumstances, then they are at the mercy of circumstances. But on the contrary, men can themselves change their circumstances. And men themselves are changed, not as a mechanical result of changed circumstances, but in the course of and as a result of their own activity in changing their environment.[28]

In sum, radical analysis has emphasized the dialectical relationship between the social structure and the system of education within this structure. More concretely, according to radical view, the educational system executes the following basic functions in the capitalist society:

> a) the preservation of social statuses along class lines; b) the transmission and preservation of cultural norms, attides and values to the degree that they are compatible with an increasingly materially -oriented economy, c) the training of a technocratic stratum capable of developing new technologies favorable to capitalist development; and d) the generation of an educated work force, with competence for adequate role performance in complex, alienated work environments.[29]



SECTION 2
2. Evolution of the Educational Institutions

In this section, we will review the radical economists' analysis of evolution of the educational system in the United States. Their interpretation will shed light upon the functions of educational institutions in the capitalist societies.

In feudal and colonial times home was basically a unit of production. In the colonial days of U.S. an agrarian, small-town life was prevailing. In households, whole members the family. Including children, took part in productive activities.

In the following citation
Dewey points a vivid picture of the life in Colonial America:

> Life was in the main rural. The child came into contact with the scenes of nature, and was familiarized with the care of domestic animals, the cultivation of the soil, and the raising of crops. The factory system being undeveloped, the house was the center of industry. Spinning, weaving the making of clothes, etc., were all carried on there. As there was little accumulation of wealth, the child had to take part in these, as well as to participate in the usual round of household occupations.[1]

Children were trained at home mentally and morally by involving in such extra-school life. Productive activities in which children took part "fostered capacities for self-direction, discipline, leadership, and independent judgement". Hence,

> Transmitting the necessary productive skills to the children as they grew up proved to be a simple task, not because the work was devoid of skill, but because the quite substantial skills required were virtually unchanging from generation to generation, and because the transition to the world of work did not require that the child adapt to a wholly new set of social relationships. The child learned the concrete skills and adapteo to the social relations of production through learning by doing within the family.[2]

Schools were few and inadequate. They "tended to be narrowly vocational, restricted to preparation of children for a career in the church or the still inconsequential state bureaucracy"[3] In sum, development level of productive forces and the socialization institutions were in temporary, relative harmony.

As in every society, capital accumulation has been a driving force behind the growth of the U.S. economy rapid expansion of the forces of production during the 19th century resulted in the industrialized, urbanized, atomized conditions which accompanied the encreasing proletarianization of the U.S. population. The antagonistic relationship between capital and labor and increased labor militancy created new

tensions in the society. The contradiction between the accumulation of capital and the reproduction of social relations of capitalistic production was at hand.[4] What Gorz observed today was completely valid in those days, too:

> Big Business, in short, is seeking to reconcile two opposites: on the one hand, the need created by the modern process of production for a higher development of human capabilities, and on the other hand, the political need to prevent this development from leading to an increased autonomy of the individual which would threaten the existing division of social functions and the distribution of power.[5]

In short, further capital accumulation had to be secured. To provide stabilized relations between capital and labor; 1) labor force must be desciplined, a mechanism for social control must be provided. This included both the socialization of workers to work in an alineated work environments plus frawmentation of the work force to reduce the potential formation of coalitions within the firm. 2) Reproduction of the class structure from one generation to the next must be legitimized.

The solution was the expansion of mass education.

> The expansion of mass education, embodying each of the above means, hab been a central element of resolving-at least temporarily-the contradiction between accumulation and reproduction.
>
> The structure of U.S. education evolved historically in response to political and economic struggles arising from this basic contradiction.[6]

Mass education was a comprimise between the capitalists and working class. Consider the following:

> The development of mass education-now extending up to the college level- was not, as some educational historians would have it, wrested from the capitalist class by electoral might of the working class. Neither, however, was it a program of the capitalist class imposed on an unwilling and resistant working class. Rather, the spread of universal schooling in the U.S. was a comprimise between the capitalist class and the rising working class which the process of capitalist accumulation and brought into existence... The structure and scope of the modern school system cannot be explained without reference to both the demands of working people-for literacy, for the possibility of greater occupational mobility, for respectability-

> and to the imperative of the capitalist class to construct an institution for the production of labor which would successfully weld together the functions of accumulation and reproduction. By muting the underlying contradiction between accumulation and reproduction and displacing it from the sphere of production into a more manageable arena, the school system has played an important role in preserving the capitalist order.[7]

Hence, both the socialization of new generations for the work relations peculiar to the factory system and the acquisition of the basic cognitive skills necessary for the production is being provided by a formal institution outside the family. Furthermore, schools have been claimed to play a significant role in persuit of equality as democratic institutions providing social mobility from one generation to the next. Transferring of the success to the next generation became a precondition to the acquisition of a college degree. In other words "college graduation has become the main avenue for admission to those occupations that provide the middle class way of life.[8]

Although mass education helped to lessen the contradictions faced at the beginnings of the 19th century, new developments have taken place since then. Expansion of capital and of the enrollments continued. Let's start with the former. Centralization and concentratation of capital has resulted in the evolution of giant national and multi-national corporations. Of course, this development had its repercussions in the labor force. In the words of Bowles:

> As large bureaucratic corporations and public agencies employed an increasing fraction of all workers, a complicated segmentation of the labor force evolved, reflecting the hierarchical structure of the social relations of production... The social division of labor had become a finely articulated system of work relations dominated at the top by a small group with control over work processes and a high degree of personal autonomy in their work activities, and proceeding by finely differentiated stages down the chain of bureaucratic command to workers who labored more as extensions of the machinery than as autonomous human being.[9]

This new organization has resulted in the fragmentation and the compartmentalization of the labor force. Origings of this process, however, radicals claim lie heavily in the capitalists' desire for control over the social relations of production, rather than the technical necessities.

> The fragmentation of tasks and the compartmentalization of mental skills have become an essential

> aspect of the capitalist 'divide and conquer' strategy for the control of the labor force. As a result, work tasks have become more fragmented, the mental processes associated with them more specialized, and the social relations defined by work roles more limiting. Even in many well paid. high status jobs, the worker's discretion is increasingly limited.[10]

These developments in the production sphere were matched by a parallel process in the sphere of education. "At the turn of the century large numbers of working class and particularly, immigrant children began attending high schools."[11] Expansion of enrollments at the college level surely contained positive factors from the point of view of the capitalist class. As Bowles puts it:

> Access to higher education by a limited number of children of working class families and blacks has served a number of important functions. It has allowed the recruitment of new talent for the positions of power or expertise in the occupational hierarchy. In addition, by allowing some aggressive and able black or working class children to 'make it', it has provided a safety valve for the class system and thus served to drain off potential leadership from the working class.[12]

After a certain point, however, this would create undesirable situations. In other words,

> a uniform system of higher education would foster discontent and competition for power, for it would legitimize the aspirations for power and wealth among much more than the old elite, and fail to inspire the expectations and submissiveness appropriate to the future work roles of most of the newcomers to post-secondary schooling.[13]

Hence, new precautions had to be taken and a new organization had to be improved in order to provide manpower for the fragmented, segmentated, hierarchical work structure of the bureaucratic corporations and public agencies and provide the reproduction of class structure from one generation to the next without losing the legitimacy of the structure in the eyes of the masses. Hence, expansion of enrollments at the college level went hand in hand with a 'rigidly class-based system' of stratification within the secondary and higher education.

> The older democratic ideology of the common school-that the same curriculum should be offered to all children-gave way to the 'progressive' insistence that education should be tailored to the 'needs of the child'. In

> the interests of providing an education relevant to the later life of the students, vocational schools and tracks were developed for the children of working families. The academic curriculum was preserved for those who would later have the opportunity to make use of book learning, either in college or in white-collar employment. This and other educational reforms of the progressive education movement reflected an implicit assumption of the immutability of the class structure.[14]

The result was successfull in terms of the system. Perruccini informs us:

> In 1870 there were only 16,000 high school graduates and 9,371 college graduates, the latter being about 60 percent of the former. A fair proportion of the relatively few people who graduated from high school were likely to continue on to college. Thus relieving a good part of the 'quality control' function from the high school. In more recent years we have observed that college graduates are only 20 percent of high school graduates. Since there are about two million high school graduates, the selection process becomes a much more complex problem.[15]

In the following section an attempt has been made to present a framework of the bureaucratic and hierarchical internal structures of the modern corporations, and its reflections in the structure of social relations in education.

SECTION 3

3. Structure of Social Relations in Bureaucratic Institutions

Though all of the researchers come to an agreement as to the bureaucratization of the work process - and hierarchical division of labor arises from it- conflicting views prevail on the questions of it's efficiency and necessity.

According to technocratic perspective, bureaucratization of the economic units and resulting hierarchical division of labor "arises from its natural superiority in the coordination of collective activity and in the nurturing of superiority in the control of complex production processes."[1] In the words of Weber: "Bureaucracy... is the most effective large-scale administrative organization that man has invented, and there is no direct substitute for it."[2]

Radical economists refuse this view totally. For them bureaucratic structure of the economic unit arised basically in order to prevent the class consciousness among the working class, rather than as an unavoidable organizational form best fitted to the achieved level of production. Gintis has noted:

> Thus it is not clear that bureaucracy is indeed itself 'economically rational' as opposed to a necessary instrument for the application of economically rational criteria by capitalists, in the interests of profit maximization. As a result of this ambiguity, we cannot say whether the personality characteristics associated with adequate job-performance in a bureaucracy are required directly by efficiency criteria in production, or only indirectly as a concomitant of capitalist hegemony.[3]

Bureaucratic structure and resulting hierarchical division of labor which is "characterized by power and control emanating from the top downwards through a finely gradated... order"[4] underlies the system of stratification in an advanced capitalist society. Now following Gintis we will discuss the four types of personality requisites of such an organizational structure.[5] They are: a) subordinacy; strict hierarchical lines force workers to accept and come to terms with his loss of initiative and authority. A superior authority is accepted and obeyod. b) discipline; is the most fundamental concept which underlies a repressive system. As Merton put it: "bureaucratic structure exert a constant pressure... to be 'methodical, pudent, disciplined'... The bureaucracy... must attain a high degree of reliability of behaviour, and unusual degree of conformity with prescribed patterns of actions."[6] c) cognitive vs. affective modes of response; occupational roles in the hierarchical structure demand cognitive modes in reacting to beruacratic situations. Affective modes are suppressed. d) external reward; work is done primarily for external rewards (for money or hierarchical status). Hence, "internal goal of work-the contribution to social dividend -provided no source of gratification"7

Radicals argue that the structure of social relations in education-hierarchy of authority and control, sources of motivation, system of sanctions-mirror the bureaucratic structure of modern productive enterprise. In the words of Bowles:

> An ideal preperation for factory work was found in the social relations of the school: specifically in its emphasis on discipline, punctuality, acceptance of authority outside the family, and individual accountability for one's work. The social relations of the school would replicate the social relations of the workplace, and thus help young people adapt to the social division of labor.[8]

Gintis adds the following:

> The personality traits rewarded and penalized in the classroom seem admirably suited to the generation of workers who fit harmoniously in a system of hierarchical authority, and the concomitant personality changes induced through schooling represent a central element in the contribution of schooling to individual productivity.[9]

Hierarchical division of labor requires different values, personality traits and expectations-characteristics for each stratum. This gives rise to ristinct class subcultures. Family is the first instituion of such socialization:

> children of parents occupying a given position in the occupational hierarchy grow up in homes where child-rearing methods and perhaps even the physical surroundings tend to develope personality characteristics appropriate to adequate job performance in the occupational roles of the parents. The children of managers and professionals are taught self-reliance within a broad set of constraints. The children of production line workers are taught obedience.[10]

Schooling help perpetuate and make stronger this segmenation. Selicting and sorting processes play fundamental roles in this. As Sexton puts it:

> Through the use of separate curriculums and other devices, including segregated groupings of various sorts, the schools establish a class system which is more rigid in its way than the class system in the outside world, since all students have curriculum and 'ability' labels which segregate them from other students in a clearly defined rank order.[11]

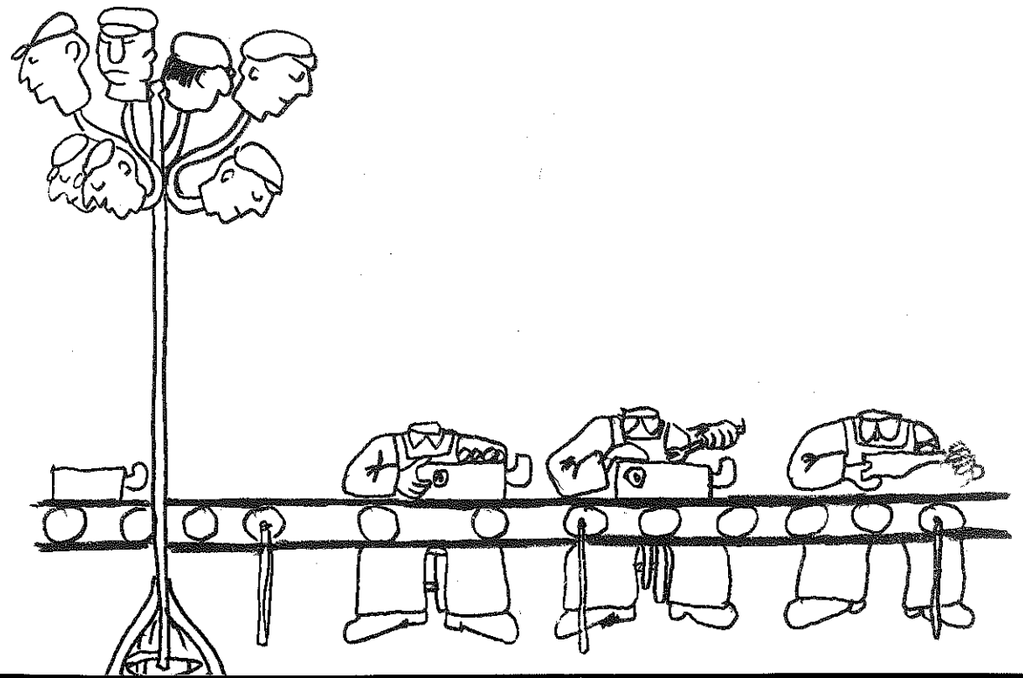
The structure of social relations in educational institutions show variences between the vertical (primary school, junion and senior high schools, colleges) and as well as the horizantal (for example primary school in a middle class community vs. primary school in a ghetto) levels. Bowles states:

> The social relations of educational process ordinarily mirror the social relations of work roles into which most students are likely to move. Differences in rules, expected modes of behaviour, and opportunities for choice are most glaring when we compare levels of schooling. Note the wide range of choice over curriculum, life style, and allocation of time afforded to college students compared with the obedience and respect for authority expected in high school. Differentiation occurs also within each level of schooling.[12]

Situation is not different in higher education. Consider the following:

> Higher education has already developed a multitiered sybtem... This system reflects both the social status of the families of the students and the hierarchy of work relations with into which each type of student will move after graduation.[13]

In the following section we will look closer at the general characteristics of the social relations in schools.



SECTION 4
4. Structure of Social Relations in Schools

We have already summarized the evolution of the school system in industrialized countries. Radicals have long pointed out the repressive and alienating structure of social relations or its 'hidden curriculum'. Some writers went even as far as asserting that the "schools are fundamentally alike in all countries, be they fascist, democratic or socialist, big or small, rich or poor"[1]

According to Freire there exist no neutral educational process.

> Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes 'the practice of freedom', the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world.[2]

Freire's analysis of the oppressive educational system revolves around the 'banking' concept of education. This concept, in his own word's is "Based on a mechanistic, static, naturalistic, spatialized view of consciousness, it transforms students into receiving objects. It attempts to control thinking and action, leads men to adjust to the world, and inhibits their creative power."[3]

In the 'banking' concept, education becomes an,

> act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiqués and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize, and repeat.[4]

As Illich rightly puts it, teaching is assumed to be the sole means of learning and the "one person's judgement should determine what and when another person must learn."[5]

> And since men 'receive' the world as passive entities, education should make them more passive still, and adapt them to the world. The educated man is the adapted man, because he is better 'fit' for the world. Translated into practice, this concept is well suited to the purposes of the oppressors have created, and how little they question it.
>
> The more completely the majority adapt to the purposes which the dominant minority prescribe for them... the more easily the minority can continue to prescribe. The theory and practice of banking education serve this end quite efficiently.[6]

Teacher-student relationship in this structure has been so vividly pictured by Freire that we can do no better than borrow his words:

a) the teacher teaches and the students are taught;
b) the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing;
c) the teacher thinks and the students are tought about;
d) the teacher talks and students listen-meekly;
e) the teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined;
f) the teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply;
g) the teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher;
h) the teacher chooses the program contents, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it;
i) the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his own professional authority, which he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students;
j) the teacher is the subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects.[7]

Spatial organization of classrooms fits this authoritarian structure perfectly. Szama notes that:

> Architecture for academic buildings and classrooms is designed to facilitate this process. Teacher and students are separated by space, the instructor in a prominent place up front, while students are seated together, so as to facilitate contact with each other.[8]

Fundamentally, the teacher-student relationship in repressive structure reveals narrative character, where the teacher is the narrating subject and the students are the listening objects. In the words of Freire:

> Narration (with the teacher as narrator) leads the students to memorize mechanically the narrated content. Worse yet, it turns them into 'containers' into 'receptacles' to be 'filled' by the teacher. The more completely he fills the receptacles permit themselves to be filled, the better students they are.[9]

The four types of personality requisites of bureaucratic organizations discussed in the previous section replicate itself in the educational system, too. As far as subordinacy is concerned similar to the case of the worker, "The student is first forced to accept, and later comes personally to terms with, his loss of authority, dispensing rewards and penalties"[10] Discipline is also an important requisite of the

school system, "where regularity, punctuality, and quiescence assume proportions almost absurd in relation to the ostensible goals of 'learning'"[11]

Repressive, authoritarian work relations of the hierarchical structure of the bureaucratic organizations strengthen and solidify the alienated work environment. Before going into detail with the alienation in educational institution a short summary of the discussion revolves around the Marxian terminology of alienation which is to be represented.

Concepts of alienation (Entausserung) and estrangement (Entfremdung) are key categories of Hegel's philosophy. Marx took this concept from Hegel.

> Hegel pointed out, humans find themselves in deep conflict with the world around them. Their own material and spiritual creations have risen up and passed beyond their control. Ironically humans become enslaved to their own productions.[12]

Alienation is not a human condition; it arises as a result of something and it has been a general feature of human history. "The alienation of labor, however, is peculiar to civilization and is bound up with the institution of private property. In primitive society men are oppressed by nature but not by the products of their labor."[13]

Slavery was the first and wage labor will be the last of the organized systems of alienated labor. What, then, constitutes the alienation of labor? asks Marx and he answers in the following long quotation.

> First, the fact that the labor is external to the worker, i.e., it does not belong to his essential being; that in his work, therefore, he does not affirm himself but denies himself, does not feel content but unhappy, does not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind. The worker therefore only feels himself outside his work and in his work feels outside himself. His labor is therefore not voluntary, but coerced; it is forced labor. It is therefore not the satisfaction of a need; it is merely a means to satisfy needs external to it. **Its alien** character emerges clearly in the fact that as soon as no physical or other compulsion exists, labor is shunned like the plague. External labor, labor in which man alienates himself, is a labor of self-sacrifice or mortification. Lastly, the external character of labor for the worker appears in the fact that it is not the own, but someone else's, that it does not belong to him, that in it he belongs, not to himself, but to another.[14]

The alienation which prevails in the capitalist mode of production has four main aspects:[15]

1) The alienation of man from the products of his activity. Since the worker's product belongs to someone else, that is, to the capitalist, he is estranged from his own product.

2) The alienation of the worker from his productive activity, that is, from his work and work process. Work in a capitalist society "is not an affirmation but rather a negation" of the workers' essential nature. Work process is controlled by the capitalist; the worker is not permitted to say anything about it.

3. The alienation of man from his own peculiar essence, from his humanity, since "his special traits and abilities are not needed, used or developed by his economic activities which degrade him to the level of a mere physical force."

4. The alienation of man from the community, from other human beings. "Where man is opposed to himself, he also stands opposed to other men".

Thus the worker is alienated both from the process and goals of production and despite this estrangement, he accepts to work in such an environment willingly. This result is achieved thru externalization of reward, thru wages, salaries and occupational status; in short, thru money and/or social power. On the other hand, however, personality traits required in a modern work organization are harmful to and inhibit the development of the worker as a human being. As Gintis asserts:

> many personality types are simply incompatible with prerequisites of individual motivation and capacity for adequate job performance. Thus a truly spiritual individual, or an individual who values aesthetic, physical, or interpersonal activities may be psychologically incapable of working in an alienating work environment. In this sense, basic competence for job performance is incompatible with non-capitalist values[16]

Socialization institutions function to generate labor for the economy having personality traits compatible with the alienated work environment. Educational institutions have risen historically to carry out this task. Personality traits compatible with the bureaucratic work organization are

> inculated only in an educated environment can be characterized by rigid relations of authority between teacher and student, an environment devoid of love and positive, constructive personal interaction; in short, in a repressive educational environment.[17]

Social relations in school replicate those of the work environment in this respect also. Students are not allowed to or discouraged

from dealing with the whole problem. Hence,

> The artificial compartmentalization of intellectual pursuits allows the development of advanced technique within each area and simultaneously militates against the application of comprehensive moral standards or the consideration of the larger social consequences of one's work.[18]

In general, reality is presented as it were 'motionless, static, compartmentalized, and predictable'. Topics and contents of the studies are mostly detached from reality and almost completely alien to the everyday experiences of the children.[19] Kahl, in his study of students from the middle-class families exposes clearly how this alienated environment is internalized by them. He observes:

> School and the possibility of college, were viewed by all the boys as steps to jobs. None was interested in learning for the subtle pleasures it can offer; none craved intellectual understanding for its own sake... there were no cases in which the boy found in schoolwork sufficient intellectual satisfactions to supply its own motivation. And there were no cases where a sympathetic and understanding teacher had successfully stimulated a boy to high aspirations.[20]

In such an environment, students are motivated by external rewards rather than the intrinsic or social value of education. In the words of Gintis:

> Learning is not supposed to take place, nor does it, through the student's intrinsic interest in the process of learning, nor in his intrinsic interest in the goal of this process - the possession of knowledge. The student must learn to operate efficiently in an educated environment, unmotivated by either the process or the product of his activities-in short, in an alienated educational environment.
>
> The reward for adequate behaviour is in all cases external, in the form of grades, threat of failure, or more subtle interpersonal sanctions. The first and final goal of educational systems is that of inducing the student to internalize the value of rewards external to the learning process itself, and to operate efficiently and with high motivation in the alienated school of environment.[21]

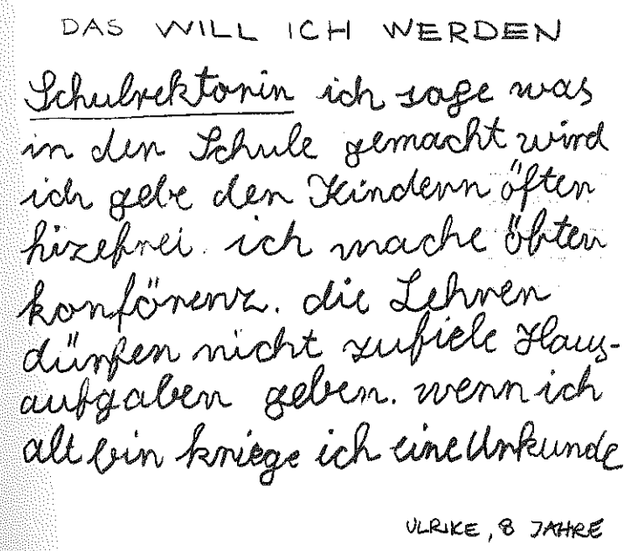
Although it is clear "that grading is highly destructive to the accomplishment of significant learning. It is also clear that to

eliminate grading is seen as the most fundamental attack on the university"[22] Results of a study indicates that while creativity, autonomy, initiative, tolerance for ambiguity, and independence are uniformly penalized, traits of docility, perseverance, industry and ego-control are rewarded.[23]

In sum, in an alienated school environment students are "'Schooled' to confuse teaching with learning, grade advancement with education, a diploma with competence, and fluency with the ability to say something new."[24]

> *It's hard to take pride in a bridge you're never gonna cross, in a door you're never gonna open. You're mass-producing things and you never see the end result of it... I worked for a trucker one time. And I got this tiny satisfaction when I loaded a truck. At least I could see the truck depart loaded. In a stell mill,forget it. You don't see where nothing goes.*

Mike Lefevre, A Steel worker speaks in Studs Terkel, Working , New York: Avon , 1975, pp.1-2



I would like to be a schooldirector when I grow up. Hence, I say what is going to be done in school. I let the children very often go out on hot days. I very frequently give conferences. Teachers should not require to much homework. When I grow up up I will get certificate.

Ulrike , 8 years old

SECTION 5

5. Socialization of Children and Legitimization of the Authoritarian Structure of Capitalist System

In broad outline, class societies are distinguished by their hierarchical and authoritarian social relations. Voluntary submission of the ruled require their interiorization of this authoritarian structure. And, socialization institutions play a significant role in producing individuals who are adjusted to the authoritarian social relations and submit to it, in spite of misery and degradation. The vivid picture Cattier paints about the habit of submission among the repressed is worth citing at some length:

> The stability of all societies that are divided into social classes depends on the freely given consent of the exploited members of the community. If these latter spent their time questioning the established order and attempting to overcome the ruling classes by force, no social hierarchy would be viable. Thus the classes situated at the bottom of the social ladder must accept their condition, eventually losing all sense of being exploited. When this psychological transformation has been achieved, the dominance of the ruling classes is a fait accompli ; it becomes an institution and is no longer regarded by the oppressed as an imposition. It is the classic process at the end of which the violence of the stronger is accepted by those on whom it is exercised and is taken for granted to be their right. The oppressed then behave like robots, programmed in such a way that they do not rebel against the established order. In extneme cases, the robots will go so far as to justify their condition; they rationalize it, shunning all thought of freedom and rejecting any progressive ideas. The ruling classes have no need to apply force to maintain their respect, except on the occasion of the sudden uprisings which do occur sometimes.[1]

In passing, it should be noted what is to be understood by the term of "an authoritarian personality". Here, I would like to point out to the five criteria which have been used by Adorno's team in order to define the "authoritarian personality":

1. The individual has a hierarchic view of human relations and exhibits great deference toward his superiors,
2. He depersonalizes human relations. He puts people 'in their place' and expects similar treatment,
3. He is very conventional about correct behaviour. Conformity is, in fact, one of his dominant character traits,
4. He exreccizes strict contorl over his impulses,
5. He is intolerant, morally rigid, and lacks the ability to adapt.[2]

Individiual with such an authoritarian character structure fears liberty, "submits to this system of injunctions and orders, represses his agression toward authority, and becomes a servile little being who grovels before all bearers of authority. Later, he will project on to his subordinates the hate that is boiling up inside him..."[3]

Socialization institutions help produce individuals with such character structures. As mentioned formerly, institutionb of family and educated are the basic socialization agents in a capitalist society. In the words of Reich:

> In a class society, the rulling class secures its position with the aid of education and the institution of the family, by making its ideologies of all members of the society. But it is not merely a matter of imposing ideologies, attidues, and concepts on the members of society. Rather, it is a matter of deep-reaching process in each new generation of the formation of a psychic structure which corresponds to the existing social order.[4]

Although this study refers to the educational institutions, a few words should be said about the family which

> plays an important role in this training because it educates the individual at the moment he is most impressionable, that is to say, during his early years. The child learns first to obey his father, who is the representative of authority in the family; later this attitude of submission will be carried over to all bearers of authority.[5]

According to Reich, with the introduction of modern industry, economic base of the family has narrowed and confined to inheritance. However, its socio-political function still plays a significant role. In his words:

> Its [family's] cardinal function is that of serving as a factory for authoritarian ideologies and conservative structures. It forms the educational apparatus through which practically every individual of our society, from the moment of drawing his first breath, has to pass. It influences the child in the sense of a reactionary ideology not only as an authoritarian institution, but also on the strength of its own structure; it is the conveyer belt between the economic structure of conservative society and its ideological superstructure.[6]

In short, "the training of children within the family consists of instilling discipline into them, that is, the automatic submission to all figures of authority."[7] This training succeed in schools more formally and rigidly. We have already analyzed this process within the school system. This section is devoted to the legitimization function of the schools. In the capitalist society, educational institutions play significant functions in the legitimization of the

system. Before proceeding on, we should clarify the distinction between political indoctrination in a narrow and party sense, and the political socialisation in general terms. In the following quotation Milliband makes this distinction in the case of education:

> As for the first, [political indoctrination in a party sense] it may readily be granted that schools and teachers do generally-though by no means always-try to steer clear of overt party bias and cling, in this sense, to a formal stance of impeccable political neutrality. In the second and broader sense, [political socialization] on the other hand, schools may or may not consciously engage in 'political socialisation' but cannot in any case avoid doing so, mostly in terms which are highly 'functional' to the prevailing social and political order. In other words, educational institutions at all levels generally fulfill and important conservative role and act, with greater or lesser effectiveness, as legitimating agengies in and for their societies.[8]

According to Milliband, the legitimization of the system by educational institutions proceeds at three levels:

1. First, education-particularly where the majority of the working class children are concerned-fulfils an important class-confirming role. As mentioned formerly, mass education that is, the enormous increments witnessed in school enrollments at the beginning of this century has

> offered apparent verification of the myth of equal educational opportunity in people's daily experience. Because of the rapid growth of education at all levels, children are almost certain to attend school for a significantly longer period than their mothers and fathers did, and so are likely to achieve a level of schooling which in their parents' day would have ensured high status and a good job.[9]

Furthermore, everyday experiences of the workers showed that,

> One's status, income, and personal autonomy came to depend in great measure on one's place in the hierarchy of work relations. And in turn, positions in the social division of labor came to be associated with educational credentials reflecting the number of years of schooling and the quality of education received. The increasing importance of schooling, as a mechanism for allocating children to positions in the class structure, played a major part in legitimizing the structure itself.[10]

It is argued that education provides a significant amount of mobility among the social strata, and one's position in the sociaty is not the result of birth, but of his own efforts and talent. In this way, it has been attempted to undervalue the importance of social class background in getting ahead. Against this argument what Milliband says deserves to be quoted at length:

> It is obviously true that the schools, for some children of the working classes, are a means of upward mobility: after all, advanced capitalist society does need to draw on a constantly larger pool of more or less trained personal. For the vast majority, however, the schools play a crucial role in confirming their class destiny and status. They do so, most effectively, by virtue of the starved education which they provide and by the curtailment rather than the 'development' of further educational opportunities which, combined with unfavourable environmental circumstances, they ensure. And the very fact that some working-class children are able to surmount these handicaps serves to foster the notion that those who do not are themselves, because of their own fitness, the architects of their own lowly fate, and that their situation is of their own making. The educational system thus conspires to create the impression, not least among its victims, that social disadvantages are really a matter of personal, innate, God-given, and insurmountable incapacity.[11]

In capitalist societies, political and legal spheres are pervaded by the ideals of democracy, equality and participation. This, however, 'clashes sharply' with the 'authoritarian, hierarchical, stratified and unequal economic system of production'. "Thus the economic enterprise as a political dictatorship and a social caste system requires special legitimation, and the mechanism used to place individuals in unequal (and unequally rewarding) positions requier special justification."[12]

Although, mass media helps a great deal in reconciling the individual within the system, individuals should develop intrinsically the feeling that they have been 'justly treated'. In the words of Perrucci:

> The absence of this sense of justice would throw into question the legitimacy of existing reward distributions. If a stratification system is to fulfill an integrative function, those less favored in the distribution of rewards must respond to those more favored with the feeling that justice has prevailed.[13]

Education plays an important role in developing this subjective justification. Since schools are open to all, those bestowed with higher intelligence and effort are able to climb up to the highest

echelons of the hierarchy without any extrinsic societal hindrance. Up to the beginnings of the century, no special internal adjustments were needed in the school system in the selection and sorting of students. Increased enrollments at the beginning of this century brought along the tracking system in allocation of students. Since tracking plays important functions in the educational system, I believe it deserves to be studied at some length. The great expansion of educational opportunities in the last few decedas made it possible for lower-income students to enroll in great numbers in the colleges. Hoever, a parallel development took place in the internal organization of high schools and colleges: fragmentation of educational pursuits, i.e., track system.

> Traditionally, the track system is seen in terms of its distributive function of steering individuals toward one or another broad segment of the occupational hierarchy, and in terms of its allocative function for the larger society by which occupational positions become filled by persons possessing appropriate capacities.[14]

What resulted is_ then in the words of Perucci," the paradoxical situation of great expansion of educational opportunities accompanied by a restriction of choices within that expanding framework."[15] By track system students are segregated into different ability groups, some "slow" and some "fast" and different curriculums are provided for each.

Let's start with the introduction of the sorting process up to the college level. The first is "ability groupings": "This device is used to some extent at the elementary-school level, where students are often grouped somewhat informally according to teacher-rated "ability" in subjects such as reading and aritmethic".[16] In elementary schools this segregation is usually of a rather temporary nature. However, at high-school level it becomes highly formalized by its rigid, permanent and inflexible character. Sexton, in her study of the educational system of a Big City in Education and Income observes that, "Some high schools in Big City sort students into "ability" groups (on the basis of IQ tests) which are so rigidly segregated that in one group have little or no contact with students in other groups"[17] An additional sorting out instrument in high schools is curriculum segregation.

> In addition to 'ability' seperations, all high schools in Big City sort students into three basic curriculums, chiefly on the basis of presumed 'ability'; these curriculums are: college preparatory, vocational (and commercial), and general (the catchall category). Placement is these curriculums may determine the student's entire future life. If a student is placed, for example, in a general or vocational curriculum (at ages ranging from twelve to fourteen), he will have great difficulty qualifying for college entry or remaining

> in college should he be admitted. His chances, therefore, of moving into professional or highly skilled jobs will be similarly limited.[18]

Sexton's study showed :

> In this school social system, the college preparatory curriculum is the upper class, the vocational curriculum the middle, and the general curriculum the lowest class. Within this class structure there is apparently little movement either up or down. Once assigned to a curriculum and status level in the high school, students seldom change to other curriculums and class categories.[19]

Findings of Sexton confirm her assertions. She found that 19 and 79 percent of students are enrolled in "college preparatory" from the lowest and highest income groups, respectively.[20] In short, both curriculum and ability segregation "results in students' being 'guided' into paths which perpetuate social class origins".[21] Stratification continued in college level, too. As Bowles informs us:

> Higher education has already developed a multi-tiered system dominated at the top by the Ivy League Institutions and the great state universities followed by State Colleges, and ending with the community colleges. This system reflects both the social status of the families of the students and the hierarchy of work relations into which each type of student will move after graduation.[22]

Track system has been critisized widely by various researchers. In the words of Howe:

> Despite the best intentions of its promotors, ability grouping -or tracking, or streaming, as it is variously called- has unfortunately become all that they asserted it would not be, what it has not been is either a means of keeping children in school or of improving their performance while they attend.[23]

The most extensive study of ability grouping concludes that "ability grouping, per se, produces no improvement in achievement for any ability level and, as an administrative device, has little merit."[24] Authors assert that students may learn better in strongly heterogenous groups. Sorting and selecting process help lower-income students realize their status and social position in relation to other students, and strengthen their groupings along class lines. This further solidifies the segregation of the students.[25] According to Howe, tracking is

used as an important valve to control the flow of "overeducated" lower-income students into the economy. He says:

> The track system provides a formal basis for translating class-based factors into academic criteria for separating students into different groups... Thus while tracking may assure the "failure" of lower-class students, as a system it allows the schools to 'succeed' in serving middle-class interest by preparing their children to fill the technological and professional needs of corporate society.[26]

Bowles, the well-known spokesman of radicals in education suggests:

> the booming community college movement has created a class stratification within higher education parallel to the hierarchical relations of production in the modern corporation. An expansion of the number of students in higher education has thus been made possible without undermining the elite status and function of the established institutions.[27]

Tracking, on the other hand, should have been legitimized in the eyes of public. In the following citation Bowles summarizes the history of this development:

> The frankness with which students were channeled into curriculum tracks, on the basis of their social background, raised serious doubts concerning the 'openness' of the social class structure. The relation between social class and a child's chances of promotion or tracking assignments was disguised - though not mitigated much- by another 'progressive' reform: 'objective' educational testing. Particularly after World War I the capitulation of the schools to business values and concepts of efficiency led to the increased use of intelligence and scholastic achievement testing as an ostensibly unbiased means of measuring the product of schooling and classifying students.[28]

IQ tests still plays an important role in legitimization of the technocratic-meritocratic view of the social relations of capitalist production. And, as we have already pointed out "the use of both formal education and the IQ ideology were not merely historical accidents, but arose through the conscious policies of capitalists and their intellectual servents to perform the functions indicated above"[29] Furthermore, IQ tests have been a destructive instrument by tending "to retard the school progress of children who get lower scores"[30] As Sexton puts it:

> it seems that one very descructive function of the IQ score is that it serves as a kind of cement which fixes students into the social classes of their birth. IQ is the supreme and unchallengeable justification for the social class system.[31]

She further continues:

> People at all levels often come to accept their IQ rating as they would never accept their social class status. This acceptance tends to retard the growth of lower-income students who often get low scores on IQ tests. Typically, the lower-income child comes to school and sooner or later he learns that he cannot compete with upper-income students.[32]

Hence, the IQ ideology "operates to reconcile workers to their eventual economic positions primarily via the schooling experience".[33]

According to Gintis, the strength of IQism derives largely from its indirect linkage with economic success via the educational system. He asserts that IQ, schooling, cognitive achievement and economic success are closely interrelated; in this fashion they become powerful tools in the legitimization of the unequal distribution of wealth in the capitalist society. Gintis summarizes this relationship as follows:

> First,the distribution of rewards by the school is seen as being based on objectively measured cognitive achievement, and is therefore fair... Second, schools are seen as being primarily oriented towards the production of cognitive skills. Third, higher levels of schooling are seen as a major, perhaps the strongest, determinant of economic success... It is concluded, thus, that IQ is fairly arrived at an is a major determinant of success.[34]

In other words, it is asserted that the IQ of a person is an important intrinsic criterion for economic success, and "social background and education are related to economic success because they are associated with higher adult cognitive skills."[35] In sum, it is intelligence and talent which determine one's future status in the occupational hierarchy.

Bowles and Gintis have shown that these assertions have no empirical value. In their study of the data collected by the U.S. Census Current Population Survey in 1962, they investigated the partial contributions of three factors - IQ, social class, and education - to economic success. They demonstrated that,

> while one's economic status tends strongly to resemble that of one's parents, only a minor portion of this association can be attributed to social class differences in childhood IQ, and a virtually negligible portion to social class differences in genetic endowments.[36]

The table on the next page is borrowed from the above mentioned study. It shows clearly that "relationship between social background and economic success operates almost entirely independently of individual differences in IQ"[37]

In sum, in total contrast to what the Genetic school asserts, IQ is the least important factor among those which contribute to one's economic success.

At a second level, Milliband argues that since "the educational system did not grow from the community, but was imposed from above"[38], it imposes an alien culture, and values -i.e., middle class culture and values- on the working class children. We will deal with this question in deep, in the next section.

At a third level, the educational system introduces a "particular view of the society and of the world". Though in varying degrees, discipline, respect for property, competition and punctuality are common elements of all school curriculums which help students socialize and develop appropriate world views, aggreable to the capitalist order. Some writers argued that the socialization function of schools lay stress mainly on such 'fundamental values' that they are indispensable to the survival of any human society irrespective of time and space. Milliband opposses such an ahistoric view. His counter argument is worth citing at some length:

> Durkheim once stressed the need which society had of socialisation through education in terms of the transmission of 'fundamental values' what he called 'essential principles' - the respect of reason of science, of the ideas and sentiments which are at the root of democratic morality'. He was no roubt right; societies do need to transmit 'fundamental values' and 'essential principles'. The point however is that the values and principles which are generally deemed 'fundamental' are those which are sanctioned by the dominant forces in society; and 'democratic morality' can, without too much difficulty, be adapted to profoundly conformist ends.[39]

In the next section of the study we will deal with the equality of opportunity in education along with the available evidence.

Table 6*

Differential Probabilities of Attaining Economic Success for Individuals of Equal Early IQ but Differing Levels of Social Class Background.

X	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
10	27.7	18.5	14.1	11.1	8.8	6.9	5.3	3.9	2.5	1.1
9	18.2	15.8	13.8	12.1	10.5	9.0	7.6	6.1	4.5	2.4
8	13.7	12.8	13.0	12.1	11.1	10.1	8.9	7.6	6.1	3.7
7	10.7	12.0	12.1	11.8	11.3	10.7	9.9	8.9	7.5	5.0
6	8.4	10.5	11.1	11.3	11.3	11.1	10.7	10.0	9.0	6.6
5	6.6	9.0	10.0	10.7	11.1	11.3	11.3	11.1	10.5	8.4
4	5.0	7.5	8.9	9.9	10.7	11.3	11.8	12.1	12.0	10.7
3	3.7	6.1	7.6	8.9	10.1	11.1	12.1	13.0	13.8	12.7
2	2.4	4.5	6.1	7.6	9.0	10.5	12.1	13.8	15.8	18.2
1	1.1	2.5	3.9	5.3	6.9	8.8	11.1	14.1	18.5	27.7

Table 6 corresponds to a standardized regression coefficient $\beta = .46$.
Example of use: Suppose two individuals have the same Childhood IQ, but one is in the 9th decile in Social Background, while the other is in the 2nd decile. Then the first is 18.5/2.5 = 7.4 times as likely as the second to attain the top decile in Economic Success (column 9, row 10, divided by column 2, row 10).

SECTION 6
6. Equality of Opportunity in Education

Equality of opportunity theoretically implies that a representative member of each and every social or radical grouping has the same probability of success. Educational institutions have been propagandized as instruments in equalizing opportunities among different social groupings.

According to Lenin, class school represents an important advancement over estate school. The estate school of feudal societies required students to belong to a certain social stratum of the society. Capitalist society lays down the condition that all the classes in the modern society are all equal in the eyes and letter of the law. In the words of Lenin:

> sınıfsal eğitim, zorunlu olarak genel bir eğitim türünü şart koşar. Sınıflı toplumun (ve dolayısiyle sınıfsal eğitimin) özü, tam hukuki eşitlikten, bütün vatandaşların tamamen eşit haklara sahip olmasından, mülk sahiplerine eğitim konusunda tamamen eşit haklar tanınmasından ve eğitimin bunlar için tamamen erişilebilir olmasından ibarettir.[1]

In the capitalist societies it is propagandized that every citizen of the country with the will to do so, has the opportunity of rising up to the highest levels of the educational ladder. There is only one thing that class education requires from its prospective student: to make payments in return. Hence, class school opens its doors to anyone who is capable of paying the necessary amount required by the school and has the necessary economic means to provide for living expenses during the years of education. This amount can only be provided by a minority of the society. In sum, Lenin claims that

> Sınıf okulu, sınıfsal kendi içine kapanıklığı kasinlikle şart koşmaz; tam tersine, sınıfsal zümrelerden farklı olarak, tek tek kişilerin bir sınıftan diğerine tamamen geçmesini mümkün kılarlar. Sınıf okulu, öğrenmek için gerekli paraya sahip olması şartıyla hiç kimseye kapısını kapamaz.[2]

Therefore, the question of the inequality of an educational system should be viewed in a broader perspective. The fololwing quotations emphasize these systemic factors:

> In our society's present race for 'spoils' not all runners begin at the same starting line... children from higher SES [Socioeconomic Status] circumstances presently begin life with many advantages. Their home environment, health care, nutrition, material possessions, and geographic mobility provide them with a substantial hearstart when they begin schooling at age five or six.[3]

> It should be obvious that which schools of equal quality a poor child can seldom catch up with a rich one. Even if they attend most of the educational opportunities which are casually available to the middle-class child. These advantages range from conversation and books in the home to vacation travel and a different sense of oneself, and apply, for the child who enjoys them, both in and out of school.[4]

It is not purpose in this part of the study to deal with the systemic or structural inequalities of the class society. What we want to expose in this section is the non-immunity of educational institutions from unequal structures. Warner, Havinghurst and Loeb pointed this out more than 30 years ago:

> The American school also reflects the socio-economic order in everything that it does; in what it teaches, whom it teaches, who does the teaching, who does the hiring and firing of the teachers, and what the children learn in and out of the classroom.
>
> The curricula of the secondary schools provide early pathways to success and failure, they operate in a different way on the several class levels, and they are used in a different way by the children of the higher and lower levels. It is apparent that the high-school curriculum is a mechanism that helps perpetuate our class order.[5]

In this section of the study, an attempt has been made to summarize some salient features of this discussion along with the available evidence. I would like to open up to discussion with the actual role of schooling as an equalizer, that is, about the relationship between the social origin and level of education, and educational mobility intergenerationally. The following quotations express the commonly held view in this respect:

> One of the truisms of American sociology is the marked increase since the turn of the century in median years of schooling amoung successive cohorts of young people. Since formal education has traditionally been viewed as a means to occupational and social mobility, the expansion of secondary and college enrollment rates is often interpreted as a sign of increasing equality of educational and social opportunity.[6]
>
> We tend to assume that the American educational system, if at one moment its resources and returns may not be equally distributed, at

> least helps promote increasing inter-generational equality. This implies that the children of the least-educated will have an increasingly good chance of moving up in the educational distribution over time, that they are increasingly less certain to become the least-educated of their own generation.[7]

The first group of researchers argue that,

> The social background of individuals... exercise a relatively minor impact upon the number of years of schooling attained. Measures of parents' occupational and educational status appeared to explain only between a quarter and a third of the variance of years of schooling attained.[8]

In short, it is asserted that it is not social class or ability to pay which affects the level of education attained but intelligence. "Low-income students do not go to college, they say, because they are not intelligent enough; upper-income students go to college, and are successful there, because they have 'superior' intelligence"[9] (We have investigated this relationship in depth, in some other section of this study).

Another group of researchers, on the other hand, claimed that the conventional assumption which argues that the American educational system has been promoting intergenerational equality is largely fiction. The higher the level a child's father occupies in the occupational hierarchy, the higher will be the child's educational attainment. Now, I would like to summarize the findings arrived at by some empirical studies dealing with the subject.

Statistics demonstrate that there clearly has been a rapid increase in numbers of high school and college graduations. However, these overall figures give no information whatsoever about the distribution of educational attainment amoung different social strata of the U.S. society. Gordon informs us:

> the distribution has hardly changed at all in recent yaars. The most poorly educated third of the male population born between 1910-1914 received 20 percent of total years of schooling, while the most poorly educated third born between 1930-1934 received 22 percent.[10]

In his study, Spady presents data for American males over the past forty years concerning their educational mobility. Following is a long quotation which summarizes his findings and which deserves menitoning:

> Contrary to the assumption that the observed increases in high school and college graduation rates during this time have particularly benefited boys from the lower social strata, we found that the relative chances of such boys having reached and completed college compared with the sons of college-educated fathers have diminished over time. Paradoxically, while completion rates have continued to rise for all men, the probabilities of going to college given that you finished high school, and finishing college once you entered, have decreased over time for low-status sons. Basically, the same findings appear for each race seperately. For nearly every status and age group both the objective and conditional probabilities of reaching given educational levels are higher for whites than for non-whites. There is also considerable evidence that status differences have had an increasingly important effect on post-high school attendance even when race is taken into account. One illustriation of these racial and status differences among the youngest age cohort is that 63 per cent of the sons of white college graduates completed college compared with 1 per cent of non-whites with grade school-educated fathers.[11]

Bowles, in a recent study concluded that a child from the 90th percentile in the class distribution may expect, on the average, to achieve 4.6 more years of schooling than a child from the 10th percentile. He calculated that "the measures of family background explain 52 per cent of the variance of the years of schooling obtained by the respondent"[12] Bowles in his work on U.S. Census data for the late 1960's found out that children of families earnings less than 3,000 dollars per year were over six times as likely not to attend college as were the children of families earning over 15,000 dollars per year.[13]

The following table is borrowed from Bowles' article:

College Attendance in 1967
among High School Graduates, by Family Income

Family Income	Percent who did not attend college
Total	53.1
under $ 3,000	80.2
$ 3,000 to $ 3,999	67.7
$ 4,000 to $ 5,999	63.7
$ 6,000 to $ 7,499	58.9
$ 7,500 to $ 9,999	49.0
$ 10,000 to $ 14,999	38.7
$ 15,000 and over	13.3

In a nationwide survey of high school seniors in 1960, (Project TALENT), relationship between the socioeconomic status of parents and the probability of college entry for a male who has reached grade 11, has been sought. The following table summarizes the findings:

Probability of College Entry for a Male Who has Reached Grade 11

Ability Quartiles	Socioeconomic Quartiles: Low 1	2	3	High 4
Low 1	.06	.12	.13	.26
2	.13	.15	.29	.36
3	.25	.34	.45	.65
High 4	.48	.70	.73	.87

Sexton in her research on a Big City's educational structure sought the relationship between income and the percentage of students who apply for college admission. He concludes: "The percentage of students planning to go to college immediately increases as income increases... The percentage in group V [87%] is more than three times greater than in group I [27%]"[15] Kahl tabulated the IQ scores and father's occupation of 3348 boys who expected to go to college:

Percentage of Boys Who Expected to go to College by IQ and Father's Occupation (Boston Area, 1950-3348 Boys)

Father's Occupation	Low 1	2	3	4	High 5	All Quin.
Major White Collar	56%	72%	79%	82%	89%	80%
Middle White Collar	28	36	47	53	76	52
Minor White Collar	12	20	22	29	55	26
Skilled Labor and Service	4	15	19	22	40	19
Other Labor and Service	9	6	10	14	29	12
All Occupations	11	17	24	30	52	27

Examination of the Table shows that:

> the combination of IQ and social class... successfully predicted college aspiration at the extremes, for a boy with a Major White-Collar father (lawyer, doctor, executive) who was in the top quintile or top 20 percent of intelligence had an 89 percent chance of wanting to go college, whereas a boy with an Other Labor and Service father (semi-skilled or unskilled) who was in the bottom quintile in intelligence had only a 9 percent chance.[17]

Data arrived at from the Kahl's project shows clearly that "college expectations depend more on the occupation of father than on the student's IQ scores"[18]

Graduation from college has also become increasingly dependent on one's class background. The table on the next page which is based on data from Spady's survey of U.S. Census indicates this clearly. Inequality throughout the educational institutions continue to exist even after graduation from college. Consider the following:

> Evidence from a number of studies indicates that college students of certain social origins are differentially recruited into certain occupations... A rank ordering in terms of prestige and income of professional occupations ... reveals and inverse rank ordering of the same occupations in terms of proportion of practitioners coming from working-class origins. The highest prestige and income professions have the smallest proportions of persons from blue-collar origins.[19]

In the previous pages of this section we dealt mainly with the objective (or external) factors that expose the inequality in the educational system. However,

> There are other factors of a more subtle psychological nature which have not been illuminated and which may also work to perpetuate the existing order. It is our assumption that an intervening variable mediating the relationship between low position and lack of upward mobility is a system of beliefs and values within the lower classes which in turn reduces the very voluntary actions which would ameliorate their low position.[20]

These can be called cultural, subjective and internal factors which help perpetuate the existing unequal structure, though more subtly. As Coleman rightly says: "Althogether, the sources of inequality of educational opportunitiy appear to lie first in the home itself and

the cultural influences immediately surrounding the home"[21] Impacts of the cultural environment on the psychological molding and consequent development of certain personality traits in the child cannot be regarded of minor importance. It is undeniable, "that children tend to be cast in the image of their parents. They learn their manners, their morals, their attitudes, their values-and much more-from their parents and families"[22] Therefore, the pupil brings to school his class culture. It is argued that class-cultural factors play an important role in the existence of conspicuous difference between the slum and the suburban school. Some authors implicitly or explicitly went so far as claiming that this incompatibitly between the outlook of the lower-class pupil and that of the school is inevitable. Schools can do nothing in this respect. The following quotations present an example of such a cultural view:

> the children who are stimulated into mobility in school are ones whose initial class culture permits or encourages - perhaps even demands- mobility. The more nearly upper class the child's initial culture, the more suspectable he is to being 'set in motion' by the school. At the other end of the continuum, the lower-class child's culture does not even recognize-much less value- the possibilty of rising or, rather of doing those things, all of which require some sacrifice of present for future gratification, without which rising is impossible. The lower-class child's conceptual universe lacks the dimension of time: in such a universe people rarely try to change things.[23]

> The circumstances that prevent the lower-class child... from acquiring in school the traits of character that contribute to education also prevent him from learning how to read, write, and compute adequately. The inadequacy of his preperation in the earliest years imposes a handicap that school cannot overcome later on.[24]

In the fololwing pages we will try to pinpoint the salient features of this incompatibility.

Most of the researchers have stated the point that education, as it functions today, favors the middle-and upper-class child:

> The teacher in Britain, one writer notes, 'has become an agent by which the attempt is made to transmit the typical middle-class values. Since the educational system did not grow from the community, but was imposed from above it is the values of those in positions of higner status that were considered, usually unconsciously, as worth inculcating'[30]

Hence, in the words of Milliband, "for the majority of working-class children education, such as it is, is experienced as an imposition of an alien culture, values and even language, as an almost traumatic disjunction from family and environment."[31] Mainly, then, the lower-class child cannot cope with the school culture which is by its predominantly middle-class values tends to alienate hiw from and inclines him to rebel against this environment. Researchs conclude, with almost no exception, that the heaviest concentration of drop-outs are the lowest-income groups. In general, we can assert that, "The idea is to 'integrate' the working-class child into the given society; those who are 'bright' are helped to prepare their escape from their working-class condition; the rest are helped to accept their subordination."[32]

Now, we can probe for what Middle-class value implies. According to Loeb, one of the basic characteristics of middle-class culture "is the emphasis on propriety. In other words, more official rules are found in the middle class than are found in the middle class than are found in other places-more overtly stated guides of behaviour"[33] On the same line, Friedman adds the following:

> there is an emphasis on ownership of goods, especially home and land, that it is a home centered culture, that there is emphasis on cleanliness and tidiness, that there is an avoidance of all forms of overt aggression, and that there is an avidance of expressions of emotions generally, except on highly ritualized occassions such as birth and death. This organizational life provides many stated and formal rules for behavior. However, in general, core cultural guides are not readily stated but appear in terms of what one ought or ought not to do or what 'nice people do'.
>
> Thus middle class culture is controlled clean, tidy, non-violent, unemotional, 'nice', home-centered, and very concerned about material possessions.[34]

Furthermore, social status becomes a more effective factor in school achievement in the later grades. According to Kahl it begins to take effect in the fourth grade and the gap becomes greater with each passing grade . In the words of Kahl:

> The pattern is clear: in the earliest years is school a boy performs according to his native talent and, probably, his general emotional adjustment to the classroom situation... But as he grows older, he begins to shape his performance according to certain values that he learns from his family and friends.[35]

In sum, social and cultural environment of school favors middle-class values, and this inequality gap deepens in the later years of schooling.

Now, we will deal with another sort of inequality which is observed in the quality of school services provided to the students with different socio-economic status. Various studies have been conducted to examine the relationship between the quality of school services and the academic achievement of the students. They mostly demonstrated that students of higher socio-economic status are provided with higher quality school services are provided for the lower social class children. Some researchers even argued that "regardless of the level of analysis, socio-economic status is an excellent predictor of available school services"[36]

According to most of the studies quality and quantity of school services influences the child's further achievement. They rather consistently concluded that:

> those districts that spent more dollars per pupil were the most 'effective'; their students performed the best on test scores, attented college more frequently, and so on. These findings provide a strong case for increasing school expenditures if one desirez higher levels of student performance.[37]

However, it is quite difficult to ascertain whether higher levels of achievement are basically due to the social and cultural environment in which the children are brought up to the higher-quality school services. Those who supported the former view argued that school quality adds very little to the level of achievement the students attain; in other words, the quality of educational resources are ineffective in increasing achievement levels. In this respect, I would like to mention, Colleman's study which is the most extensive an ionwide survey conducted so far on educational institutions in the U.S.A. It covered 600 000 children and 60,000 teachers all over the country. Basing his views on his survey results, Coleman argued that achievement levels are conditional upon racial and ethnic background, and that this dependence becomes even more serious at progressively higher grade levels. Hence, he concludes:

> For most minority groups, then, and most particularly the Negro, schools provide little opportunity for them to overcome this initial deficiency; in fact they fall farther behind the white majority in the development of several skills which are critical to making a living and participating fully in modern society.[38]

In another place he presents the matter as follows:

> Per pupil expenditure, books in the libary, and a host of other facilities and curriculur measures show virtually no relation to

> achievement if the 'social' environment of the school-the educational backgrounds of other students and teachers-is held constant.[39]

However, Coleman's conclusions have been attached seriously, mainly on three points: "1) inadequacy of measurements utilized, 2) imprecise manipulation of those measures, and 3) inappropriate statistical techniques"[40] In the first place it is argued that "the measure used in the analysis in the Report was not a school-by-school per-pupil expenditure, but rather an average of instructional expenditures per student within an entire school district."[41] Arguments raised against the last two points are even stronger and more convincing. It is pointed out that in Coleman's analysis two variables, that is, the level of school resources devoted to a student's education and the socio-cultural background of the student, are not independent. Hence:

> When we control for the social class of the student, we implicitly control also for some part of the variation in school resources. The additional predictive power associated with the explicit addition of school resources to the analysis thus represents a downward-biased estimate of the real relationship between school resources and achievement.[42]

In fact, Bowles by using Coleman's data but applying different statistical procedure - by controlling the level of school resources first- come up with the conclusion which contrary to Coleman's conclusion indicates that," significant gains in Negro student's achievement levels can be made by directing additional resources to their education"[43]

At the other extreme some studies have overemphasized the influence of school services provided to the students. These, the 'cost-quality-type' studies oversimplified the relationship between the quality of school services and the achievement level of a pupil, and by seeing a direct one-to-one relationship between the two "contrued to mean that schools will solve the problems of low pupil performance if only we spend just a little more money"[44] Guthrie et al., pointed out the weaknesses and biases of such a view:

> The simplified cost-quality studies... contain a serious failing. They do not take into sufficient account the student's capabilities prior to entry into the school or the types of experiences that the student participates in outside of school. In short, such studies do not control adequately for the background and environment of the pupil.[45]

Therefore, an adequate analysis of the relationship between those two variables, the socio-cultural environment surrounding the child and the quality of school services, should be taken into account. Guthrie et al,, reviewed seventeen studies dealing with the subject in Schools and Inequality. They inform us: "These investigations have

Table 4.1. Summary of Effectiveness Studies on School Service Components

Study Author(s)	Description of Sample	Measure of Pupil Performance (School Output)	Measure(s) of Effective School Service Component(s) (School Input)
1. Mollenkopf and Melville	U.S. 17,000 9th grade (in 100 schools) and 12th grade (in 106 schools), male and female	Aptitude and achievement tests	1. Number of special staff 2. Class size 3. Pupil-teacher ratio 4. Instructional expenditures
2. Goodman	New York, 70,000 7th and 11th grade, male and female in 102 school districts	Achievement test	1. Number of special staff 2. Instructional expenditures 3. Teachers' experience 4. "Classroom atmosphere"
3. Thomas	Project TALENT Sample (national), 10th and 12th grade, male and female	Achievement test	1. Teachers' salaries 2. Teachers' experience 3. Number of library books
4. Benson	California, 5th grade, 249 school districts	Reading achievement test	1. Teachers' salaries 2. Administrators' salaries 3. Instructional expenditures
5. Kiesling	New York, 70,000 7th and 11th grade male and female in 102 school districts	Achievement test	1. Expenditure per pupil (in large school districts)
6. Coleman Report	U.S. sample	Verbal ability test	1. Teachers' verbal ability
7. Shaycoft	U.S., 108 schools, 6,500 9th and 12th grade, male and female	Battery of 42 aptitude and achievement tests	1. Curriculum variables
8. Burkhead	90,000 Chicago high school students in 39 schools, 19,000 Atlanta high school students in 22 schools and 180 small community high schools	Aptitude and achievement tests and school holding power	1. Age of building 2. Teachers' experience 3. Teacher turnover 4. Teachers' salaries
9. Plowden Report	English elementary school students		1. Age of building 2. Teachers' experience 3. Teachers' academic preparation 4. Teachers' ability

Table 4.1 (Continued)

Study (Author(s)	Description of Sample	Measure of Pupil Performance (School Output)	Measure(s) of Effective School Service Component(s) (School Input)
10. Cohn	Iowa high school students in 377 school districts	Achievement test	1. Teachers' salaries 2. Number of instructional assignments per teacher 3. School size
11. Raymond	W. Virginia, 5,000 high school students	Freshman year (college) GPA and achievement test scores	1. Teachers' salaries
12. Katzman	Boston elementary school students	School attendance, school holding power, reading achievement, special school entrance examination	1. Pupils per classroom 2. Student-staff ratio 3. Attendance district enrollment size 4. Teachers' employment status 5. Teachers' degree level 6. Teachers' experience 7. Teacher turnover ratio
13. Bowles (1)	U.S., 12th grade Negro males	Verbal ability test	1. Teachers' verbal ability 2. Science laboratory facilities 3. Length of school year
14. Bowles (2)	U.S., 12th grade Negro males	Mathematics and reading achievement test and a test of general academic ability	1. Class size 2. Ability grouping 3. Leve of teacher training 4. Age of school building 5. Expenditures per pupil
15. Bowles & Levin	12th grade Negro students and 12th grade white students	Verbal ability test scores	1. Teachers' verbal ability 2. Teachers' salaries
16. Hanushek	6th grade white students in 471 schools and 6th grade Negro students in 242 schools	Verbal ability test	1. Teachers' verbal ibility 2. Teachers' experience
17. Rib.ch	Project TALENT sample	Achievement test	1. Expenditures per pupil

been conducted using variety of sample subjects, input and output measures and controls for what are commonly presumed to be out-of-school influences upon pupil performance"[46] The following two pages are borrowed from the above mentioned study. In these tables Guthrie et al., present in summary form the various studies which investigated the effectiveness of school service components, that is, the school's contribution - by controlling the out-of-school influences - to pupils' performance. Results show an ample consistency in findings. The most significant component which relates to student performance is found to be the quality and quantity of the professional staff, particularly teachers.[47] In reviewing these studies they stated:

> In summary, we are impressed with the amount and consistency of evidence supporting the effectiveness of school services in influencing the academic performance of pupils... On the basis of information obtained in the studies we have reviewed, there can be little doubt that schools can have an effect 'that is independent of the child's social environment'. In other words, schools do make a difference.[48]

In passing, it should be noted that Guthrie et al., also come up with a similar finding in their study of the sample of Michigan students. They concluded: "The conclusion of our analysis is that the quality of school services is tied tightly to the child's social and economic circumstances"[49]

Financial arrangements for supporting schools is another source of inequality in the educational system. Now, we would like to summarize the pattern of revenue distribution for schools which help perpetuate the present discrimination. Let's start with the primary and secondary levels of education. In the States, school money is provided fundametally from local sources.

> all school support funds, with the exception of privately donated money and direct federal government grants, are, legally speaking, state monies. Nevertheless, by tradition and statue, a degree of discretion in raising revenues for schools is delegated by states to local school districts and their boards of trustees.[50]

Resource base for the generation of local revenue for schools is the total value of taxable property of the school district. Assessed valuation per pupil and socio-economic status indicators are closely related.

> As a consequence of this association, the lower SES [Socio-economic status] school districts simply do not have the tax base where withal to support schools in the same fashion as do the majority of high SES districts.[51]

Direct state aid is insufficient to overcome the advantage of wealth. In sum, the whole mechanism of financing works to the benefit of high-income students.[52] The situation in higher education is even worse. Theoretically, public colleges and universities are open to everyone; in practice, however, they serve an important function in the redistribution of public subsidies from low-income to high-income families. Generally, higher education is financed through public funds, but since most of the lower-income students drop-out before entering colleges, in practice these funds are used mainly by the higher income families. As Hansen and Weisbrod put it:

> Those low-income students who are eligible to go to higher educational institutions most often wind up at institutions where the education subsidy is lowest. And they are more likely to drop out before graduation. For these and other Well-known reasons, the cards are stacked against low-income youngesters. Yet because tax revenues are used to support higher education, the anamalous result is lower-income families not only do not receive significant amount of public higher-education subsidies but actually pay a larger fraction of their income in taxes to support higher education than do more affluent families.[53]

Finally, I would like to comment on the decision-making in the educational system which in the words of Bowles is "a sensitive barometer of the power relations within a society. The selection process, the promotion probabilities, and the formulation of educational policy reflect who really counts and who really governs"[54] In educational institutions, school-boards are at the top of the decision making hierarchy. "They exercise the final authority on school matters"[55] Sexton cites the findings of some studies which investigated the composition of school board members:

> Upper-income groups tend to dominate school boards in other areas of the country too. Roy W. Caughran found, for example, that school boards in the state of Illinois in 1956 tended to be selected from 'upper' and 'upper-middle' class groups and that, while farm representation in the Illinois boards has decreased, the businessmen's representation had increased.
>
> According to Robert Havinghurst, a number of studies have shown that about 75 percent of all board members are business proprietors, business managers, professional workers, or wives of such men and that from 3 per cent to 15 per cent are manual workers.[56]

In short, it is upper-income business and professional groups which dominate school boards.

Empirical studies which we have cited in this section show the educational failure of lower-income children, in general. Who is responsible for this persistent low achievement of the students from lower-income families? So far, State policies have not been successfull in ameliorating the situation. The environmentalist school, which emphasized the effects of sub-culture peculiar to low-income families, have already been mentioned.

In this section, I would like to start discussion with the Genetic School, which concentrates on the subjective level to explain the apparent failure of lower-income students at schools. For them, IQ is an objective instrument of measuring pupils innate capabilities, and stratification in school system should be explained in terms of stratified IQ levels. In this section, we will try to present pro's and con's of the above-summarized views. An attempt has also been made to demonstrate their role in legitimization of the capitalist system. Now, let's probe into the matter.

Genetic School: This school asserts that people have different genetic erdowments and this is of central importance in explaining students' level of achievement in school, in particular, and stratification system of advanced technological societies, in general.[57] Bowles and Gintis inform us:

> At the heart of this argument lies the venerable thesis that IQ, as measured by tests such as the Stanford-Binet, is largely inhereted via genetic transmission, rather than molded through environmental influences.[58]

Both school and society rewards talent and merit. In fact, the inevitable close association between status and intelligence is legitimized through the 'screening process' of education.

> According to this explanation, the child's inability to perform well in school is not the fault of the school, which may have neglected both him and his natural intellectual interests, nor is it the fault of a disturbed or inadequate home situation. The fault is with the child.[59]

On the occupational level, there also exists a close association between one's intelligence measured by IQ tests and his or her prospective place in the hierarchy. This development is inevitable and it appears that it will continue exist in the future, too. According to Bereiter:

> The prospect is of a meriocratic caste system, based... on the natural consequences of inherited differences in intellectual potential... It would tend to persist even though everyone at all levels of the hierarchy considered it a bad thing.[60]

In short, the Genetic School reduces the whole discussion to a subjective, individual level; those with intelligence and talent can climb up to the highest levels of the echelon independent of the social class and race to which he or she belongs. And, IQ is supposed to be the objective instrument in measuring this inherited genetic quality. In fact, various studies including Coleman's extensive investigations demonstrated the close, positive relationship between income level or race of a student and his or her achievement scores at school, that is, scores tend to go up as income goes up. This relation is so consistent that 'gifted-child' programs are almost exclusively in the service of upper-income groups. In a study it has been found that not one of the 436 students who are selected as 'gifted' children came from an income group below 5,000 dollars per annum.[61] In an another study, Gallanger and Crowder found that of the total school population of a Midwestern city the highest scores on IQ tests were all from upper status families; 49 per cent were the offsprings of college professors, and 73 per cent were from either business or professional families. None of the students came from unskilled workers' families.[62] Needless to say, those who support 'gifted-child' programs (with their motto of 'educate the elite, and forget about the others')[63] as a major solution to educational problems find their spokesmen among Genetic School adherents. The Genetic school and the policies advocated by them have been attacked by various researchers severely. Among them Sexton draws attention to the content of IQ tests and points out the dangers of such superficial conclusions. She says:

> The greatest difference in these scores is in reading; lower-income groups are unusually weak and upper-income groups are unusually strong in reading. Perhaps this explains why the over-all performance levels of lower-income groups on these achievement tests is below that of upper-income groups.[64]

On the same line, Coleman came to a similar conclusion. He stated that: "poor readers, as a group, come with surprising consistency from children of low socio-economic sattus"[65] After stating similar examples Sexton makes the following evaluation:

> What does all this mean? Are these lower-class children poor readers because they are not very bright? Or are they poor readers because their parents do not or cannot read to them, because they have no books at home, because their home environment does not fit them psychologically for reading and for school work? Evidence is that these children <u>can</u> learn to read when enough attention is given to them and their reading problems.[66]

The same bias seems to exist in the case of 'gifted-child', too. In the above-cited study of Gallanger and Crowder a psychological test was given to 'gifted' students, and the results indicate that

they had unexpectedly poor creativity, little emotional disturbance and good ego control.[67] As Sexton put it, "The bookish child, it appears, rather than the creative child, has the better chance of being labeled 'gifted'"[68] This also shows the apparent middle-class bias of these tests. Davis says: "There is now clear, scientific evidence that these tests use chiefly problems which are far more frequently met in urban middle-class culture."[69] Hence, he concludes, it is unfair to evaluate lower-income students' talent according to the scores he gets on IQ tests. The report of Harvard University admissions committee strengthens the above view:

> We are aware that high test scores and top class ranking in secondary school are not... very reliable evidence of real quality, intellectual or otherwise... We are concerned lest we overvalue the conformist boy of high verbal facility who has always kept his nose clean, done what was expected of him and gone blinkered down the middle of the road grindling out top grades as he went... Passion, fire. warmth, goodness, feeling, color, humanity, eccentric individuality - we value these and do not want to see them give way to meek competence.[70]

Actually the range of critism of IQ tests is wider than their middle-class bias. As Sexton puts it: "There is no valid way of measuring native, inborn intelligence. In fact there isn't even agreement about what intelligence is or what the IQ tests should try to measure"[71] Furthermore, it is argued that intelligence is not something 'given', 'innate', 'inherited', 'native', but rather can be raised "by changing environment, improving reading skills and teaching children how to take tests"[72]

Radicals persistently argue that, there is no reason to surprise at the lasting failure of lower income-students, since this is an inescapable product of capitalistic social relations. In fact, educational institutions operate to reproduce social relations of production by legitimizing the persistent failure of the lower-income students. Therefore,

> they reject the views that the educational system alone can and should bear the responsibility for achieving equal opportunity. As Bowles points out, 'equality of educational opportunity implies major changes in society at large and, in fact, cannot be achieved by the efforts of the educational system alone'.[73]

In sum, the roots of the problem lies within the basic institutions of the capitalist system.

SECTION 7
7. Postschool Opportunity - Education and Earnings

In the former section, we have dealt with the inequality in educational institutions. Now, I would like to mention postschool opportunity, relationship between education and earnings and the concept of 'human capital'.

Neo-classical theories of unemployment and poverty theorize that,

> labor income is determined by labor's marginal productivity. Workers are paid according to how much they contribute to marginal increases in output... higher earnings merely reflect a higher marginal productivity for labor. If an individual's income is too low, his productivity is too low. His income can be raised only if his productivity can be raised.[1]

In short, orthodox economists continue to argue that individuals with little education, training and skills (i.e., little human capital) have low marginal productivities. Attainment of more schooling improves the productivity of an individual. Increased productivity leads to higher wages which significantly contribute to the elimination of poverty.

Before presenting the empirical studies conducted to exhibit the relationship between education and earnings, I would like to summarize the theoretical discussions revolved around the newly developed concept of 'human capital'.

7.2 Human Capital : Although the treatment of productive human beings as capital has a long history, revival of the application of the capital concept to man by neo-classical economists is quite a recent approach. In the words of Schultz:

> Although it is obvious that people acquire usefull skills and knowledge, it is not obvious that these skills and knowledge are a form of capital, that this capital is in substantial part a product of deliberate investment.[2]

Hence, for a long time investments in human beings have not been "incorporated in the formal core of economics". It is the Fisherian concept of capital (after Irving Fisher's classic work on capital and income) which enabled neo-classical economists to analyze "the problem of putting capital into people through education and training, in much the same way one puts money capital into plant or equipment"[3] The essence of Fisherian concept of capital is "to regard 'capital' as including anything that yields a stream of income over time, and income as the product of capital"[4] Hence, the notion of 'human capital' implies that "the cost of education is a value-creating factor"[5] Investments in human capital can be categorized into five groups:

> 1) health facilities and services, broadly conceived to include all expenditures that affect the life expectancy, strength and stamina, and the vigor and vitality of a people; 2) on-the-job training, including old-style apprenticeship organized by firms; 3) formally organized education at the elementary, secondary and higher levels; 4) study programs for adults that are not organized by firms, including extension programs notably in agriculture; 5) migration of individuals and families to adjust to changing job opportunities.[6]

Liberals argue that the distinct quality of human capital is that, "both inherently and by legal tradition, control over the use of the capital is vested in the individual embodying the capital, regardless of the source of finance of the investment in it"[7] Radicals reply to this view in the following way:

> A wage worker in capitalist society does own his labor power and thus could conceivably be seen as 'investing' in himself when he spends money to refurbish it. Unfortunately, however, he does not control the exercise of that labor power - its translation into labor - and thus he does not gain control over the value he produces above and beyond the 'compensation' of the costs that go to make up his labor power.[8]

Literature on the concept of capital is abundant, therefore, I would like, mainly, to concentrate on the criticisms made against this view in the remaining part.

Shaffer criticizes the human capital concept, that is to say, "the universal application of the capital concept to man", mainly for three rather practical and technical reasons. First, he argues that" 'investment in man' is essentially different from that in non-human capital"[9] In the former case, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to identify the components of investment and consumption when dealing with expenditures on human beings. As to the second and third reasons Shaffer says:

> Secondly, where it is possible to separate consumption expenditure from investment in man it would still remain a virtual impossibility to allocate a specific return to a specific investment in man...
>
> Finally, if consumption expenditure could be separated from investment in man, and if it were possible to compute the part of man's income that results from a given investment-in-man expenditure, it would in most instances still be ill-advised... to utilize the information thus obtained as the exclusive or even the primary basis for policy formation, public or private.[10]

Many Liberals are uncritically in favor of the investment in-human-capital concept fundamentally because they praised public education as a remedy to many societal illnessnesses including unemployment, poverty and inequality. They suggest:

> More equal education, it was confidently asserted, could achieve significantly greater equality of economic opportunity and income without challenging the basic economic institutions of society and without requiring any major redistribution of capital.[11]

And. They "apparently intend to utilize it [the investment-in-human-capital concept] as a rationalization of Federal aid to education."[12] However, " a recent article in Business Week", comment Linder and Sensat, "puts an end to this myth". The article reads:

> Yet the balancing of jobs and job candidates may be more than any government can bring off. So there may be a rude awakening from the Great American Dream: that thanks to education successive generations will advanced from blue-collar to executive pin-stripe.[13]

Bowles and Gintis criticism centers more on theoretical and ideological levels. They assert: "Human capital theory is the most recent, and perhaps ultimate, step in the elimination of class as a central economic concept"[14] In the following quotation their evaluation of the concept is presented in a summary:

> Human capital theory allows fundamental insights not available to earlier versions of neoclassical

> economics. First, it returns to and extends the Ricardian and Marxian tradition in treating labor as a produced means of production, whose characteristics depend on the total configuration of economic forces. Second, it rejects the simplistic assumption of homogenous labor and centers attention on the differentiation of the labor force. Third, it brings basic social institutions (such as schooling and family), previously relegated to the purely cultural and superstructural spheres, into the realm of economic analysis.
>
> Yet this degree of success is secured at a considerable price: 'labor' disappears as a fundamental explanatory category and is absorbed into a concept of capital in no way enriched to handle labor's special character. One gets the uneasy feeling that the operation was successful, but the patient vanished.[15]

The authors point to the ideological essence of the theory by analyzing the concept of capital. In the words of Bowles and Gintis:

> The justification for the expression 'human capital' is the fact that skills, like other assets, constitute a claim on future income. This usage is throughly in neoclassical tradition. In the earlier, classical tradition the concept capital encompassed and unified two distinct aspects: the claim on future income and the ownership and control over the means of production. Except to the very limited extent that learning allows one to go into production on one's own, education cannot be called capital in the classical sense... it must be admitted that educated workers do not control, much less own, the means of production. Yet it is precisely this latter, classical sense of the word capital which provides the ideological impact to the statement that every worker is now a capitalist.[16]

Their capital, however, as Linder and Sensat commented:

> is at a slight disadvantage vis-à-vis the ordinary run-of-the-mill capital: it cannot be divorced from the 'human' and banked to 'grow interest' when the 'human' is 'idle'; in other words, unemployed human capital gathers no interest.[17]

In their article, Bowles and Gintis offer yet another criticism:

> economically relevant skills are not unidimensional; they cannot be aggregated into a single measure of which some individuals will have more and others less. Even in a purely formal sense, the reduction

> of heterogenous labor to a single 'human capital' measure presents serious problems in a general equilibrium framework.[18]

Bowles and Gintis argue that schooling, occupational training, child rearing and health care perform dual economic functions:

> they play an essential, if indirect role, in production, and they are also essential to the perpetuation of the entire economic and social order. These processes can not be understood without reference to the social requirements for the reproduction.[19]

Thus, they continue:

> an adequate theory of human resources must comprise both a theory of productionand of social reproduction. The theory of human capital offers no theory of reproduction at all and presents a very partial theory of production, one which abstracts from the social relations of production in favor of technical relations.[20]

Because of this inadequacy, hierarchical, repressive social relations in the school system are often held by the human-capital analysts to be irrelevant and exogenously-determined factors which are to be studied in the realm of other social sciences. In the following long quotation Bowles and Gintis comment on this feature of the discussion so eloquently that it needs no further explanation:

> Again, the error in the human capital approach lies in its partial view of production and its abstratction from social reproduction. For example, the repressive nature of schooling, hardly a contribution to human welfare, is an integral part of the production of a disciplined work force and is directly related to the social relations of production. Likewise, the perpetuation of sexism, racism, and elitism in our schools would not be said to be welfare-conducive or even welfare-neutral by most human capital theorists. Yet these aspects of schooling play an essential role in the reproduction of the capitalist order, a role inseparable from the capacity of schools to produce 'good' workers. By abstracting from the social relations of production and the role of schooling in the reproduction of capitalism, human capital theorists have put forth a one-dimensional normative framework for the analysis of educational decisions which has no reasonable relationship to human welfare.
>
> The theory of human capital like the rest of neo-classical economics, ultimately locates the sources of human happiness and misery in the interaction of

> human nature (preferences and 'abilities') with nature itself (technologies and resources). This framework provides an elegant apology for almost any pattern of oppression or inequality (under capitalism, state socialism, or whatever), for it ultimately attributes social or personal ills either to the shortcomings of individuals or the unavoidable technical requisites of production. It provides, in short, a good ideology for the defense of the status quo. But it is a poor science for understanding either the workings of the capitalist economics or the way towards an economic order more conducive to human happiness.[21]

Now, we will present the conclusions arrived at in some empirical studies conducted to show the relationship between the level of educational attainment and the incomes earned. Is direct relationship between these variables so undisputable a fact? Have investments in the poor thre education significantly contributed to the elimination of poverty? In this section, we will deal with this subject while focusing our attention on the inequalities prevailing within the system. First, we will concentrate on the relationship between the level of schooling and the earnings of the people.

As Guthrie et al., pointed out "The global observation that persons with more schooling receive higher earnings over their lifetimes has been obvious even to the most casual viewer"[22] In fact, most of the studies conducted at the global level demonstrated a strong positive relationship between schooling (measured in number of years of attendance) and annual or life time earnings. They concluded that the higher the level of schooling attained by a worker the greater will be his economic opportunity, and his level of earnings.

Miller, examined the relationship between annual income and educational attainment as revealed in the annual income surveys conducted by the Bureau of the Census since 1945. He found that,

> in every year for which data are presented [1939, 1946, 1949, 1956, 1958] the completion of an additional level of schooling was associated with higher average incomes for men... Although the income levels have changed considerably during the past 20 years, the basic relationship between the extent of schooling and income appears to have remained much the same. Contrary to the expectations of some analysts, the economic advantages accruing from the completion of additional years of schooling have not diminished in recent years.[23]

In another study, Hanoch concluded that for white males (25-34 years old), each additional year of schooling appeared to result in around 350 dollars additional yearly income.[24] Furthermore, job security and level of employment are positively correlated with educational levels.

Sexton has noted : "A college graduate had almost twice as good a chance of working throughout the 1958 recession as did the person with only an elementary-school education"[25] About the level of unemployment Waldman informs us that

> The March 1968 unemployment rate of 4.9 percent for all workers with less than 4 years of high school was nearly double the rate of those who had at least completed high school. College graduates registered a very low jobless rate of 1 percent.[26]

At this point, another subject of interest is the question of "what portion of an individual's earnings is uniquely attributable to education". Guthrie et al., cited Denison's findings in this respect:

> Denison estimates that only 60 percent of the differences in individual earnings that correspond to differences in schooling is attributable to schooling itself, and 40 percent is due to the superior earnings attributes on other dimensions of persons with higher levels of schooling.[27]

Discussions on the question of whether the income-schooling association is a superious one still prevails. However, as Welch put it correctly, although the "controls for ability and/or for family background appear to reduce the measured contribution of income to schooling... they do not reduce it to zero. The argument that the income-schooling relationships are causal remains intact.[28] Hence, a liberal by examining the above-given findings might easily conclude that, "the high rates of return to investment in schooling go a long way toward explaining, or justifying, this society's traditional faith in education, as well as the desire of individuals as they can".[29] However, although the empirical basis for the position which asserts that higher educational attainments by the poor is the most effective single element in achiaving equality of incomes seem strong, it has been contested by various studies. In the words of Gordon:

> Evidence has accululated that the monetary returns to education vary substantially between blacks and whites. Many analysts have found either of two principal results in different studies: first that additional years of schooling are associated with returns for blacks (at least for certain schooling increments, especially grades nine throug eleven); or second, that the returns associated with increased schooling are much larger for whites than blacks.[30]

We will focus on the latter issue.

Various empirical studies have clearly indicated that blacks benefited less - in terms of increased income - than whites from each additional year of schooling. In other words, non-white workers have been unable to translate their additional schooling into higher earnings in the same degree as whites do. Now, I would like to mention the findings that some empirical studies come up with in their investigations of this question. Hannoch's findings suggest that "the estimated lifetime earnings of nonwhite males with egiht grades of education is 64 percent of that for whites with a similar level of schooling; the analogous fraction for those with 12 years of schooling is 60 per cent.[31] Bowles cites Weiss's empirical study where he "estimated earnings functions for black workers having 12 or fewer years of schooling. He found no statistically significant monetary returns to additional schooling except for workers in the 35-44 year age group"[32]. Waldman investigates the educational attainment and average incomes of male workers. While he admits that the gap in white-nonwhite educational attainment narrowed between 1952 and 1968, he adds the following :

> Among men who completed high school or had 1 year of college or more, the ratio of nonwhite to white income rose to three-fourths. Average income of nonwhite college graduate men was 7,750 dollars in 1967, compared with 10,500 dollars among white men... Among men employed as white-collar workers, there was little difference in 1968 in the median years of school completed - 13.3 for white men and 13.0 for the nonwhites. Despite this, in every educational category average nonwhite income was 2,000 dollars to 2,500 dollars to 2,500 dollars than white income.
>
> Better educated nonwhite men frequently have the same if not lower income as lesser educated white men in the same occupation.[33]

Harrison, in his study of Central-city Poverty Areas in the States' twelve largest SMSA's concluded that

> blacks in the urban slums have achieved levels of schooling comparable to those of whites in the same neighbourhoods...
>
> In spite of these achievements, nonwhites in the ghetto (of whom large majority are black) continue to lag behind even ghetto whites in term of earnings, unemployment rates, and job status. In general, for all races, the jobs to which ghetto workers have access are of poor quality and pay wages which are substandard by a number of widely accepted benchmarks.[34]

According to Harrison, in urban ghetto areas education has only a limited impact upon hourly earnings, and there is an upper limit to hourly wages irrespective of education. Furthermore "high school... has three times as high a marginal pay off for ghetto whites as for ghetto nonwhites"[35] Returns to education also differ by class. Citing Conlisk's unpublished study, Gordon informs us that the author "found that a worker's earnings increase in direct relationship with the income of his parents, controlling for years of schooling attained by the worker"[36] Bowles, by using data from a U.S. Census Survey of 20,000 males, 20-64 years of age in 1962, investigated the same relationship. He concluded that :

> The estimated increment in annual income associated with an additional year of schooling is 265 dollars. Yet this partial relationship of schooling to income net of socio-economic background is less than 60 percent as large as the gross return indicated by the simple relationship between the two variables. This findings suggest that much of the apparent economic return to schooling is in fact a return to socio-economic background.[37]

7.3 We have already examined the relationship between the earnings of workers and their level of schooling. Before closing this section, I would like to deal with the "mechanism by which education affects earnings or productivity". In general, neoclassical economists assume that schooling "raise the level of cognitive development of students and that it is this increase which explains the relationship between schooling and earnings"[38] Furthermore, neoclassical view assume that "the mechanism by which schooling contributes to earnings operates independently from the character structures of the individual students. That is, they assume that the process of schooling does not affect the tastes and personalities of the future workers being processed for higher productivity"[39] Therefore, teacher's assessment of a student's performance depends solely on his cognitive attainments. In other words, it is totally an objective process. In sum, according to neo-classical model, wages reflect marginal revenue product, and education via inculcating cognitive skills increase the productivity of workers which result in increase of production and wage level of workers.

Radicals, though recognize that educational credentials fulfill a significant function by enhancing workers' productivity; attempt to analyze the phenomenon in a broader perspective. They argue that schooling raise marginal revenue product in a variety of ways:

> First, investment in education may increase the labor power of the individual, either through increasing skills and productive capacities, or through supplying credentials which enhance supervisory authority. Second, schooling may increase the ease with which the empolyer can extract labor from a worker with given labor power by generating or selecting individual motivational patterns more compatible with the class-based power structure and incentive mechanisms of the enterprise. Third, the educated worker may be more valuable through his or her overall impact on the size of the wage bill, in that the segmentation of workers by income and status characteristics inhibits the formation of coalitions of workers capable of countering the power of the capitalist.
>
> We may add that, because of the essential role of education in reproducing the capitalist order as a whole, the capitalist class has an interest in schooling which transcends any narrow calculation of marginal revenue products at the enterprise level.[40]

In short, radicals reject the mechanistic, one-dimensional view of the neo-classical analysts. They contend that "the production of 'better workers' cannot be understood simply by reference to how individual worker-skills are related to individual worker-productivities. A highly skilled fork force is not necessarily a profitable work force"[41] While neoclassical view concentrate its whole effort in analyzing the

technical skills and abstract productive capacities, radicals work on the social relations of production which they argue should be an important component of the analysis to understand the basic functions of the education and the "mechanism by which education affects earnings or productivity."

Radicals suggest that schooling affects chances of economic success, basically not through its contribution to student's cognitive development but predominantly by the inculcation of non-cognitivetraits. In the words of Bowles:

> A college education contributes to a person's future income in part through the knowledge gained in college; but of equal or greater importance are the patterns of behaviour and the attidues towards work, towards fellow workers, and towards authority that are inculcated in college. From the employer's standpoint, the college diploma rarely signifies the cognitive skills acquired in college. Rather, it provides a label of attidues and behaviour patterns, consistent with the hierarchical relations of production in the modern corporation.[42]

In another study conducted by Bowles and Gintis followings are added to the above summarized view:

> occupational status is contingent upon a pattern of non-cognitive personality traits (motivation, orientation to authority, discipline, internalization of work norms), as well as a complex of personal attributes through which the individual aids in legitimating and stabilizing the structure of authority in the modern enterprise itself. Chief among these personal attributes are modes of self-presentation (pattern of dress, speech and manners, career loyalities, social distance from other strata), credentials (education, seniority), and ascriptive traits (sex, color).[43]

Furthermore, educational system "segments the work force, Forestalls the development of working class consciousness, and legitimates economic inequality by providing an open objective, and ostensibly meritocratic mechanism for assigning individuals to unequal occupational positions"[44]

In sum, educational institutions help in great deal to enhance the class nature of the production process where "the capitalists' need for incentive and control mechanisms which will extract labor from workers at the lowest possible wage and prevent the formation of worker coalitions which could oppose their power"[45] Some liberals who are convinced with the validity of radical's argument, defense their view against radicals by arguing that "if marketable skills are produced in school it does not matter from a positive perspective whether the skills are predominantly affective... on whether they are cognitive"[46] Gintis replies this counter-argument by drawing attention to the point that

those personality traits inculcated in schools are generally inhibit personal development of students. He sattes: "The 'economic productivity' of schooling must be measured against an 'opportunity cost' reflected in the development of an alienated and repressed labor force"[47]

In the next section, we will deal with the remedies and alternatives proposed by different schools in depth.

SECTION 8
8. Remedies and Alternatives

In this section of the study, I would like to mention some remedies which have been suggested in order to ameliorate, and alternatives which have been proposed to replace the present system of education. Proposed solutions to the problems of the educational system in the capitalist system differ widely from conservative to radical views, liberals occupying the middle of the spectrum. The following discussion starts with the conservative view, followed by liberal and radical views. I have also tried to point out the varying nuances within each main grouping.

8.1 Conservative View: Banfield, a well-known writer on urban issues is an undispitable spokesman of the conservative -even racist- views on the problem of education. Banfield starts his analysis by citing various empirical studies which demonstrate the unadaptability of the lower-income students to the school environment, their persistent failure and high drop-out rates. Basing his views on such empirical findings he argues that "the lower-class person cannot as a rule be given much training because he will not accept it."[1] According to him, there is no way of changing this unadaptability, since an important part the qualities which makes one on educated person, that is, the character traits he or she possesses are acquired not in school but during pre-school childhood. And, lower-income students experience a totally different environment in their childhood; one which is in complete contradiction to developing personality traits conducive to the "qualities of an educated person". On the other hand, proposals suggesting to make school environment more suitable to the lower-income students are not realistic, since such a radical change in school system would mean no education at all. In short, Banfield concludes: "Unfortunately, ... the lower-class person acquires in childhood an outlook and style of life completely antithetical to education."[2] He even goes as far as to argue that confinement of education only to the upper classes "makes good sense". The following citation is so clear that it needs no further comment:

> Stretching out childhood and adolescence [which is a required precondition of schooling] is characteristic of the upper classes, and for them doing so makes good sense: the individual anticipates a long life and therefore an extended period of preparation is both a luxury he can afford and a good investment as well. In the lower classes the individual's situation is very different: his earnings power and his capacity to enjoy what for him are the good things of life are greatest in his twenties and thirties and diminish rapidly thereafter.[3]

In latter parts of his study, Banfield argues that schooling adds little to the employability of workers. Furthermore, he claims that "Contrary to popular opinion, the tendency of the economy is to require less rather than more knowledge and intellectual ability of most people"[4] After opposing the liberal view, which asserts increment of the skills of workers through schooling as an effective measure to reduce unemployment and poverty, he gives his solution to the problem: Since the class outlook and style of life of the lower-income children is not suited to educating them, they should join the labor force as early as possible. Banfield puts it very plainly:

> In principle, the answer to this question is easy. At whatever age they finish school, boys and girls should go to work. The discipline of the job will more than take the place of that of the school. Moreover, it is a better discipline.[5]

On the conservative side, the views of a prominent economist, Friedman on the same topic should also be mentioned. As a strong proponent of the competitive market, he opposes the "nationalization of the education industry". In other words, he favors non-government intervention in the educational "industry". Jencks come to the same conclusion to offset the "growing power of the professional educatiors" The solution offered is to de-nationalize schooling through creating competitive enterprises in the "industry". Jencks claims that "competition can and does flourish when the government does not rig the market." And, a competitive market, by widening the range of choice, permits "consumers" to satisfy their own tastes. In sum, "competitive enterprise is likely to be far more efficient in meeting consumer demand than either nationalized enterprises or enterprises run to serve other people"[6] The proposed scheme is supposed to function in the following manner:

> The educational services could be rendered by private enterprises operated for profit, or by non-profit institutions. The role of the government would be limited to insuring that the schools met certain minimum common content in their programs, much as it now inspects restaurants to insure that they maintain minimum sanitary standards.[7]

In the words of Jencks:

> First, every effort must be made to ensure that students and parents have complete freedom to choose among all the various schools and colleges in the nation... a student who wants to attend a private school or college should get the same subsidy from the state as a student who wants to attend a public school or college, so long as the private institution meets minimal criteria established by the state.[8]

According to the authors, the adoptation of the suggested arrangement will help the creation of a "healty variety of schools". In the words of Friedman:

> If present expenditures on schooling were made available to parents regardless of where they send their children, a wide variety of schools would spring up to meet the demand. Parents could express their views about schools directly by withdrawing their children from one school and sending them to another, to a much greater extent than is now possible.[9]

The authors admit the necessity of government financing in education. However, parallel to their above-summarized view, government subsidies should be made directly to the families. Friedman proposed the following mechanism:

> Governments could require a minimum level of schooling financed by giving parents vouchers redeemable for a specified maximum sum per child per year if spent on "approved" educational services. Parents would then be free to spend this sum and any additional sum they themselves provided on purchasing educational services from an "approved" institution of their own choice.[10]

Friedman summarizes the social and economic benefits expected to accrue by the adoption of the above-suggested arrangements in the following citations:

> The essential principle of such an educational system would be that the needs of individual students have primacy over the needs of institutions, public or private, and that subsidies will be spent on the kinds of education parents and students want, not on the kind politicians want and control.[11]

> This would eliminate the governmental machinery now required to collect tax funds from all residents during the whole of their lives and then pay it back mostly to the same people during the perion when their children are in school. It would reduce the likelihood that governments woul also administer schools.[12] Suggested arrangements might well mean smaller governmental expenditures on schooling, yet higher total expenditures. It would enable parents to buy what they want more efficiently and thereby lead them to spend more than they now do directly and indirectly through taxation.[13]

8.2 Liberal View: Liberals, while admitting the malfunctioning of the educational system, argue that they are of a temporary nature and can be perfected by consistent and persistent reforms within the present social context. Contrary to conservatives, they believe in government intervention. For them it is an important mean in putting reforms into execution to ameliorate the situation in the educational sphere. In order to give a clearer vision of liberal views on education, I will cite the remedies suggested by some of them. The following are chosen among the reform measures proposed by Sexton:

> school expenditures be equalized, at the very least among the various income groups.
> Curriculum adjustments should be made for lower income students.
> Use of I.Q tests should be stopped.
> More attention should be given to the psychological, medical, and nutritional needs of lower-income students; where community agencies do not provide necessary services, the schools should feel obliged to take on the responsibility.
>
> Class size in lower-income schools should be reduced.
> All segregated groupings and curriculums... should be eliminated.
> The lower-income students' range of experience with the outside world should be broadened by means of field trips.
>
> Whenever it seems advisable, students should be given a voice in planning their own goals and programs of study.
>
> As for extra-curricular activities, there should be more emphasis on sports, and recreational and cultural activities that will involve all students.[14]

Coleman sets down his proposals under three major groupings:

> a) For those children whose family and neighborhood are educationally disadvantaged, it is important to replace this family environment as much as possible with an educational environment-by starting school at an earlier age, and by having a school which begins very early in the day and ends very late.
> b) It is important to reduca the social and racial homogeneity of the school environment...
> c) The educational program of the school should be made more effective than it is at present.[15]

Another such study referred to in the previous pages of this section is Guthrie et al.'s Schools and Inequality where the authors, after pointing out the many-sidedness of the inequality between low and high

income students, propose that "more dollars must be expended on those children who typically enter school with the least initial opportunity, those from the lower socio-economic strata"[16] In addition to the more dollars spent on lower-income students authors suggest that "a new educational approach must be implemented, one that addresses itself to the specific needs of each child"[17] On the same line they further continue:

> In our view, the only alternative that is feasible is to find a means by which the schooling of a child can be tailored to his particular needs and abilities. Rather than requiring that he shape himself to fit the pattern of existing services, the pattern should be fitted to him.[18]

I think that the above-given examples shed a light on liberals' proposals on educational problems. However, after proposing measures similar to the ones given above, liberals usually take care of adding a sentence which reads: "However, it must be kept in mind that this is a long-run solution and by no means a complete one"[19]

In sum, reforms proposed by liberals obscures the true problems and deflects attention to secondary objectives. In general, they do not get down to the roots of the trouble. Even those who are aware of the essence of the problem stop on the half-way by only proposing half measures.

Before summarizing the radical views in passing, I would like to mention about the well-known American pragmatist, that is, Dewey's valuable contributions in reshaping the educational system in this section. His reformist views has been put into practice in various countries, including Turkey.
The main countours of Dewey's doctrine has been codified by The Progressive Education Association as follows:

> (1) The conduct of the pupils shall be governed by themselves, according to the social needs of their community. (2) Interest shall be the motive for all work. (3) Teacher will inspire a desire for knowledge, and will serve as guides in the investigations undertaken rather than as task-masters. (4) Scientific study of each pupil's development, physical, mental, social, and spiritual, is absolutely essential to the intelligent direction of his or her development. (5) Greater attention should be paid to the child's physical needs, with greater use of outdoors, (6) Cooperation between school and home will fill all needs of the child's development, such as music, dancing, play, and other extracurricular activities. (7) All progressive schools will look upon their work as of the laboratory type, freely giving to the sum of educational knowledge the results of their experiments in child culture.[20]

The supreme educational theory of Dewey, however did not serve in practice as the prime solver of social problems by producing the intellectual and moral changes. Although, Dewey's "ideas inspired many modifications in the traditional curriculum, in the techniques of instruction, in the pattern of school construction... they have not changed the basis or the essential characteristics of the school system, and certainly not the class and racial stratification of American society".[21] Novack, explains the failure of Dewey's proposals of progressive education as follows:

> Dewey went wrong not in what he proposed for the school itself, but in his lack of understanding of the forces at work in American society and of the real relations between the educational and economic systems under capitalist rule.[22]

He further continued:

> In reality, the kind of education he urged went counter to the demands of monopoly capitalism. The ruling class does not want a populace made up of outspoken, critical-minded, inquisitive individuals. It has to keep its labor market stocked with people trained not only to operate its factories and offices, but to be voting sheep for its parties as well.
>
> The modes of life and learning inside the schools were at variance with the realities of the business civilization outside... The sharp contrasts between the intellectual habits, moral values, and code of conduct instilled in the schools and what they experience around them generate deep uncertainty, confusion, and frustration among young people in all walks of American life.[23]

In short, it is impossible to harmonize the capitalistic social environment with the progressive educational views. In order to be able to put educational reforms into practice the whole society has to be based upon the cooperative principle contrary to atomistic social structure created by the institutions of private property, "which subordinate the needs of the pupils to the dictates of the profiteers"[24]

In fact, Dewey, too drew similar conclusions as he faced with the failure of his progressive movement. He wrote:

> It is unrealistic, in my opinion to suppose that the schools can be a main agency in producing the intellectual and moral changes, the changes in attitudes and disposition of thought and purpose which are necessary for the creation of a new social order. Any such view ignores the constant operation of powerful forces outside the school which shape mind and character, it ignores the fact that school education is but one educational agency out of many, and at the best is in some respects a minor educational force.[25]

8.3 Radical View: On the question of education, different views prevail within the radical camp. Therefore, though in the following presentation they are placed together under the same group, particular attention has been paid to name the school and/or person who introduces the view. What is common in the whole camp, however is the view that it is impossible to find authentic solutions to the problem within the framework of capitalist society. In order to bring about a radical change in the educational field, capitalism must first be destroyed.

American radicals who united around the U.R.P.E (Union for Radical Political Economists), recognized at the very outset that "the achievement of equality of educational opportunity involves very real conflicts of interest"[26]. They argue that "the achievement of equality of educational opportunity in our society will probably require major changes in the distribution of political power"[27].They pointed out persistently to the systemic nature of the problem. In the words of Bowles:

> the burden of achieving equality of educational opportunity should not, and cannot, be borne by the educational system alone. The achievement of some degree of equality of opportunity depends in part upon what we do in the educational system but also, to a very large degree, upon what we do elsewhere in the economy, in the polity, and in the society as a whole.[28]

In the U.S. "educational reform movements failed", they contend since

> they sought to eliminate educational inequalities without challenging the basic institutions of capitalism. Efforts to equalize education through changes in government policy will at best scratch the surface of inequality. For much of the inequality in U.S. education has its origin outside the limited sphere of state power.[29]

In sum, radicals argue that "unequal education has its roots in the very class structure which it serves to legitimize and reproduce. Inequalities in education are thus seen as part of the web of capitalist society, and likely to persist as long as capitalism survives"[30] Radicals, though, concluded simply that inequalities in the educational system will continue to exist as long as capitalistic relations of production prevail. However, they do not oppose reforms made in the capitalists structure; in fact, they support them. In this regard, Bowles stated their position very succinctly in the following quotation:

> Nonetheless, attempts at educational reform may move us closer to that objective if, in their failure, they lay bare the unequal nature of our school system and destroy the illusion of unimpeded mobility through education. Successful educational reforms... may also serve the case of equality of education, for it seems likely

> that equalizing access to schooling will challenge the system either to make good its promise of rewarding educational attainment or find ways coping with a mass disillusionment with the great panacea.[31]

Günther and Konig in their detailed investigation of Lenin's views on pedagogy and politics of education came to the conclusion that, in general, Lenin's theory of revolution was also applicable to his strategy on educational matters. The following excerpts outline the conclusion arrived at by Günther and Konig:

> [Lenin'in öğretisi] eğitim sistemindeki demokratik reformlar için yürütülen savaşımın, sosyalist halk eğitimi için verilen savaşımla ayrılmaz bir birlik oluşturduğunu...
>
> [Ve] eğitim sistemindeki demokratik reformlar savaşımının, ancak yerli ve yabancı tekelci sermayeye karşı verilen toplam sınıf savaşımının bir parçası halinde yürütüldüğü takdirde tamamlanabileceği [ni] ve başarısının güvence altına alınabileceği... [ni öğretmektedir.]
>
> [Buradan] eğitim sisteminde demokratik reformlar uğruna verilen savaşımın, eğitim sistemindeki emperyalist etkileri geriletmeye, işçi sınıfının ve müttefiklerinin bu alandaki mevzilerini adım adım geliştirmeye... sosyalist eğitim sisteminin kuruluşunu hazırlamaya katkıda bulunabileceği sonucu çıkmaktadır.
>
> Demokratik eğitim reformları, ancak sosyalist bir eğitim sisteminde tamamen gelişebilir, sınırsız ve mükemmel bir şekilde gerçekleşebilir. Bütün gerçek demokrat eğitim reformlarının hümanist amacını, toplumun bütün üyeleri için özgür ve çok yönlü bir kişilik geliştirmesini, ancak eğitim kurumlarının yardımıyla sosyalist toplum gerçekleştirebilir.[32]

Lenin pointed to the meaninglessness of the pedagogy which confuse education with garrulity or reduce the functions of an educatır to the level of mere putting-wise, supervision, advising, lecturing and ordering. He says: "Sosyalist gençliğin eğitimi, yalnızca ona mümkün olan bütün konuşmaları yapmak ve ahlaki kuralları öğütlemekle sağlanamaz"[33] Another general principle which Lenin attacked severly is the disconnecting gap between theory and practice. He opposed the view which limited the education of masses solely to the lectures given at schools. When he advised on workers' and peasants' education, what he meant was essentially to learn from their own practice, from their self-experience, by seriously taking into account their mistakes.[34] In the words of Lenin:

> geleceğin ideal toplumunu, dersleri genç kuşağın üretici çalışmasıyla birleştirmeden düşünmek mümkün değildir; hiç bir zaman, ne üretici çalışma

olmadan ders ve eğitim, ne de eşzamanlı gösterme ve eğitim olmadan üretici çalışma, tekniğin ve bilimin günümüzdeki durumuna uygun bir düzeye çıkarılabilir.[35]

I would like to close this section by introducing the views of what we may call the Liberitarian School in radical circle. I would like to begin with Rogers' principles on the educational sphere which are "borne out by theory and research".

1. Human beings have a natural potentiality for learning...
2. Significant learning takes place when the subject matter is perceived by the student as having relevance for his own purposes...
3. Leaning which involves a change in self organization- in the perception of oneself- is threathening and tends to be resisted.
4. Those learnings which are threathening to the self are more easily perceived and assimilated when external threats are at minimum...
5. When threat to the self is low, experience can be perceived in differentiated fashion and learning can proceed...
6. Much significant learning is acquired through doing...
7. Learning is facilitated when the student participates responsibility in the learning process...
8. Self-initiated learning which involves the whole person of the learner-feelings as well as intellect- is the most lasting and pervasive...
9. Independence, creativity, and self-reliance are all facilitated when self-criticism and self-evaluation are basic and evaluation by others is secondary importance...
10. The most socially useful learning in the modern world is the learning of the process of learning, a continuing openness to experience and incorporation into oneself of the process of change.[36]

Freire, a well-known Brazilian pedagogue, proposes "problem-posing education" contraray to the "banking education" peculiar to the repressive societies. Comparision of the fundamental qualities of the two are summarized by Freire as follows:

> Banking education resist dialogue; problem-posing education regards dialogue as indispensable to the act of cognition which unveils reality. Banking education inhibits creativity and domesticates (although it cannot completely destroy) the intentionility of consciousness by isolating consciousness from the world, thereby denying men their ontological and historical vocation of becoming more fully human. Problem-posing education bases itself on creativity and

> stimulates true reflection and action upon reality, thereby responding to the vocation of men as beings who are authentic only when engaged in inquiry and creative transformation. In sum: banking theory and practice, as immobilizing and fixating forces, fail to acknowledge men as historical beings; problem-posing theory and practice take man's historicity as their starting point.[37]

Freire persistently argues that "banking" educational methods cannot be used in the pursuit of liberation. He says:

> Authentic liberation-the process of humanization- is not another deposit to be made in men. Liberation is a praxis: the action and reflection of men upon their world in order to transform it. Those truly committed to the cause of liberation can accept neither the mechanistic concept of consciousness as an empty vessel to be filled, nor the use of banking methods of domination (propaganda, slogans-deposits) in the name of liberation.[38]

He argues rightly that "one does not liberate men by alienating them". He warns that a revolutionary society, which inherits educational methods from an oppresor society "is threathened by the specter of reaction". He claims that "The revolutionary society which practices banking education is either misguided or mistrusting of men"[39]

A fundamental concept to Freire's analysis is what he calls "praxis". In the following citation, Clement sums Freire's analysis in this respect:

> The systhesis of reflection and action, action and reflection, then becomes what Freire calls "praxis". Action without reflection is simply activism, and reflection without action is merely verbalism. The essence of his method is dialogue between people who are co-intentional on understanding themselves "through the mediation of the world", i.e., not knowledge for knowledge's sake, but knowledge only for the sake that it helps us to understand and change the world. The world itself then becomes a problem to be worked on and solved not a given static reality to which we must adjust.[40]

According to Freire "apart from inquiry, apart from praxis, men cannot be truly human. Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry men pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other.[41]
I would like to close Freire's analysis by citing his envisioned

teacher-student relations in "problem-posing" education. He argues that, "Education must begin with the solution of the teacher-student contradiction, by reconciling the poles of the contradiction so that both are simultaneously teachers and students"[42] Reconcilation of the student-teacher contradiction will give rise to a new term: teacher-student with students-teachers. "The teacher is no longer merely the-one-who-teaches, but one who is himself tought in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teach."[43]

In sum, student-teacher relation in "problem-posing education" will bear the following qualities:

> The students-no longer docile listeners-are now critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher. The teacher presents the material to the students for their consideration, and re-considers his earlier considerations as the students express their own. The role of the problem-posing educator is to create, together with the students, the conditions under which knowledge at the level of the doxa is superseded by the true knowledge, at the level of the logos.
>
> Whereas banking education anesthetizes and inhibits creative power, problem-posing education involves a constant unveiling of reality. The former attempts to maintain the submersion of consciousness; the latter strives for the emergence of consciousness and critical intervention in reality.[44]

On the far left, I would like to mention Illich's views on the topic. Ivan Illich, followed by Everett Reimer and John Holt, sloganized "deschooling" as a solution to the problems faced in the educational system. Before introducing Illich's proposals his evaluation of the present system should be given in summary. According to Illich's line of reasoning, Bramhall writes:

> the establishment of universal compulsory schooling has led everywhere to a rigid institutionalization of learning and a tremendous accumulation of learning resources in schools- teachers, buildings, labs, books, most importantly, time- so that learning becomes less and less possible outside of school, and learning so obtained has little official acceptance, knowledge becomes property, available for a price at certified places and times, owned by certified professionals, possessed, by virtue of its scarcity, of a cash value, and of a form which supports and strengthhens those in dominant class position, but which mistifies unschooled people and makes them still more helpless.[45]

Illich asserts that:

> Not a draft into a specialized institution but only the mobilization of the whole population can lead to popular culture. The equal right of each man to exercise his competence to learn and to instruct is now pre-empted by certified teachers. The teachers' competence, in turn, is restricted to what may be done in school. And, further work and leisure are alienated from each other as a result: the spectator and the worker alike are supposed to arrive at the work place all ready to fit into a routine prepared for them. Adaptation in the form of a product's design, instruction and publicity shapes them for their role as much as formal education by schooling.[46]

He also argues that learning is not necessarily the result of teaching, in fact, "most people acquire most of their knowledge outside the school"[47] He contends that "learning is the human activity which least needs manipulation by others. It is rather the result of people learn best by being 'with it', yet school makes them identify their personal cognitive growth with elaborate planning and manipulation."[48]

For Illich, the "hidden curriculum" of schools is the same in every modern society, independent of the political system it has. He says:

> everywhere the school system has the same structure, and everywhere its hidden curriculum has the same effect. Invariably it shapes the consumer who values institutional commodities above the nonprofessional ministration of a neighbour.
>
> Everywhere the hidden curriculum of schooling initiates the citizen to the myth that bureaucracies guided by scientific knowledge are efficient and benevolent. Everywhere this same curriculum instils in the people the myth that increased production will provide a better life. And everywhere it develops the habit of self-defeating consumption of services and alienating production, the tolerance for institutional dependence, and the recognition of institutional rankings. The hidden curriculum of school does all this in spite of contraray efforts undertaken by teachers and no matter what ideology prevails.[49]

Illich's proposal is to separate learning totally from social control by de-schooling society. According to him any "political programme which does not explicitly recognize the need for de-schooling is not revolutionary"[50] Illich contends that educational revolution should

be guided by certain goals:

1. To liberate access to things by abolishing the control which persons and institutions now exercise over their educational values.
2. To lirerate the sharing of skills by guaranteering freedom to teach and exercise them on request.
3. To liberate the critical and creative resources of people by returning to individual persons the ability to call and hold meetings-an ability now increasingly monopolized by institutions which claim to speak for the people
4. To liberate the individual from the obligation to shape his expectations to the services offered by an established profession-by providing him with the opportunity to draw on the experience of his peers and to entrust himself to the teacher, guide, adviser or healer of his choice.[51]

According to Illich, the following three purposes are indispensable for a good educational system:

> it should provide all who want to learn with access to available resources at any time in their lives; empover all who want to share what they know to find those who want to learn it from them; and, finally, furnish all who want to present an issue to the public with the opportunity to make their challange known.[52]

More concretely, Illich proposes that a network or service should be created "which gave each man the same opportunity to share his current concern with others motivated by the same concern"[53] Exchange of skills amoung individuals should be provided by matching of relevant partners. This service, Illich claims, can be provided by an intricate communication system which can be realized easily by the achieved level of technology which modern societies have reached.

Illich's anarchist views have been attacked severely by radicals. The following criticism is by Bramhall:

> that prescription seems to me to be quite out of social-historical context... To make the primary focus of our activities in schools the destruction of the institutional power of those schools is even more quixotic than I am willing to be; while to make a heavy political attack on schooling from the outside would find virtually no popular support. And any success in either of these courses of action today would almost certainly result in a restructuring of educational and economic privilege in new private institutions from which the working class would be effectively excluded.

> No, what we need, it seems to me, is a simultaneous exposure of the real nature of schooling, an attempt in every way possible to change the social conditions of schools to be liberating rather than enslaving, and a concerted push to transform the society so that schools can eventually become less and less important as learning becomes more and more possible outside of them.[54]

Notes / Part 3.

Some Definitions

1. 8:103 Footnote
2. 8:103 Footnote
3. 25:268 Footnote
4. 28:94
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10. 53:63
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19. 16:8
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21. 47:231
22. 1:157
23. 1:157-158
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Section 2

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4. See 6 and 8.
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12. 8:109
13. 8:119
14. 6:9
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Section 3

1. 9:23
2. Cited in 50:349
3. 24:212
4. 10:19
5. See 25:274-276
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8. 6:5
9. 24:211
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12. 6:15-16
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Section 4

1. 35:77
2. 20:15 Introduction by Richard Shaull.
3. 20:64
4. 20:58
5. 35:47
6. 20:63
7. 20:59
8. 56:66
9. 20:58
10. 25:274
11. 25:275
12. 48:58
13. 48:66
14. 44:326
15. See 48 and Glosary of Key Terms in 44:429-430
16. 24:209
17. 24:211
18. 8:116
19. 20:57
20. 38:196
21. 24:210
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44. 28:61
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40. 10:79-80
41. 10:77
42. 8:107
43. 9:3
44. 10:78
45. 10:77
46. 60:65
47. 25:267

Section 8

1. 1:156
2. 1:156
3. 1:175
4. 1:155
5. 1:174
6. 22:91
7. 22:89
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9. 22:91
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