

morality as independent judgement, freedom of choice, and action; he then shows how the distinction between form and content is important in dealing with the issue of moral education. These first two chapters are an excellent exposition of philosophical attitude, purpose, and method. Throughout the book Straughan uses pointed examples of how we speak about morality and moral education. He presents the case for particular claims about what *being moral* means on the basis of what may be claimed and what may not, referring to significant philosophers easily and unobtrusively so as to maintain attention throughout the book on the analysis itself. His occasional exposition of particular theories is also succinct. He makes the relevant points of the theory, expressing them simply without diversion or loss of significance. His criticisms are always directed to the point of the analysis. For example, his references to Sartre's work exposes immediately its limitations as ethical theory and its contribution to the study of what it means to be good.

In the examination of arguments made about the form and content of morality (a distinction which he shows to be so blurred that one cannot argue merely from form or content), Straughan carefully exposes what can be reasonably shown to be 'typical features' of morality "without pretending" (p. 82). To qualify as a moral agent one's moral decisions must be freely made, intentional, and based on some degree of independent judgement, recognizing others as authorities when they are. His judgement must take account of implications and consequences, he must try to visualize how it will affect others and what good or harm it may do. By this consideration, he seeks reasons of a general and disinterested kind to justify his decision. His reasons will be expressible in the form of a rule or principle which he is prepared to apply in similar situations. Finally, having thus made up his mind, he will care enough to act on a decision, doing what he judges is right (pp. 82-83).

This account of moral education which, as Straughan notes, has much in common with John Wilson's components of a morally educated person, results from a convincing analysis of what can be said about morality. Straughan's very significant contribution to the study of education and schooling by students and teachers is in getting it as clear and straight as it may be had while recognizing that we each are still responsible for understanding better what it means to be moral. Throughout the analysis all readers, including the undergraduate and the professional, will recognize that she or he is participating in a conversation with Straughan. He shares insight and responsibility with the intelligent thoughtful reader. The book ends with an informing statement of what it means to teach others to be good. Every professional teacher will be positively challenged by this statement. The discussion on teaching children to care about morality is a major contribution to the literature on moral education. The discussion resolves the problem of teacher neutrality by showing how it is the teacher as a serious moral agent at work in relationship to students that the students can understand the mutual entailment of thinking rationally and trying to be moral.

This book is one of the best introductions to moral education for any reader and it is an excellent statement on teaching children to be good for all teachers and students of education.

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Salter, Brian and Tapper Ted. *Education, Politics and the State*. London, England: Grant McIntyre Ltd., 1981, 247 pp., \$16.95.

Potential influences inside and outside the educational system *both* must be taken into account in generating any adequate theory of educational change. The tendency to ignore this methodological truism has been pervasive. As Salter and Tapper note, with particular reference to British educational sociologists, contemporary interpretations of educational change "... have either been obsessed with one parochial part of that system (e.g. the curriculum) and neglected to relate it to the rest of education, or they have been concerned with broader social issues (e.g. social mobility, cultural reproduction) where the dynamics of educational change are of secondary importance" (p. 2). Certainly those working from either structural functionalist or Marxist theoretical perspectives commonly have been

inclined to regard educational change as a fairly mechanistic response to either societal modernization or capital accumulation imperatives, respectively. Concepts such as "system inertia" or "relative autonomy" are sometimes invoked in recognition of a greater complexity in the response of educational institutions. But there has been little effort to specify the dynamics of educational change in terms of the organizational and administrative structures that intervene between the societal context and the classroom. It is a chief merit of this book that it explicitly *attempts* to develop a theory of educational change that considers both external and internal influences and their interplay through several stages of the change process.

Salter and Tapper begin with a brief summary of three major approaches to educational sociology, namely education and social stratification (e.g. A.H. Halsey), the new sociology of education (e.g. M.F.D. Young), and education and social reproduction (e.g. Bernstein, Bourdieu, Bowles and Gintis). The essential critique of all three approaches involves their inattention to the actual process of educational change, a failure to identify a change dynamic within education, and a general underestimation of the political dimension of the change process. The authors then lay out their own three-stage theory of educational change. First, current economic, demographic and political trends underlying structural change in education as well as bureaucratic pressures toward centralization of educational power are itemized. Secondly, the legitimation of new educational ideologies related to structural changes is presented as a process of negotiation among political groups with a stake in education, with special attention to the role of intellectuals. Thirdly, the implementation of substantial changes in classroom experience is treated in this context as primarily determined by the extent to which major internal groups - the central educational bureaucracy, local education authorities, and teachers unions - can control the organization of knowledge (i.e. curricular content, pedagogic and evaluative methods). The remainder of the book consists of illustrative studies of how the pressures for change are negotiated in various spheres of British education. There are chapters on the increasing centralization of power in the educational bureaucracy; the limited capacity of a smaller institution, the Schools Council, to initiate ideological change; the emergence and decline of intelligence testing as a key element of meritocratic ideology; the redefinition of the ideology of the "public" (i.e. privately-funded) schools in terms of an increasingly academic ethos; and the 1976-77 "Great Debate" on education as an event orchestrated by the central bureaucracy to unveil its new educational ideology stressing accountability and improved educational standards. The primary conclusion of this analysis is that the educational change process is becoming increasingly dominated by educational bureaucrats whose main interest is in "... establishing more rational modes of management, more efficient lines of resource and ideology control which do not of themselves involve direct interference in the details of the present curriculum" (pp. 234-5).

Aside from a few gratuitous dismissals of Marxist simple-mindedness, Salter and Tapper should be applauded for their intention to draw selectively from the warring intellectual camps within educational sociology to begin to construct a more complete view of the process of educational change. Their study is especially useful in documenting how the initiatives and negotiations among insiders are serving to shape the specific responses of the British educational system to its current changing societal context. The most original contribution is perhaps the chapter on the vulnerability of the "public" schools to client pressure for a more academic orientation. Their treatment contrasts starkly with the rather static, stereotypical accounts that predominate in the literature, and anticipates the more systematic comparison of market-mediated private schools and bureaucratically-mediated state schools provided by Connell *et. al.* in *Making the Difference* (1982).

However, the book has several general shortcomings which greatly limit its value as a starting point for further theoretical inquiries into the process of educational change. First, although the social vantage points and political alignments of intellectuals surely tend to influence their interpretations of social reality, and although the authors themselves draw selectively on Gramsci's distinction between traditional and organic intellectuals in analyzing the generation of educational ideologies, they are silent on their own predispositions except to allude to their "conventional academic careers" (p. 28). This reluctance to identify and situate themselves in relation to major societal groupings while at the same time basing their specific account of educational change on metaphors of political conflict and negotiation leads Salter and Tapper to some theoretical dead ends. Following Gramsci, they posit the existence of struggle within society's "superstructure", but they persistently fail to specify any

contending social groupings in the environment of the educational system. Indeed, at some points primary environmental pressures are hypostatized into the "needs of the economy", all forms of struggle between capitalists and wage labourers vanish under a cloak of "the needs of capital", and Gramsci likely turns over in his grave!

More generally, in attempting to redress the persistent omission of internal influences on educational change, Salter and Tapper bend the stick too far away from external influences. Not only are no contending interests or social relationships underlying developmental tendencies clearly identified in any environmental sphere, but no historical periodization of either economic or state forms is offered to contextualize the frequent references to education's response to environmental pressures. In this regard, in spite of all the critiques of their simple economic correspondence thesis, Bowles and Gintis' attempt at periodizing moments of educational reform offers a superior starting point. Admittedly, Salter and Tapper do make some allusions to tensions in the needs of capital, and to contradictions between such needs and the demands of clients. But none of these allusions is specific enough to overcome the suspicion that environmental pressures remain essentially a primitive term in their theoretical model, vaguely contextualizing or nicely complementing the main change dynamic in education which is considered to be the logic of bureaucratization.

One of the most common tendencies in social theorizing has been to reify particular concepts into universal abstractions and timeless logics which are then presumed to underlie surface appearances in varied social phenomena. Max Weber, one of the greatest social scientists and the author of massive comparative historical studies, still tended to regard both capitalism and bureaucracy as major manifestations of an all-embracing process of "rationalization", a concept generally denoting a continuous, inexorable progression rather than an irregular, contradictory historical phenomenon. Randall Collins has offered a fuller account of the logic of Weber's argument in this regard in *American Sociological Review* (December, 1980). Salter and Tapper, like many others of neo-Weberian persuasion, have turned his point of arrival into a point of departure of timeless validity for their study. The bureaucratic dynamic is considered to be an inevitable logic leading to increasingly centralized state control of the educational system. They contend that this rationalization imperative has become so extensive that:

... the state bureaucratic apparatus has assumed the task of helping capital to define what its needs may be, of reconciling the tensions inherent in the definition of those needs, and demonstrating in more precise terms the ways in which schooling must change if these needs are to be met. (p.31)

Subsequent to this assertion, Salter and Tapper present numerous examples of educational bureaucrats' current efforts to enlarge their ability to manage educational change and presume that these represent the working out of the bureaucratic dynamic which is "enhanced by convenient linkages (with) the economic context" (p. 235). Only in their final paragraph do they allow that the increased central intervention in British education that has been provoked by current economic problems could be jeopardized if no economic improvement occurs. In short, the authors' actual theorizing of the dynamics of educational change is effectively reduced to a reversal of the externally-focused economic correspondence thesis into an internally-focussed bureaucratic correspondence thesis. In spite of their several efforts to define this bureaucratic dynamic (pp. 44-45, 83) and countless allusions to "forces" and "dynamics", it remains a highly abstract and ahistorical concept, as it has been in earlier efforts by Schneider (1947), Rosello (1960) and others to explain educational change in terms of bureaucratization tendencies.

What is of enduring value in this book hardly warrants the term explanatory theory. Rather, both researchers and university classes can gain fuller appreciation of the educational change process through Salter and Tapper's descriptive analyses of the political negotiations within the educational system among organizations representing bureaucrats, local authorities and teachers. Given many scholars' continuing preoccupation with external factors, this in itself represents a significant contribution toward more balanced theorizing of the external and internal social *relationships* involved in educational change.