

tary reading to my students preparing for a career in teaching. I say supplementary only because the illustrations, research sources and general contextual references are confined primarily to the British educational scene. This is not to say, however, that much of what Shaw has to say about educational practice and sociology does not have universal application.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 of the text describing the Work of Teachers, The Roles of Teachers, and The World of the Classroom are well done, although the latter is somewhat weakened by the absence of reference to the many North American studies on the topic. Ironically enough, the chapter entitled Children Into Pupils is perhaps the weakest in an otherwise excellent text. I say ironically because Mr. Shaw has had, as the British say, experience "at the chalkface". This chapter simply attempts to cover too much: the role of the pupil, the influence of home life, family and social class as well as ethnic origins — all in twenty-nine pages!

On page 117 there is an annoyingly garbled explanation of Basil Bernstein's view on the linkage between social class and language acquisition in terms of a restricted code as opposed to an elaborated code. When added to the use of the word "nugatory" (which sent me scrambling to my dictionary) when much simpler ones were available, along with Shaw's complicated and somewhat opaque explanation of Esland's views on the meaning of knowledge (p. 145) led me to the cynical conclusion: so much for a "layman's book" on the sociology of education!

The author's defense of the English public schools in the chapter on Schools as Organizations misses the point on the rationale of universal education. The affirmative argument is not confined to the issues of social class divisiveness and the encouragement of higher educational and occupational aspirations, but rather is also based on the kind of relationships engendered and understanding promoted — which is not substantially different from the rationale quoted on page 183 in Circular 10/65 with reference to the proposal for mainstreaming handicapped children. Mr. Shaw is obviously critical of Labour's policy of dismantling the elitist grammar schools in favour of replacement by so-called comprehensive schools as a means of promoting a universality of educational experience. There is an inordinate amount of space devoted to explaining why the comprehensive school movement has failed, capped off by the rhetorical but churlish question: "why is the bringing together of children of different social backgrounds necessarily a good thing?" (p. 184) — revelation of a bias worthy of the most loyal of Rhodes Boyson's Conservative supporters.

The reader will appreciate the occasional instances of the author's wry sense of humor as illustrated by the observation (tongue in cheek, surely!): "Universities are places where some learning does take place and some of the learning may be the consequence of the intentional activities of the staff;" and the sly manner with which Mr. Shaw gives vent to his own views by attributing them to a third party, achieved through the literary device: "some people think" or "there are those who would hold".

Shaw's book, which consciously and, for the most part, successfully relates the teaching practice to sociological theory is living testimony to the efficacy of teaching Foundations of Education courses after practical experience. Students advantaged by first hand knowledge of educational practice will find considerably more meaning in that experience through the illumination offered by Shaw's connective approach which provides significant and relevant insights into what otherwise would be arid sociological theory.

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Livingstone, David. *Class Ideologies and Educational Futures*. Barcombe, Lewes, Sussex: The Falmer Press, 1983. \$18.50.

In *Class, Ideologies and Educational Futures*, Livingstone sets himself the difficult task of analyzing "the influences that class relations in contemporary advanced capitalist societies have on educational practices." (p.1) He attempts to do so by building a "systematic materialist analysis of education in capitalism". (p. 31) He is critical of the work of structural Marxists in analysing education in capitalist society, because it removes the actors and their human activity from the seemingly uncontested social reproduction of extant institutions. In his view there is a dialectical struggle between capitalist and worker over, in this case, the processes of education. It is that conflict which he wishes to observe. Such an analysis is much needed and welcome in the sociology of education.

The first three chapters of the book are predominantly theoretical, exploring various facets of the problem. Among these are the current crisis in education, marked by severe cutbacks in funding; the existing approaches to educational research, divided into "human agency" and "structural" approaches; the class differences in educational ideologies as indicated by labour and bourgeois spokespersons; the class structure of advanced capitalist societies, and the historical materialist theoretical perspective. These discussions are valuable, drawing broadly on the literature and whetting the intellectual appetite for further analysis of education in the Canadian context.

In the second two chapters the goal is to reveal differences in class interests in educational purpose and process. In them Livingstone presents data from mass public opinion surveys in Ontario on various educational issues. It is at this stage that questions concerning the relation between theory and research emerge. The overriding question is whether survey questionnaire data is the most useful vehicle for furthering the contested authority view of education and for developing a materialist analysis. On two occasions Livingstone discusses the limitations of using survey data to grapple with major social issues (p. 146, p. 216), and on both he is more persuasive on the drawbacks than the usefulness of such an attempt.

When examining this book, a number of specific problems concerning the methodology become apparent. The use of Marxist class categories is one of these. For example, who are the "petty bourgeoisie" when small employers (grouped with capitalists), managers, supervisors and professional employees are all separate categories? If they are small shop owners (the 'original' petty bourgeoisie), should they be categorized with teachers and doctors (for example) on tables of attitudes, particularly toward education? In trying to conform to neo-Marxist class categories for survey research, strange bedfellows are made. The pot pourri of people represented in the working class is another case in point. The largest single group represented in the tables is "housewife" and they are placed indiscriminately in the working class along with workers, the temporarily unemployed, students and pensioners. Does this mean that the wife of a capitalist and the wife of a temporarily unemployed worker share a class position by virtue of being housewives? This is not very Marxist! Students too, as one writing a book on class and education should be particularly aware of, are usually from the bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie and are preparing themselves for that position as adults. But here they too are categorized indiscriminately in the working class.

A case can be made that if one is going to use the survey questionnaire methodology of the bourgeois sociologist, one should also use the upper, middle and lower class categories based on the amount of education, income and occupational prestige, in order to tap attitudes. It is true, as Livingstone notes (p. 146), that even Marx carried out a survey study of workers. But this only happened three years before his death and he did not use it to develop his materialist analysis of class. It was to be a check for some of his ideas on working class life.

Secondly, Livingstone's analysis of the actual data is problematic and attests to the main drawbacks of survey research. Three examples will be given here. One of the key questions analyzed in Chapter 4 concerns attitudes toward educational opportunity (p. 158). Regardless of class position approximately three quarters of the respondents felt that equality of opportunity existed. Without having recourse to exploring what this meant to the various respondents, Livingstone explains it in terms of the ideological hegemony of the bourgeois class. In the very next table, it is found that the temporarily unemployed (a category of the working class) are twice as likely as the capitalists to agree that education is biased against the working class student (70% to 35% p. 159). Workers and small business owners are neck-in-neck with about 50% agreeing. This is explained in terms of class interests. In a third example, it is found that the working class are more likely than the bourgeoisie to feel that "surplus teachers" should be maintained (p. 155). This is consonant with the theoretical perspective of class struggles and is explained in terms of contested authority. But what is actually meant by this finding? Does it reflect worker solidarity exclusively, or is it felt that a lower teacher-student ratio would enhance teaching and learning for the working class students?

It is clear from the interpretations given that the numbers either indicate contestation by the working class, or ideological hegemony by the bourgeois class. But it is impossible to give greater depth to the analysis. Although some of the tables do suggest differences in opinions between categories, there are methodologies far more powerful for tapping class conflict than this. For a book dedicated to locating and exploring issues of class conflict in education, what is presented is disappointing. It is questionable whether survey data can be used for this purpose, and given the class categories used for this analysis,

it might be even further questioned whether it is possible in this case. Livingstone lauds the ethnographic work of Willis and the Birmingham Education Group in exploring class conflict in education. But he overestimates the amount of ethnographic research which has in fact been done. If anything, he has too high expectations for what the survey data he presents can accomplish in exploring class conflict in education.

In the final chapter, guidelines are presented for a group planning an innovative educational programme. He argues quite rightly that socialists have spent too little time conceiving how the institutions extant in the society might be transformed to fulfill socialist goals. However, this discussion does not seem a real conclusion to this book. As Livingstone notes, the final chapter is based on a paper written at an earlier time, and as a result there are only a few references to data in the preceding empirical chapters. There is no concluding discussion concerning the kind of education which would benefit the working class, nor whether the author feels he has accomplished the goal of a materialist analysis of education in capitalism. If the reader works hard enough, she can draw her own conclusions. But surely it is incumbent on the author to do so first.

Livingstone's book begins with great promise. The three theoretical chapters, which in themselves make the book well worth reading, suggest that if the author accomplishes what he aspires to do, it will be an important book. The methodology used, however, is not equal to the task at hand.

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Roberts, Hayden. *Culture and Adult Education: A Study of Alberta and Quebec*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1982, xv, 274 pp. \$25.00 (cloth), \$12.50 (paper).

This book is the first of its kind in Canada on several counts. It is the first sustained effort to place policy governing the development of adult education against the background of the political, social and cultural milieu in the broader society. It is the only substantial account we have (certainly in English) of policy towards adult education in the provinces of Alberta and Quebec. And it is the first comparative study of adult education policy in two Canadian provinces. Along with R. Faris's *The Passionate Educators* (1975), this book by Roberts will hopefully help to move scholarship in this field to a new level, where adult education will be examined less as a separate entity and more as a part of the society in which it operates.

As in the case of his recent book on community development, Roberts begins with a careful examination of the concepts with which he is dealing. He presents three analytical models as a basis for his comparative study, a grid on "dimensions of the learning process" (from personal to social, and passive to active); a continuum of "purposes of adult education" (from remedial to developmental); and a framework for examining "influencing factors" (from social philosophy to the allocation of resources); all of which he uses well in his subsequent chapters. These first three chapters are well done, worked out with logic and economy and hold promise, as the author intends, for helpful application to other comparative studies.

The other three sections of the book are devoted to the comparative study of the two provincial systems. In the first of these, on the social philosophies and related government structures he sees at work in the two jurisdictions, he presents his basic thesis. He finds that whereas in Alberta, governments based on a private enterprise philosophy have created a largely market-oriented "service station" type of network of adult education services (albeit with a relatively advanced form of co-ordination structure), in Quebec, adult education has been utilized as part of the strategy of conscious community building which has been characteristic of that society for the last few decades and has been directed more than in Alberta to these social and cultural goals, to what he terms "community purposes". In the subsequent two sections, Roberts pursues this analysis, first in terms of how selected non-governmental organizations have fared under the two policies (native people, agricultural organizations, trade unions, adult education associations) and then with respect to the allocation of resources to adult education programs and projects in the public sector.

The central conclusion of this study, that adult education in Quebec has, at least since 1960, been developed as an instrument of social policy, or as it is frequently stated, has been more "political" than in the rest of Canada, is not a novel one. However, Roberts is the first to have made a serious and sustained effort to examine that proposition, and considering its pioneering nature, his book is a