

system. None of this does so well against the evidence. Since large-scale immigration into this country is the result of permanently high employment levels and a scarcity of unskilled labour, the 'threat to our jobs' exists more in the imagination than in fact. How funny; the idea that coloured busmen might be depriving white bus-conductors of work! Yet there may be a connexion between irrational fears for job security and discrimination. It is interesting that the London dockers are extremists both with respect to restrictive practices and racism. As for sweated labour; it is largely discrimination that drives coloured labour into the 'sweat shops', and it is not unknown for white labour to countenance inferior treatment for coloured labour. The British dislike of foreigners is indeed important but, as the *P.E.P. Report on Racial Discrimination* demonstrated last year, coloured job-applicants meet discrimination far in excess of light-skinned foreigners with comparable qualifications. Furthermore, it is just those (particularly second-generation) coloureds who have assimilated best to the British social system, have gone to Grammar School and stayed to the Sixth Form, or girls with secretarial qualifications, who meet the worst discrimination.

For those interested in racial discrimination in this country and the role which legislation can play, Bob Hepple's book is an indispensable addition to the P.E.P. survey. It is written by a lawyer and the interest centres very much on the Race Relations Bill 1968. The book is a mine of information. While, unavoidably, there is plenty of discussion of legal niceties, this is not just a legal text. Apart from the main interest of discrimination in employment, Mr Hepple also takes in discrimination in shops and public places, and the new offence of the Race Relations Bill 1965, incitement to racial hatred. However, the treatment of the 1965 Bill is largely from the historical point of view; a pity, for one would dearly have liked the views of such a cool and informed writer on the wisdom of creating a new category of things that may not be said in public, regardless of any threat to Public Order. It looked at the time that the Bill was debated as though an

important part of the pressure for this change was the desire of some M.P.s to see Mosleyites behind bars. How ironic then that the new law looks like being invoked more against black militants! There is a very full account of the historical background and the evolution of opinion on the feasibility and desirability of using the law as a weapon against discrimination, also plenty of discussion of voluntary conciliation.

As a result of the careful argument of this volume two conclusions are established. One is that the popular argument for inaction: 'You cannot legislate to make people less colour-prejudiced', is not a valid reason for rejecting legislation against discrimination. In a number of ways legislation will have a small but significant effect. Discrimination will come to carry the disrepute of an illegal activity and, very importantly, employers will be able to use the new law as an 'excuse' for not discriminating to customers or other employees. They will also be freed to some extent from the fear that competitors will gain an advantage by discriminating. So legislation against racial discrimination need not be, as I recently heard an opponent claim it would be, just like legislating against prostitution. However, the Law can have no more than a limited effect. A full-scale attack on racial prejudice will have to work through education and voluntary action. No better illustration of the impotence of the Law in bad cases could be provided than the exclusion from recent legislation of either incitement to hatred or discrimination on account of religious belief. On any criteria of consistency this would be treated on the same footing as race. Instead, we are to find ourselves in the strange situation in which it is legal to discriminate against Jews because of their religion, but not on account of their race. Of course, everyone knows the reason for this. In Northern Ireland there is extremely widespread and blatant discrimination against Catholics, in housing and employment, to say nothing of incitement to hatred. And nobody seems eager to poke the arm of the Law into that hornets' nest.

CHRISTOPHER BLISS

SOCIAL CLASS, LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION, by Denis Lawton. *Routledge and Kegan Paul*, London, 1968. 181 pp. 25s.

There is nothing more interesting than being able to trace how, by an interaction of isolated studies, facts, experiments and intuitions, there

develops a new idea. In Dr Lawton's book we are given an account of just such a sequence, in the evolution of Bernstein's hypothesis con-

cerning linguistic codes and their relationship to social structure.

Before the last war, concern was being expressed at the fact that intelligent working-class children were not given a fair share of the available educational opportunities. At that time the problem was seen simply as a question of access to selective schools, but after the war it became clear that even when they did reach the grammar schools, working-class children were less likely to succeed than their middle-class peers. Bernstein's insight was that some children might be prevented from giving expression to their innate ability because of poor linguistic skills and this led him to compare measures of verbal and non-verbal intelligence in middle-class and working-class boys. His experiments did indeed demonstrate that there is not necessarily a positive straight line relationship between the two. Messenger boys had severely depressed verbal I.Q.s relative to their non-verbal I.Q.s (as measured by Raven's Progressive Matrices) when compared to a similar group of public school boys. On the basis of this and associated studies, Bernstein proposed his well-known hypothesis of restricted and elaborated linguistic codes, at first referred to as public and formal codes (see Dr Mary Douglas's article, *New Blackfriars*, July 1968).

His ideas have developed and expanded since then, and some psychologists have complained, perhaps with justice, that the number of experimental studies on which he bases his views is still rather small. Dr Lawton's book is therefore timely, in that it gives a case history of the theory and permits us to inspect an array of supporting evidence from many authorities in a variety of disciplines. We are shown first the social antecedents of the problem and some empirical evidence on the relation between language and social background. There is then a long chapter, initially reviewing some psychological approaches to the link between language and cognitive development and secondly examining social anthropological studies on the language/culture controversy. A chronological account of the development of Bernstein's experimental and theoretical work is followed by a description of the author's own studies of speech and writing, and the book ends with a critique of proposed intervention

programmes on behalf of culturally deprived children, in the light of these ideas.

Dr Lawton's own suggestions are interesting and important. The linguistic difficulties of working-class children, he notes, are closely related to wider questions of motivation and culture. To see the problem simply as one of language is inadequate, for language use is a translation of a culture through a specific social structure. At the same time, recent attempts to modify social structure, such as the introduction of comprehensive schools, will have only limited success unless conscious attempts are made to provide opportunities for the extension of linguistic facility within these educational institutions. Dr Lawton does not disapprove of efforts by schools to transform their pupils into middle-class children, but feels they often focus on trivial aspects of middle-class life (such as etiquette and social conventions) and neglect important cognitive areas. Because of its influence here, he thinks it important that a sentimental attitude towards working-class language is avoided. Although it has a certain dramatic vigour and colour which should be preserved, it is limited in range and control. Real participation in a democratic society requires of individuals a much more critical awareness both of the nature of the society and their own relation to it and therefore the acquiring of a much more elaborate linguistic code.

Structurally, this book is intelligent and successful. In addition it has a theme which is plausible and important. Where it is less successful is in its detailed treatment of some of the topics. Particularly in the chapter on Language and Thought, I felt the presentation was hurried and superficial and here I could instance the brief mention of the views of Skinner and C. E. Osgood. Perhaps Dr Lawton was constrained by the length of the book and in that case it might have been better to give more coverage to fewer opinions. Nevertheless, the breadth of reference will be most valuable to students of this subject. Although it is possibly more substantial in conception than execution, it is to my knowledge the best documented account of the area of Bernstein's work yet to be published.

DAVID HAY

THE ELEVENTH HOUR. EXPLOSION OF A CHURCH, by François Houtart, edited by Mary Ann Chouteau, with an introduction by Harvey Cox. *Burns and Oates*, London. 192 pp. 30s.

At a time when the standpoint of the 'hopeful progressives' seems to have suffered a very great

setback, this interesting book has a lot to offer. Written by a Belgian sociologist with an