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## KARL MANNHEIM IN BRITAIN: AN INTERIM RESEARCH REPORT

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### *Introduction: The Sociological Theories of Education of an Exiled Thinker*

How does a theory form and evolve? To what extent is it adopted and how does it influence the intellectual development of the time? Is it valued or forgotten after the death of its creator? Is it reappraised at a later date? These are always questions of immense interest through which the personal history of the creator—the thinker—and the social history of their field of study are interwoven.

The subject of this research is Karl Mannheim (1893–1947), one of the few truly remarkable sociologists of the twentieth century. Next year, 1997, will mark the fiftieth anniversary of his death. The reasons this thinker warrants further research in this report over half a century after his death can be summarized in two points.

The first is that Mannheim is a thinker that twice experienced exile made necessary by two world wars, the revolution, the counter revolution and fascism. He was a Hungarian born Jew. Within his two periods of exile (from Hungary to Germany and then from Germany to Britain) the various issues of politics, thought, race and religion await discovery. The fate of 'exiled Jewish Intellectuals' within the turbulent period of European history that marked the first half of this century is expressed through his life in a unique way (Akimoto, 1994).

His work *Ideologie und Utopie* [*Ideology and Utopia*] (1929) was written during his period in Germany as an investigation of the **sociology of knowledge**. *Man and Society* (1940), written during Mannheim's time in Britain, was an analysis of **mass society** and a theory of **social planning**. Both works are well known, often being referred to and made the subject of debate. In comparison, the theme in his research—a **sociological theory of education**—has received very little attention. Herein lies the second reason to renew the study of Mannheim. I do not wish to bemoan the lack of attention and research in this area. The later phase of Mannheim's sociology (the British period) or, more precisely, failure to draw attention to the field of the **sociology of education** which makes up one of the major parts of his British work, the bias evident in the limited research that has occurred in this area, and the narrow nature of the interpretation of Mannheim's overall work from this period provide me with the focus for my research.

Thus the principal purpose of this research is to reassess the overall composition of Mannheim's later work. Secondly I aim to clearly expose the relationship between Mannheim's life as an exiled thinker in British society and the previously skewed understanding of his work. Through an exploration of these areas I hope to achieve my third aim, namely to identify a new

significance in Mannheim's later work. What follows is an interim report as of July 1996 on the research carried out with the above aims and perspectives.

### I. *The Works of Mannheim and the Themes they Explore*

It is not possible in a short article such as this to fully discuss the various elements of Mannheim's theories. Rather what I seek to explore are the themes that are woven through his work. Figure 1 is a summary of his major works and the themes contained therein.

Mannheim, who had at the beginning of the 1920s put his energies into the study of philosophy, in particular epistemology, turned his attention to the social basis of human thought and recognition during the middle part of that decade. His work, **the sociology of knowledge**, is the investigation of this latter theme. In it the class debate over the problem of the restriction of the fruit of recognition and thought that is knowledge to a sociological identity, and the possibility for the recognition of truth are explored. This period was also marked by a series of papers<sup>1</sup>, the high point of which was *Ideology and Utopia*. Little attention has been paid to Mannheim's last years in Germany up to 1933. However during the period 1930–1933 several works including *Die Gegenwartsaufgaben der Soziologie* [**Current Issues in Sociology**] and *Über das Wesen und die Bedeutung des wirtschaftlichen Erfolgsstrebens* [**The Nature and Significance of Economic Ambition**] which focus on the human personality and socialization were published. In contrast to **the sociology of knowledge** which focused on the social basis of thought and recognition, these publications looked at the social basis for the development of the human personality. It is thus appropriate to say that they developed the theme of **the sociology of human development**.

Returning to the 1920s it is possible to view the work *Das Problem der Generationen* [**The Problem of the Generations**] as looking not only at the levels of thought and consciousness of the generation, but at the social development of the personality, including the experiences and dispositions of life. It can also be seen as questioning the reasons and significance of generational change. The main current throughout Mannheim's early work was undoubtedly **the sociology of knowledge**. However the theme of **the sociology of human development** was also present and it was this later theme that took precedence during the 1930s and came to be dominant in Mannheim's later work.

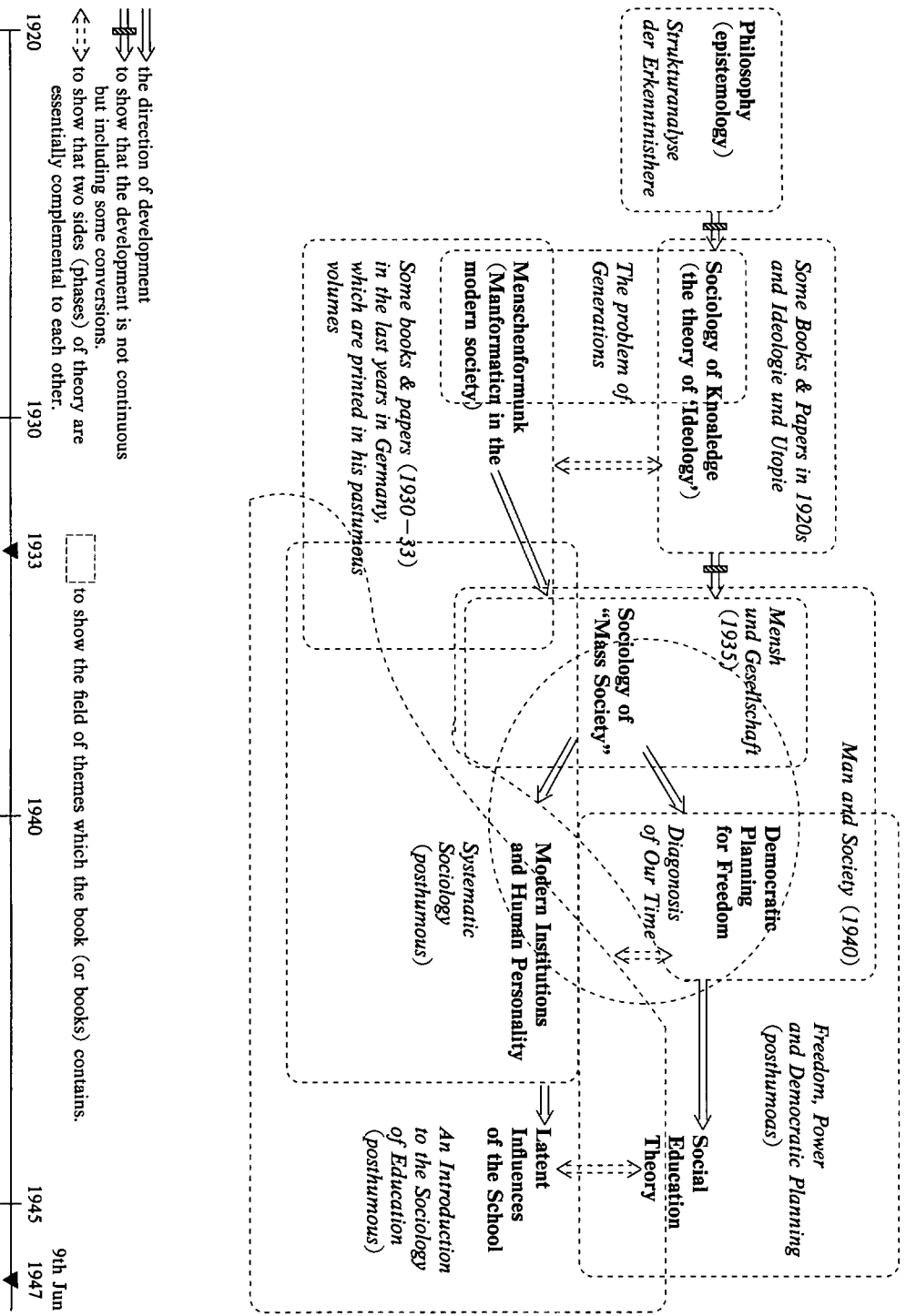
1933 was a year that divided Mannheim's academic life in half. This was the year of his flight to Britain after being included on the first banishment list which accompanied the rise of Nazi power. As can be seen in Figure 1 the focus of his work shifted. Shifting away from a focus on knowledge and recognition, he began to investigate the human personality, psychology and conduct. He went on to question the connection between these and social change through an analysis of modern mass society.

The German publication *Man and Society* (1935) marked the limit of this shift. It defined modern society as mass society and sought to clarify the cultural and political **crisis point** that gave birth to fascism. This was the **sociology of mass society**. The understanding up to now

1. Historismus (1924), Das Problem einer Soziologie des Wissens (1925), Ideologische und soziologische Interpretation der geistigen Gebilde (1926), Das konservative Denken (1927), Die Bedeutung der Konkurrenz im Geiste des Geistigen (1928).

These are translated into English in the second and third volumes of Mannheim's posthumous published works.

FIGURE 1. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF KARL MANNHEIM'S THEORY



and what is represented by the upward sloping arrow in Figure 1 is that from this point Mannheim's later work amounted to the exploration and development of **social planning** and **social education** (Loader, 1985). However I think that the themes of Mannheim's later work can be better seen as branching into two streams.

The first of these is, as has previously been analyzed, an investigation of the policies and planning necessary to realize the goals of '**Planning for Freedom**'. This was a study of the democratic means for overcoming the crisis of mass society which would offer an alternative to the autocracy of fascism. On the line rested the theory of social education which sought to control the various social forces that effect the formation of the human personality with the aim of creating a democratic personality. This stream of Mannheim's work can be traced through the extensive English supplement to the original German publication of *Man and Society* (1940), *Diagnosis of Our Time* (1943), and *Freedom, Power and Democratic Planning* (1950), which was written up just before his death<sup>2</sup>. However this does not represent all of Mannheim's later work.

The second stream of his work is the '**historical sociology of human development**' which sought to deepen the level of the analysis of modern society through an exploration of the human persona, psychology and actions. This places the present in the context of the historical development of the institutions and mechanisms that are particular to modern society and its contemporary functions. In terms of the social development of the human personality it was a sociology that sought to objectively determine the role of the institutions and mechanisms (as opposed to the political reformations) of the system.

This second stream was part of the theories in the above mentioned *Man and Society* and *Diagnosis of Our Time*. However this stream is more clearly delineated by the works and papers that accompanied the lectures and seminars given by Mannheim at the University of London. The lectures and seminars contained the discovery of something in schools quite separate to the official curriculum that is now termed **the hidden curriculum**. This is the effect of institutions, in particular school systems, on the development of childhood and juvenile personalities.

The planning theme of the first stream takes as assumed the sociological analysis of the second, and the interests and direction of the second stream are driven by the first one. So it is possible to say that the two are complimentary. However the second by no means settles all the issues raised by the first, nor does it absorb them in their entirety. Thus it is perhaps proper to view the second as an independent stream of sociological research.

The interpretation of Mannheim's work as having two individual and divergent themes is not the result of an arbitrary decision on my part. This split was clearly identified in the '**curriculum vitae**' that Mannheim made of his life's work in 1945<sup>3</sup>. Just under the chronicle of his life's events he wrote;

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2. The first four volumes of his posthumously published works were edited in America by a group led by Adolf Löwe. Volume 1—Freedom, Power and Democratic Planning (1951), Volume 2—Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge (1952), Volume 3—Essays on Sociology and Social Psychology (1953), Volume 4—Essays on the Sociology of Culture (1956) The fifth and sixth were edited in England by a group led by W.A.C. Stewart. Volume 5—Systematic Sociology (1957), Volume 6—An Introduction to the Sociology of Education (1962)

3. Mannheim's curriculum vitae along with other documents relating to his employment are preserved in the Official Documents collection of the Institute of Education, University of London.

My interests led me from the very beginning in three directions:

- (A) to establish sociology both as a theoretical and empirical study and develop research methods in these fields.
- (B) to study the philosophical and sociological foundations of education and the educative significance of social institutions.
- (C) to achieve a deeper understanding of the contemporary social and cultural crisis and to investigate the prospects of social education.

(Emphasis is mine)

(A) is an expression of Mannheim's interest in the theory and methodology of sociological research generally. (B) and (C) emphasise his interest in education and at the same time mark a return to it. This may well be related to the fact that this curriculum vitae was prepared for the benefit of the selection process at University of London Institute of Education where Mannheim was applying for the position of Chair of Education.

The 'social education' in the underlined section of (C) overlaps what I have labeled the 'first stream' and the 'educative significance of social institutions' corresponds with the 'second stream'. Thus the two independent streams of educational theory that Mannheim developed can be seen as reflecting the two-branch nature of his later work. Even Mannheim expressed an awareness of this.

To discover why Mannheim's work developed into two divergent yet complimentary streams each independent of the other, it is necessary to consider the relationship between Mannheim as a refugee thinker and the British society in which he worked.

## II. *Mannheim in British Society*

### 1) Mannheim in the world of British Sociology

In 1933 when the rise of Nazism caused Mannheim to consider fleeing from Frankfurt where he was the Head Professor in Sociology at the University of Frankfurt, there were invitations to relocate from various countries including America. However Mannheim chose to go to Britain to be a lecturer at the Department of Sociology in the LSE at the University of London. He said he wanted to see with his own eyes the ensuing crisis in Europe.

According to the LSE Calendars and Prospectuses, Mannheim conducted lectures and seminars from the 1934-35 session onwards. His lectures were considered to be at the forefront of the field and, in terms of sheer numbers, were equaling those of the Head Professor Morris Ginsberg. According to the Calendars and Prospectuses of 1934-35 to 1945-46 the themes that Mannheim dealt with repeatedly were as follows:

〈Lectures to undergraduates〉

- |   |             |         |
|---|-------------|---------|
| 1. Systematic Sociology                 | two years   | 1934-36 |
| 2. History of Social Institutions       | seven years | 1935-46 |
| 3. Introduction to the Study of Society | three years | 1936-39 |
- (the content of this course was the same as that of 1.)

〈Undergraduate seminars〉

4. Sociological Aspects of the Study of *Literary History*  
two years 1936–38

〈Graduate seminars〉

5. Modern Society seven years 1934–40

What can be learnt from this is firstly that as soon as he began to lecture at LSE he quickly became the star lecturer in the Department of Sociology. The themes of his seminars and lectures ranged from introductory sociology(1,3) to the theme of modern society and the history of modern institutions(2,5). This later theme was continual in his lectures and seminars.

W.A.C. Stewart in reply to my questions made the following comments about Mannheim's time at LSE(1933 to 1945).

“Mannheim was not handicapped by any lack of English reading or writing ability, but his spoken English was not very good. Neither the less his lucid analytical skills and his diagnosis for modern society based not only on books but from his actual experience of the European crisis meant that he was popular with the students.”

Professor Basil Bernstein, again in reply to my questions noted.

“Mannheim had a considerable following among students and young lecturers. However this made his relationship with the Head Professor, Ginsberg, all the more difficult.

At that time LSE was the only British university with a Chair of Sociology and Ginsberg occupied that place. Ginsberg was very anti-Hegelian, his major influence being L. T. Hobhouse, this made him quite different to Mannheim.

It is hard to believe that a man of his distinction should remain a mere lecturer for twelve years. You certainly couldn't say that he was exactly happy at LSE.”

This area needs to be confirmed through further interviews with people who have knowledge of LSE at that time and to be investigated through the process of the theoretical oppositions between Mannheim and Ginsberg (Kettler & others, 1984). However as a tentative conclusion at this interim stage of my research it would appear that there were two rather different aspects of Mannheim's period at LSE. He was at once popular and active, but at the same time he was afforded less than pleasant treatment and academically isolated. It appears that inconsistent with his popularity with the students he was opposed by the Chair of his Department and isolated in the world of sociological research.

Another center of British sociological research at that time was the Institute of Sociology based in Le-Play House. The Institute published what was then the only British sociological journal, *Sociological Review*.

I have surveyed the issues of this journal published between 1933 and 1947, however the name Mannheim rarely appears, much less than one would expect.<sup>4</sup> There is not even a mention of his death. In other publications of the Institute Mannheim appears three times. In the records of the conferences and seminars hosted by the Institute there are two contributions

4. One paper (Mannheim, 1934c), one short article (Mannheim, 1936c) and two book reviews on *Ideology and Utopia* and *Man and Society* which were strongly criticized.

from him (Mannheim, 1936b, 1937). The lecture notes for one of the seminars given by Mannheim are also included (Mannheim, 1944a). However that is the extent of his recognition in this Institute. I think that this can be taken as the evidence of the wide gap between the sociology of Mannheim which sought to analyze the crisis of modern society as 'mass society' and that of the Institute which continued the tradition of investigating the problems of the lives of laborers and poverty in the city.

Thus Mannheim, the sociologist who received high praise internationally, was not considered highly within his resident world of British sociological research. Rather it appears he was isolated and made the target of much supposition. However it is still necessary to confirm this through greater research. It is also necessary to consider his treatment in light of its place within the wider theme of the history of British sociological research.

## 2) Mannheim in the world of British Intellectuals—A focus on the Moot

The Moot, a private intellectual group, was active in British society for the years from 1938 to 1947 including the period of the second world war. The group was part of the Christian body, the **Council of the Christian Faith and Common Life** which published the *Christian Newsletter*. The group was established to pursue intellectual debate and research. Its secretary was the theologian, Dr. J.H.Oldham.

Membership of the group was limited to around twenty of the famous intellectuals of the time (though this number fluctuated somewhat). The poet T.S.Elliot, the academics W. Moberly and F.Clarke, the BBC's E.Fenn, the pacifist J.M.Murry, the theologian A.Vidler and the philosopher H.A.Hodges were all active members (Kojacky, 1971.).

The Moot held twenty four meetings between the April of 1938 and January 1947 (W. Taylor, 1996). Each meeting was held over a weekend-commencing on Friday and not concluding until Monday morning. The central theme of their debate was how Church and Christians should respond to the Fascism that was sweeping Europe and the direction that British society should aim towards both during and after the war. Mannheim participated in the Moot from its second gathering (September 1938) onwards.

There are eighteen files called 'Moot Papers'<sup>5</sup> deposited by F.Clarke and held in the Institute of Education Library at University of London. Through these it is possible to get something of the flavor of the eleven Moot meetings held from September 1939(No.5) to September 1942(No.15). I have been able to inspect these files<sup>6</sup>.

I would like to include in this interim research report what I have learnt about 'Mannheim and the Moot' based on a reading of these papers.

1. Mannheim's consistent attendance; Mannheim attended at least all the meetings for which there are details recorded in Clarke's Moot Papers. Indeed W.Taylor has confirmed that he attended all the gatherings from meeting number two until meeting number twenty one. The only members to attend every meeting were the secretary, Oldham, and Mannheim. The average attendance figures of the twenty or so members hovered between twenty and thirty

5. The 'Moot Papers' were assembled for the deposit of documents made by F.Clarke. As Clarke only participated from the fifth meeting onwards the records of meetings one to four are missing. It is also unclear why there are no records from 1943 onwards (Moot meeting No.16-24) in Clarke's Moot Papers.

6. However I am yet to view the Oldham Archives at University of Edinburgh in which it is said that the records of all Moot meetings are held.



percent. Thus Mannheim's active attendance can be seen to be particularly noteworthy.

2. The remarkable number of speeches; Mannheim did not just attend the meetings. He contributed to many discussions and often became the center of debate. This was quite remarkable given the fact that he was not particularly good at English. It indicates just how warmly he was welcomed by this intellectual group.

3. Mannheim's ideas become Moot's central theory; Mannheim submitted a nineteen page paper entitled '**Planning for Freedom**' to the Moot at the end of 1938. This title –planning for freedom– became the slogan for the Moot. In other words Mannheim's theory of how to reconstruct society to overcome the crisis posed by modern society and defy the autocracies of fascism in a democratic way by 'planning for freedom', became the basic theory and common theme of Moot's work.

4. Submission of a paper at every second meeting; Apart from this paper Mannheim continuously submitted papers<sup>7</sup> aimed at advancing the debate pursued at the previous meeting. The confidence to submit a paper was only found in the most enthusiastic members. However out of the eleven meetings (Nos. 5–15) Mannheim submitted at least six papers. This was a level of enthusiastic participation that has to be admired.

5. Publications that sprang from Papers submitted to the Moot; The publication of works based on the theories raised in papers submitted to the Moot was not restricted to Mannheim<sup>8</sup>. It was an important way to expose the work of the otherwise closed group. In his case the paper of 1938 became the English edition of *Man and Society* (1940)<sup>9</sup> and the work of 1939–42 was recorded in *Diagnosis of Our Time* (1943). In other words either the publication of these works overlapped the submission of papers to the Moot or the publications sprang from the papers thus submitted.

6. Also *Freedom, Power and Democratic Planning*; In his curriculum vitae Mannheim referred to this as the book he was currently completing. This first posthumously published collection of Mannheim's work was given the same contents and was noted as being prepared for the Royal Institute of International Affairs. This work was written as the high point of his many papers and discussions at the Moot.

Further study of the complete records of the Moot is necessary. One question that deserves particular attention is why was Mannheim, a Jewish refugee, invited to join a

7. Mannheim's papers to supplement to the Moot during meeting Nos.5 –15 are as follows:  
 <meeting No.> <the title of his paper>

- 6 Some Remarks upon F.Clarke Paper 'English Educational Institution'
- 6 Sociology of Education – Preliminary Remarks
- 10 Topics for the Next Meeting of the Moot
- 12, 13 Towards a New Social Philosophy – A Challenge to Christian  
 Thinker by a Sociologist [Part I],[Part II]
- 14 The Crisis in Valuation
- 15 A Syllabus on Power

8. For example see F.Clarke "*Education and Social Change*"(1943). "*The Crisis in the University*"(1942) by W. H.Moberly is also said to be an example of this.

9. Herein lies an important and as yet unresolved problem. That is the chronology of the submission to the Moot of the paper '**Planning for Freedom**' and the English publication of "*Man and Society*". In other words;

- <1> was Mannheim invited to join the Moot after becoming known for his work on the **diagnosis of the time and social planning?** or
- <2> did he submit that paper after being invited on the basis of his work as a sociologist that analyzed the crisis of mass society and the dangers of fascism, in which case the large scale English supplement to "*Man and Society*" would have been produced at some time after this?

Christian intellectual group?

Leaving aside the issues that await inquiry, a number of points can be made from a survey of the above six points. The link from what I previously called the first stream of Mannheim's work—from the analysis of mass society to social planning and social education—can be found within Mannheim's participation in the Moot. Mannheim was warmly welcomed by the Moot, his theory was accepted and continued on to become a core member, always participating fervently. It was from this position that the first stream was developed and explored as a theory for the Moot. For Mannheim, the Moot was a body whose importance cannot be underestimated. For the Moot, Mannheim was indispensable. It is even claimed that one of the main reasons the curtain fell on the Moot in July 1947 was the untimely death of Mannheim on January 9 of that year (Taylor, 1996). The Moot was Mannheim.

### 3) In the World of British Educational Research

#### —A focus on Mannheim's relationship with the Institute of Education

In his 1945 curriculum vitae Mannheim states that he had been consistently interested in education since his time in Budapest. This self analysis may be somewhat slanted however as can be seen in Figure 1, from developing the **problem of generations** theory onwards he did consistently pursue the issue of the social formation of human personality and the historical change in the factors behind this phenomena.

However the direct connection with the world of British educational research also grew from the Moot. The Moot, as well as holding the general meetings, had a sub group that dealt with the issues of education (The number of times this group met is as yet unclear). Mannheim participated in this group: attending meetings, giving speeches, commenting on other members' papers and submitting his own. His connection with this sphere deepened when F. Clarke, then Director of the University of London Institute of Education, after reading and deeply admiring Mannheim's diagnosis of modern society and '**Planning for Freedom**', decided to use them as the basis of his own theories of education and educational reformation. On top of this Clarke invited Mannheim to become a part time lecturer of the Institute and worked actively to enlighten both post and undergraduate students to Mannheim's theories.

An inspection of the Annual Report and the Academic Board Minutes of the Institute of Education confirmed the following points concerning the relationship between Mannheim and the Institute.

1. The Beginning[1941–42]; Under the guidance of Clarke, Mannheim supplemented his work at LSE by becoming a part time lecturer at the Institute from the 1941–42 session onwards. As captured in the quote 'his work with students has been very much appreciated and has proved of high value', his work was praised as a new conception of education. It was felt that this sociological perspective played a large role in broadening the students perceptions of the limits of the field. The title of the intensive lecture program he taught was 'The Sociological Aspects of Education'.

2. The opposition and support for increasing the number of Mannheim's classes; Clarke vigorously worked to increase Mannheim's teaching hours at the Institute. He negotiated with LSE to this end. Mannheim's lectures were also praised from within the Institute, and there was demand to increase his hours from this source as well (From, for example, the English Department at the Institute). However there were also expressions of contrary opinions. Some felt that his lectures confused the students and interrupted the regular classes (1942.12.4

Academic Board Minutes). In the end Mannheim conducted two week intensive lecture courses during the summer terms over the three year period from 1941–42 to 1943–44. These were aimed at both under and postgraduate students and were entitled ‘The Sociological Aspects of Education’. He also ran short lectures and provided academic guidance in the field of sociology in the Department of Higher Degree and Research at the Institute.

3. As successor to the Chair of Education; Towards the end of 1944 the retirement of Clarke as Director of the Institute and Chair of Education was announced and successors were sought. G.B.Jeffery succeeded to the title of Director and Mannheim was appointed to the Chair of Education. He was to continue to lecture the subject taught by Clarke, namely ‘Principles of Education’. However he was requested to give particular attention to the sociological aspects of this subject.

4. Mannheim’s sudden death after one year and nine days; Following his appointment to the Chair in 1946 Mannheim taught the Principles of Education first period every Friday from the autumn term of that year. The Mannheim Manuscripts, his notes for these lectures and the extensive bibliography and copious series of extracts which accompanied them, are held in the Library at the University of Keele<sup>10</sup>. A survey of these makes it possible to conclude that the comments written in the Annual Report of 1945–46 that ‘He entered into the work of his Chair with great energy and enthusiasm and his lectures on the Principles of Education were an inspiration to the diploma and higher degree students alike.’ were more than mere flattery. Mannheim attended nine and missed six of the Academic Board Meetings held during this period. Indeed he missed all the meetings from November 1946 onwards. It is yet to be confirmed whether the reason for this was his near critical illness (which is said to be the result of a heart attack).

In his memoirs ‘Karl Mannheim at the Institute of Education’<sup>11</sup> Clarke recollects his introduction to Mannheim at the Moot and notes that there was a social perspective and practicality to Mannheim’s sociology that overcame the weaknesses of speculative educational research. He recalls his efforts to invite Mannheim to the Institute, the positive effect that Mannheim’s lectures had on broadening the undergraduates’ concepts of the limits of the field and his rise to lecture as Clark’s successor.

As was noted in the memorial given by the Academic Board(1947.1.16), I feel that it was most unfortunate that all this should come to an end with the untimely death of Mannheim only one year and nine days after his appointment to the Chair. His death was especially untimely considering the critical service that he could have provided in the field of British educational research.

### III. *The Hidden Composition of Mannheim’s Sociological Theory of Education*

The aspect of Mannheim’s educational theory that is widely known and has been

10. This is the material that W.A.C.Stewart, the editor of the fifth and sixth posthumous volumes of Mannheim, deposited at University of Keele.

11. It appears this collection of memoirs was written in 1948 after Mannheim’s death. It is preserved in the official documents of the Institute as four typewritten pages. It is also included at the end of Mitchell’s biography of Clarke. F.W.Mitchell, “Sir Fred Clarke; master teacher 1880–1952” , London: Longmans, 1967, – Appendix B–2 (pp.165–9)

commented on in various other works and articles is the concept of **social education**. This is the idea that it is possible to adjust the various social forces (i.e. the power of family, community, groups and social mechanisms) that effect the formation of the human personality, and by doing so control in an ordered way the development of a democratic personality.

However separate from this Mannheim also pursued the sociological research into the 'social formation of humans' [soziale Menschenformung] that is indicated by the downward sloping arrow in Figure 1. This theme was noted by Mannheim himself in his curriculum vitae. The research was a clarification of the historical change and modern characteristics of the social groups, institutions and mechanisms that influence the formation of the human personality.

It is clear from this that in his educational theory the latter (social formation) is presupposed by the first (social education) resulting in a complimentary relationship between the two. However they are more than merely two complimentary elements of a single whole. Both contain elements that are unique and independent.

### (1) The Particular Qualities of 'Social Education'

Whether viewed as a method to create democratic personalities, or as a method to adjust and control the complete range of social forces, social education is a very unique concept. In terms of educational theory it is a spectacular plan. It was conceived of under the equally grand scheme of social planning - 'a democratic planning for freedom'. Why was the cool headed Mannheim so keen to think thoroughly and fervently through such a grand and somewhat vague plan which would later be branded as 'holism' (K. Popper, 1955)? This would have been impossible if not for the influence of the Moot discussed above.

Mannheim, who was not duely recognized and could even have been said to have been isolated in the world of British sociological research, was warmly welcomed by the closed group of Christian intellectuals that was the Moot. His works of the diagnosis of the time and his theories of social planning became the basis of the group's work and he continued to participate with exceptional enthusiasm, then Mannheim unflinchingly provided, indeed had to provide, the leading theories in the grand debate pursued by the Moot over how to overcome fascism and reorganize British society both during and after the war.

It was the grand and unique nature of Mannheim's theory for social planning and social education that made them acceptable to the Moot and made it possible for the themes to guide the direction taken by the group. If the debate which had taken place within the confines of this private group and the papers submitted to it had been made public in the form of an article or book, it would have been possible to get a full appreciation far earlier of the complete theories developed by Mannheim in his later period. This perhaps reflects a certain peculiar twist in the relationship between Mannheim and the Moot, that is the grand nature of the theories that sprang from it.

Although his theories in this area have some weak points that were criticized later as 'holism', they also have some of which are unique and strong. His theories of **social planning** and **social education** are of the greatest depth and the most thoroughgoing thought on the relationships between freedom and planning and between social elements and the formation of democratic personality (see *Freedom, Power and Democratic Planning*).

## (2) The Historical Sociology of Human Formation

It is not the case that Mannheim only worked on the development of this sort of grand theoretical structure. He did not lose sight of himself as a cool headed sociological analyst. This is confirmed, as we have already seen, by the themes he pursued in his tutorials and lectures at LSE. In terms of education theory he continued to pursue the idea of 'a historical sociology of human formation'. Thus his theories and ideas of the **sociology of education** should not be seen as major a shift in focus to **social education**. This can be seen by looking at the main headings used in his 1944 paper '**Sociology for the Educator and the Sociology of Education**'. These are

- A. Sociology for the Educator
  - I Human Nature and Social Order
  - II The Impact of Social Groups on the Individual
  - III Social Structures
- B. The Sociology of Education
  - 1 School and Society
  - 2 Sociology of Education in its Historical Aspects
  - 3 School and the Social Order
- C. Sociology of Teaching
  - 1 Sociological Interpretation of Life in the School
  - 2 The Teacher-Pupil Relationship
  - 3 Problems of School Organization.

The notes to the 1946 lecture 'Principles of Education' also provide evidence that he had not shifted his focus to social education.

The focus of Mannheim's work was the sociological analysis, historical change and modern characteristics of the <1>human and human formation within society, <2>the educational institutions within society, and <3>the social process within schools. He also investigated, in the light of the above considerations, the latent effects that school institutions have on the development of personality.

It could be argued that social education (III-(1)) and sociology of education (III-(2)) are two sides of Mannheim's theory of education. While they may be seen as complimentary they developed separately and were independent of each other. A theory of institutional reformation can be seen to emerge if the first theme of social education is repositioned within a framework in which the second theme develops independently. This is a theory that is not just a grand or wholistic but, starting with the various elements of the individual educational institutions, seeks to expose all the latent sources of influence on the development of personality and suggest how to reform and remodel these institutions.

## IV. *An Interim Summary*

While many points remain to be clarified, it is possible to make the following tentative

conclusions in the form of an interim summary.

Mannheim's later theoretical development was strongly regulated by the nature of his relationship with British society. In particular the themes of 'social planning' and 'social education', that have become well known through constant reference, possess the peculiar characteristic of being largely based on the way Mannheim was welcomed as a central member of the Moot, and the way that this was to become his main venue for debate. At the same time, but quite separate to this theme, he developed unique sociological analysis of modern society. This made clear the history of modern society, its institutions and their modern characteristics. In turn the effects that these institutions have on the formation of the human personality emerged. This was, at the same time, a sociological analysis of schools as social institutions.

In this paper I have used the word 'theme' to mark the targets that my research is pursuing. I am yet to step into the main body of Mannheim's theories. Along with reference to the remaining subject material, this is the goal that I am henceforth resolved to pursue.

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