Sociological contributions of Durkheim and Bernstein to sociocultural diversity in school[1]

Contribuciones sociológicas de Durkheim y Bernstein sobre la diversidad sociocultural en la escuela

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Abstract

There is consensus that the sociological discipline provided a framework for understanding the relationships between education systems and the broader social contexts in which they are situated. However, the portraits that tradition has sketched of schools take on contrasting meanings. The perspectives explored in this article arises as a response to the obsolescence of deterministic models of educational change and their difficulty in explaining those processes of change that take place in schools. This article offers a theoretical reflection on the concerns of socio-cultural diversity based on the distinction between the instrumental and expressive orders in schools, delimiting diversity as a problematic area and providing conceptual resources based on the contributions of Durkheim and Bernstein. This approach is conceptually anchored to the distinction between models of integrative relations based on organic and mechanical solidarity and presents a systematic effort to theorize educational practices. The article concludes that educational policies address a dilemma between the demand for specialized performances and a set of core competencies, values, and beliefs in the context of societies that are equally complexifying and diversifying rapidly, societies that aspire to a coexistence between the dynamics of technological change and democratic life.

Keywords

Education, sociocultural diversity, sociology of education, inclusion, equity, educational policy

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Resumen

Existe consenso en torno a que la disciplina sociológica brindó un marco para comprender las relaciones entre los sistemas educativos y los contextos sociales más amplios en que se emplazan. No obstante, los retratos que ha esbozado aquella tradición en torno a la escuela, adquieren significados contrastantes. Las perspectivas que explora este articulo surgen como una respuesta a la obsolescencia de los modelos determinísticos del cambio educativo y su dificultad para explicar aquellos procesos de cambio que tienen lugar en la escuela. El presente artículo ofrece una reflexión teórica en torno a la cuestión de la diversidad sociocultural, a partir de la distinción entre los órdenes instrumental y expresivo en la escuela, delimitando la diversidad como un ámbito problemático y brindando herramientas conceptuales a partir de las aportaciones de Durkheim y Bernstein. El abordaje propuesto está anclado a la distinción entre los modelos de relaciones integrativas basadas en la solidaridad orgánica y mecánica, presentando un esfuerzo sistemático de teorización en torno al ámbito de prácticas educativas. Finalmente, se concluye que las políticas educativas se enfrentan a un dilema entre la exigencia de rendimientos especializados y un conjunto de competencias, valores y creencias basales en el contexto de sociedades que se complejizan y diversifican aceleradamente y aspiran a una coexistencia entre las dinámicas de cambio tecnológico y profundización democrática.

Palabras clave

Educación, diversidad sociocultural, sociología de la educación, inclusión, equidad, política educativa.

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Introduction

The purposes aimed at reversing school segregation, expanding sociocultural diversity and the levels of inclusion in the school system are set as articulators of educational policies, giving way to a sort of 'inclusive turn', both in the educational debate present in national contexts and in the discourse of influential global agencies (Unesco, 2005; Blanco, 2006; Ainscow, 2020). In this sense, sociocultural diversity is redefined as an authentic educational resource and the inclusion of that diversity in the school should be the basis to organize learning, in which it is essential to remove barriers to access, participation and achievement of students, especially those coming from socially disadvantaged contexts (Unesco, 2005).

The aim of this paper is to develop a theoretical reflection on sociocultural diversity in schools -defining it as a problematic area- providing conceptual tools to understand how educational practice is structured based on Durkheim's contributions (1982) and the recontextualization of his conceptions proposed by Bernstein (1988, 1988b,1989), in order to refer to the instrumental and expressive orders in the school. As will be developed in the following lines, this approach is framed in the distinction between the models of integrative relations based on organic and mechanical solidarity, which offers a conception of the social dynamics that regulate the models of cultural transmission and forms of control in the school.

In recent years, this 'inclusive perspective' of educational policies has often emphasized both the importance of fostering diverse school

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environments and the additional challenges experienced by educational systems, seeking to enhance their social and cultural mix. However, it is not always known how certain schools may be more likely to adopt these approaches in their educational practice and, how those schools that promote it organize those practices in relation to the multiple demands and growing expectations to which schools and the educational system must respond; including the expansion of accountability instruments, standardization and a regulatory design based on competition (Carrasco and Carrasco, 2022). On the other hand, it is worth asking what are the effects that this emphasis on diversity may have on families from 'middle or upper-middle groups', especially in institutional contexts that privilege school choice, and if an undesired consequence of these educational policies is the exodus of those families from public schools and a greater tendency to link up with others alike.

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Considering these elements, the approach of this paper argues that the inclusion of sociocultural diversity in school is not simply a matter of adopting a methodological approach to teaching, but it represents an active process of social learning that takes place in specific contexts. Along these lines, the ecology of equity approach proposed by Ainscow et al. (2012) and Ainscow (2020) suggest that the equity of students' experiences is not only played out at the school or classroom level but also in relation to a broader framework in which they are embedded, including aspects such as the institutional characteristics of educational systems, the socio-economic, cultural and political context. In this sense, a critical aspect, as warned by Blanco (2006) and Armijo (2018), lies in the diversity of registers in which the discourses on school inclusion and a *general* use are structured which tend to underestimate the structural conditions linked to educational inequalities and inequities such as the demographic changes experienced by the territories, the economic dynamics in the school environment or differences in the field of macro-policies, aimed at educational systems (Blanco, 2006; Armijo, 2018).

The problems related to the inclusion of socio-cultural diversity in schools and the need to reverse the trends related with school segregation are becoming increasingly relevant in the field of educational policies. School segregation can be defined as an unequal distribution of students, according to their socioeconomic, cultural, gender or ethnic characteristics, not necessarily being an effect of deliberate policies but responding to various factors such as residential segregation, the presence of an educational market or selectivity practices in school access (Bellei, 2015). This conception of segregation should be opposed to that of a sociocul-

tural and economic mix, which refers to the fact that students coexist in an educational center and have differentiated attributes that allow for a greater integrative relationships among them.

As Bonal (1998) says, the sociological discipline would provide an early framework of thought to investigate and understand the complex relationships that mediate between educational systems and the broader social contexts in which they are located (Bonal, 1998). Nonetheless, the portraits sketched by that sociological tradition around the school acquire openly contrasting and to some extent polemical meanings. Thus, as Dale (1986) says, school seems to be weighed down by forces of opposite direction: at one extreme, the educational experience is seen as a differentiation route for the formation of skills that anticipates the roles that individuals acquire in adult life and especially in the *workplace.*

On the other hand, the notion that states that the school is a more open and egalitarian space than society as a whole prevails; therefore, it is a democratizing force of social and political relations. Both purposes are combined when analyzing educational systems in such a way that none is completely subordinated to the other (Dale, 1986). In this way, in some functionalist views, educational systems appear to be more oriented to respond to the demands of technical specialization and the labor division (Parsons, 1982, Luhmann, 1996, 1998). On the other hand, there is a substantive vision of education as a powerful means of integrating individuals into the framework of values and practices necessary to strengthen citizenship and democratic politics (Durkheim, 1982). While the first dimension can be preliminarily assimilated to an instrumental order, whose purpose is to develop the skills demanded by the incorporation into productive processes and their increasing technical division, the second is expressive with a normative ideal of society, which points rather to the notion of a shared experience and bonds, linked to the transmission of cultural values, beliefs and norms.

From the point of view of teaching cycles, Calero and Bonal (1999) argue that the latter is certainly closer to primary and secondary education than to the differentiation routes of higher education. In this way, a sort of collective experience is delimited, constituting the foundation for constructing a type of citizenship based on the strengthening of democratic values, and is carried out by the younger generations as well as by the interactions between teachers, principals and families.

In order to carry out the following analysis, Durkheim's and Bernstein's contributions are examined around the field of the sociology of education. The assumption of this review is that these authors offer

a constant development over several decades and that, except for some early writings that Bernstein himself declines to republish, they present an important degree of cohesion and unity around the search for a framework that allows to unravel the nature of order, symbolic control and the linkage between macro-structural levels, including the concepts of social class as a central perspective and the interactional dynamics from which cultural agencies carry out transmission in the school[2]. Given this consistency in the contributions of both authors, a set of texts that deepen their theoretical perspective were selected.

The article is organized as follows: the first section presents a synthesis of the problems and limitations experienced by critical approaches in the sociology of education. Second, a presentation of the Durkhemian theory of the division of social labor in its critical linkage to the tradition of political economy is presented. Taking this approach as a basis, the third section then contextualizes Bernstein's approaches, highlighting the different yields for the analysis of the logics of action that schools deploy in response to institutional and regulatory environments, in a contemporary perspective. Finally, the conclusions synthesize the main ideas elaborated in the article, its results, and point out challenges for educational policies aimed at the inclusion of sociocultural diversity in schools.

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Approaches in the Sociology of Education

Critical approaches in the sociology of education focused on the limits of educational reform processes and warned that the capacity of school systems to reverse the origin inequalities of students is reduced, given the broader structural conditions to which they are subject and in which they are inserted. In this sense, the classic works of Bourdieu and Passeron (1977, 2008), the notion of ideological frame of the state proposed by Althusser (1971) and its later application to the school in France by Baudelot and Establet (1974) or the correspondence principle by Gintis and Bowles (1976), indicate a suspicion of the 'school apparatus' as part of a web of domination and social reproduction where the reflexivity of educational agencies does not occur.

Although these critical approaches have a common diagnosis of educational systems, there is a discrepancy with respect to the mechanism through which the effects of the educational system on social stratification are conveyed and how the social structure reproduces social inequalities. While for Bourdieu et al. (1977) education constitutes a va-

luable cultural capital in a market of symbolic goods where the bourgeois classes possess the decipherment code, for Bowles and Gintis (1981) the educational system provides a kind of training of the conscience to assume subordination roles and the social conformism necessary for the perpetuation of these relationships.

One idea that has guided these critical studies is that there is an isomorphism between the way in which processes and social relations are organized in the school and the forms of production and the requirements of the capitalist economy, oriented towards accumulation. In this way, the school experience sets what will be the social subordination relations to the productive apparatus and the reproduction cycle of capital (Gintis and Bowles, 1981). From this premise, these radical critiques aimed to show the limits of reform processes oriented to the educational system and how they tend rather to reproduce inequalities of origin and social class of students while providing legitimacy to these inequalities through the assignment of educational credentials, forms of cultural refinement or disputes over the control of symbolic markets (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977, Bernstein, 1988, Collins, 1989, Bernstein, 1988).

In this way, the educational system is understood as a mechanism capable of endowing different social groups with symbols with cultural distinction, so that it is the bourgeois classes that possess the code for deciphering the educational framework where school failure is played out and "individualized" among those who come from the working or subordinate classes, being assimilated simply as an outcome determined by individual "deficits". Starting from this premise, these studies aimed to show how the characteristics of educational systems imply a series of tacit rules that favor some while consolidating the disadvantage of others.

Baudelot and Establet (1976) aim to break what they call the ideology or myth of the unified school, i.e., to understand school trajectories as a progressive itinerary of advancement towards the summits of knowledge and universal knowledge in an institutionally normative, articulated and coherent environment with equal rules and incentives for all students. Unlike the analysis of educational cultural transmission proposed by Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), where the school system is analyzed from the values produced at its "top", for Baudelot and Establet (1976): "This privilege of the university sphere (and of the school scales that directly prepare for it) is not implicit in a conjuncture. It is necessarily produced by the functioning of the school system itself" (1976, p. 14).

This theory of the two school networks assumes itineraries, forms of transit and exclusion through the cycles of education by means of rou-

tes without gateways or links, resulting in hermetic routes that are determined by the structure of social classes and serve different exit routes from the school system, especially for the insertion in the field of work. The two schooling networks are the primary-professional network and the secondary-higher network, which do not necessarily agree with the differentiation routes defined by the institutional design, although they certainly assume them.

The teaching cycle in school takes on meaning and unity especially in the perspective of those who manage to complete higher education. Baudelot and Establet (1974) denounce this idea of school progression through the different levels of the formative process as a viewpoint for the bourgeois classes, they write: "One cannot speak of the unity of the school except from a well-determined point of view" (1976, p. 54). The school is neither continuous nor unified, but for those who go through it in its entirety. Rather than a solid school continuum, what these authors point to is the existence of two parallel circuits of schooling, depending on the structure of the social classes. Educational reform processes tend to hide these divisions and their limited success is due partly to the understanding of educational systems as a unitary whole. Institutional routines, teaching styles, schooling times and teacher composition are heterogeneous in nature and cannot be simply assimilated into a univocal scheme. For the vast majority, the outcome of the educational trajectory through the educational system is not the forms of production and manual labor, but unemployment and precariousness.

For Baudelot and Establet (1976), elementary school and early vocational training constitute a specific network with its own rules of entry, transit and exit. In order to move on to secondary education and, certainly, to the higher university sphere, students must break with this world without necessarily being aware of or prepared for it (Baudelot and Establet, 1976). In this perspective, primary education is far from the democratizing idea and the prestige it has gained as that egalitarian "common experience" where the values of the educational system and equality of opportunities are instituted but is instead a space of differentiation and division where students begin their path to manual labor or productive specialization.

For Gintis and Bowles (1981) what would be at the basis of school reform programs is a progressive liberal conception that assumes that policies can contain and mitigate the destabilizing expansion effects of the economic cycle, such as "the fragmentation of communities, the deterioration of the natural environment, alienated labor and inhuman working

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conditions, the insufficiency of necessary social services and the inequi-table distribution of income" (1981, p. 31).

The correspondence principle formulated by Gintis and Bowles (1981), states that the school not only legitimizes the differences of origin but also anticipates and prepares students for the social relations that they will carry out in the production sphere characterized by subordination and lack of expectations, thus integrating them into the economic system: "the social relations of education (...) are a replica of the hierarchical di-vision of labor" (1981, p. 176). Thus, Bowles and Gintis (1981) agree with the perspective that school rewards conformist behavior and reduces the critical capacity of the subjects to the acceptance of order and norms.

Educational reform processes would tend to hide these divisions and their success is due in part to the fact that their design assumes the notion of educational systems as a unified and coherent whole. Institu-tional routines, teaching styles, schooling times and teacher composition are heterogeneous in nature and cannot simply be assimilated into a uni-vocal scheme. The consequence of this type of approach is that the liberal progressive school reform criticized by Bowles and Gintis (1981) offers a narrow angle without the feasibility of transforming the educational sys-tem, unless there is a transformation of the basis on which the economic structure is organized.

On the other hand, taking a Weberian perspective, the conclusions of Collins (1989) in his study of the North American educational system are close to the idea of Bowles and Gintis (1981) that the educational sys-tem rewards conformism and uncritical acceptance of the order by stu-dents. School evaluations would reflect nothing more than the professors' judgment of students' submission to the system and "rewards a particular form of conforming behavior" (1989, p. 39). In this sense, Collins' (1989) findings suggest that the main tendency of mass education systems is to respond to the growing *credentialization* of the occupational structure through a complex grading system, and to the relative decline of produc-tive jobs in favor of service areas, a tendency that produces a tension from which the dispute for control over access to positions reserved for domi-nant groups intensifies. In this sense, Collins (1989) coined the notion of "sinecures" to refer to forms of non-manual work based on the control of productive organization and the symbolic interaction contexts.

Thus, for Collins (1989) the mechanism that would best explain access to privilege positions (sinecures) in the occupational structure would be the absolute sum of schooling years and the grades obtained: "Grades, the ability to obtain them, operate as a specialized form of con-

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trol within the school system itself, reflecting the teacher's judgment of the student's submission to the system" (1989, p. 28).

However, these critical perspectives caused difficulties in observing the processes of change that were taking place in the educational field and its policies. Basil Bernstein's sociology (1988, 1989) is a form of response to the limitations presented by the correspondence principle that holds an isomorphism between the nature of productive processes with the organization of educational systems (Gintis and Bowles, 1981), or in a more refined way, determination forms and relative autonomy that fails in its explanation of the processes of change and how those changes in social organization translate into the school or finally in understanding the larger dynamics of change in educational systems. On the other hand, a set of criticisms of these approaches comes especially from interactionist, ethnographic and phenomenological perspectives, which focus their attention on the linguistic signification processes in which individuals define an ordering of reality, necessarily unstable and partial (Willis, 1979).

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As Willis (1979) says, these approaches were interested in probing school culture as latent structures of meaning, i.e., a universe of meanings based on an intersubjective framework of consensus and dispute, an environment presented in an eminently practical or pre-reflexive way, through structures that are factually given and do not require an explanation in daily practice to really give them meaning (Willis, 1979). These investigations structure their focus of inquiry in a social microcosm and tend to be interested in the observation of interactional processes within the classroom and the school. In this sense, it is not strange that proposals for a sociology of the curriculum began to increase, i.e., the exploration of the frontiers between officially established and invalid knowledge, a current of transmission of dispositions as a 'hidden curriculum', how these dividing lines are established and what is the latent political content of the learning that is privileged in school education.

Regarding the paradigm of symbolic interactionism, both the functionalist models described and their reproductivist or neo-Marxist critics oriented research to a kind of point of no return, outlining questions that seem to subordinate to theoretical interests the sphere where the social meanings that the actors convey through their effective practices are disputed. As Bonal (1998) argues, based on the critique of these structural approaches, the socialization of individuals is always presented as a partial and imperfect process, and a wide field of (micro) disputes opens at the interactional level where subjects are not precisely passive receivers of the

structural orderings of social reality, but rather confer meaning on it, altering it within a framework of given possibilities and resources.

Thus, the research strands rooted in symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology were not only a critical response to structural functionalism or its methodological-quantitivist option, but also a bid to exploit the margins where the school is presented as an unstable tension between agents and institutions. This approach was deeply interested in how the subjects experienced exclusion, for example, in detention centers or under other forms of institutional bureaucracy, as well as how the individual's signification processes are structured, his differentiated resources to respond to the closed socialization circuits conceived by structural theories.

As Bonal (1998) argues in the field of the sociology of education, interactionism and phenomenology will shift the focus from the school as an institution, and its functions of stabilization or social reproduction to the place of the school and, especially the classroom, as a space of emerging social relations that seek to visualize its latent conflicts (Bonal, 1998). Thus, with the critiques of the functionalist paradigm in sociology of education, we also move from the analysis of social disadvantage and how contexts of cultural deprivation are reflected in the trajectory of students to a more focused analysis of the internal aspects of school organization, how pedagogical processes are structured and the relationships between teachers, students, families and the different actors in the educational community (Bonal, 1998).

As Sharp (1980) suggests, it should be noted that while Bernstein (1988, 1989) still belongs to this broad constellation of discussions and problems, he presents an unusual critical reflexivity with respect to his own work (Sharp, 1980). For Bernstein (1988), the sociology of education aims to "understand the relations between modes of social integration and symbolic structures through the study of reproduction and change" (1988, p. 22). His contributions have been used to analyze recent patterns of change in educational systems through the contribution of authors such as Maroy, (2004), Maroy and Ball, (2008), Van Zanten (2008) and Zancajo (2017).

In this sense, Bernstein's intellectual search offers us a conceptual coordinate of his own, His main problem is the nature of symbolic control, the social order in the school and the theoretical basis in which it is rooted is given by the Durkhemian analysis on the changes in the structural principles that define the relations of social integration (Bernstein, 1988b). Hence, his research focuses on cultural transmission, the family and especially the school, and how social class regulates the processes of linguistic acquisition and development.

In this sense, Durkhemian sociology provides a basis for linking school and social dynamics, or how transformations in social organization modify school dynamics. From the above, it should be noted that the instrumental and expressive categories are transmission models of social relations in the school that are not mutually exclusive but intertwined in a complex way in educational practice and are based on the notions of organic and mechanical solidarity.

Emile Durkheim and the realization of Organic Solidarity

From the perspective of political economy, the technical specialization implied by the social division of labor makes it possible to increase the capacity of the economic cycle and accelerates the work of productive labor. The multiple benefits of the greater social division of labor are mainly due to a set of factors such as the increase in the skill of the individual worker, the savings in the time it takes to move from one function to another and the development of the technical capacity associated with simplified functions at work. In this sense, Smith (2009) writes in *The Wealth of Nations* [1776]: "The greater progress of the productive capacity of labor, and the greater part of the skill, dexterity, and judgment with which it has been directed or applied, seem to be the effects of the social division of labor" (2009, p. 95).

On the other hand, Smith (2009) emphasizes that among its undesirable effects is the routinization of productive activities and the leveling of the experience of individuals who participate in the specialization of work. In this context, according to Durkheim (1982), once the framework of the stamentary societies, whose integrative processes are based on the stable participation of primary links, the transmission of cultural homogeneity where the family and religion represent the basis of support for moral authority, have been discarded. The features of social dynamics would be defined by a growing differentiation process linked to a persistent deficit in the regulation of social dynamics. This deficit, which would be both normative and social, will be a constant source of ambivalence and instability, and represents a persistent risk of social disintegration and weakening of the normative sphere for differentiated societies.

The basis of Durkheimian argument is that in a context of increasing specialization where the forms of social life are characterized by the erosion of those stereotyped links, there is a growing separation between the living space - represented by domestic roles and the family - and the sphere of

work, generating an intrinsically unstable context, where social integration must be more oriented to the development of a plural understanding, based on reason and access to a culture for most of citizens (Durkheim, 1982).

Regarding societies with little differentiation, the conditions of social reproduction depend strongly on integration symbolic processes. As a counterpart, and with the growing differentiation implied by the social division of labor, there is more adaptability and rationalization that admits a greater range between roles, work and individuation. As developed in this section, the integration relation model proposed by Durkheim (1982) on the basis of the notion of organic solidarity is based on the codification of legal rules -associated with 'civil law'- which expands into areas traditionally regulated, albeit diffusely, by practice and custom.

Within this perspective, Durkheim (1982) recognizes the privilege of practical life and in this sense places himself in the orbit of Kantian philosophy. As Kant (1991) states, the juridical norms that regulate collective life can only be conceived as a self-imposed rule by most citizens through mechanisms of political participation to comply with their normative performance: "Every juridical action represents a maximum of free will, as long as it is assumed reciprocally" (1991, p. 50). Moral sentiment for Kant is all the time a sentiment derived from experiencing ourselves as a contingent and particular case within a universal element by virtue of reason: "it allows us to experience our individuality as an accidental subject, as an *accidens* of generality" (1991, p. 50). Now, while, in custom and common law, norms are by definition diffused since they do not depend on a precise judgment, in written law they acquire more density and specificity as a requirement of a more complex social dynamic:

> When a customary law passes to the status of written law and is codified, it is because the disputed issues demand a more definite solution, if the custom continued to function silently, without raising discussion or difficulties, there would be no reason for it to be transformed (Durkheim, 1982, p. 89).

Durkheim (1982) points out that the force of criminal law centered on punishment prevails in undifferentiated societies, so that the refractory character to change these forms of social organization would be a sign of the resistance of collective feelings and the force with which they are rooted in customs and common beliefs. For Durkheim (1982), the pathos that is in the punishment is not exhausted in the execution of the penalty but concludes when a previous order is reestablished and has been threatened in such a way that the logic that underlies the repressive modes of punishment is the protection of that authority exercised by society. In this sense,

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Durkheim (1982) argues that the different areas of law and the prerogatives reserved to citizens are so intertwined that it is hardly possible to affirm the value of one aspect of law without undermining the principle that underpins another. This ambivalence is a typical feature of social dynamics as a whole; if these boundaries were not continually crossed, no legal norm would make sense at all (Durkheim, 1982).

The "rule of law" tends to configure a system according to a function whose purpose is not to bind the different individuals but to differentiate them, keeping those limits visible. The ability to associate mutual benefit does not form the basis of social cohesion but certainly assumes it as a starting point: "The first condition for a whole to be coherent is that the parts of which it is composed do not run into differentiating movements. But this external concordance does not form cohesion; on the contrary, it presupposes it" (Durkheim, 1982, p. 141). Additionally, he argues:

> The moral order is not based on such abstract considerations. In fact, for man to recognize the rights of another, not only in logic but in the practice of life, it was necessary for him to consent to limit his own, and, consequently, this mutual limitation could not be made except in a spirit of conformity and understanding (1982, p. 141).

Certainly, these abstract considerations refer both to the Kantian imperative and to the contractual presumption of a natural right against which the covenant is opposed. It is not evident that individuals renounce a part of their interests for their own sake and thus recognize the rights of others, only by way of a negative solidarity based on avoiding threat, harm or sustaining a fragile peace.

The Durkhemian approach referred to a type of negative solidarity centered on avoiding threat and punishment is underlain by a positive and organic solidarity. In this way, the juridical commerce where different rights are balanced would be based not only on the need to replace or anticipate a threat but on a civility bond and previous "understanding" that must be safeguarded. There must be some kind of prior positive bond or solidarity that makes peace and civility a desired purpose: "Men have no need of peace except insofar as they are united by some bond of sociability" (Durkheim, 1982, p. 141).

In this sense, as Simbaña, Jaramillo and Vinueza (2017) suggest, the strength of social institutions is an expressive order and would be at the core of the project of building a moral and socially cohesive community from a shared normative substratum. Therefore, for Durkheim (1982) the main key to the division of social labor does not lie mainly in promo-

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ting specialization and raising the productive capacity of the economic cycle, but above all in those bonds of social solidarity presupposed and reinforced between associated and, at the same time, functionally differentiated individuals. This interweaving roles of individuals in a delicate network of interdependence based on the tasks of productive life would suggest a type of social solidarity and integration that is more complex than that defined by similarity or membership in a statal group. While hierarchical societies segmented into homogeneous strata are based on a mechanical solidarity through similarity, differentiated societies presuppose integrative relations structured on those features that differentiate the different occupational groups that make up the social structure.

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Societies based on mechanical solidarity are organized in compact and homogeneous segments, in such a way that eventually dispensing one of its parts is not critical for the whole. On the other hand, the realization of organic solidarity is oriented towards the formation of specialized and interdependent professional groups and presupposes a society that is both diverse and integrated, where the ruptures and tensions associated with the diverse interests of the social groups are addressed by means of a greater social labor division. This conception of social stratification assumes that the threats to the orderly change of organizational patterns lie in segments whose interests are in dispute and require for their catalysis a further deepening of the division of labor. Unlike in segmented societies, the absence of one of these groups in differentiated contexts would be a significant loss that would be difficult to replace for social organization.

In this sense, this review proposes that the Durkhemian critique of the tradition of political economy 'isolates' economic phenomena from the integrative dynamics of society: the political and moral progress of differentiated societies can only be achieved on the basis of greater specialization where social consciousness and material context are deeply intertwined. The social division of labor gives rise to social solidarity, as well as law and morality. Whereas in the context of mechanical solidarity, social integration depends more strongly on collective beliefs. The passage to an integration model based on organic solidarity poses a greater differentiation of the value system, or in other words, the normative and sociocultural dimension gains more autonomy and admits increasing individuation levels.

Unlike segmentary societies in differentiated social contexts, the boundaries between the collective and the individual become more blurred and social dynamics tolerate a higher tension level between external roles associated with the division of labor and domestic roles or individual beliefs.

Taking this perspective of change, Durkheim writes:

> We judge it increasingly necessary not to subject all our children to a uniform culture, as if they should all lead the same life, in view of the different functions they are called upon to perform. In short, from one of its aspects, the categorical imperative of the moral conscience is in the process of taking the following form: put yourself in a state to usefully fulfill a given function (1982, p. 52).

As Luke (1973) argues, for Durkheim (1982), educational systems would be the preferred means to transmit these expressive elements of morality to the following generations and this led him to be interested in examining the different forms of organization and ritual in the school, as they imply the use of authority, the discipline that would allow the formation of feelings and loyalties in the group. He even uses in this context his theory of punishment as a form of expressive affirmation of the moral basis of the group. Luke (1973) in developing Durkheim's intellectual biography points out that Durkheim understood pedagogy as a 'practical theory' (Luke, 1973) and sought to guide educational reform with the help of the principles of his sociological thought. In this sense, Luke's (1973) extensive review concludes that for Durkheim education and morality are social phenomena related to the needs and structure of particular societies, and education is the means by which society reproduces its own conditions of existence through systematic action on the younger generation.

This displacement is correlated with the transition from a punitive function to a restitutive function of law and morality, ie., a change in its symbolic nature that Durkheim (1957, 1982) thematizes from his conception of rites as a positive material practice, its link with the sacred and punishment. Bernstein (1988) will incorporate this perspective in his analysis of the rites of consensus in school as a way to enhance, revivify and deepen the social order in the individual, i.e., the ritual in school as a mechanism of symbolic control:

> The symbolic function of ritual is to relate the individual through ritual acts to the social order, to enhance respect for that order, to revivify that order in the individual, and, in particular, to deepen the acceptance of the procedures used to maintain continuity, order and limits, which control ambivalence towards the social order (Bernstein, 1988, p. 53).

In this perspective, the efficacy of ritual lies in its con-cretion rather than in its abstract attitudes or beliefs. Bernstein's (1988) proposition of the school as a moral community is developed in more detail below.

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Basil Bernstein: Expressive and Instrumental Order in the School

Bernstein's (1988, 1989) critique of the models of social reproduction, especially Bourdieu, in whom he recognizes both influence and complementarity (Bernstein, 1988b), is two types: being tributaries of a notion of relative autonomy, they are based on an assumption of communication where the educational system is systematically biased and distorted in favor of class fractions. However, they do not systematically consider what should be understood by an unbiased communication and their concepts do not allow for a description of how cultural agencies consecrate that transmission. For Bernstein (1988b), the school is in this sense nothing more than a cultural repeater where education becomes a transmitter of power relations that are outside it: "pedagogical communication is a transmitter of something other than itself" (1988b, p. 4).

For Bernstein (1988) it would be precisely with the specialization of the social division of labor that the different class fractions reproduce themselves through the control of what he calls the symbolic markets; the educational system Id one of the main specialized modes of communication and transmission in differentiated societies (Bernstein, 1988). The effects of these dynamics on class structure and culture open the way to different forms of socialization. In this sense, elaborating Durkheim's (1982) approaches, Bernstein (1988) then recognizes two types of organic solidarity as modes of socialization and integration of middle groups: individualized organic solidarity based more on the control of physical resources such as economic capital and infrastructure, and personalized organic solidarity based on the control of the symbolic means of communication.

Thus, to the extent that societies are differentiated, the dispute of the middle groups for the influence and control of the symbolic means of specialized communication intensifies, especially the educational system and the policies oriented to it. In short, the different fractions of the middle classes through the "private school system can select their social type" (Bernstein, 1988, p. 22). In this context, students coming from classes or fractions of the "middle" classes characterized by a certain mobility in the social division of labor possess an abstract frame of reference and a language with a universalistic pretension that distinguishes them from students coming from working classes that have a static position in that social division of labor. What is relevant at this point is the change in the structural principle that defines social integration at school, whose Interpretation will be based on the distinction between mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity.

In this sense, the decisive experience in his intellectual orientation is precisely the contact with Durkheim's work. Regarding the adoption of this perspective, Bernstein (1988) writes: "Why using this Durkheimian perspective? It is because I had to find some social theorist whose ideas were a source (at least for me) of understanding of what the term social implies" (Bernstein, 1988, p. 19).

From this, Bernstein recognizes support in the conceptualization of social dynamics and sociological thought proposed by this author, in which Durkheim (1982) formulates the distinction between integration relations based on a mechanical type of solidity and an organic type of solidarity, as well as the ritual function in the structuring of the school experience and the formation of group cohesion, elements that will allow him to penetrate more deeply into the processes of cultural transmission and the symbolic nature of control.

In response to this set of concerns, Bernstein (1988) will argue that it is through the instrumental order that the transmission of "facts, procedures and judgments involved in the acquisition of specific skills..." (1988, p. 53) takes place, while through the expressive order "the transmission of beliefs and the moral system is controlled" (1988, p. 54). These orders are distinguished according to the strength of the limits they produce in the school and its educational practice, a question that refers to the more elaborate concept of classification and framework whose development exceeds the scope of this work.

Thus, it is possible to say that the expressive order is more open in the sense of a less dense codification of the roles and social relations developed in the school; it is linked to contexts where mixing is celebrated and the organizing limits established in the curriculum are more flexible, as well as the interactions *inside* and *outside* the school remain more implicit and diffuse. In this sense, a greater integration and differentiation of teaching is sought in contexts where an expressive order prevails, especially in the way in which different curricular units are approached and not only 'subjects' that advance separately, or for example, how relationships between teachers and students are organized, not so much defined by the authority and role of the former, and where the general framework and unity of the group is strengthened from a framework of shared practices and beliefs.

However, the nature of this openness is substantial and coexists with more clearly defined limits, either within the school or in its links with external bodies. In response to these approaches, an effort has been to link this distinction to the notion of action logic in order to understand the way in which the response patterns of schools to the attribu-

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tes of their institutional and social environment are organized, as can be seen in Maroy (2004), Ball and Maroy (2008) and Van Zanten (2008). Ball and Maroy (2008), based on Bernstein's (1988, 1989) contributions distinguish between logics of action according to the predominance of an expressive and instrumental order, incorporating a hybrid logic that includes both types of integrative relationships in the school.

This concept of logics of action attempts to capture precisely the framework of orientations underlying the way schools organize their educational practice and respond to the conditions posed by the environment at different levels. Now, instrumental and expressive orders are dispositions, modes of transmission in Bernstein's language or models of integration relations, which coexist in a complex dynamic, more or less sedimented in educational practice and require an external and reconstructive point of observation. In this sense, an instrumental or expressive logic of action does not constitute an intrinsic attribute of schools but an analytical construction made by the observer (Van Zanten, 2008, Zancajo, 2017).

In turn, this concept can be unfolded into those dimensions that are more oriented to internal and external aspects of educational practice. In this sense, the instrumental logic is a differentiation source in schools where the instrumental order predominates, and the classification and grouping of students is promoted as a way of internal differentiation according to academic performance or students with specific requirements. In schools where there is a logic of expressive action, it is important to reinforce the framework of orientation and inclusion, where the general notion of educational community is defined through values and consensus (Bernstein, 1988).

This approach highlights the process where there is certain coherence between the internal and external dynamics of the school (Maroy, 2004), which would not be a simple adaptive process, but a complex construction that may have a consensual or conflictive basis in the school. The changes that occur in the internal and external context affect the school's logic of action, but how they respond to these changes is a matter of agency, although there are structural conditions that define the boundaries within which schools elaborate their response patterns (Wood, 2000, Maroy and Ball, 2008). Likewise, these responses may have a conflictual or consensual basis in the school while engaging interpretation in an active political process.

The distinction between an instrumental and an expressive order makes it possible to describe the tensions raised by the elaboration process of educational practice. While the former is a source of differentia-

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tion and organization, the latter comprises the rites of consensus and the cohesion of the school as a moral community:

> The relations between these two orders are often a source of tension within the school. The instrumental order can be transmitted in such a way that it perfectly differentiates groups of pupils (…) It is a source of division, not only among pupils but also teachers… The expressive order aims to convey an image of conduct and manners, a moral order that applies to each pupil and each teacher. It tends to compact the whole school as a moral collectivity (Bernstein, 1988, p. 38).

The following is a scheme for integrating the categories reviewed in the analysis of the school's logic of action. In this sense, segmented and differentiated notions are distinguished, which can be used as opposites in relation to the levels of openness and closedness of the integration relations of diversity in the school. Those school contexts that are organized as compact and socially homogeneous segments will tend to promote integration relations more directly linked to the similarity that represents environments that are not very heterogeneous. In the following diagram this type represents the segmental-instrumental or closed pole:

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Orientations Diagram in the school by order and type
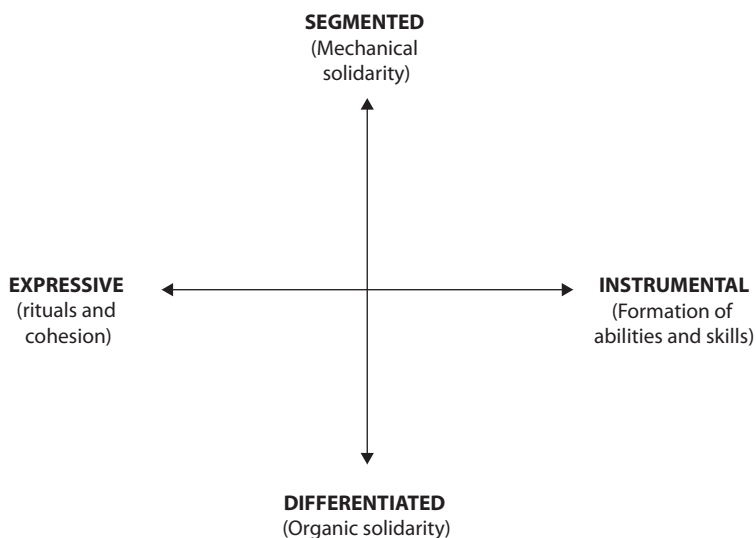
Based on Bernstein, 1988, 1989.

The predominance of the expressive order in schools (left side of the diagram) poses a more open and complex logic of action based on the Durkheimian organic solidarity model (Durkheim, 1982). In these contexts, the social, cultural and economic mix is a relevant aspect for educational practice and would be developed more actively at the school organization level. A greater differentiation of the curriculum will be sought with more attention to students in situations of social disadvantage, and academic expectations tend to be moderate in traditional terms. Similarly, the boundaries between inside and outside the school would be more blurred and schools would tend to sustain linkage processes by actively seeking contact networks in the immediate environment.

On the other hand, those schools in which an instrumental logic predominates (right side) -both segmented and differentiated- tend to have a more vertical authority by principals, relationships more strongly based on the roles formally acquired by the actors, and would be schools that tune more directly to the expectations of families, presenting more orientation towards standardization and internal grouping.

Based on this, it can be mentioned that in school contexts characterized by an expressive order -although socially segmented- the celebration of diversity in schools may acquire a rather defensive, residual character and indicate the structural difficulties faced by those schools that experience extended deterioration cycles in their institutional conditions. Whereas a school located on the instrumental-segmented axis may tend to celebrate purity, offering order, discipline and security, where no boundary will be crossed without sanction. Finally, in school contexts characterized by the predominance of an instrumental and socially segmented order, socio-educational diversity is degraded or would constitute at least a marginal aspect in the practice of school organization.

Conclusions

This article offers a reflection on the conceptual bases of the distinction between an instrumental and an expressive order in the school in order to investigate socio-educational diversity. In this way, the perspectives it explores emerge as a response to a certain obsolescence of critical approaches in sociology of education and their difficulty in explaining those processes of change that take place in schools and their orientation towards internal and external dimensions of the school. In this sense, in the approaches reviewed, there would not be a deterministic referral of

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educational change. Although the concepts of social structure and class are crucial for understanding school dynamics, they do not operate as an all-encompassing explanatory principle, nor is it sufficient to point out that the allocation of educational credentials and cultural capital tends to reproduce the class structure, without carrying out a deeper inquiry into the nature of the symbolic processes through which transmission and control in the school take place.

It is this direction that separates Bernstein from the rest of the current of critical sociology of education, which proposes an original and creative recontextualization of Durkheim's contributions to understand the social dynamics that would be the basis of the transformations in the mission of the school. Likewise, what characterizes his approaches is their profound reflexivity, the search for conceptual precision in sometimes difficult terrain and the difficulty in classifying his contributions in a single standard current. The preferred interest in Bernstein's research is to inquire into the social basis that regulates school dynamics and thus to understand the symbolic nature of cultural control and transmission (1988, 1989).

In this context, the main element of the Durkhemian proposal is the problematic and ambivalent character of social dynamics between a growing demand for specialized performances associated with a greater division of labor and the need to strengthen a complex social integration model. The key tension at the basis of his proposal occurs in the demand for these specialized performances derived from a more complex social division of labor and those skills shared by all social groups.

Thus, the expressive order becomes more open in the sense of a less dense codification of norms; the distances between groups and the type of social relations in the school; the mixture and the organizational limits established in the educational practice and the curriculum, as well as the interactions between inside and outside the school become more integrated in a delicate and differentiated network of roles that converge in the educational center. In this type of context, the aim is to deepen the integration and differentiation of teaching, in the way curricular units are approached and not only "subjects" that advance in parallel, or more intricate relationships between teachers, other professional teams in the school and students, so that these relationships are not defined only by the 'ritual' authority of the former - and where the general framework and unity of the group is strengthened from a framework of shared practices and beliefs.

However, this expressive openness is substantial and coexists with more clearly defined limits, either within the school or in its relations-

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hip with the outside world. It should be noted that in our understanding Durkheim overestimated the possibilities of his integrative model based on the functional differentiation of occupational groups, both to contain the disruptive forces of social dynamics and to explain the complex phenomena that take place in differentiated societies. In this sense, a policy aimed at greater declassification between the strata of manual and intellectual labor would tend to stimulate a less organic sense of integration but with more directly perceived social cohesion effects.

Faced with this dilemma between the demand for specialized performance and shared competencies, the realization of organic solidarity poses complex integration relations between expert and interdependent social groups based on specialization, thus transforming the expressive base of society. The political-moral imperative of promoting more diverse schools acquires more relevance in the light of societies that are also rapidly becoming more complex and diversified, societies that aspire to a coexistence between the dynamics of technological change, stability and democratic depth.

Notes

2   For a detailed intellectual biography of Durkheim, the reference work is Luke (1973). A general approach to Bernstein's work can be found in the works of Diaz (1985, 2019) and Solomon, Bocchetti and Maçaira (2021).

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