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ern" world. Some essays are useful for what they say about this topic, others as examples of such change in process. *Modernization* suffers from its almost exclusive focus on the ideational sphere to the neglect of social, political, and especially economic changes associated with "modernization." To anyone concerned about life in the "modern" world this book offers a variety of thought-provoking essays.

### Education

*Educating for Unemployment: Politics, Labor Markets, and the School System: Italy, 1859-1973*, by MARZIO BARBAGLI. Translated by Robert H. Ross. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982. 414 pp. \$35.00 cloth.

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"In relation to our social position, we are both overeducated and too ignorant—afflicted on the one hand by illiteracy and on the other by academic literacy" (p. 13) is how Ernesto Nathan, mayor of Rome in the years preceding World War I, summed up the Italian predicament in 1906. How is it that educational levels can be both too high and too low? Why, in other terms, are literacy and illiteracy not neatly arranged in that inverse relationship functionalist theorists once so firmly believed in?

Barbagli sets out to demonstrate, in this thorough and creative text, that between 1859 and 1973, even though economic growth favored the expansion of compulsory education in Italy, it was either not correlated with or negatively correlated with the expansion of secondary and higher education. Synthetically stated, the ranks of the educated, like those of the ignorant, are swollen by the unemployed. And Italy's weak economy has, since Unification, systematically produced the former even when it has reduced the latter.

While Barbagli argues for the importance of economic factors, the interpretative framework within which he proposes to examine the course of educational institutions is not "economistic." Viewing the school as an institution conferring status and privilege, he attributes a key role in its development to power struggles among and between the social groups that have tried to turn education to

their benefit. Departing from Marxist and neo-Marxist analyses, Barbagli adds two provisos to this general hypothesis. First, the internal structure of the educational system constitutes a fundamental intervening variable affecting the outcome of this conflict. Second, the social groups whose conduct determines the evolution of educational institutions comprise particular segmented categories, not only broad economic classes. Barbagli assigns special importance to the intellectual strata produced, legitimated, and supported by the educational system itself.

Marshaling evidence from parliamentary debates, newspapers, documents of professional associations, and national statistics, Barbagli traces the forms and governance of schooling as they emerge from a complex set of interactions. Control over processes of socialization and selection appear as the bourgeoisie's dual aim. Improvement and maintenance of their position in the labor market (and any attendant privileges) are the objectives of the intellectual strata. Explaining the tenacity with which Italians have sought educational qualifications even in the face of high intellectual unemployment, Barbagli argues that in countries with few channels of social mobility, once education has become such a channel, people focus on it as the path to their goals.

Barbagli links governmental policy and institutional development to the diffusion of specific perceptions and attitudes, to actors' definitions of reality, and to school organization, labor markets, and income distribution. The book reconstructs a century-long discourse on schooling and its functions. Barbagli's fusion of the history of ideas with that of social actors and the society is a tour de force. One wishes that he had expanded his hypotheses to include the ideational and cultural dimensions of the "constructions of reality" with which he deals. The book would have also, therefore, benefited from more notes on the many historical figures to whom Barbagli refers.

Italian often translates poorly into English, so it is noteworthy that Ross's rendering reads well. Moreover, in the introduction he situates the book in the context of the current debate in the sociology of education. There is a glossary and three appendices.

But this is more than Italian history. Dealing with issues crucial for many contemporary societies, it is of general interest to the sociological community. Barbagli's work is a

high point of recent Italian sociology, as yet too little known in the United States, notwithstanding Diane Pinto's interesting anthology *Contemporary Italian Sociology* (1981). The publication of *Educating for Unemployment* in English advances the acquaintanceship of American sociologists with the work of their Italian colleagues.

## Environment and Ecology

### Endnote

*Interest Groups and the Bureaucracy: The Politics of Energy*, by JOHN E. CHUBB. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983. 319 pp. \$29.50 cloth.

Largely an analysis of questionnaires and interviews conducted with members of energy-related interest groups, including energy producers and consumers, environmental and public interest groups, labor unions, and financial institutions. Chubb emphasizes how U.S. energy policies in the last decade can be understood as a function of competing interest groups as well as organizational features that characterize both executive and congressional agencies.

## Family and Intimate Lifestyles

*Adolescents, Sex and Contraception*, edited by DONN BYRNE and WILLIAM A. FISHER. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1983. 314 pp. \$29.95 cloth.

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According to the editors, this book is about "the noncontraceptive behavior of adolescents, the reasons for that behavior, and possible solutions to the problem" (p. x). It consists of twelve chapters, the final two of which deal with "possible solutions" to "the problem," i.e., the failure of sexually active U.S. adolescents to use contraception effectively. There is, however, a great deal of leakage in the editorial bulkheads that separate the sections and chapters. Different authors assemble the same or very similar material according to their favored conceptual scheme and yield frequently to the temptation to point out the "solutions" implied by their particular formu-

lation of "the problem." The result, therefore, is not one of competing or complementary paradigms clearly differentiated and supported or challenged by critical empirical evidence and indicating effective, perhaps alternative lines of action. Instead it is a collection of often overlapping discussions of sex and birth control among adolescents, meagerly supported by data and varying greatly in quality and generality.

Of most interest to sociologists, I suspect, are those chapters that attempt to go beyond description to "explanation," the predilection of the authors in this volume being toward psychological explanations. When they raise the question "why," it refers to what Robert MacIver called either the "why of design" or the "why of intention," i.e., states and predispositions of individuals that favor given behavioral (or attitudinal) outcomes in specified situational contexts. The "why of social conjuncture" that pursues "explanation" in terms of the behavior of progressively refined social aggregates and their position in larger social systems, i.e., sociological explanation, gets no play from this collection of authors, most of whom, after all, are not sociologists. The failure to bridge different levels of explanation is, however, a major disappointment. For example, in one of the few chapters in which data are presented (Oskamp and Mindick), the fact that successful contraceptors differ from unsuccessful ones in selected psychological dimensions and also ethnically and in the educational status of their parents is treated as a disturbing element in the interpretation of the psychological variables rather than as an empirical confrontation requiring theoretical extension and refinement.

At the lowest level of "explanation" are the conclusions by several authors that psychological variables appear in significant association with sex or contraceptive behavior, associations that in most instances remain ambiguous as to causality. Somewhat greater insight is afforded by concepts such as "erotophobia" or "denial," reaction complexes traceable to preadolescent experience. In general, adolescents whose early exposure to the subject of sex instills values and attitudes that inhibit them from dealing with sex and contraception openly and with full self-awareness tend to make poor contraceptors. Perhaps the best exposition of some of these ideas is Kelley's "Adolescent Sexuality: The First Lessons." That young people arrive at adolescence with distorted notions about sex-