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Book Reviews

Tennant, M. (Ed.). (1991). *Adult and continuing education in Australia: Issues and practices*. New York: Routledge, Chapman & Hall, 265 pp., \$56.00 (hardcover).

Adult and Continuing Education in Australia: Issues and Practices, edited by Mark Tennant, is a part of a series in International Adult Education edited by Peter Jarvis. This book provides "a wide overview of developments in the education of adults" in Australia with chapters giving broad perspectives on the adult education experience of women, migrants, and rural dwellers, and exploring issues and concerns from their perspective. Other chapters focus on particular adult education agencies including universities and unions and delivery systems such as distance education. The authors, "practising adult educators who are in a position to influence developments in their field," with few exceptions, live and work in the eastern seaboard states of New South Wales and Victoria and there is a concentration of material from this area. Yet Tennant argues that they portray well the national scene, a claim which I could not evaluate, but one that could be questioned.

In the opening paper, Anne Forster et al. chart the familiar story of how "Adult and Continuing Education in Universities and Colleges" has become marginalized. The essay outlines the origins of adult education, sketches post war developments, and notes, for example, the decline in the University of Sydney adult education department from 1968 to 1988 and the shift towards entrepreneurial activity in adult education programming. The authors report that as the importance of vocationalism in adult education increased, so did the number of agencies outside of the universities and colleges that provided adult education programs. The emphasis on accessibility and the opening of new fields of study, especially in business administration and computing, is a familiar story for Canadian and British readers. The move from traditional extramural work in the arts and humanities, still a healthy sector in Australian adult education, to vocationalism has been accompanied by a shift in the proportion of undergraduates over age 25 who enroll for university courses (40%). This reflects the availability of part-time and distance learning opportunities in Australia, provisions which are not as common elsewhere. There, university extramural departments have replaced tutorial classes with bridging and preparatory courses. The authors argue that university and college adult education programs are vulnerable when budget cuts or cost-saving measures are considered by institutional administrators and suggest that the future of programs may be more tied to teaching and research. They are not confident these programs will be able to retain a distinctive adult education approach and be both an alternative path of entry into the main institutions and entrepreneurial (revenue generating) programs.

In "Adult Education at a Distance," Maureen Smith looks at distance and open educational approaches in Australia. She sees some of the principles of

distance and open learning being more widely applied overseas than in Australia because distance learning delivery is stuck in a more traditional mode. She charts the development of external studies, the Aussie tag for distance education, from 1910 to 1989 and explains why there is not one dedicated open university but many institutions which engage in forms of distance education. Smith gives examples of collaborative distance education projects in different fields and discusses some of the technological developments. She maps out how distance education might meet the adult education needs of Australians in the 1990s. It is not clear from her description whether she sees the needs of industry and government, and the provision for adults through distance education, as in any way problematic. Is there a convergence between national goals and individual citizen's interests?

John McIntyre provides an overview of "Technical and Further Education (TAFE) and Adult Education in Australia." He argues that these colleges are increasingly attentive to the economic needs of Australia — a scenario similar to developments in the United Kingdom. He is concerned that TAFE colleges may not be able to cater for a wide range of adult learning needs as they turn more to the purposes of national economic restructuring. He documents the nature and extent of current provision, highlighting those features which bear on this question. He concludes that adult education is identified with the further education component of TAFE and not just the leisure, hobby, or preparatory classes. McIntyre recognizes the conflict between those in TAFE who want to focus on technical training and others concerned with a broader education catering for adults' diverse learning needs. He concludes that the key questions for TAFE are still about what groups are being best served by TAFE colleges and how their structures need to change to make access a reality for the least advantaged.

Griff Foley's lively account of "Radical Adult Education," drawing on Lovett, portrays radical education as social action and plunges into a provocative discussion of three areas of radical adult education. The first is workers' education as provided by the Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union. He concludes that the programs offered by the Union are in the best traditions of independent workers' education and address current workers' problems. The second focuses on community education and examines a neighborhood housing group and women's educational experiences. The third account is the Franklin campaign to save a wilderness area, a campaign which involved group and public education alongside politicking and protest. He recognizes that radical education is starved of resources and is marginalized but optimistically calls for networking to help overcome some of these problems.

In his overview of "Trade Union Education in Australia," Roger Morris sketches historically the growth of Australian unionism, its postwar nature, and its political affiliations. Established by legislation in 1975, the Trade Union Training Authority, the major provider of trade union education, operates within a narrow definition of trade union training and is accountable for

monies spent. Half of the courses provided are for workplace representatives and are short "tool" courses; the remainder benefit more senior officials. Morris explains other developments in the field of trade union education but does not properly discuss the contradictions between state-funded and regimented provision and the traditions of independent workers' education. For example, he records that after 1985, the educational provision was tied more closely to the economic aspirations of the state. Morris provides a good overview of what is happening but avoids critical evaluation of the provision.

Two essays focus on education for minorities. An interesting and informative discussion of "English and the Non-English Speaking Migrants" begins with a note on the decline of the aboriginal languages. Brown and Lomas then discuss immigration to Australia and claim the mass immigration policy of the last 40 years has resulted in a multicultural society (more so than Canada or the United Kingdom?). Using the "white Australia" policy as the starting point for a debate on the development of the teaching of English to immigrants, they conclude that the teaching of English has never been a high priority. There are, they note, few texts or programs that address the problems of ESL students.

In "Towards an Aboriginal Controlled Adult Education," Griff Foley et al. tell a story which is familiar to North American native adult educators in terms of the state's responses in providing reserves and protectionism and then assimilation and welfare. The authors focus on contemporary provision and the educational dimension of community work and argue that to construct a proper aboriginal adult education, educational authorities must look at the whole of aboriginal life and culture. While they see some optimistic signs, the authors are concerned that educational authorities still cater to white anglo-society's needs and not those of aboriginals. They call for aboriginal, locally-controlled, politicized education tied to aboriginal liberation — perhaps a statement of faith rather than an observation of what is actually happening or is possible.

Deborah Davison and Helen Gribble review the participation of women in adult education programs. As the "Invisible Owners," women comprise 80% of students in general noncertificate programs but do not control these programs. Davison and Gribble's discussion of the reasons why this is the case focus on the relative lack of resources for these programs, a situation that is familiar to readers who have examined women's education elsewhere. They argue that women's education should address questions of unequal economic status and independence. They explore this issue of ownership of the educational process by looking at the role of students and tutors involved in adult education. They then chart women's ways of knowing and conclude that different dimensions of knowledge from those generally offered in adult education programs are crucial if women are to control their own education.

The provision of adult basic education in Australia, Rosie Wickert and Julie Zimmerman argue, includes "Questions of Integrity." Their overview of

current provisions of adult basic education and review of the differences between the states, significant people, and events concludes with a debate around what constitutes literacy. They document the extent of the problem of illiteracy in Australia and assess the position of particular groups, including aboriginals, migrants, and prisoners and issues confronting these groups. The impact of changes in the educational agenda on social equity and access is examined as is the emphasis on meeting the needs of a changing labor market. Wickert and Zimmerman conclude that adult basic education can contribute to increasing social equity only if it gains political recognition and aligns itself with mainstream education without losing the principles which underlie the provision.

Ann Whyte's essay, "The Development of The University of the Third Age [U3A] in Australia," assesses how universities provide for seniors. She concludes that more model projects are needed if older people are to make their own decisions, be themselves, and direct themselves. She considers U3A as the start of this process.

In her essay, "Rural Adult Education," Beth Hansen reports on her survey of nonfarming townfolk and those residing on isolated farms. She maps out the recent development of community-based adult education initiatives, programs that have experienced an explosion of demand in rural Australia. The growth of these programs, she argues, is not simply a response to participants' demands but reflects federal and state governments' views that recognize advantages of locally administered programs, especially lower costs. Local centers date from the 1960s and operate under a range of different titles with different adult education providers dominating in different states. In South Australia the WEA plays a major role while in Tasmania the adult education division of TAFE neighborhood learning centers has got things moving. Hansen reports on a number of schemes and comments on how the coordination might be improved. The examples discussed focus on three specifically rural issues: the growth of the centers, the need for greater access to educational programs, and the need for greater coordination to better serve rural areas.

In evaluating "The Evolution of Evening Colleges in New South Wales," Brian Peace et al. describe historically the development of evening classes and chart their progress to the situation in which these centers have become locally managed and have full-time principals who, in an entrepreneurial fashion, retain some of the fee income. The 1980s have witnessed a growth of activity in developing new programs to the point that they now need a clearer vision of their role in adult education. The authors acknowledge that this will be difficult to achieve in the changing environment of credit transfers, bridging courses, and increasing vocationalism. The reorganization of evening colleges has provided a fillip for adult education of New South Wales but whether the momentum continues depends on how they deal with emerging tensions.

This collection of essays succeeds wonderfully in providing readers with a feel for the divergent strands of Australian adult education. While some themes are common enough — creeping vocationalism, shortage of resources, and the struggle to control adult education — the contexts are so different and the experience so varied that readers can share the various authors' enthusiasm for the survival of a distinctive Australian adult education. One or two accounts could have made some space for a more critical examination of current practices; however given limitations of space the approach chosen is understandable.

Bruce Spencer
Athabasca University

Muller, J. (Ed.) (1990). *Education for work, Education as work: Canada's changing community colleges*. Toronto: Garamond Press, 225 pp., \$29.95 (hardcover), \$19.95 (softcover).

Changes in the organization and purposes of community colleges in Canada, especially in the last 20 years, increasingly elide the interests of business, education, and the state. The managerial model that emerges from this amalgam conforms most closely to the needs prescribed by business, industry, and capital. Muller's book aims to explain the social and historical context in which changing managerial practices take place. This is an edited book with selections by Muller and nine other contributors including Carl Witchel, Ralph Barrett, Diane Meaghan, Nancy Jackson, Walter Johnson, Bob Luker, Dorothy Smith, George Smith, and Yoko Ueda. They describe conditions in community colleges from British Columbia to New Brunswick. The circumstances of change in all colleges are diverse, but the effects are remarkably familiar: as Smith and Smith describe it, a "college-driven" education gives way to an "industry-driven" one. The purpose of the book is to develop for staff, students, and workers an understanding and criticism of these "changing managerial practices for the practical purpose of resisting them" (p. 1).

Muller describes briefly the way in which colleges fit the purposes of both state and capital formation. Funded by public money, colleges produce workers with knowledge, skill, and training to serve the labor needs that business and industry would otherwise have to provide for themselves. In the last chapter "The Learning Corporation: Japanese Experience in Occupational Training" Ueda provides a counterpart to the Canadian experience by describing what could potentially be a worst-case scenario: that in closer relations between industry and the state, colleges could be by-passed altogether with public funding going directly to industry.

Having begun by offering education in technical and university transfer courses, most colleges initially operated under liberal notions of equality of

access and opportunity. The reality of the social and economic changes occurring since the early 1980s, however, challenge the promise of upward mobility once held out by the college system. The causes of unemployment must now be explained as the failure of colleges to produce a properly trained product (worker). By placing the blame for national and regional economic problems on either the training provided by colleges or on individuals who do not become involved in training, governments can shift the focus of unemployment away from economic policies. The causes are attributed to individuals' lack of training or public institutions' failure to respond to the needs of business and industry. The resultant restructuring of education defines it in other than educational terms, validating its functions by its efficiency in producing generic kinds of workers and a credentialing system that locks workers into a limited set of skills with limited job mobility. Workers as a human capital resource fit as smoothly into the needs of industry as do other resources such as lumber or ore, the workers having slightly more value added.

In the name of restraint and cost-cutting, provincial governments have used the need for greater financial control to rearrange the labor force through skills training. The rearrangement of training and management permits the labor force to be more directly and effectively managed as an extension of capital (Smith & Smith, p. 194). One of the most effective instruments of this new design is the approach known as DACUM (*Designing A Curriculum*) and other competency based forms of curriculum whereby occupations are reduced to their skill performance level. This behavioral approach to education allows management to control both the content of the learning and how the learning takes place. Jackson explains in "Wolves in Charge of the Chicken Coop: Competence as Good Management" how competency based systems are not a poor decision only in terms of learning or the curriculum. Rather than any pedagogical rationale or concern for the nature of work, the process is used because it organizes education along assembly line models based on ease of management. The purposes and values of education become those of business with the function of education being rationalized in a language that is not its own.

Failings in industry, bad management decisions, and the effects of the free trade agreement all contributed to the acceptance of calls for restraint and restructuring. The increase in unemployment and inflation in the early 1980s was used to rationalize the new ruling conditions designed to make business and industry more competitive. Management in colleges went well beyond what was required to accomplish fiscal restraint, however, and many Canadian colleges adopted the management practices of industry as a way of coordinating relations. The rationalization of education in industrial model terms results in a bizarre litany of how working and learning conditions have deteriorated. The increased workload is a standard issue, as is the loss of autonomy over what and how one teaches. In the name of efficiency and

increased productivity, teachers experience a loss of decision making which separates them from the process of their teaching. Diverted away from broader education values, a teacher's role is mediated by texts and documents for the benefit of business and capital.

Lucker in "The Canadian Jobs Strategy and Ontario's Community Colleges" clarifies a point that is not distinguished elsewhere. He notes that there is a difference in running an educational institution in "a 'business-like' manner and running it 'like a business'" (p. 157). It is the latter which closes debate on ideology and purposes other than those of business. Issues of class, race, and gender remain unaddressed and are exacerbated by this "like a business" orientation. Current policies which organize education for, and as, exploitation may be the main feature of college training, but the notion of education as a business is neither new, nor the only causal factor. The colleges are set in the wider context of patriarchal customs such as racism, sexism, and classism supported and produced by the ongoing ties to business and a concomitant stratified workforce.

Increasingly narrow definitions of their jobs deskill both educators and the students they teach. Most significant is the way managerial practices not only reduce the meaning of education and work, but also reorganize and reduce class relations. Although Muller makes this important point, his own polemical style of writing obscures it. He states in a footnote that he will not present an abstracted theory on education, state, and work relations, but will describe everyday problems in colleges and how these relate "to larger questions and practices of ruling" (p. 24). Unfortunately, even though Muller does not directly rely on theoretical support, he writes as if readers have already read, understood, and agreed with his unstated assumptions.

The social organization of the needs of labor is one of the thin spots of the book especially regarding students. Muller does an excellent job of showing how pervasive and mechanistic the means of control over students and their programs has become, from the time a student enters until the time of being taken up by the marketplace. He insinuates, however, that because it is devoted to serving the needs of capital, this college function is a bad thing. Muller relies heavily on polemics to convince the reader that there is something wrong with the fact that students are directed and channelled into training and a paid job that industry makes available.

In contrast, those who are indifferent (some of whom are students) to Muller's political arguments may well declare that this close arrangement between college and industry serves their needs perfectly. To suspect that students might see the situation differently if only they knew more is to deny the complexity of social relations and the construction of reality from the students' points of view.

Instructors, administrators, policy makers, and adult education students would benefit by reading this book. While it is clear that resistance to state

mediated education for the purposes of capital will only come about through radical change, the reality is that Canadian colleges and CEGEPS are organized as largely conserving institutions. In Johnson's "The Radical Pedagogy of a CEGEP Instructor" which is an interview with Marsha Hewitt, Hewitt states what we all know to be true, that teachers, as a group, are instrumental in disseminating the ideology of the dominant class. Resistance is unlikely to come from quarters where people feel as if they are responsible for the way education complies with the corporate agenda and are alternately abused by the same system. In the business definition of education, teachers' protests are reduced to issues such as working conditions and salary cuts. The subordination of education to the needs of capital removes the ground for discourse along educational lines. Not surprisingly, an agenda for radical change is never spelled out; but for those who wish to explore the need, this book is an informed step.

Carol Sheck
University of Saskatchewan

Kumar, K. (1989). *Social character of learning*. New Delhi: Sage, 140 pp.

In 1900 Michael Sadler — a British educationist whom comparative educators claim as a founder of their field — wrote a simple pithy sentence of the kind other academic mortals wish they would be remembered for: "The things outside the schools matter even more than the things inside the schools, and govern and interpret the things inside." That sentence helped establish a tradition of enquiring into the religious, economic, political, familial, and other influences on formal educational systems and practices. The earlier treatises — such as Nicholas Hans' 1949 book, *Comparative Education* — on these influences traced and compared the more evident connections between, say, Catholicism and education in Ireland and Quebec. Later critical reactions to this tradition in comparative education took two forms. One response was to assert that formal educational institutions are not merely sites where other macroinstitutional forces play out their agenda but are creators of their own dynamics which require careful investigation on their own terms. The other approach was built on the insight in the previous sentence but did not wish to ignore the validity of the earlier tradition. It argued for a more sophisticated understanding of the interplay between societal forces and schooling processes. Krishna Kumar's book makes a contribution from this last perspective.

Social Character of Learning begins by asserting the importance of textbooks and other instructional media and proposes an enrichment of the technique of content analysis to understand (a) the structure of social relationships implicitly and thus powerfully portrayed in a text and (b) the symbolic use of the text in the actual conditions in which it will be read.

Chapter 2, based mostly on Kumar's 1981 University of Toronto thesis, uses traditional content analysis techniques to compare literary materials approved for use in grades four, five, and six in the province of Ontario, Canada and the state of Madhya Pradesh, India. Ignoring debates of several decades in which scholars have anguished about what is and what is not comparable, he tabulates and juxtaposes the material in the 77 selections in the Indian sample and the 196 selections in the Canadian sample in terms of the agent, act, scene, means, and purpose. The only similarity was that males dominated in both literatures. The differences are explained by the use of concepts such as strong and weak framing and by reference to relevant historical and psychoanalytic literature. For example, Kumar shows that although the child appears far more frequently in the agent's role in Canadian stories, both Indian and Canadian stories perform the latent function of promoting a conservative agenda. In chapter 3, "Learning to be Backward," the author goes beyond formal content analysis to answer the question: how does a tribal (i.e., aboriginal) boy's social background affect his response to a lesson on *tantricism* (belief in which was presumed to be a sign of backwardness among tribal people) in a senior secondary level class in India? The boy's profound silence is analyzed at three levels — language, meaning, and norms — and leads Kumar to conclude that we ought to worry not about the tiny minority of "backward" students who succeed in the school system and manage to get jobs to become middle class but about the majority "who are eliminated by the school system with the help of external or covert instruments . . . and whose brief and demeaning educational experience merely proves to them that they are what they are alleged to be" (pp. 76-77). The next chapter draws on the pedagogy of Paulo Freire to criticize adult education texts such as literacy primers that have coopted and subverted Freire's concepts. An example of such subversion is labelling the central problem of illiterate adults as poverty rather than oppression. Chapter 5, an earlier version of which appeared in this journal, analyzes the content and delivery of 13 television programs on "problems of development in third world countries." The author points out that the three guiding principles of the Canadian development education agenda as revealed in the television programs are that the third world contains new, big, and growing markets; it deserves to be helped and if not helped, it will threaten the future of prosperous countries like Canada. The excellent quality of Kumar's analysis in this chapter is revealed in his comments on the framing device used by the TV interview hosts. They create a question out of an extremely complex problem which contains "two mutually opposed and further irreducible perspectives" that are implicitly given equal legitimacy while shutting out other perspectives. Given the highly person-specific (to use Kumar's phrase) interpretation of the material he has examined, in the final chapter, the author is able only to offer tantalizing suggestions — particularly about the Indian teacher as a meek dictator — rather than conclusions about what sociologists call the hidden curriculum of communication within informal, formal, and nonformal education.

Kumar, Professor of Education at the University of Delhi, is a prolific author and an astute observer of Indian education and its relationship to other aspects of Indian society. He has been the recipient of two of the country's highest academic honors: Fellow of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and U.G.C. (University Grants Commission) National Lecturer in Education; these awards are, in part, acknowledgement of his ability to articulate new perspectives on Indian education in very readable prose.

It would have been appropriate for Kumar to acknowledge in the text and in the bibliography the strong research tradition in Canada of analyzing textbooks, so ably discussed by David Pratt in his 1975 essay, "The Social Role of the School Textbooks in Canada." Although the four studies in the book are more or less unconnected, they do illuminate some of the deep communication structures in society and their possible impact on the way people view their worlds. Yet, one is left with several questions. I shall not deal with one of them — namely, what is the use of such analyses for the development of educational policy and practice? — for lack of space. However, I shall raise some other questions on the chapter dealing with pseudo-Freirean adult education programs to illustrate issues that can be raised about the other three studies. Kumar claims that in such programs only symptoms (e.g., lack of sanitation) rather than the causes (e.g., economic exploitation) of problems are attacked. Why is Kumar silent about the fact that determining the sequence of cause-symptom-effect is one of the most intractable problems in any social science endeavor? Kumar faults materials produced by, for example, Literacy House (Lucknow, India) for being "one-dimensional and flat." Curriculum material produced on paper by even the most genuine Freirean would be one-dimensional and flat which has probably to do more with the nature of paper than that of the curriculum. Isn't Kumar guilty here of comparing a formal printed curriculum in one case with what he assumes occurs in an actual Freirean "class," namely, "leading the learner to a better understanding of the structural context of his [sic] oppression through associative thinking"? Surely, he knows that one of the most telling criticisms of Freire's liberation-through-literacy approach is that, in almost every real-life instance, it has delivered far less than its promises would lead one to expect. By setting up Freirean dialogic education as some kind of ideal, is Kumar not ignoring critics from "the left" who assert that such education deflects attention from more urgent confrontational and agitational approaches to social change that might benefit the poor more directly?

I raise these questions as someone who has the highest respect for Paulo Freire's work and who agrees with much of Kumar's analysis. In the 1990s, critical social theory must confront the meaning of events such as the disenchantment with particular forms of socialism implicitly in the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the fall of communism in eastern Europe without falling into the trap of assuming that the global capitalist leviathan has emerged victorious forever. It is very necessary to struggle with difficult questions about promoting justice and fairness in education and other

social institutions without resorting to clever rhetorical devices that lack theoretical rigor.

The first phase of socialization theory was founded on the view that new members of a society were molded to fit into the values, mores, beliefs, and attitudes of the established order. The second phase acknowledged that many new members of society do oppose the established patterns. The structural-functionalists, then, tried to account for them as rebels and deviants. The conflict theorists saw these opponents as potential heralds of a new society. In the third phase, we acknowledge that the opposition is really very widespread and that it expresses itself not necessarily in grand declarations and open warfare but in insistent negotiation and renegotiation of the ground rules as well as in continuous infraction of norms that cumulatively challenge the legitimacy of the old order. Such a view would go far beyond complaining about pseudo-Freireanism; it would go beyond analyzing the silence of the tribal boy in a classroom and let him speak so that we may arrive at a much more rounded, multifaceted, and respectful understanding of how he deals with his life of severely limited choices. Perhaps this is where new interactionist studies of the relation of education and society ought to look for new insights.

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Mathew Zachariah
University of Calgary

- Walford, G. (1990). *Privatization and privilege in education*. London: Routledge, 134 pp., \$17.95 (softcover).

Geoffrey Walford begins with the assumption that current debate on the effects of privatization policies in education would benefit from a better understanding of the history, structure, and operating principles of the private sector. A second purpose involves description of the privatization process in Great Britain as this affects developments in both the private and public education sectors. On the basis of this discussion, Walford concludes by attempting to reconcile divergent views of the appropriate role for private schools in the general education system.

As Walford points out in his introduction, the extreme nature of current arguments over support to private schools precludes rational discussion. Proponents believe that the private sector encourages a healthy diversity in the provision of educational services and that the competition of a market

approach ensures improvement in the quality of education. Underlying these claims is a strongly held ideological view that choosing among alternative forms of education for one's children is a basic right in a democratic society. Those opposed to any further development of the private sector consider the notion of the student (or parent) as consumer of an educational commodity to threaten the role of public schools in meeting essential social aims, principally those of social cohesion and equality of opportunity. Private schools are seen as reinforcing class distinctions in a country already characterized by a particularly rigid social structure. In the six chapters that comprise the book, Walford deals with three areas: politics, privilege, and privatization.

The book begins with an overview of private schools in Great Britain that describes their scope and significance. But the initial chapters are primarily concerned with the political context of privatization and its ideological base. As Walford suggests, once rendered suitably simplistic — either freedom of choice or structured inequality — ideology translates quite readily into political positions and there appears little ground for compromise in present-day Great Britain. These differences are forcefully and repeatedly stated by Conservative and Labour parties and Walford makes no attempt to minimize their extent or depth. The Labour viewpoint that “[private schools] are the very cement in the wall that divides British society” together with the promise that, upon election, the Labour Party would abolish state aid to private schools gives some sense of the emotion surrounding this issue.

Walford next examines the nature and extent of privilege associated with private schools. He suggests that money is not the sole determinant in obtaining a place in a private school and presents empirical support for this view. But one of the most striking statistics associated with this analysis is the 25% of university enrollments placed by the private schools despite the fact they enroll only 7% of school-age pupils. And private school graduates comprise some 50% of the elite Oxford and Cambridge university enrollments. However, with 2,400 schools (1987 data) the private sector is certainly a diverse collection and unlikely to be uniformly devoted to ensuring a university education for all its graduates. Walford asserts the private sector is characterized more by its diversity than its elitist nature. This may be, but the data also suggest those who would have their children go on to university would do well to place them in an institution that will surround them with other children who possess the background and capabilities necessary for eventual university entrance. Other analyses also indicate the strength of this relationship between private school and university in Great Britain (see, for example, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 1989). Walford does make the important point that a child's school experience itself is of importance and it appears that the major private schools at least are better able to offer their students more stimulating learning environments than the public system. Public-private differences in learning conditions likely will become even more pronounced with extensions to schemes like the Assisted Places Act.

Walford's account of the impact of privatization policies deals as much with their effect on the public or maintained sector as on the private sector. This is an important dimension to privatization that often is overlooked in popular accounts. Legislation like the Education Act of 1988 functions to diminish the public system as much as to support its private counterpart. This occurs not only through reductions in public school funding but also through pronouncements that improvements in the public schools would follow from their emulating the entrepreneurial spirit and operating practices of the private schools. Interestingly, much of the justification for this stance requires reference to the United States “magnet” school innovation. Walford relates some curious beliefs held by politicians and Education Ministry officials as to the efficacy of magnet schools and their appropriateness as models in the hoped for transformation of the British system. In any event, current privatization policies act to blur the distinction between the two sectors, largely at the expense of the public school system. Walford does support his critique with data drawn from various sources and builds an interesting and useful picture of events in Great Britain. However, the underlying issue of private versus public return on educational investment is, perhaps, not dealt with in sufficient detail. Accounts that directly address this critical aspect of the debate are needed (Levin, 1991).

Throughout his account of privatization and privilege in the British education system, Walford paints an unflattering picture of the privatization process but not of the private schools themselves. This is probably an important distinction. Private schooling won't disappear as it has, is, and will be desired by a segment of society. But if, in fact, the supporters of private schools want to be exclusionary as well as exclusive then Walford's concluding recommendation that private sector funding cease and that they be treated as distinct from the public sector won't be too upsetting to the private schools' traditional clientele. More importantly, the recommendation would ensure that the most informed and energetic parents who increasingly are attracted to the private option would remain attached to their local public school. It is their loss that Walford sees as the greatest danger to the public system as it runs down under the current policies of the conservative government.

The past decade of deregulation and privatization has produced a number of books and special journal issues on the impact of these policies on education (*Education and Urban Society*, 1991; *Teacher's College Record*, 1991). Some, like the recent volume by Chubb and Moe (1990) argue for a particular policy and generate a good deal of discussion. Others — Barman (1991) and Walford are examples — offer more balanced presentations. All of them in one form or another express concerns with issues of equality, or, more specifically, with privilege and the reproduction and maintenance of social advantage. But the privatization process portrayed usually reflects features of the social system of a particular country, or enough of it to make each description a bit different. Walford's analysis of the British experience adds further detail to this important and evolving social policy issue.

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Robert Sweet
Lakehead University

Poster, C. & Kruger, A. (Eds.). (1990). *Community education in the Western World*. New York: Routledge, Chapman & Hall, 288 pp., \$52.50 (hardcover).

The authors of this book have two main purposes. First, they want to explain and define the concept of community education. Second, they wish to illustrate and publicize the wide range of ways in which it is carried out around the world. These purposes have to be inferred since the editors never explicitly state them. To accomplish these objectives, the editors, Poster and Kruger, have assembled a compilation of writing on community education by no fewer than 19 different contributors. In general, the writings begin with basic principles and philosophy, continue with a wide range of recent illustrative case studies, and conclude with the acknowledgement of older models in the field.

The book is organized into five parts. Part 1 is entitled, "Defining Community Education." Here the contributors examine basic principles of community education as well as the role of the community educator as a facilitator of lifelong learning. Parts 2 to 4 cover a wide variety of case studies such as the role of the community in local land reform in Spain; the connection between education and working life in Italy, Canada, Denmark, and Ireland; community education programming in Australia; and work with special groups such as the elderly in Scotland, unemployed women in Northern Ireland, and minority groups in Germany and Britain. The book concludes with Part 5 which provides a description and analysis of two focal points for community education in the Western World, namely, the National Center for Community Education in Flint, Michigan and the Community Education Development Centre in Coventry, England.

In terms of the objective of explaining and defining community education, the book is only partially successful. The beginning articles by Rennie and Poster are very useful as they set some of the basic parameters and themes for the works that follow. Rennie makes a good case for the value of

community education and his five articles of faith are fundamental to any understanding of the meaning of community education. Briefly, the articles include:

1. The origins to the solution of a community's problems are contained within that community.
2. Learning is a lifelong activity.
3. A full and appropriate use of resources is a matter of common sense.
4. Everyone in a community has a contribution to make.
5. Members of a community need to participate.

Poster highlights the important role of process in community education and the new kind of role for professionals engaged in community education: "to identify a role in those highly dynamic situations when the community has become the change agent and the community educator the responder demands a professionalism of a very different order" (p. 28).

However, a definition of community education is not explicitly discussed and neither is the even more basic definition of community. Further, it would have been helpful to know the basis for the selection of writings in the book in order to facilitate the piecing together of impressions of community education while reading through the case studies. What makes this inductive exercise particularly difficult is when there are apparent inconsistencies between case studies. For instance, O'Donnabhain described "understanding and accepting hierarchical roles" (p. 131) as one of the positive outcomes in personal development for young people in their work with minicompanies in Ireland. On the other hand, Petry devotes much attention to the limitations imposed by hierarchical thinking:

Again and again one has to fight against the mental picture of the hierarchy of knowledge The concept is particularly damaging because it prevents those who deliver resources from finding out what the user system knows: what capacities for problem-solving exist unrecognized within the group. (p. 159)

Apparent contradictions in attitudes like this may not be surprising in light of the number of contributors, but they do leave the reader wondering to what extent the contributors subscribe to the five articles of faith described in Rennie's initial chapter.

The book is much more successful on the second objective, that of providing a variety of examples of and approaches to community education. Unfortunately, there is considerable variety in the quality of treatment of these cases. Perhaps the most difficult task for the reader is trying to make meaning from the cases when the context of these developments has not been provided. For instance, Petry provides a good orientation to his coverage of an innovative community education agency trying to help situate migrant

workers from Turkey within the German majority. Had Petry's chapter preceded that of fellow compatriot Kruger instead of following it, then the context for Kruger's chapter on the role of the Arts in community education may have been easier to understand. Certainly it is a built-in limitation to these case studies that many of the assumptions and much of the detail and dynamics crucial to understanding are lost in the superficial treatment of a single short chapter. Therefore, the cases can offer but points of contact from which the interested reader will have to follow up.

As part of the uneven treatment of case studies, some contributors seem to give an elaboration and endorsement to a host of initiatives in their country without much of a critical analysis and without giving the reader a sense of the problems faced or even created by these community education initiatives. On the other hand, Jensen in the production schools in Denmark and Gundara and Jones working with minority migrant workers in inner London, provide sensitive portrayals and insights into complex social problems. These authors have drawn useful implications for others from their struggles and reflections. Further, there are other worthwhile observations scattered among the chapters such as this one by Townsend in his analysis of community education in Australia: "Community education cannot of itself be a solution for all of these community problems: only a more caring public attitude together with more support services will do that" (p. 65).

It is unfortunate that there was not more material on the personal developmental aspects of community education to help balance the focus on structures and structural change. After all, the caring attitude Townsend refers to cannot ultimately be legislated nor packaged into bureaucratic structures. Murphy's description of her work with unemployed women was an exception to the general lack of attention given in the book to the role of the inner self in community education. On the other hand, the theme of community education and business enterprise is covered from a number of interesting angles and the editors did well to include these creative responses to the challenges provided by the workplace.

The projects described in this book reflect the work of those who can make things happen in the community. At this stage of community education, rigorous empirical studies are a luxury most could ill afford. This book has made a contribution by helping to determine the issues involved. Nevertheless, to reinforce the value that is placed on such notions as "a community education approach," "holistic approach," "empowering others," and "grassroots participation," it would be useful to have some more empirical corollaries. This will not be easy to do. Yet the contributions in this book would have been strengthened by a larger element of systematic research.

Orr (1991) wrote recently of an alternative form of education that is less destructive of our world:

The worth of education must now be measured against the standards of decency and human survival — the issues now looming so large before us in the decade of the 1990s and beyond. It is not education that will save us, but education of a certain kind. (p. 99)

Community education, with its emphasis on process and on networks of mutual respect and caring, is certainly one of the important alternative forms of education to which Orr refers. Through their book, Poster and Kruger have provided us with a valuable orientation and update to the area as well as a source of creative ideas and useful insights. At the same time, it is clear that there is much more work to do.

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Geoffrey S. Peruniak
Athabasca University

Archer, D. & Costello, P. (1990). *Literacy and power: The Latin American Battleground*. London: Earthscan Publications, 224 pp., \$15.95 (softcover).

From October 1988 to September 1989, Archer and Costello documented 10 Latin American adult literacy programs. They illustrate "the political issues and problems of the continent through specific case-studies, highlighting the impact of popular education on people's daily struggles" (p. vii). The authors move away from an arid discussion of theory and instead they give expression to "the experiences and histories of the learners, rather than the ideas and methods of the planners" (p. vii).

Each case study, meticulously set within its historical context and present political-economic-social-cultural environment, provides the reader with an extensive understanding of the evolution and implementation of each literacy program. The descriptions of these programs interweave quotations from involved community people, literacy teachers, and others, thereby continuously breathing life into the discussion. The ongoing problems encountered during each program are identified and examined. Towards the end of each case study analysis, the authors highlight questions, lessons learned, or conclusions reached and potential outcomes.

Archer and Costello draw heavily on the principles of popular education and conscientization enumerated by Paulo Freire: education is not neutral, education must be relevant and relate to issues of current importance to participants, education must be problem posing, education is based on dialogue, and education involves reflection and action (praxis). Each case study highlights a specific conscientization perspective or literacy approach.

The chapter entitled "Honduras, San Antonio de Jura: Cooperative Literacy" provides a succinct summary of the conscientization process and captures key codewords used throughout this volume.

From participatory investigations, the national technical team have produced codifications that fill the literacy primer, which the learners in the first level of the course decode. If the materials effectively grasp the contradictions of the learners' reality then this decoding becomes more than the study of a workbook. In decoding the image the learners are confronted for the first time with their lived reality in a manner which enables them to reflect on it. Rather than being submerged by the never ending flow of demands on their time, they are able to step outside and see their lives in a new light. They can see their relations to the world and the world's relations to them; they can see how they are formed by the world and how they too can form it . . . It is a[n] . . . emergence from dependency, from passivity, from the 'blindness' associated with a culture of silence . . .

Conscientization is not a process completed in the moment of realization. It is intimately linked with subsequent action. Through the continuing evaluations the CNTC gives Honduran campesinos their first possible taste of power of such action . . . They begin to see that it is possible to change the world . . . Conscientization . . . is the awakening of a whole community, inseparable from organization. Conceived and executed in this way, literacy can be the basis for changing whole nations. (pp 75-76) (italics added)

As exemplified by this quotation, certain major concepts recur throughout the book:

- the quest for social and political change supporting equity is justified and essential;
- literacy with meaningful conscientization can work towards the liberation of oppressed people and is possible in different settings and using different processes;
- the interpretation of what literacy means can broaden according to the people involved and the situation at hand;
- programs undertaken under the banner of literacy can act as social palliatives and support maintenance of unfair structures, or be used to politicize populations.

The world is to be read within its total complexity and then acted upon.

While this major idea recurs throughout their analysis of the different case studies, the authors sidestep any discussion regarding their own base of values and assumptions. Instead, they provide an opportunity for expression by the involved community people. This works up to a point. The very act of choosing the case studies necessitates a basis for selection with criteria reflecting the authors' perspectives. However, no explanation for selection is given.

The studies are grouped into three headings:

- literacy as *revolution* (Colomoncagua, El Salvador; Lechecuagos, Nicaragua; Batahola, Nicaragua);

- literacy as *reform* (San Antonio de Jura, Honduras; Santa Lucia, Ecuador; San Miguel Teotongo, Mexico; Santiago, Chile);
- literacy as *reclamation* (Cabrican, Guatemala; El Alto, Bolivia; Karata, Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast).

Archer and Costello believe that people can revolt (against an oppressive structure), reform (a current structure to work more positively for them), and reclaim (a meaningful heritage) through literacy.

Three of 10 case studies presented conclude overall negative impacts on the populations involved, while two others have weakly positive or mixed positive and negative effects. Five cases claim essentially positive outcomes (admittedly with continued follow-up work needed in future). Selected studies are discussed here.

Literacy as Revolution

As a positive example, the case in Colomoncagua, El Salvador, was one in which literacy/popular education and conscientization programs were established to build organization and self-sufficiency among refugee peers in a large refugee camp to prepare them for return to their homeland in Morazan. Examples are given on how the program helped to unify successful resistance against further repression while in the camp.

Another positive case "Literacy as a Political Crusade" in Lechecuagos, Nicaragua, provides the background context of the Sandinistas finding themselves unexpectedly in power and having to communicate what the resolution meant and integrate people into the rebuilding process. While 400,000 Nicaraguans learned to read and the country's illiteracy rate fell to 13%, the progress and process of the five month national literacy campaign is traced using the site of Lechecuagos. The campaign's sustained impact is outlined in terms of its longer-term effects on Lechecuagos' agriculture, health, and schools.

Much of the impact of the crusade has been a result of changes of campesino attitudes to their own lives. Whereas previously an educated campesino was someone who adopted urban ways of thinking, the new education offered the possibility of developing an educated campesino way of thinking. (p. 37)

Literacy as Reform

Probably the most complete description given of the process and materials for literacy and conscientization is the case study discussing the experience of a Honduran campesino cooperative, National Rural Workers Congress (CNTC). Effects on the cooperative members — "If someone thinks something, they know when and how to say it. In the past we were mostly silent" (Bernardo, p. 68) and on the larger community — "We are no longer bringing up our children scrambled up with pigs and dogs" (Dora, p. 70), are discussed along

with the movement from words to action, "We saw the literacy process and the reclamation of land as inseparable. Neither would really be effective without the other" (Carlos, p. 72). While citing the actual personal risks that campesinos confronted in reclaiming land, the authors conclude that through the continuing evaluations, the CNTC gave Honduran campesinos their first taste of the power of such action.

The Santiago, Chile, study extends the definition of literacy. Here the authors support the notions that new literacy includes visual images in the native language, and, that "visual literacy is assuming a greater significance in a country like Chile where 90% of homes have a television and where video is set to become a mass medium" (p. 119). They propose that "reading is not a technique, but a way of analyzing experience critically in order to be able to participate in a wider society" (p. 120). To read and write differently is to be able to produce visual images using film and video, people learning to "re-read" differently. The work of groups, PROCESO and MOMUPO, using video codifications on human rights and women's history as the means of rapid communication and resistance prior to the coup is detailed.

The informative negative study in Santa Lucia, Ecuador illustrates the potential for literacy programs to be used for politization by the state. The national literacy campaign was a failure according to the authors for two major reasons: uninterested secondary school students charged with the responsibility of using the prepared generative work materials taught mechanically with little understanding of the larger purpose beyond the alphabet; and the campaign failed to make contacts with local organizations. The result was that far from promoting a democratization of society in Santa Lucia, the literacy campaign helped to maintain the status quo and divided communities by promoting migration to the city in search of a better life.

The Mexican study cites government strategies to "de-read" literacy, "pseudo-Freire for a pseudo-revolution," where the literacy class dialogues become searches for the "right" answers, predetermined by the program planner and provided to the teacher. This case exemplified cooptation of progressive methods in order to use literacy training as a tool for domestication and control.

Literacy as Reclamation

On reclaiming heritage, the study of a Cabrican indigenous group in Guatemala extends the understanding of literacy to the use of radio literacy with this rationale: "One cannot say that the Indian is illiterate because he lives in a culture that does not recognize letters. To be illiterate, you need to live where there are letters, and you don't know them" (Freire, *The Politics of Education* quoted on page 145).

The Mam people's efforts to reclaim their culture and combat the racism of ladinos (Spanish-speakers with western ways) by using radio to promote Mam

culture are analyzed, and the subsequent countercharges of divisiveness and tokenism identified.

Summary

Although the authors focus on the impact of popular education on the people in different Latin American countries, each chapter could stand alone. There is little cross-reference between the experiences of the people or teachers in one country with that of another. While this permits selective reading of case studies, it means that a reader unfamiliar with Freirean thought must work hard to draw together the common threads. At no time do the authors provide an overreaching framework for these case studies. Instead, it is up to the reader to identify themes or conclusions that are common to the case studies. Those familiar with Freirean approaches may tire of key phrases being used in an almost (but not quite) cliché manner; others new to this approach may appreciate the cues.

This book counters some critiques of conscientization (Zachariah 1986) by providing concrete examples of *progress* made by oppressed groups, however small or local the actions. Archer and Costello are also blunt about the failures and drawbacks of the efforts to introduce literacy skills using Freirean methodologies. However, they do not draw together their analyses in a concluding essay. The authors fail to build upon the concreteness of the case studies that may have provided a powerful critical analysis of the process of conscientization. The brief (one and a half page) conclusion is clearly inadequate. While they beg off, saying it is not their intention to draw conclusions on behalf of the people in the communities studied, they do briefly review theoretical points: the meaning of literacy; the "de-reading" cooptation of literacy when used as a technique without critical consciousness; alternative, broadened views of literacy; and literacy as an indicator of the level of democracy in a society. Despite the superficiality of the book's conclusion, it outlines historical developments from the perspectives of the campesinos, views not frequently heard. This in itself is helpful.

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Susan E. Smith
University of Calgary

Merriam, S.B. & Caffarella, R.S. (1991). *Learning in adulthood: A comprehensive guide*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 376 pp., \$27.95.

The authors set for themselves an ambitious undertaking. They observe that no single text synthesizes current thinking and research on the topic of adult learning. This book seeks to achieve that objective. The authors claim that

Learning in Adulthood is a comprehensive overview of what we know about adult learning — including the context in which it takes place, who the participants are, what they learn and why, the nature of the learning process itself, the development of theory in adult learning, and other issues relevant to the practice of adult learning. (p. xii)

The book is divided into five sections. Part 1 examines several dimensions of the context of adult learning — sociocultural, institutional, and individual. Part 2 focuses on adult learners — who they are, why they participate, and their developmental characteristics. Part 3 discusses the learning process, including theories of learning, intelligence and aging, memory and cognition, and cognitive development in adulthood. It includes a particularly interesting discussion on novice and expert learners and how they may learn differently. Part 4 explores three particular areas of theory/model building in the field of adult learning — self-directed learning, participation and motivation, and learning in adulthood. Part 5 reflects upon some of the important issues from the perspective of the practitioner — social and political considerations, ethical dilemmas in teaching and learning, and a final chapter which attempts to integrate and synthesize the wide range of issues discussed earlier in the book.

The book has several strengths. It is clearly written and logically presented. The authors demonstrate a comprehensive knowledge of the field of adult learning. Their objective of assembling and distilling the conceptual and research literature of the field within a single volume is very largely achieved. The special strengths of the book are its comprehensiveness and descriptive quality. Nonetheless, the book contains a good deal of information which has been widely reported elsewhere. For example, the discussions concerning participation and motivation research and theories of learning are contained in many previous publications. A further strength is its presentation, not just of the psychological perspective which so dominates the literature of the field, but also sociological and philosophical perspectives. This contribution is most evident in Part 5 in the treatment of social/political considerations and ethical dilemmas in teaching and learning.

On the other hand, the book is deficient insofar as critical assessment and the future of the field of adult learning. The authors do provide some critical observations relating to research methodology especially in regard to studies investigating self-directed learning. In addition, they do point out which prominent theories or models lack empirical support. Nonetheless, they make little effort to go beyond assembling and describing the work of others. Unlike Pat Cross's book *Adults as Learners*, to which the authors frequently refer, no

attempt is made to provide a theoretical synthesis or framework which makes a unique contribution building upon the work of other scholars. The last chapter is especially disappointing in this regard. A major limitation of the field of adult learning is its failure to integrate scholarship and practice effectively. Practice tends to be guided more by informed prescription, such as Knowles's andragogical assumptions, than by empirically supported scholarship. The authors fail to address this problem adequately and provide little direction on how it can be overcome. In addition, they provide little insight insofar as future directions for the field are concerned. In fairness however, they did not claim these objectives. Insofar as they set out to provide a comprehensive description of the field of adult learning they achieve their objective.

The authors claim that the book is primarily aimed at educators of adults (p. xiii). In the judgment of this reviewer, it is not likely to be effective for that audience. It is essentially a descriptive state-of-the-art volume which is more likely to be of benefit and of interest to those studying the field than to practitioners.

Gordon Thompson
University of Saskatchewan

Bray, M. (Ed.). (1991). *Ministries of education in small states: Case studies of organization and management*. London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 295 pp.

Bray, M. (1991). *Making small practical: The organization and management of ministries of education in small states*. London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 127 pp.

The study of public administration of education in small nation states is a relatively new field and so is the organizational analysis and administration of schools in such societies. The Commonwealth Secretariat has played a leading role in drawing attention to the importance of these fields of study through sponsoring specialist conferences, workshops, and publications dealing with small nation states. These two monographs represent another commendable effort by the Secretariat to increase our awareness of the administrative challenges which Ministries of Education in these societies face. They can be particularly valuable to practicing educational administrators who are confronted with some of the day-to-day issues which these case studies have raised. One of their useful features is that they can direct the attention of practitioners to successful and unsuccessful practices that have been tried out in other small states.

However, from a methodological point of view, one has to be careful about using these books. There is the danger that inappropriate or incorrect conclusions about "successful" administrative practices in small states might

be drawn from these case studies — which is what the second book by Bray attempts to do. There are two reasons for this note of caution.

(1) The case studies are done by civil servants currently employed in these administrations. This can be valuable because of the first-hand experience which the writers have with these systems. They are, therefore, in a good position to provide a factual description of many features of the operation of their Ministries of Education. But the current involvement of these officials in the administration of their organizations also imposes limitations on the value of these case studies. This is because their interpretation of the dynamics of these systems can be far from objective. In fact, they sometimes conceal the major weaknesses of their administrative structures or conveniently attribute these failings to the problem of "size."

For example, in the chapter on Guyana one misses many of the essential elements of the organizational dynamics of the Ministry of Education which might have nothing to do with size but are attributable to other factors. In the information provided on the political and administrative framework, the case study mentioned that the 65 members of the National Assembly are elected on a system of proportional representation. Nothing was said of the fact that they represented a very autocratic government which rigged the local elections for the past two decades in order to stay in power. This obviously affected the way in which education was administered in that society and that political reality was probably much more important than size in explaining how the educational system of that country was structured and how it operated. This was partly reflected in the fact that the ultimate decision-making authority for education was located in the President's Office. This probably had less to do with the importance attached to education in a small state and more with its role, as part of the ideological apparatus of the state, in an autocratic regime. In other words, political factors rather than size were the key influences on the structure and dynamics of the system of educational administration, both at the national and the school levels. However, nothing was said of this in the case study.

Similarly, one wonders whether the appointment of the Minister of Education in Brunei Darussalam as Vice-Chancellor (Principal) of the local university had more to do with the political system of that country than with the lack of qualified personnel in a small state — as was suggested in the case study.

(2) Again, on Guyana, the information presented failed to mention the importance of the particular philosophy of the Government on administration. This was that the political party in power had supremacy over the state. In other words, the state was operated mainly in the interest of the members of the political party in power and senior civil servants had to subscribe to the views of that party. This factor was probably responsible for the erosion of the traditional relationship between public servants and politicians, the structure

of the system of decision making, and the quite good relationship which was said to have existed among the staff of the Ministry of Education — rather than the size of the organization. Since the civil servants' first responsibility was to further the interests of the party in power rather than the populace as a whole, only certain "trusted" individuals were chosen for the key roles in the organization. This is partly why members of one ethnic group which formed over 50% of the population were hardly represented in any top administrative positions in that Ministry and why the relationship among the staff was considered excellent.

The point about all this is to suggest that the nature of the politics of the country — in which the state mainly served the interest of members of the ruling political party — was a more important explanatory factor of the dynamics of its Ministry of Education, rather than size. Because the case study was done by senior Ministry officials, many aspects of the system's operation were therefore excluded and one was made to think that size was the crucial variable in explaining its dynamics when it might not have been.

This one example raises questions about the credibility of the "evidence" presented in most of these case studies and the "objectivity" which civil servants can bring to an analysis of the factors underlying the dynamics of the administration of which they are still in charge. It therefore casts doubt about the suggestion that size was the most crucial variable in understanding the organizational dynamics of these educational systems. There were obviously other variables which were not identified and which might have better explained some of the problems and challenges which faced the administration of education in these small states.

This does not mean that senior civil servants cannot give insightful descriptions about the operations of the systems in which they work. But it might be going too far to depend on their interpretation alone in trying to arrive at the importance of any particular variable, including size, in determining the structure and the dynamics of their organization. This is particularly so since size is often seen as a convenient explanatory variable of the current shortcomings of these systems.

The other problem lies in the theoretical assumptions on which the second book rested. There are admittedly a number of factors which affect the nature of educational administration in small states and Bray has done a useful job in once more bringing these to our attention. But, here again, one has to be careful in trying to make deductions or develop new theories of organization behavior specifically for administrative systems in small states, based on the inadequate evidence presented in these case studies. For example, the crucial differences in the relationship between individuals in administrative systems might be less a function of the size of the country and more a function of the *gemeinschaft* versus *gesselschaft* (Tonnies, 1887) type of relationship which

exists between individuals in what Riggs (1957) once referred to as "Industria" and "Agraria."

This is fairly obvious if we compare the Jersey experience with that, say, of Kiribati or Dominica. I have also just returned from the very large county of India where many of the features of relationships that are reported in these publications as existing specifically in small states were also observed. For example, individuals in small states are said to be more susceptible to group pressures (p. 22). But in India this factor is often used to explain the continued practice of *suttee* or the persistence of the caste system. It is also mentioned that a common characteristic of small states is a strong sense of national and cultural identity. But in India, this societal feature was also obvious and was vociferously demonstrated during the time when there were heated controversies between that country and Pakistan over the issue of Kashmir. Again, in small states, it is suggested that it might be difficult to remove an employee on grounds of inefficiency alone (p. 29). But in discussing this issue with university administrators in India I could only come to the conclusion that this problem was common there also.

The fact that size is probably not the only variable that can explain the dynamics of educational systems in many small developing countries can be seen in the number of contradictory statements made by researchers about relationships in these societies. For example Diggins (quoted on p. 23) notes that "in politics, a small population can often more easily judge and choose its political leaders from personal knowledge of their strengths and weaknesses than in a large society." Yet, it was also noted that "in small counties it is relatively easier for a determined, unscrupulous individual with rather more than his share of charisma and ruthlessness to dominate all or most aspects of the country's life" (p. 23). One wonders what has happened to the ease, referred to above, in which the population of small states were said to have been able to identify their "unscrupulous leaders." Another contradictory statement was that "close relationship may speed decision-making" in small states, but on the other hand, it was noted that "antagonistic relationships" (p. 23) which often develop as a result of the closeness between groups in small states can distort and delay decision making.

The book frequently mentions many of these contradictory patterns of relationships and the author himself acknowledges this fact. Therefore, one is led to believe that there are variables other than size — important as this often is — that are also responsible for some of these relationships. Therefore, unless one is able to identify these other variables it is impossible to develop new administrative theories or suggestions of administrative practices which could be considered suitable for small states in general. This means that, in our present state of knowledge, we must treat with caution any attempt to identify size as the main source of the administrative problems which face small states. It must also be remembered that even in large states, organizations are often subdivided into smaller units and the experiences

within these units might not be totally inapplicable to the practice of administration, or to our understanding of organizational dynamics, within institutions in small states.

Bray was therefore correct in pointing out that these two books should be seen as a means of stimulating thinking about the subject of effective administrative practices in small states — and not to suggest that they present solutions which are applicable to all such states. This would be putting the cart before the horse. Without reliable research evidence — which does not as yet exist — it would be foolhardy to be positive about ways in which size is the determining factor in the dynamics of the administrative systems of small states. It will also be unwise to produce rigid guidelines for administrators in these countries based on our present level of ignorance. Before we can proceed further we need reliable research findings in this field and while the case studies provide useful information, they cannot be considered as a very reliable source of evidence.

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M.K. Bacchus
University of Alberta