

## TOWARDS A SOCIOLOGY OF OLD AGE POLICY\*

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Public policy toward the elderly has undergone a fundamental transformation in the contemporary period. In the past, management of the elderly relied primarily on two forms of poor relief: means-tested social benefits or institutionalization in a poorhouse. Both had the consequence of effectively marginalizing the elderly. By contrast, contemporary old age policy is premised on the assumption that the social integration of the aged within the normal activities of the larger society must replace the segregative practices of the past. But precisely what social significance should we attach to this very radical transformation of our practices toward the elderly?

At first glance, the new policy appears to be a humanitarian act, or social progress. However, this analysis attempts the following: (a) in the first section I will explore the ambivalence of the principle of social integration and (b) in the second section I will provide a critical overview of the main currents of social policy analysis. A careful study of the rhetoric and practice, as well as a thorough impact evaluation, will facilitate understanding of the debates about social integration. This overview of theoretical trends will establish a pertinent approach to answer the question: What is the meaning of old age policy?

### *Ambivalence in the Themes of Social Integration and Maintenance at Home*

The rejection of segregation and dependency fostered by the traditional mode of old age management and the definition

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\*The art of translation is a difficult one, particularly when attempting to convey sociological concepts from one language to another. When a problem has emerged the translators have erred in favor of a literal translation to avoid possible misinterpretations of feelings and meanings. In the pursuit of these objectives, guidance has been sought and grateful acknowledgment is accorded to Derek Gill, John Myles, Harold L. Sheppard, Patricia Morrow and John Hall.

of new alternative principles advocating the integration of the aged into their own environment can be viewed as statements of a bold and generous new social policy. The reversal of the tendencies to which old age management bears witness, moreover, falls within a broader evolution of various social policies. The principle of new preventive and promotional social policies has been advocated for the treatment of target populations other than the aged. Maladjusted children, the handicapped, the mentally disabled have benefited from deinstitutionalization. The development of day care centers, of psychiatric treatment centers and of maintenance of the aged at home rest on the new ideas of prevention and comprehensive practice.

In this perspective, intervention in the community is the favored approach, for it alone appears capable of lending itself to rehabilitation and reintegration, while placement into a retirement home destroys autonomy, probably irretrievably. Together, these new orientations in social policy have been viewed as the components of a more just and more united society which seems to be evolving.

This vision of the evolution of social policy as being more equitable is present in the new discourse on the management of old age. To convince oneself, it is enough to observe the dichotomous style that structures this discourse.<sup>1</sup> Confinement within custodial care facilities is rejected and is contrasted with maintenance at home and the "prolongation of the normal life it allows." The traditional way is associated with paternalism, assistance, and dependency. The new mode is equated with solidarity, dignity, and freedom. The new old age policy proclaims new hope for the aged population. This entire age group, formerly kept on the sidelines, is asked to share the fruits of growth. Presently, society has "the means to ensure its imperative duty toward its elders." Everyone seems in agreement with the validity of the new management principles of old age. Segregation in an old people's rest home is rejected in favor of social integration by a policy of maintaining people at home.

After reviewing the contemporary debates on the issue of maintaining the aged at home, it might appear that no significant conflicts arose among the representatives of the various political groups. Likewise, the actions of municipalities in France with very different political tendencies all revolve around this same

principle. Is it not the case that the strong consensus that is observable on this issue can, to a great extent, be explained by the many contradictory legacies brought together in the notion of maintaining the elderly at home? The general convergence could well then be but a formal reconciliation.

The debate over the respective merits of maintenance at home and of institutionalization is nothing new. The Comité de Mendicité de l'Assemblée Constituante (Committee on Alms of the Constituent Assembly which functioned during the French Revolution) already favored in its proposals the reorganization of assistance to grant aid at home (out-door relief) over placement within a hospital or poorhouse.<sup>2</sup> Later on, the philanthropic movement (1850) defended the principle of home maintenance against placement into institutions on the grounds that the natural familial environment was best suited for the treatment of physical and social ills. The hospital was to be reserved for acute illness since "often within a short time span it enables good workers to return to their families and to their jobs." This is not the case for the old people's home. On the one hand, the old people's home frees children from their obligation to provide assistance and, on the other hand, it provides workers with the prospect of a guaranteed asylum. Thus, workers have no obligation to save or economize for old age.

It is obvious that the recurrent theme of maintenance at home has, in fact, justified radically opposed interests. If Barrère, during the revolutionary period, advocated the development of home assistance, it was to destroy that which most clearly symbolized royal might: the poorhouses and the hospitals. It was a question of breaking the despotic and charitable organization of the *Ancien Régime* and substituting state assistance which required in exchange, the duty to work. In contrast, the philanthropists found in promoting maintenance at home a way to develop, between the individual and the State, the role of intermediary groups. In particular, they saw in it the possibility of restoring to the family and its functional substitutes, a privileged role for integrating and controlling individuals.

Thus, the theme of integration and maintenance of the aged at home maintains relations which are both progressive as well as supportive of systems of patronage and paternalism that evolved during the 19th century. As with any ideology that labels

itself progressive, this theme is strongly ambivalent. The implementation of a new social service infrastructure for home care can signify for the elderly (1) their liberation from a network of assistance that establishes dependency, (2) the promotion of their autonomy, and (3) the recognition of their rights and their power of bargaining. Its implementation can also correspond to new constraints and controls of a population that previously remained largely marginal.

The controversy surrounding the birth of the asylum has been well presented by Michel Foucault. The asylum provided an alternative to imprisonment, but also meant subjecting patients to a more subtle confinement within a new system of rewards and punishments. Given these contradictions, what are the ultimate goals that provided the impetus for the implementation of the new old age policy that we observe today? The ambiguity is too great for us to accept old age policy at its face value and to consider its overall reorganization as a simple humanitarian gesture.

Alain Touraine reminds us that at the beginning of the last century the bourgeoisie claimed to have freed workers from their corporatist constraints. But they failed to mention that they had subjected workers simultaneously to other constraints.<sup>3</sup> This serves to illustrate the breadth of the paradoxes that arise when one relies on the rhetoric of the dominant classes. Only a careful examination of the impact which the change in old age management has had on both the life styles and the images of the aged can shed some light on its meaning. Such an examination is necessary to uncover the social functions of this new policy: The analysis of the functions performed by this new plan for the management of old age will be accomplished through a study of the conditions leading to the overall reorganization of French old age policy.

Our analysis will be structured around two main issues:

- What are the results of the implementation of old age policy?
- What are the factors that played a determinant role in the formation of this new social policy?

The works dealing with social policies delineate the field of analysis and help to formulate a theoretical framework to answer the above questions.

## SOCIAL POLICIES: THEIR FORMATION AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

The aim of numerous works on social policy is more descriptive than explanatory or evaluative. They present the various goals of social action, that is, of the institutions and the actors who administer social policies.<sup>4</sup> Despite their usefulness, these works consider very few elements related to the determinants of social policies and their consequences. Among the works concerned with a sociological analysis of social policies, we can single out five major approaches to inquiry. We shall evaluate the scope and limits of these approaches in order to define a relevant perspective for the analysis of social policy.

### *The Rationalist Model*

In this perspective, social policies are considered to be rational responses to structural transformations of the social system and/or to shifts in social demands. The determinants of social policies relate to factors that influence social situations as well as the social demands of the population. In this form of analysis, the important explanatory factors represent the whole range of conceptual factors, i.e., economic, demographic, and political factors that are likely to influence changes in social demands. Industrialization and its various consequences (in particular the break-up of the pre-industrial family and the formation of a new urban proletariat) is often accepted as one of the major reasons for the implementation of social policies that were meant to deal with the adverse impact of industrialization upon the working class. The adoption of the French system of social insurance and the creation of the U.S. system of social security have often been analyzed from this perspective. To explain the adoption of the U.S. social security system, it should be recognized that the depression of 1929 and the new insecurities it generated are given importance (i.e., the depression introduced a massive escalation of poverty and unemployment).

Some authors<sup>5</sup> believe that in addition to industrialization one must also consider the impact of the ideological context, particularly as it relates to government intervention. The adherence to European liberal doctrines can either facilitate or delay social implementation. Frequently, authors have analyzed

the recent rise of old age policy in industrialized nations as a quasi-mechanical governmental response to the escalation of the demographic weight of the elderly population.<sup>6</sup> The demographic aging of populations is supposed to increase the relative visibility of the aged and the weight of elderly demands, which in turn lead to an appropriate governmental response.

In this rationalist formulation, the social policy adopted is considered a solution calculated to accomplish objectives determined in relation to the general welfare of society. Relative to alternative solutions and their costs, the policy is considered as the product of a deliberate choice made after rational calculation. Underlying this approach is the outline of a technocratic conception of the state. In this conception, the state is seen as an independent actor above society proceeding rationally to achieve national objectives for the general welfare of its citizens. It rests upon the assumption that the social system is transparent: there exists a clear link between demand (which can be directly understood) and necessary social interventions. To be consistent, it is assumed these interventions are sound. Clearly the voluntarist philosophy associated with this theoretical perspective ignores the lack of clarity that results from contradictory social relations and their repercussions for state actions. Thus, the rationalist perspective reduces the analysis of the origins of social policy to the history of the intentions of those in authority.

Evaluation of the adopted policy tends to follow this same approach. It consists of assessing the conformity between actual social programs and the established general interests. The eventual recognition of contradictions between the initial objectives and the pertinent consequences of the program lead to new technocratic proposals. These proposals allow for an expansion of the process of rationalizing choices and control procedures for the implementation of program initiatives.

#### *The Pluralist Model*

In the pluralist perspective, policies are the unstable outcome of conflicts, compromises, and negotiations among multiple interest groups. These groups are viewed as autonomous actors within the political arena.

The study of a policy's origins consists: (1) in identifying the various political actors who played a role in the final

decision; and (2) in reconstructing their negotiation strategies with regard to the resources they dispose of to further their interests (power positions, reputation, personal connections, level of expertise). Most American analyses of social policy utilize this model implicitly.<sup>7</sup> Contrary to the rationalist model, the particular merit of this perspective is to show that what is at stake in social policy is often quite removed from the general welfare. The evaluation of social policies starting from a pluralist perspective leads to the critical analysis of the consequences of these policies. But, since policies are the product of a bargaining process between pressure groups, they are seldom adapted to the needs they are supposed to serve. Produced under the impulse of interests other than those of the target populations, they appear in the final analysis much more instrumental for those active in the policy formulation process than for the beneficiaries. According to Murray Edelman, social policies often provide only symbolic benefits to the target populations and tangible benefits to the political elite.<sup>8</sup>

The limits of pluralist analysis stem mainly from the atomized conception of power that underlies it. In postulating the multiplicity of power sources, the pluralist approach, in fact, proposes a unified vision of the political system. The capacity of a group to make itself heard is only a function of the scope of its social base, i.e., its activism and its capacity to organize in order to gain influence. Such a perspective underestimates the structural limits of political influence of such groups. If the analysis remains restricted to the political arena without considering the social relations behind the conflicts and tacit agreements among interest groups, then this analysis overlooks the power that social position and social structure exert. This is how certain American analysts have put forward the thesis on the rise of a new "gray lobby"<sup>9</sup> capable of determining the course of old age policy.

Support for this thesis rests on two observations about the rapid demographic aging of industrialized nations: First, the aged population sees its electoral importance increasing (if one takes into account its electoral participation that is stronger than that of other age groups; they represent close to 25% of the electorate in France with 13.6% of the total population). Second, this

segment of the population develops its capacity to form organizations of aged people that are more dynamic and more representative.

Such an approach illustrates perfectly the limits of pluralist analysis. It underestimates all the structural barriers that exist between the aspirations of certain social groups and their capacity to make themselves heard in the political arena. Even if the aged have new expectations they may not hold sufficient bargaining power to have their policies adopted. The very marginality of their position in society gives them limited capacity to disrupt the social order. From the very fact of their marginal position within the social system (no capacity to produce and weak capacity to consume), the deviant actions that can be adopted by aged groups (marches, consumer demands) are powerless to obstruct or block the system.

An example of this approach is the "gray lobby" thesis: namely, the idea of a new power among the aged (*senior power*). This thesis has two shortcomings: (1) the homogeneity of political behaviors among the aged remains to be established as Robert Binstock points out, and (2) more importantly, this thesis is based upon a unified vision of the social system whereby no social class either dominates or is dominated. Such a perspective leads to underestimating the mechanisms through which certain classes secure their domination over others. As a correlate, it leads to an individualist and atomistic approach to social reality in which the major focus is placed on social interaction, mainly in terms of individual psychology (e.g., ambitions, maintenance of acquired positions, resistance to change).

Shifting from the analytical viewpoint related to the major causes of social policy to a viewpoint concerned with evaluating the impact of social policies, two comments can be made. The pluralist approach has the merit of showing that in the implementation of social policies, what is at stake is nothing less than the general welfare or the idea of social justice. The pluralist model proposes a critical evaluation of social policy, reaching beyond the rationalist conception mentioned above. However, since it rests upon a unified conception of the social system, such an approach does not search for class interests that are finally served by adopting certain social programs. The analysis stops at the profits that the various groups were able to derive from

political interventions. Thus, in his study on the impact of the American health insurance program for the aged (Medicare), Marmor shows that the primary beneficiaries of that program were the medical profession, the health industry in general, and the private insurance companies; although, paradoxically, these groups had been the most indomitable adversaries of the legislation.

#### *The Organizational Model*

In the organizational perspective, social policy is no longer perceived as a rational choice or a complex system of compromises and negotiations between autonomous actors. Instead, social policy is the result of the interaction of the institutions and organizations that intervene in the process of policy formulation. The latter have standardized ways of acting, rules of functioning and routinized operational methods that are widely described within the sociology of organizations. This approach is associated in France with the name of Michel Crozier. The analysis of the contradictions between operational methods and the study of the rivalries existing between the various central administrations and between the department of treasury and the department of health and welfare, or between the latter department and the General State Plan allows one to understand some of the significant gaps that are observable between social policy statements and their actual implementation.

Finally, using the analysis proposed by Pierre Grémion,<sup>10</sup> the fluctuations of social policies can be interpreted as a compromise between imperatives for program decentralization so as to better adapt them to local situations and the central administration's desire for bureaucratic control over program outcomes. Grémion's analysis focuses upon the conditions and conflicts between the peripheral administrations (e.g., state governments) which are concerned with their local constituents and the central administrations (e.g., federal) with their rationalist orientation.

It is apparent that the organizational model places the politico-administrative system at the center of its analysis. From this model the study of administrative functioning enables one to understand the genesis of a policy and its evolution, to assess its impact, that is, to explain the proposed objectives and their results.<sup>11</sup> However, a careful study of the administrative

machine and its management methods neither tells us anything about the social classes that hold control over this apparatus, nor does it tell us anything about the interests that are finally served by its management.

The action of the State cannot be reduced to the functioning of its administrative apparatus. It is rooted in social relations and expresses the state of class relations and the nature of these relations, although it is never its mere reflection.

If it appears valid to explain some of the major contours in state policies in terms of administrative operations, that is, the administration's client relations and their clashes over competency, we must also be aware of what these policies reflect in the structure of social relations; unless the State is viewed as being above or outside class relations.

#### *Social Policy as the Expression of Social Class Relations*

This approach represents the reverse model of the organizational perspective. It views the administrative apparatus as a "black box," a mere negotiation device without any particular impact on the interventions of state social policies. Thus it attempts to reveal the impact of social class state programs. This analytical perspective emphasizes the holistic conception of the social system, that is, a system structured around antagonistic social classes. Each social class or segment of a social class can be defined by its structural interests and the interests related to economic fluctuations. State policies lie within the complex interplay of convergent and contradictory class interests. Social policies derive their meaning from the impact they have on class relations and from the class interests they serve in the end, at the expense of other classes. The social class perspective is very clearly differentiated from the individualist framework, which is inherent to the pluralist perspective. Political decision-making represents, for the latter, the outcome of the conflicts and negotiations among autonomous interest groups. For the former it reflects the structural conflicts between social classes and the role played in these conflicts by the State.

Social class analysis, as we have just defined above, is also characterized by multiple questions. This approach differs depending upon which sociological school it fits into, from Marxist to non-Marxist. Two items need to be determined:

(1) the level of complexity contained within the "theory of the State," and (2) the relationship between the "theory of the State" and the conception of civil society. A quick review of the interpretations proposed by various authors who have studied the origin of social security systems will enable us to underscore the diversity of these analyses.<sup>1 2</sup> All these authors attempt to discover what the creation of social security systems owed to social class relations. The field of social security systems has been selected because it concerns, as does the policy of aging, a state intervention related to the expanded "reproduction of the labor force" throughout the life span. Social security systems have been largely considered by the sociological literature from a social relations perspective. In contrast, aging policy to date has only been dealt with by American sociology from two dominant perspectives, the pluralist model and the organizational model. There is a considerable body of literature on the relations between the emergence of social policies and the power relations between social groups. Yet few studies attempt a careful analysis of the manner in which these class relations have produced the political decision to intervene.

Guy Perrin<sup>1 3</sup> in his study of the development of social security establishes a relationship among the stages of economic development, the structure of classes that correspond to these stages and the type of social protection that was implemented. In the initial phase of capitalist development one observes, according to Perrin, a rigid structure of classes that are strongly antagonistic. Within the field of social protection this leads to the promotion of the social insurance model. In a second phase, a more integrated society is created in which a better distribution of the profits of production and productivity occurs. The less antagonistic social structure that is linked to this more integrated society gives birth to a new form of social protection: social security.

Although Perrin's plan may appear attractive inasmuch as he attempts to elaborate a theory of social security by relating it to the state of social relations, it is difficult to endorse his analysis of industrial societies' evolution. It seems that his analysis falls within an evolutionist conception of history. Our societies would presumably have evolved from a state of antagonistic dissociation to a state of better integration as a

result of technical progress and its diffusion. Supposedly, as a correlate, we would have witnessed in the field of social protection an improvement in social institutions.

Victor George<sup>14</sup> in his study of the dominant social forces that gave birth to the English social security system, essentially analyzes it as the product of shifting interests among dominant classes. Apparently, the establishment of the English social security system was due less to the philanthropic preoccupations of the dominant classes with the fate of the laboring class than to the conjunction of two phenomena: on the one hand, the upsurge of workers' unrest and the threats it exerts on the bourgeois social order; on the other hand, the awareness of the dominant group that the establishment of a social security system would have a positive impact on both economic growth and political stability.

The interpretation proposed by Victor George seems not too far removed from that which was proposed by Henri Hatzfeld in his study of the French system's origin.<sup>15</sup> The latter considers that the driving force in the birth of the French *Sécurité sociale* was derived on one hand, from certain contradictory forces consisting of the employers of large companies and their wage-earners; and on the other hand, from the political action of certain groups of the bourgeoisie. These two interpretations tend to invalidate the thesis of *Sécurité sociale* as a workers' conquest. They contradict, among other things, the analyses that Patrice Grevet proposes of this phenomenon.<sup>16</sup> Grevet considers that it is valid to say that the large companies influenced the creation of social security. But he adds that the reason relates to the fact that large companies represent a context in which the process of "reproducing the labor force" develops in a most contradictory manner. It is the ills that these contradictions engender that provide the strongest incentives for popular social struggles.

For Patrice Grevet, in actual fact "the necessary changes cannot result from a spontaneous adjustment of the very rich"<sup>17</sup> for these changes are in direct conflict with the logic of establishing maximum profits and capital accumulation. The *Sécurité sociale* was born thanks to a shift in the balance of power which became more favorable to the working class. The birth of the *Sécurité sociale* seems to correspond for the author

to a workers' victory. However, the public intervention that relates to the creation of the *Sécurité sociale* represents only a temporary resolution of capitalist contradictions raised to a higher level. Finally, social policies are placed in the confines of the labor force's value and the necessary needs to be covered in order to allow workers to produce surplus and profits. Social policies reproduce social cleavages and inequalities. The intervention of the State in society would, in the final analysis, serve the interests of capital. However, this precipitates a crisis of capital by deepening the contradictions which gave rise to public intervention. The thesis developed by Patrice Grevet falls within the Marxist theoretical school of "state monopoly capitalism."

In this perspective, the action of the State reflects the class struggle and expresses, in general, the balance of power among social classes. Consequently, state action benefits the groups that are in a dominant position, granting only a few secondary benefits to the system's equilibrium, compromised briefly by the offensive struggles of the dominated classes.

The functions of state interventions are to regulate social contradictions and to reestablish the economic, political, and ideological conditions of monopolistic capital domination. Such an approach reduces the State to no more than a docile instrument at the service of monopolistic group interests. The State dissolves in the class relations and the state system no longer has any autonomy over social relations.

If the analysis of "state monopoly capitalism" tries especially to underscore the State's contributions to the economic interests of the dominant class, other analyses consider, in contrast, social policies as instruments for ideological domination. Thus, Jacques Ion,<sup>18</sup> utilizing the concept of ideological state apparatus (developed by Althusser), has shown that the local socio-cultural facilities function to master, on the ideological level, the contradictions engendered by the development of monopolistic capitalism. Indeed these facilities constitute a local spatio-ideological organization for the diffusion of the myth that cooperation and solidarity exist within neighborhood areas. The body of analyses that consider the State's intervention as an expression of economic, political, and ideological interests of the dominant class rests on an instrumental conception of the State. The State would only be an instrument of domination, and

the state system would be under the control of the dominant class and would merge with class relations.

Thus, we find in this model the reverse image of the organizational approach that rests upon a representation of the State as an administrative apparatus without social influence. These two perspectives are based, in fact, on reductionistic conceptions of the State. In order to guard oneself against this, it seems essential to consider the margin of autonomy—that varies according to the period—that exists between civil society and the State.

The study of the characteristics of the leading elite that controls the state apparatus enables one to outline, as does Pierre Birnbaum,<sup>19</sup> the network of fusions/dissociations existing between this elite and the leading social class, as well as between the elites that wield the executive power and those who hold the legislative or administrative power. It is only after assessing the scope of this autonomy and distinguishing between civil society and the State, that it is possible to question state interventions by trying to establish what they owe to the interests of various classes or segments of a class.

This perspective seems fundamental. The studies referred to, each in its own manner, have advanced this framework which remains, as we have seen, still largely to be defined. These studies demonstrate as fundamental the duality of State and class relations. The confusion between these two social arenas leads to a Manichaeian view of the social system in which the dominant forces oppress the dominated through the instrument of the State. These works also underscore the necessity of examining the constant and evolving link between the State and social relations. Thus, the relationship between social classes and state interventions is revealed. This framework presupposes a definition of social relations that do not merely amount to a simple social stratification continuum, but elaborate a system of antagonistic positions.

#### *Social Policy as a Technology of Power*

The body of research linked with the name of Michel Foucault focuses broadly on the history and the functions of health and social policies.<sup>20</sup> Social policies are analyzed therein as control systems linked to the evolution of power relations.

The transformations of the various health and social policies express the extension and deployment of political technologies which, having gone through an authoritarian and coercive stage, now become persuasive and manipulative.

This provides us with a new grid for interpreting social policies, which are now viewed as strategies for subjugation and “moralization.” This new interpretation has stimulated an examination of the social functions of policies, which appear to have less to do with the transformation of the material conditions of life than with the surveillance of the population and the establishment of schemes. The institutional mechanisms set up in the framework of these policies (community-based services and facilities, regulatory provisions, legal measures) move toward the development of a decentralized network. They are the vehicles of a diffuse power for control; an extension of the “power machinery” which they bring as close as possible to the people. This framework considers policies as methods for exercising power. It has contributed to shattering the idea of a power center by substituting for it the notion of a vast system of micro-powers that organizes itself progressively into an increasingly tight network, and to which not only the state apparatus contributes but also various social groups playing the role of supervisors (physicians, social workers). If this approach informs us about the “technologies of power,” it does not enable us to localize within the social relations the sources of this power. In this sense, it fails to provide an answer for the questions posed by the analyses of class relations.

Because of the inability to locate this power within its “social womb” one cannot answer the question concerning which class exercises power and over whom it is being exercised. Consequently, it is not possible to understand the logic according to which this power operates—a power that now risks being nothing more than abstract domination. Moreover, the works found within this type of analysis seldom attempt to assess the impact of the measures taken. They generally deal with the study of laws and/or regulations and the debates held prior to and after their enactment. Thus, they also leave outside their framework of analysis both the concrete outcomes to which legal provisions give rise and the real practices developed by the concerned populations in the face of these interventions. Under these conditions

the supervisory capacity of government power can be evaluated only from the disclosures the government makes about its actions. One then runs the risk of lending to this power more normalizing and manipulative capacities than it has in reality. This occurs because the approach fails to observe at the local level the protest activity that the concerned populations were able to bring about in response to actions of the powerful.

For example, it seems difficult to follow CERFI<sup>21</sup> researchers when they globally interpret the proliferation—within the past twenty years—of the local facilities and services (youth clubs, delinquency prevention centers, mental health sectors) as the clear expression of the expanded controls over the populations, by means of local “micro-observatories.” At the local level, a more subtle analysis of the concrete relations between populations and programs shows that domination is not the sole function performed by these social services. Indeed, intense debates developed both within and outside these public organizations.<sup>22</sup> Establishing localized programs can, therefore, mobilize instead of subduing action, and does not always correspond to the formation of a law and order society. Community-based facilities (e.g., collective means of consumption) vary in their capacity for surveillance and control, especially according to the methods by which the process of consumption is organized within them (individual or group mode of consumption). The capacity varies also according to the level of use of these facilities. Refusing to depend upon these programs, indeed, represents one of the possible methods for the neighborhoods to voice their opposition.

The preceding remarks tend to place the emphasis on the necessity to direct the study of the functions of social policy in terms of concrete units small enough to measure the impact on various groups. Only a small-scale study is able to evaluate the real influence and not merely the legal mandate that these mechanisms exert over the behaviors and perceptions of the concerned social groups.

Finally, the works inspired by this type of research on the dynamics of power appear to present a final limitation which bears some relation to the two points raised previously. They essentially attempt to bring out the politico-ideological functions of social policies without ever questioning the usefulness of these

policies for the beneficiaries. Surely, if social policies do extend both political domination and ideological persuasion, they also provide access to new goods or services to the target population—a fact that must not be overlooked when analyzing the social functions of that policy.

A set of conceptual tools and systems for careful observation emerges from the critical presentation that has just been proposed about the main theoretical approaches for the analysis of social policies. It will help us expand our general review of aging policy.

#### *Framework for an Analysis of Old Age Policy*

The analysis presented above encouraged us to transcend the rationalist model according to which the policy implemented constitutes a simple, quasi-mechanical response to the rise of a new demand and new needs that result from the transformation of the social system. They encourage us to formulate a series of questions regarding old age policy.

The pluralist approach prompts one to locate the social groups which, within and outside the State, have been the most instrumental in the initiation of a new approach to old age management, as well as those groups which have been the supporters and the prime agents and/or the service providers. However, to investigate the relative influence of the various professional and political groups active in the formation of French old age policy, an evaluation of the contributions of class relations must be completed; that is, a study of the social entrenchment of these groups and of the class content with regard to their actions must be achieved. Thus, one is led to reconstruct the state of social relations which provided the context for the rise of old age policy, as well as review the class interests that were served in the end by its promotion.

Simultaneously, the organizational approach enables us to comprehend what state interventions owe to the manner in which the administrative machinery operates, which has some autonomy in relationship to the class structure. In this perspective, the action of the State in the field of aging must be addressed in two ways: first, one must ask what this action owes to the dynamics of social relations, and second, what can be

attributed to the internal organizational characteristics of the state administration.

Finally, the research on social policies in terms of technology of power remind us that the actual social programs represent methods to exercise power. This prompts us to consider how these new approaches to old age management exert power and control over the populations. The reform of old age management represents the introduction of a new cultural model for old age. This model inculcates a new, dynamic art for aging "well," thus altering the behavior of the aged and the image of old age. This new social policy for aging can thus be analyzed as a vehicle of power and domination. We have seen the importance of prolonging this query. While attempting to locate within society the sources of this power, we must determine which class exerts power and on which groups by means of this new social policy.

From this brief critical reflection on the major currents of theoretical analysis, four major dimensions can be singled out: (1) the state of social relations of production, (2) the forms and the intensity of social conflicts, (3) the approach to the organization of the State, and (4) the status of the cultural model of aging. These dimensions enable one to reconstruct the social context of the formation and development of old age policy. From these four conceptual dimensions, it is possible to study the configuration of French aging policy, from 1960 onward, as it was gradually constituted. From this initial inquiry arises a series of considerations leading to a precise research framework.

If one considers the transformations that took place within the production apparatus and their implications for the social structure of the country, it seems that, at this level, a certain number of conditions that are favorable to the emergence of an old age policy begin to develop in 1958.

In postwar France, during the period 1945-1958, priority was given to the restoration of productive capacity. In particular, economic policy centered on support of investments and social policy favored improvement of the conditions for recreating the labor force whose production potential was directly necessary to the restoration effort. Thus, family and social housing policy was established at the expense of old age policies.

From 1958 onward, a period of strong economic growth occurred based mainly on the growth of investments and exports. Therefore, the stimulation of household consumption constituted an important element in this growth process. The State assumed during this period a larger and larger share in the organization of the collective means of consumption. In a similar manner, spurred on by the expansion of credit mechanisms and of advertising, the market provided numerous inducements for individual consumption.

The new emphasis upon growth and the key role of consumption help us understand the process by which the State took responsibility for the aging issue. However, one fails to fully understand this process if the changes that occurred simultaneously in the social structure are ignored. The evolution of the production apparatus transformed the division of labor between social groups. It gave birth to middle class wage-earners (engineers, middle and top managers, teachers, and technicians). When they reach retirement, members of this new middle class constitute a group of retirees with new characteristics: this group has a high level of potential skills, resources and a high level of expectations. That is, they expect benefits from systems of social protection in proportion to the position they occupied in the production process and to the extent their position enabled them to bargain for protection. However, the new consumption capacity of this class of retirees will largely remain underutilized. This is due to the poor adjustment made by the private market to that demand. In spite of their characteristics and expectations, consumer demands of retirees are less easily mobilizable by the private market. Their demands are less solvent than the demands of the young and the adults. Only some supplementary pension funds will alter that demand.

In the face of these new powers from an ever-growing retirement group, the traditional approach (consisting of segregating and institutionalizing the aged) appears increasingly inadequate. The logic of this approach fades as one becomes aware of the consumption capacity of a segment of the aged population. Instead, alternatives are provided, endorsed, and made affordable to the aged (e.g., clubs, home care, vacations, etc.).

The rise of a new retired middle class linked with the key role played by consumption in the development of the system

has undermined the legitimacy of traditional management methods, mainly because the potential for increased consumption is thought to be a waste for the economic system. This new awareness could well be at the root of state intervention in the field of aging. For is not one of the characteristics of that intervention to connect the aged with consumption networks? The new integration envisioned for old people corresponds, in effect, as we shall see, principally to an integration of consumption and lifestyle.

Two factors contribute during this period to an increased awareness of the waste that characterizes traditional old age policy under new conditions. On the one hand, the expansion of the number of wage-earners expands the position of the retiree, even winning non-wage-earners over to that model. Expansion of retirement also confers on this stage of life a broader social visibility. On the other hand, the accelerated demographic aging of the country brings this reality into sharp relief. Demographic trends rapidly increase the economic costs of traditional old age management which—rightly—is no longer perceived as necessary. Because of this striking increase in expenditures, this approach tends to exclude a population whose social uselessness appears less and less obvious.

The rise of the new wage-earning middle class, at the time when the system is developing a strong sensitivity to consumption, appears to be an important element in creating a new old age policy in France. The analysis that I develop on this theme in the volume *La Vieillesse et l'Etat* (Chapter III) makes it clear that these new middle classes with their way of life and resources are the referents of the new approach to old age. This approach was developed within the framework of a social integration policy. While the traditional management mode that had the poorhouse as its support basis conjures up images of the wretchedness associated with the aging of the working classes, the new guidelines for action erect as new norms for the art of living, the social way of life of the middle class retirees.

The meaning of state interventions that develop and shift in the field of aging can be clarified through the study of social conflicts. Several works underscore the tight relationships that social policies maintained with evolving social conflicts. Frances Piven and Richard Cloward<sup>23</sup> have, in particular, stressed this

factor in their analysis of public policy with regard to welfare in the United States. These authors show that this social policy tended to vary less according to the seriousness of unemployment and economic recession than to the sharpness of the social struggles it was supposed to appease.

When the discourses on aging set forth by various social interests are reconstituted, two distinct debates come to the fore. One debate, bringing together the key class actors within industrial society, focuses on the question of pension levels and the age of retirement. The other focuses on the way of life in old age and disregards the standard of living.

In the first debate, the analysis of the activity of the labor unions during the period 1945-1978 shows how, in the aging field, defensive struggles evolved around the issue of pension levels and minimum age for a pension. If during the years 1969-1971 one notices a union's initiative for lowering retirement age, this struggle falls directly within the union's tradition of fighting for reducing the length of the workday. At no time did the union's action take into account the issue of the way the aged lived nor challenge the marginal status assigned to the aged in our society. Rather labor mainly addressed the consequences of this marginality such as the resources of the aged population. Thus, labor's fight developed on a quite different level than that favored in the framework of the new aging policy, which we know deals primarily with the problem of the way of life among the aged and the issue of their social integration.

Contrary to other social policies, it seems then that old age policy emerged suddenly as an official doctrine, a doctrine that had not been previously designed as a weapon by professional or political groups.<sup>24</sup> We can thus ask ourselves if it represents a counter response to the demands formulated by the working class about retirement age. This response, on a different level than that of the workers' unions, could well represent an attempt at forestalling conflict. This example serves to illustrate the scientific interest involved in analyzing the interplay of social struggles and state interventions. However, any effort toward reformulating old age management does not merely involve intervening in social conflicts. It represents, as well, the work involved in changing the cultural model for old age.

The status of the old age cultural model, the institutionalized forms of management to which it refers, and the contradictions and discrepancies that can exist between that cultural axis and the other dimensions of the social structure all must be viewed as determinant factors which promote a new approach to managing the aged. Buttressed by an old age management plan that placed the poorhouse at its center, the image that clung to old age was one of physical and mental degeneration, misery, and indigence. It had an exemplary value in that it contributed during the entire 19th century to the moral edification of adults and children from the working classes, encouraging foresight and thriftiness. It used or employed the elderly as a means to educate all generations of the working classes to mold their behavior and attitudes in light of the future. The popularization of pension schemes has challenged the usefulness of such imagery because "statistical solidarity" is substituted for individual foresight. Furthermore, it extends the status of retirement to an entire generation without regard to class distinction, thus altering fundamentally the scale of the problem. The traditional rhetoric on the future of old age programs contradicts current realities. The new situations that the various social classes encounter as they age (re: their existing and potential resources)—and—the model of development the State wishes to promote, a model based on forecasting, on programming the future, and no longer on mere foresight by individuals, contradict one another.

Indeed the State does not merely intervene to reproduce or transform social relations. It is also the main agent for the development of society. Alain Touraine distinguishes between a synchronic and diachronic axis of state analysis.<sup>25</sup> In this role, the State must modify people's thinking with regard to the new growth prospects which occurred in Europe at the onset of the 1960s. Today, in a society where old age is everyone's future because of the prolongation of life expectancy, aging policy is a fundamental lever to affect everyone's attitude about the future. In the report written by the *Commission d'Etude des problèmes de la vieillesse* (Commission for the Study of the Problems of Aging), which mentions that growth prospects should not be jeopardized, the above concern is voiced very explicitly. The report stated that the vision of aging as a sad and threatening situation should be replaced by every possible means with the

positive notion of shared solidarity and preserved social activity among the elderly. Old age policy represents a discourse about the future. Public assistance policy instilled the virtues of foresight while reserving a hardly enviable fate to those lacking foresight. This old cultural model loses all social usefulness as soon as society transforms its relationship with the future and encourages credit and economic planning. Thus, to shut away the aged as an example to the population no longer has any meaning. On the contrary, it is important to counter in the people's mind the reasons for such withdrawal by mobilizing all the resources to encourage the growth of society.

Providing the State maintains a large margin of independence from various segments of the dominant class, it can play an active role as a modernizing agent. Then the State can influence attitudes toward life and the future by reformulating old age management and, as a correlate, by changing the image of old age. Indeed, the Gaullist state that took the initiative in the field of old age policy was precisely characterized by its own great capacity for action. The fusion between the executive power and high administration<sup>26</sup> that characterized the Gaullist state endowed it with a considerable autonomy with regard to civil society. This enabled it to become the spokesman for a new social and economic logic. It authorized the State to adopt new approaches for intervening, such as ad hoc administrative structures. The creation of the *Commission d'Etude des problèmes de la vieillesse* suggests this role. The discrepancies that exist between the orientations within the Laroque report and the activities of the *Intergroupe Personnes âgées du VI<sup>e</sup> Plan* (Older Persons Coordinating Group) might point to the declining margin of autonomy within the state apparatus. From 1969 onward, the state apparatus again becomes a client State in which the technocratic elite no longer enjoys the same degree of independence from the dominant class.

Thus, the changes in program guidelines adopted in favor of aging could well be the result of several converging factors: the increasing importance of the consumption process within the economic system and the unfolding of social conflicts around this theme; the appearance of a new cohort having at their disposal a relatively high level of resources and aptitudes as a result of the transformation in the social structure; the increased

challenge to the legitimacy of the traditional cultural model of old age that operates in strong contradiction to all the other elements of the social structure; and the presence of a politico-administrative system benefiting from considerable autonomy in relationship to civil society.

The reflection about the social conditions that led to a specific and continuous intervention by the State in the elderly's lifestyle cannot be separated from the question of the social functions to which this new policy gives rise. This query is necessarily conducted along the same lines as those that governed our questioning about the genesis of the new old age management. If the status of social relations was central to our thinking about the formulation of an old age policy, then an analysis of the functions of this policy seeks to assess the benefits the various classes secured from these changes, that is, those benefits induced by the promotion of a social integration policy.

Given the avowed goal of social integration, we may ask ourselves to what extent this goal has been realized, that is, whether the results are truly relevant to the various social classes of the aged. It seems that the new old age policy is capable of having extremely variable effects depending on class positions. It represents, no doubt, more the confinement of the working class within a restricted consumption system than a genuine opportunity for reintegration. In this sense, the functions of the integration policy differ little from those of the traditional assistance policy. However, one has to consider the superimposed functions of this policy. If in relationship to the working class it corresponds to a new segregation, it provides likewise access to new usable goods, such as leisure and holidays.

The integration policy of old age is not merely a politico-administrative body of decisions that affect the social practices of the aged population; it represents also the continuous elaboration of a new image of old age. Its effects can be observed at two levels: a new lifestyle is being proposed for the entire aged generation, and the images of old age and the future characteristics of all generations are being modified.

The image of old age that is being disseminated within the framework of this new policy shows a number of affinities with the social practices of the wage-earning middle classes. The traditional image of old age associated with decline referred to an

aging model that is characteristic of the working classes. For this model, an activist image was substituted which refers directly to the social experience of the middle classes. It is perhaps not one of the lesser functions of the new aging policy to have proceeded to this reversal of reference groups.

If old age policy represents a lever for changing mentalities, one wonders about the benefits the various social classes were able to derive from these transformations considering their structure, circumstances, and economic interests. Likewise one should examine how the political promoters of the new administrative apparatus for old age management used their positions. Their new position can indeed contribute to firmly establish their legitimacy and to reinforce their political hegemony. In this respect, the analysis of social functions with regard to local old age policies is enlightening.

The general approach to the determinant causes and the effects of the new old age integration policy that have been outlined provides the starting point for a number of concrete research questions. We can define their main interconnecting themes from the arguments that have been developed above.

The study of the impact of the new integration policy should be conducted so as to distinguish between the two main components of this policy. One should discriminate between *political discourse* and *politico-administrative decisions*.

1. In political discourse, an outline of new principles of action for the aged emerges. It diagnoses the status of old age, defines the announced objectives and establishes the action programs.
2. The politico-administrative decisions correspond to the totality of effective intervention policies. These decisions regroup the regulatory or legislative measures that fall within the province of juridical type interventions, the creation of public facilities, and the intervention of financial guarantees.

Each of the specific elements of the policy has its own impact on behaviors and images. The study of the functions of old age policy must go through a careful and differential analysis according to social classes, about the effects of the new discourse concerning old age as well as the impact of the measures taken.

In the final analysis, it is only then that the new old age integration policy can be explained and the interests it promotes identified.

Both the analysis of the "information/misinformation" principles underlying the new statements about old age policy as well as the study of what these statements conceal or what they bring to light enable one to assess in what manner old age policy affects each social class's attitudes and behavior. One should try to assess the symbolic effects of this new discourse, its impact on people's mentalities and behaviors.

Pinpointing the time periods of the politico-administrative decisions about old age policy between 1947 and 1980 lead to two types of investigation.

1. It enables one to identify, for each period, the dominant types of intervention. Here we should study their impact on the lifestyles and beliefs of the aged population. As has been seen, one cannot merely infer globally the effects of social policy action plans without running the risk of confusing the intentions stated in the official literature produced by persons in charge, the functionaries and the professionals, with the real impact of these action plans. The study must thus be based on local micro-analyses. This will enable one to observe empirically the interactions between institutions, their administrators, and the beneficiaries. It is from the observation of the user's social characteristics, the public facilities and services for the elderly, and from the study of their relations to mass consumption that a differential analysis, based upon class positions, can be proposed. In this manner, we can try to assess on the material and symbolic levels, the consequences of the approaches toward old age policy.
2. The periodization of this policy will make it possible to compare ideological statements with actual political measures in an attempt to grasp the convergences or the discrepancies that exist between official discourse and actual decisions. This approach does not intend to discover how a "generous ideology" could have been betrayed by the adopted policy. At

the extreme, can anything else but a discrepancy between discourse and reality be envisioned? Its intention is to enable one to comprehend the ways in which the two components of political action (rhetoric and decision-making) have influenced each other in various circumstances and the effects they had on the population as a result of their combination. Indeed, if the discourse legitimizes the actions, it can also bring into play processes by which it either masks or spells out their effects, thereby altering their effectiveness on the beneficiaries.

By and large the analysis of the social process that underlies the intervention of the State in the field of aging can be conducted according to four major dimensions.

- transformation of the production apparatus and evolution of the social and demographic structures;
- intensity and forms of the social conflict;
- modes of action that are peculiar to the organization of the State;
- nature of the cultural model for aging in relation to the other dimensions of the social structure.

## FOOTNOTES

1. This range can be reconstructed from an analysis of the various activities of official groups, that is, from the celebration speeches given on various occasions related to old age policy (Congresses of gerontological agencies, opening ceremonies for city facilities, and various events related to old age policy). These speeches were given by high functionaries from the Ministry of Health, politicians or local gerontology leaders.
2. See Maurice Rochaix, *Essai sur l'évolution des questions hospitalières de l'Ancien Régime à nos jours*, Saintes, Fédération Hospitalière de France, 1959; and Françoise and Jean-Michel Louka, *Marginalisation des populations jeunes et âgées des établissements de longs séjours*, V. I, Part 2: "L'idéologie de l'hospitalisation," rapport Contract CORDES, No. 2777, Dec. 1978.
3. Alain Touraine, "Les Nouveaux conflits sociaux," in *Sociologie du Travail*, No. 1, 1975, pp. 1-17.

4. Among these works, the following can be cited: J.-M. Belorgey, *Clef pour demain, la politique sociale*, Paris, Seghers, 1976; B. Lory, *La politique d'action sociale*, Toulouse, Privat, 1975; X. Greffe, *La politique sociale*, Paris, PUF, 1975.
5. Rimlinger (1971) for England and France, Lipset (1967) for the USA, Dahrendorf (1969) for Germany. R. Dahrendorf, *Society and Democracy in Germany*, New York, Doubleday, 1969; G. Rimlinger, *Welfare Policy and Industrialization in Europe, America and Russia*, New York, John Wiley, 1971; S. Lipset, *The First New Nation: The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective*, New York, Doubleday, 1967.
6. Thus R.J. Havighurst, "Life Beyond Family and Work," in Burgess, *Aging in Western Societies*, Chicago, University Press, 1960, and F. Cottrell, "Government Functions and the Politics of Age," in Tibbitts, *Handbook of Social Gerontology*, Chicago, University Press, 1960; H. Friis, "Issues in Social Security Perspective," in Jenkins, *Social Security in International Perspective*, New York, 1969.
7. In the field of old age policy, the analysis proposed by Marmor regarding the passage of the Medicare program is quite representative of this approach. T. Marmor, *The Politics of Medicare*, Chicago, Aldine Publishing Company, 1973. The author focuses upon decision making to evaluate the weight each interest group has brought to bear on the final Medicare vote in 1965. Using a broader framework, the analyses developed by T. Lowi, in his work, *The End of Liberalism*, focuses upon the general mechanisms of social policies from a pluralist perspective. Although he attempts to link this type of analysis to the concept of structural interests, the work of Robert Alford on the health policy for the city of New York can be seen as falling within this same perspective. R. Alford, *Health Care Politics*, University of Chicago Press, 1975.
8. Murray Edelman, *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1964.
9. We are taking up the expression proposed by Henry Pratt, in a recent work, *The Gray Lobby*, University of Chicago Press, 1976.
10. Pierre Grémion, *Le pouvoir périphérique. Bureaucrates et notables dans le système politique français*, Paris, Seuil, 1976.

11. For a critical review of American sociological literature that sheds light on the genesis and the functions of old age policy, the reader can refer to the following document: A.-M. Guillemard, *La société américaine face au vieillissement, émergence d'une politique fédérale et approches théoriques du phénomène*, Centre d'Etude des Mouvements Sociaux, Paris, décembre 1978, 259 pp., mimeograph.
12. Among the most classic of these works, one should cite Xavier Greffe, op. cit.; Jean-Michel Belorgey, op. cit.; Jacques Fournier and Nicole Questiaux, *Le traité du social, situation, luttes politiques, institutions*, Dalloz, 1978.
13. Guy Perrin, "Pour un théorie sociologique de la Sécurité sociale dans les sociétés industrielles," *Revue française de Sociologie*, juillet-décembre 1967, VIII, 3, pp. 299-324.
14. Victor George, *Social Security and Society*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973.
15. Henri Hatzfeld, op. cit.
16. Patrice Grevet, *Besoins populaires et financement public*, Paris, Editions Sociales, 1976.
17. Patrice Grevet, *ibid.*, p. 464.
18. Jacques Ion, *Les équipements socio-culturels et la ville*, Saint-Etienne, CRESAS, 1974, mimeograph.
19. Pierre Birnbaum, *Les sommets de l'Etat*, Paris, Seuil, 1977.
20. Among the studies following this trend of thought and dealing with social policies, the work of the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches et de Formations institutionnelles (CERFI) dealing with urban community facilities, for example: "Les équipements du pouvoir, villes-territoires et équipements collectifs," *Recherches*, No. 13, Dec. 1973; and on the health facilities: *Généalogie des équipements de normalisation, les équipements de normalisation, les équipements sanitaires*, a study done under the supervision of Michel Foucault, 1976. The studies of Robert Castel on the mental health policy: *L'Ordre psychiatrique*, Paris, Editions de Minuit, 1976 and "Genèse et ambiguïté de la notion de secteur en psychiatrie," *Sociologie du Travail*, I, 1975. The study of Jacques Donzelot on the policy of the family (*La police des familles*, Paris, Editions de Minuit, 1977).

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21. CERFI—Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches et de Formations Institutionnelles (Study Center for Research and Organizational Development).
22. Namely, one is reminded of the numerous conflicts that arose between the Maisons des Jeunes (youth centers) and various towns.
23. Richard Cloward, Frances Piven, *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1971.
24. R. Castel, "Genèse et ambiguïté de la notion de secteurs en psychiatrie," *Sociologie du Travail*, I, 1975, has shown with regard to mental health sectors how the present mental health policy was first a medical utopia before becoming a governmental policy.
25. Alain Touraine, *La voix et le regard*, Paris, Seuil, 1978.
26. Here we are taking up again Pierre Birnbaum's conclusions in his work, *Les sommets de l'Etat*, op. cit.

THE ACADEMIC ELITE IN SOCIOLOGY:  
A REASSESSMENT OF TOP-RANKED  
GRADUATE PROGRAMS

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*Changing Times (1983) listed the top eleven graduate programs according to a National Academy of Sciences study. Given the questionable and subjective nature of the evaluation process which produced these ratings this paper examined the composition of the faculties of these top eleven departments. It was found that these departments were substantially linked to each other by hiring each others' graduates, and hence, enhancing each others' reputations.*

INTRODUCTION

In the November 1983 edition of *Changing Times* magazine a listing of the most highly regarded doctoral programs in 32 academic disciplines was presented. These rankings were based on a five-volume study published by the National Academy of Sciences. This study entitled *An Assessment of Research—Doctorate Programs in the United States* reviewed 2,700 Ph.D. programs in 32 disciplines from anthropology to zoology.

In the ratings reported by *Changing Times* two key measures of reputation from the National Academy of Sciences study were combined: first, how professors around the country rated their peers in the same discipline; and second, how well the faculty thought each program educated research scholars and scientists. *Changing Times* combined these two measures and derived a ranking of the top 10% of the programs in each discipline. Clearly, both of these criteria are purely subjective, and attest primarily to the prestige accorded these graduate programs.

For the discipline of sociology *Changing Times* listed the top eleven departments according to the National Academy of