

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

intimate knowledge of the workings of the Council and a particularly wide experience of many countries and communities, this book looks at the lag between institutional structures and the evolution and development of values in the Church in recent years.

The theme is not a new one but this analysis presented by a prolific writer who has pioneered social research into the Church's organization in a number of countries, notably, of course, his own, is clear and illuminating. Apart from the use of sociological terms which are clearly explained, its simplicity and directness make it suitable for a wide variety of readers. Compiled originally for pastors, it has a lot to offer to all who are concerned with what form new structures in the Church might take. It is spiced with personal insights, some of which

can be taken as cautionary tales against freezing evolving values too promptly in new structures that in turn act as restricting forces.

Edited from lectures Canon Hourtart gave at the Pastoral Institute for Priests in the States in 1966 and completed from notes from a congress given at Louvain, the book can be criticized for the fact that one is continually conscious that it is a collection of lectures and the breeziness of style which would no doubt be refreshing to listen to jars a little in reading. More editing, incorporating references, for instance, would have added to the value of the book. At 30s. it is also expensive and one wonders why it was not produced as a paperback which would have stood a chance of getting the wide readership it deserves.

JOAN BROTHERS

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF FAMILY PSYCHIATRY, by John G. Howells. *Oliver and Boyd*. 9 gns.

One is hesitant to sit in judgment over Dr Howells. He has been practising psychiatry for very many years, and has established, with great tenacity and organizing power, a unit of 'family psychiatry'; one has no doubt that his unit has great success, and that as a clinician he is respected as a successful pioneer.

Howells claims that 'individual psychiatry' is obsolete: that the individual psychotic or neurotic is merely a symptom of a sick family: he is the 'presenting member'. Diagnosis and treatment must be not of the individual, for this is to collude with the family's scapegoating procedure, by which he is designated as ill, but of the family as a whole. There is little doubt that this is very often true; as a hospital psychiatrist one has to spend many hours in 'group therapy' for example, where the members of the group are a variegated and miscellaneous lot of other patients, who happen to be in the hospital at the same time. This is hardly a group at all, but a haphazard collection of individuals thrown together. How much more incisive and rewarding, and how much more potentially explosive and threatening, would the group be if it was composed of simply the members of the 'patient's' family. This is particularly true when many patients in hospital are wives separated from their husbands, children who are beyond the control of their parents, women who resent the marriages of their children, or senile people who overtax their children and make them feel guilty of neglect. This is a simple truth, which is all too seldom acted upon.

However, there are practical difficulties. To hold two therapeutic groups a week is about all the time a psychiatrist can afford if he is also working in admitting patients, in ward rounds, in community meetings, in individual interviews. If each patient in the group turned out to generate another group, the psychiatrist's work would be multiplied about twelve times. This seems a very ambitious project. However, Dr Howells is an ambitious man. Somewhere in his book he estimated that about 30 per cent of the population require psychiatric treatment. This smacks of empire building. It may be true. But who is going to carry this out? And who is going to treat the psychiatrists?

What is true in Dr Howells' book is not utterly new. The importance of the family has been well recognized for at least twenty years, as many of the papers he quotes in his encyclopaedic work demonstrate. Dr Howells gives the impression of trying to corner the market in family psychiatry, as if he had invented it. But every psychiatric hospital already employs Mental Welfare Officers and Psychiatric Social Workers, whose job it is to interview the families, in their homes. Dr Howells makes a plea for greater liaison between the MWO and PSW in practice, and few would disagree with this. All too often only lip service is paid to family dynamics: they are a kind of ornate flourish to the diagnosis, before the patient is treated with electricity or drugs. (There is a lot of double-think that goes on among psychiatrists.)

Stylistically, Dr Howells has a lot to answer