10-24-2012

Reviews

Zachariah, M. & Sooryamoorthy, R. (1994) *Science in participatory development.*
The achievements and dilemmas of a development movement: The case of Kerala.
London: Zed Books (Also, New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, Sage Publications, India).

Reviewed by Deo H. Poonwassie - University of Manitoba

What should be the guiding values of societal development? Should
policy-markers embrace the principles of "predatory mega development" at the expense
of self-reliance and people's autonomy? These are some of the fundamental questions
that penetrate the praxis of any social movement. The authors address these questions
(among others) and go beyond the facile explanations that are readily available in most
publications dealing with the issues of development.

Zachariah, the principal author, travelled to his birthplace, Kerala State,
India, and spent a year with Sooryamoorthy, the co-author, researching a very
effective and popular development movement known as Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad
(KSSP). Their research revealed the painful growth of a people's movement, its
successes, its clashes of ideology, its administrative conflicts, and its struggles to
establish and maintain its autonomy and self- reliance. This book is a case study of a
successful people's movement initiated, nurtured, and supported by a people from the
South.

Sometimes there is a tendency for authors, who "return home" to do
research, to lose academic objectivity and get mired in sentiment, emotions or
nostalgia. This is not the case with these authors; the book maintains a critical stance
throughout, while engaging the reader in a passionate involvement with the events and
activities of this movement. The book is simply written and invites the reader to
reflective thought and even excitement about human development and destiny. Of
course, the reader must be interested in this type of social action to feel the depth and
power of the images, actions, and philosophy contained in this book.

In the preface, Zachariah explains his personal relationship with the people
of Kerala State. Here is a researcher who puts his humanity and honesty first - this
results in a powerful, instructive, and deeply insightful analysis of a popular education
movement. As he states: "Perhaps the best way to characterize this effort is that it
employs the interpretive research method of the historical case study." (p. 13)

The book contains seven chapters with a preface, bibliography, and index.
The explanation of Malayalam terms in English throughout the text is very helpful.
The authors use simple words to capture complex meanings and there is no attempt to
impress readers with excessively encyclopedic references or jargon. The book
extrapolates ideas, concepts, and principles from actual examples such as the
level-headed analysis of a heated debate about the Silent Valley Dam Movement (p.
131).

The book begins in the normal academic research style with clarification of
terms, providing "arguments for people' s participation in development", outlining a
conceptual framework, and the "questions that guided the study". The reader is then

exposed to the unique development of Kerala, the beginnings of the KSSP, the programs and activities of this social movement, a description and analysis of a significant incident, the challenges that the KSSP faces, and a concluding chapter on the "dilemmas of people's education movements".

Zachariah and Sooryamoorthy note the KSSP's adoption of the slogan, "Science for Social Revolution". The term "science" is not used, however, in the laboratory, restricted sense of the word, but rather to denote the broader meanings of openness, experimentation, and prediction as applied to issues in everyday living. Educating the people about science required the organization of meetings, symposia, and the citizenry. The purpose of promoting science was to facilitate the removal of enslaving superstitions from the people.

The promotion of Marxism as the science of society provided the KSSP with a definite ideological stance which created opportunities for the initiation of co-operatives, development of self-reliance, creation of new knowledge, and rejection of capitalist accumulation of power and resources. The intent was to develop social consciousness which would result in transformative education and cultural renewal.

The characteristics of people's movements are outlined and discussed. These are: (a) a vision of the good society; (b) the involvement in local issues and problems, with an assessment of consequences of any actions; (c) the articulation of a viable ideology; (d) the aim of effecting a cultural revolution in society; (e) creation of awareness for co-operation with other groups; and (f) the support of leaders with integrity and commitment.

The above characteristics extrapolated from the KSSP are similar to the characteristics of a reform social movement as exemplified by the Antigonish Movement of Nova Scotia, Canada; these were stated by A.A. MacDonald as:

> (1) the existence of social strain which results in mental stress and feelings of relative deprivation....
> (2) the development of a philosophical or ideological belief which categorically defines the causes of the strain infallibly describes the solutions for the problem....
> (3) The activity of charismatic leaders who espouse the belief and instigate a core following....
> (4) The physical and social proximity of leaders and potential followers....
> (5) The organization of efforts to implement the prescribed solutions....
> (6) The existence of societal conditions, e.g. laws, social control, etc. which permit the effort to be exerted....
> (7) The routinization of the organizational effort with increasing emphasis on organizational maintenance and decreasing emphasis on philosophical goals.
> > [Crane, John M. (1987) "Moses Coady and Antigonish" in Peter Jarvis (Ed.), Twentieth century thinkers in adult education. London: Croom Helm. pp. 227-233.]

The Antigonish movement is recognized in Canada and elsewhere as a beacon in social movements for the betterment of lives of people who were poor and often dejected. The KSSP is described and analyzed as a successful revolutionary movement in Kerala, India - an example from the South. The similarities in these two movements are very striking despite the geographical and racial differences of participants. Regardless of location, racial origin or ideology, oppressed peoples have many comparable problems; the approaches organized to struggle for freedom and self-reliance at whatever level have many common threads.

The final chapter of this book, entitled "Dilemmas of People's Education Movements" is particularly important because it summarizes and analyses the KSSP case study and its implications for other similar movements. The fact that the KSSP has been transformed from a "movement" to an "institution" is of particular note since there is a tendency for popular movements to become bureaucratized. The retention of the locus of power is of critical importance since bureaucracy inevitably determines, and sometimes undermines, the thrust of new phenomena.

Zachariah and Sooryamoorthy have provided us with an excellent book; the analysis of this case study brings to the reader a realistic picture of the successes and possibilities in the development, transformation, and maintenance of an empowering education movement. In spite of this, the book elicits other questions such as: What are the roles of women in development? Where are the voices of the participants in decision-making?

I recommend this book as essential reading for anyone interested in education and development, especially in the power of people's movement as a requirement for pursuing self-reliance. The analytical force of this case study brings to the reader the complexities, contradictions, and successes of people working for their own liberation.

Danesi, Marcel, Keith McLeod and Sonia Morris (eds.) 1993. *Heritage Languages and Education*. Oakville: Mosaic Press, 223 pages.

Reviewed by Jo-Anne Lee - University of British Columbia

This book is a diverse collection of 15 articles dealing with various aspects of heritage language and education in Canada. Jim Cummins' opening article summarizes extant research and concludes that learning a heritage language, in itself, does not result in detrimental effects on academic performance in English, or French or in other skill areas. The remaining articles in the book are far less optimistic, promotional and justificatory. The range of issues addressed by contributors reflects the growing maturity of heritage language education as an area of study and practice. Articles by Ballarini, Feuerverger, Fiorucci, and D'Onofrio highlight difficulties experienced by children who speak a different home language than the one taught at school. They report on the effect of conflicts on learners' psychological states and

academic performance. Taaffe and Pringle, Chumak-Horbatsch, and McLeod address heritage language education and variations in individual outcomes from a broader perspective. They emphasize the contextual and historical factors that have influenced the design, delivery and implementation of heritage language educational programs.

Five articles deal with practical concerns of teaching heritage and second languages. Teachers will find several articles useful in questioning and improving their classroom practice. Bain, Yu and Choi, suggest video recording conversations and analyzing the tape based on ethnographic principles derived from the research of micro-interactionist, Irving Goffman. They developed this approach based upon research suggesting that in interpersonal communication, knowledge of cultural codes may be more important than grammatical rules of language. They argue that less emphasis be placed on teaching the grammatical rules of language and greater emphasis should be sent on teaching students to interpret and decode the cultural context of face-to-face conversations. In their view, one of the main reasons for the failure of second language learners to progress beyond a very basic level of language competency is that teachers do not spend enough time teaching the cultural codes of communication. Schmidt also discusses the uses of interactive videodiscs in the language classroom while Danesi presents research on the role of play and problem-solving in stimulating both sides of he brain to assist in earning a language. Clearly practitioners and researchers are beginning to develop pedagogical strategies in heritage language instruction that reflect a shift away from understanding language solely as a rule governed autonomous linguistic structure, towards viewing language as situated communication and as a symbolic system linked to culture.

The book has its weaknesses. Despite claims to comprehensiveness, the book fails to extend its coverage to ethnic groups and heritage languages beyond Italian Hebrew and Ukrainian languages and ethnic groups. The bias towards European language experiences and the absence of articles concerning other languages, dialects and minority ethnic roup experiences is disturbing in light of this claim. Given the different historical, political, economic and social context of each group's experience in Canada and in the world, care must be exercised before generalizing research based on the experiences of one language group to any other. This caution is especially important if the book is intended for a general, non-expert readership. Another major lacuna is in the treatment of issues of gender and race in terms of language and education. Articles by Ballarini, D'Onofrio, Taaffe & Pringle, Fiorucci, Edwards, and Duquette, address various aspects of the relationships among culture, language and identity. Yet none of the articles address the interaction of race or gender. Surely when issues of identity and culture are discussed, gender and race do matter.

The majority of the book's contributors are firmly entrenched in traditional behavioral and psychological paradigms that dominate educational research. Therefore they do not draw upon theoretical frameworks available outside of this disciplinary area. If this book is any evidence, researchers in heritage language eduction need to extend their horizons. This is particularly important since all authors seem to agree that a significant problem in heritage language education is in the area of "cultural"

conflicts. Yet too often "culture" is also used as an explanation. To break out of this circular impasse, the concept of "culture" needs to be unpacked before it can be used to explain anything. In this regard, poststructuralist theory, cultural studies, and other "postmodern" theories might be useful.

As a reader interested in the sociology of education, I find sociological analysis weak in this book. Heritage language education is an outcome of majority minority group relations. It is an area that lends itself to sociological and political analysis. Several of the topics addressed by the book's contributors would have been enriched by attending of issues of power. For example, in Edwards' article, "Identity and Language in the Canadian Educational Context," Edwards attempts to extend the context for considerations of identity, heritage languages and educational processes. He concludes that "group-initiated efforts in support of language and culture are entirely natural, particularly when the group is of recent immigrant status" (p. 133, my emphasis). He goes on to suggest that this is a necessary stage through which all groups must pass in their adaptation to a new society. By viewing the actions of minority ethnic groups' efforts to retain their language as "natural" Edwards fails to recognize the monumental effort that it takes to organize community- based initiatives for heritage language learning. Any parent involved in organizing and maintaining a heritage language program will tell you that it is hard, energy and time-consuming work, and far from "natural".

If it were natural, heritage languages would be transmitted to the first generation without any organized effort. Secondly, by viewing the struggle to transmit the home language as a transitional stage of adaptation to the host society, Edwards attributes most of the responsibility for "language shift" to minority ethno-linguistic groups. He assumes the fixity of the dominant language (English) and the dominant ethnicity (Anglo/Franco) of Canadian society. He reduces the legislative and coercive acts of the state to prevent any language other than English to be taught in Canadian schools to a reflection of Anglo/Franco struggles. Edwards sees language loss as a necessary phase In the adaptive process of "becoming" Canadian. But this passive view of ethno-linguistic minority groups runs counter to evidence. The fact that knowledge of most non-official languages declines rapidly after the first generation cannot be fully explained by identifying determining factors solely within minority ethno-linguistic speakers' behaviours. The actions of the dominant groups in Canada in preventing the transmission and use of any language other than English is clearly significant. McLeod's and Chumak-Horbatsch's articles, for example, describe how provisions for language education in Canada have been shaped by the state. Although Edwards recognizes that language and ethnicity are related to issues of national identity, he misrecognizes the significance of this relationship by ignoring the issue of power. The state uses its power to erase and remove language as a marker of ethnic identity in order to construct an unifying cultural identity for citizens. The state regulates access of ethnic minority groups to state funded education thereby placing the burden of transmission in the private sphere of the family and community. Minority ethnic

groups may contest this erasure and marginalization through long political struggle to gain access to educational resources. Thus language shift or language preservation, depending on one's point of view, is an outcome of a dynamic process involving unequal power relations. Edwards, however, sees language shift as simply pragmatics. Individuals make a rational free choice to give up their language in response to practical needs for survival. But an analysis that views language behaviours through the lens of unequal power relations, and individual identity linked to the state's role in managing the transmission and use of languages other than English and French, recognizes contestation over minority languages and education. Such an analysis restores agency to heritage language speakers.

In summary, the book contains many interesting and useful articles, yet it lacks coherence and unity. We find a glimpse of the logic underlying the book in one sentence hidden in the introduction, "the aforementioned studies deal with various theoretical, empirical, and socio-cultural issues, the remaining five deal directly with concrete pedagogical ones." Unfortunately this brief rationale for the selection of articles and the organization of the book does not do justice to the articles. The book fails to provide a badly needed synthesis of debates in heritage language education. Readers need a map of the field and an extended introductory essay that situates articles within a cartography of debates would have been useful. The book is intended to provide a broad sampling of studies on heritage language (HL) education that would be of relevance to educators, teachers and parents involved in HL programs. The articles are generally not written for the latter group. Non-experts wold have a difficult time understanding the technical language in many of the chapters. Researchers, graduate and undergraduate students and teachers, however, will find this book of interest.

Emberley, P.C. and Waller R. Newell. 1994. *Bankrupt Education: the Decline of Liberal Education in Canada*. Toronto Buffalo London: University of Toronto Press. Pp. xi, 189. $40.00 cloth; $17.95 paper.

Reviewed by L. M. Findlay - University of Saskatchewan

This new volume in the series of Toronto Studies in Education is sure to generate a great deal of discussion, given the current concern expressed by all levels of government and a significant portion of the general public about how 'we' compare locally, nationally, and internationally. Comparison is, of course, intimately connected to competition, including global competition, a matter which often generates more talk about balance of payments than about quality of life. As an indispensable instrument of social and economic policy, education is also an important site for competition of a related sort: between those interested in improving production of future creators of wealth and those who emphasize above all the production of an informed and

responsible citizenry. Economic and social goals for education are not mutually exclusive, of course, but the nature and significance of the overlap between them can be a bitterly contentious question, exercising economic determinists as much as sectarian moralists.

According to Emberley and Newell, the middle ground between these extremes in Canada has traditionally been occupied by the architects, supporters, and beneficiaries of a liberal education. Their commitment made possible "one of the finest public school systems in the world," and the current betrayal of their trust and ignoring or disfiguring of their views has politicized and endangered education as never before. The "crisis" precipitated by "radicals" and "revolutionaries" needs to be spelled out plainly, and resolved by means of a prompt restoration of "the classical ideals of liberal education" by "those who know best what is good for their children, namely parents and teachers."

This book's title immediately alerts the reader to a range of pertinent matters, including the role of strategic exaggeration in heightening public awareness and stimulating debate, the distinction between past solvency or abundance and present lack, the relation between the cultural economy and the financial one, and the question of who is to blame, who poised to re-possess the system. Bankrupt Education is organized in six chapters flanked by an Introduction and a Conclusion, and unfolds in "the classical form of a journey from the love of one's own toward the Good and back again equipped with a new insight into how to be a decent and reflective citizen." The authors first describe admiringly the early character of Canadian education, though one may wonder about the coherence of a system which drew on "the insights of antiquity, the humanist renaissance, and early modernity . . . the principles of the Scottish commonsense tradition, of Burkean communitarianism, of Presbyterian and Methodist moral restraint, and of Hegelian transcendence." They also make clear that education should allow students to experience and develop for themselves "the unity of the free mind," an impressive formula that may have more to do with the self-serving myths of bourgeois individualism than with the unattainable highmindedness and internal harmony it attempts to evoke. But this is a polemic, after all, and one which aims to make optimum use of public perception, no matter how improbably singular and unified that perception is alleged to be.

The authors ground their concerns in what they take to be unwise budgetary and policy procedures, and in the unfortunate influence of a relatively small group of "educational experts" who, aided by larger numbers of "university-educated social engineers," have been experimenting with the doctrines of such poststructuralist thinkers as Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida. The application of these apparently ill-digested and inherently dangerous doctrines have (it is contended) put Canadian students at great and unnecessary risk. That there is a problem in education, few would deny. That there is always a problem (but seldom the same problem), would seem equally obvious; but here our authors would limit the crisis to the 1960s and after, and oppose to it in the name of "history of ideas" a myth of pedagogic continuity going back in "essential" respects to the ancient Greeks. Education, according to Emberley

and Newell, had in the past no significant (and culpable) relation to that Euro-Canadian bourgeois hegemony predictably indicted in the course of recent deconstructions of educational discourse and power relations. Alas, "child-centred, process-oriented learning" has failed to accomplish what was promised in the Hall-Dennis Report. Instead, it excels at producing destreamed, understimulated "drones" for a rapidly worsening economy. As various "ethnic" and business groups demand changes to the current curriculum, the system is increasingly incapable of responding other than with arrogance or servility. Impressive autonomy is in danger of becoming impressionistic accountability, a "smorgasbord of colourful parochialisms."

The authors are rather easier on the universities than on the school system, and it is refreshing to see them make effective positive arguments for the uniqueness, frugality, and high academic quality of Canadian universities, and (pace Stuart Smith) for universities' continuing commitment to excellence in teaching, despite declining budgets and the inadequate preparation of many undergraduates. Where Emberley and Newell seem least convincing, for this reader at least, is when they attempt to connect their conservative views on canon and curriculum to a critique of modernity. The effort is well worth making, and extremely difficult to pull off, but this particular critique appears to rest on travesty more than understanding (especially in its references to deconstruction), and on a selective refusal ("Learning cannot harm anyone") to accept that what is presented in the name of knowledge can be neutered but is never of itself neutral. (See especially the highly partisan accounts of Plato, Augustine, Descartes, Vico, and the characterization of Enlightenment or Victorian or modern thought.) The last part of the argument comes back to "Liberal Education and the Canadian Polity," but only after isolating as "the irony of the present in the West ... that technological capitalism itself may be creating the de-subjectivized life-world longed for by post-Hegelian hermeneutics." We are offered a trenchant assessment of the thinking that culminated in the Charlottetown Accord and a passionately federalist plea for return to the respectful and socially cohesive curriculum which performed so well in shaping modern Canada. One may be disappointed with this book's insensitivity to gender issues, its cursory and somewhat patronising consideration of aboriginal concerns, and its central Canadian biases, but it certainly stirs the blood and gets one thinking about values, connections, and priorities in education. Newell and Emberley have hence achieved at least one of their most important goals.

Daniel Wagner (ed.). 1987. *The Future of Literacy in a Changing World*. Toronto: Pergamon Press. 344 pp.

Reviewed by Michael Owen - University of Saskatchewan

The Future of Literacy in a Changing World describes the phenomenon of world literacy from five perspectives: theoretical foundations, acquisition of literacy

in a cultural context, multiethnic and multilingual contexts for learning literacy, adult literacy, technological and economic development.

Theoretical Perspective: The discussion of the theoretical basis focuses on the different perspectives brought to the study of literacy by psychologists and social or cultural scientists. Downing's and Chall's articles represent psychological perspectives. By studying beginning readers learning to read in several orthographies, Downing argues that the skills of reading are the same, no matter what the language. He suggests that cross-language and cross-cultural universals exist in the acquisition of reading skills and he points to the significance of the learner's metacognitive awareness in learning the subskills of literacy. Chall, drawing upon her work with children and adults, outlines a series of universal stages of reading development and progression. She notes that the most pressing need in the United States, and by implication elsewhere, is to understand the "new literates" -- those adults whose functional level of literacy is not sufficiently developed to meet the needs of an increasingly technical world.

Brian Street examines literacy in its social context. He notes that previous work in the area has focused on technical problems of acquisition, an approach that he as an autonomous model, a model that considers literacy acquisition as something divorced from the social and ideological contexts in which it occurs. As an extension to this model, Street provides an ideological model of literacy development. He asserts that people acquire literacy in a cultural context, which has an impact both on how literacy is acquired and what people do with their acquired literacy. This process of literacy acquisition occurs within power structures and is dominated by the hegemony of a ruling or dominant class.

Sylvia Scribner draws upon the idea of levels to fit Street's ideological model of literacy with Downing and Chall's autonomous perspective. As Scribner notes, the idea of levels suggests that things and process are organized around ever increasingly complex hierarchies or levels of integration. Each level contains unique properties, which are not dependent upon properties of lower levels. However, the lower level processes contribute to an understanding of higher level processes. A complete understanding of a phenomenon, then, is dependent upon one's awareness of the relationship between levels and of the integration of levels into complex systems. Scribner argues that this idea helps to explain the existence of both autonomous and ideological models of literacy learning. The autonomous, psychological processes do exist and can be examined at their own level. However, the sociological and cultural aspects of literacy, as suggested by Street, exist as a phenomenon separate from the psychological model, yet depending upon this model for a complete or integrated explanation.

Content: The section, "Literacy Acquisition in Cultural Context," provides examples of Street's ideological model. Articles in this section present young children, not as autonomous learners of discrete skills, but as learners who acquire literacy in a social context. Lui Fan et al. describe how young Chinese students learn to write words and sentences by attending to features of the writing system and report that

pupil expectation or prior knowledge plays an important role in their understanding of Chinese orthography. Carraher concludes that social interactions among students explain the high illiteracy rate in Brazil. He argues that students lack motivation to learn because teachers present reading and writing as skills to be learned, not as a functional activity. Teachers focus on teaching the alphabet whereas Brazilian students are inclined to focus on word forms, and teachers ignore students' dialects in favour of a standard form of Spanish. Carraher concludes that a real concern in Brazilian literacy programs is the fact that schools are operating independently of society. In other words, they provide a good example of the autonomous model in operation.

Teale and Sulzby examined literacy acquisition of preschool children of English-Spanish speaking children in the United States. By focusing on mother-child interactions during story telling, they conclude that literacy is learned as part of culture. These children, they suggest, are not involved in skill acquisition when they are reading with the mothers, but are active in the construction of meaning through self-exploration and interactions with their mothers. Stevenson in comparing reading problems among Chinese, Japanese, and English beginning readers, concludes that students' skill level in reading is not noticeably affected by the orthography used. He notes, however, differences in the way mothers and teachers perceive children's learning, and suggests that social context, not skill acquisition, seems to account for student problems. Although the studies reported in this section of set out to explore the skills involved in literacy acquisition, each notes the importance of social context on student success, in providing evidence of the efficacy of Street's ideological model.

The section, "Literacy in Multicultural and Multilingual Contexts," reports on studies in rural Morocco, Israel and Fiji. Common problems in these contexts include communication and education. Ezzaki Spratt and Wagner describe the many variants involved in learning literacy for students in a rural Morocco setting, in which students arrive at school with very different linguistic backgrounds. Feitelson describes problems created for literacy acquisition because of recent immigration into Israel. The influx of children of various linguistic backgrounds has placed a strain on the traditional, autonomous literacy mode which has been supported by parents who possessed linguistic competence that was compatible with the approach used in schools. Mangubhai shows how different island countries in Fiji have taken separate solutions to their literacy concerns, responding to the different demographic, cultural, and linguistic factors of each of the Fijian islands. Mangubhai describes in some detail Fiji's Book Flood Project, a project which used high-interest books to support literacy acquisition. The Fiji experience also dealt with the issue of vernacular literacy and the impact of an introduced language on the vernacular language, as well as the impact of the local culture on literacy acquisition. All three case studies in this section point to the fact that literacy programs are not neutral, skill-driven experiences for learners. Rather, Street's ideological model is borne out in the results of these studies: that many political and social agendas exist in the introduction of literacy programs.

The third section, "Adult Literacy in Cultural Context" report on studies that consider the broader socio-cultural contexts of adult literacy acquisition. These studies,

unlike most others in this field, describe adult literacy learning as it occurs in natural settings. At issue is whether adult illiterates found in industrial nations represent the failures of the school system and the dominant culture or whether they have developed skills and coping strategies that set them off as a unique group. Purves reports results of an International Education Association study of literature in which students from fourteen countries were examined to find preferred responses to literature. Results from this study suggest that culture, and teaching methods, have a noticeable impact upon the nature of student responses. Bennet and Berry describe how a Cree community has maintained Cree syllabic literacy, mainly for preserving their own identity. Reder provides comparative data for three ethnic American communities: Inuit, Hispanic and Hmong (Laotian). His work notes the value of spontaneous acquisition of literacy, that is, the development of literacy without formal programs. He notes, too, that the manner in which an individual engages in community literacy practice does have an impact on his or her achievement in a formal literacy program. All cases in this section attest to the value of Street's ideological model, stressing the importance of cultural, social, political, and economic factors upon literacy acquisition.

The final section, "Literacy, Technology and Economic Development," deals with the question of the relationship between literacy and economic growth, a recommendation of the human capital theorists of the 1960s. Anzalone reports on a project which introduced hand held electronic learning aids into the literacy program for beginning readers in Lesotho. Results show that these devices were effective, but the Anzalone is guarded on the efficiency of mass use of such technology. Sticht, in considering the impact of technology on developing nations, concludes that programs need to be expanded to included literacy courses in general technology. Chang considers grammar checkers as aids to improve writing and concludes that such technology has potential for literacy programming both in industrial and developing nations. Fuller, Edwards and Gorman examine the correlation between literacy programming and commercial expansion in Mexico and conclude that such programmes increased commercial output, supporting the human capital model. At the same time, the authors point out that the benefit for Mexican people was uneven, with urban Mexicans benefitting more than rural Mexicans. These articles consider primarily the use of technology to support autonomous models of literacy and suggest that technology has the capacity to influence skill acquisition only. Issues of culture, society, politics, and economics exist beyond the scope of technology. Measured against Street's ideological model, the benefits of technology for literacy programming remains under question.

Discussion: The Future of Literacy in a Changing World provides an arena to consider the significance of Street's view of literacy acquisition: the autonomous and ideological models. Although this book does not set out to feature Street's theoretical perspective, many articles are a working out of his theory, and, except the section on technology, they seem to uphold Street's view. They provide examples to suggest that literacy acquisition is multifaceted, and that the delivery of literacy programmes involves much more than a concern for the skills of phonics and comprehension. They

illustrate the social, historical, political, and economic factors that engage learners involved in literacy acquisition. It is most likely that Street's thinking about literacy will have an impact upon literacy programming for adults, and we can look forward to further discussion on this matter. It is interesting to consider the importance of Street's theoretical perspective on literacy acquisition for mainstream, public education. In many respects, he reinforces the thinking involved in whole language approaches to literacy. Whole language theorists have based their argument on students' prior knowledge and their personal use of language, factors that are crucial in students learning to read. Street, I think, would agree with the whole language approach, but would suggest that this view of literacy is limited. He would criticize the whole language perspective for not including the total context of students' lives: the social, political, economic events that affect their lives. His view is more in line with critical theorists who also argue that the acquisition of literacy is much more than a technically efficient program that focuses on the acquisition of skills. Yet, The Future of Literacy in a Changing World does provide a perspective for the teacher in mainstream, public schools. The book is an excellent reminder of the complexity of literacy acquisition and it does compel the reader to remember the context of the student: the student is not an entity to be acted upon, to be given the skills of literacy and the cultural heritage. As the examples from rural Morocco or the Fijian island remind us, the social and political context of learning literacy have a profound impact on what occurs. These examples remind us to consider context and to consider not just the student in the classroom desk but the society from which this student comes. We are urged to rethink what it means to become literate.

Scribner's introduction to this book suggests that Street's autonomous and ideological models are somehow linked, as if they might be consecutive stages in designing literacy programs. She would suggest that the skills of acquisition, as delivered through a technical program, occur prior to a concern for economic, social, and political issues. Although Street does not address Scribner's conclusion directly, he does suggest that the technical approach to literacy acquisition is in itself a political act, with political, social, and economic consequences for the learner. The relationship between these two models will require further thought and debate.

Does the book answer the basic question of the future of literacy in a changing world? No, but this is not a criticism of Wagner's book. What the book does do is note the complexity of issues involved in literacy acquisition. It suggests a changing focus on literacy programmes, indeed a suggestion that such programmes need to become more like the whole language programmes of public education. At the same time, this book offers a vista on literacy acquisition to illustrate the intricate involvement of social, economic, political, and historical forces. It is these forces that those concerned both with literacy in international situations and mainstream public education need to attend in considering the future of literacy in a changing world.