

The authors discuss a range of contradictory findings from the data. The voices of workers in the academy frequently reveal the extent to which new discourses of productivity and laziness and performance indicators for effectiveness have been internalized, with career success seen by many as still the result of hard work, ability and commitment to corporate goals. On the other hand, many informants were critical of the constructed nature of success and were particularly irritated by the low status awarded to excellence in teaching compared to research. In their terms, success was a result of selfish, self-aggrandizing strategic operations. The authors conclude that gender constructs patterns of academic and managerial success.

The authors observe that one of the most distressing costs of the corporate university is an apparent lack of respect for staff. By asking the question about how the quality of academic working life can be more satisfying, the authors support the reader to gain some critical and emotional distance on what have become normalized and internalized neo-liberal values and practices in many parts of the academy.

REFERENCES

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CHARLES MORDEN LEVI. *Comings and Goings: University students in Canadian society, 1854-1973*. Montreal & Kingston. London. Ithica: McGill-Queen's University Press (2003). 172 pp. \$65.00. (ISBN 0-7735-2442-8).

Independent scholar Charles Morden Levi has successfully converted his Ph.D. dissertation and his experience as senior researcher at the University of Toronto History Project into a compact little book with a curious title, *Comings and Goings*. In 104 pages of text, 20 pages of tables, plus notes, bibliography and index, Levi details the demographic backgrounds and post-graduate careers of certain students of University College of the University of Toronto. His research sample is a large one, focusing on 1,876 former officers of the Literary and Athletic Society (The Lit) as well as the Women's Literary Society (WLS) and its successor, the Women's Undergraduate Society (WUS). His time-frame, stretching over a century, is divided into four periods: 1854-90, 1891-1921, 1922-58 and 1958-73. His laudable intent is to fill a gap in the history of Canadian higher education, "an effort to make students the centre of the story" (p.xii).

Levi attempts the daunting task of situating the students of each cohort into the social context of their time and analyzing differences in the experiences of male and female students. This involves recognition of the changing

nature of the university as an institution, the increasing complexity of Canadian society, the declining status of religion, the development of technology and the multiplication of career choices. It is a major research project which Levi rigorously pursues despite “missing early census records and cold trails in the British Isles” (p.14). His diligence allows him to revise some old assumptions and challenge accepted truths. For example, he can show that the traditional view of 19th century University College students as the “unhewn products” of Ontario farmers is not supported by the evidence – rather, they were the sons of clergymen, politicians, lawyers, merchants and men of many other callings and, rather than returning to the farms, they embarked almost entirely on professional careers in Toronto. He says, “One figure stands out: fifty-eight Toronto lawyers, half the numbers of lawyers, stayed in Toronto ten years after graduation”. He follows with the striking conclusion that “the history of the early days of the Literary and Scientific Society is the history of the Toronto Bar” (p.17).

One of the attractive aspects of Levi’s heavily statistical study is the occasional foray into anomalies. For example, he reveals that not all Law graduates were successful in their careers and that one, unable to find a suitable position, became bursar of the Toronto Lunatic Asylum where “too close proximity to the inmates drove him to suicide” (p.21). He later discloses that one lawyer was debarred and one clergyman defrocked.

According to Levi, there are no generally accepted assumptions about the social origins of the second cohort of students (1891-1921). The most striking feature of this period, he says, is the decline in the number whose fathers were clergymen and the significant increase in those who were academics and businessmen. Further, there was no longer such a concentration on one profession for the male graduates but there was a “bewildering array of possible careers” for “those wishing to promote the prosperity and advancement of Canada as a modern, industrial nation” (p.52).

From this reviewer’s point of view, one of the most important things about Levi’s second period was the appearance on campus of women students in 1884 – the same year that women were admitted to McGill. Relatively few statistics were collected on these early women students at University College and Levi found himself “dealing with a vast area of silence” (p. 54). Consequently, he relied to some extent on the work of other historians of other Canadian institutions of higher learning. However, he managed to locate the admission forms of 87 of the 211 women officers of the WLS and WUA and found at least one significant difference between those and the men’s. In 42 cases (almost half of the forms found) “intended occupation” was left blank – a very rare phenomenon on the male side. The obvious career for women, even for college graduates, was still assumed to be marriage and the only other assured occupation was teaching. However, univer-

sity programs were not designed for marriage and prejudice toward (or even fear of) highly educated women resulted in low matrimonial statistics. Only 124 of 211 WIS and WUA women were known to have married by the time they were 60. Women students were both restricted in their choice of careers and limited in the courses they could take and in the degree to which they could participate in the extra-curricular life on campus. Levi comments sympathetically, "The combination of lower expectations and reduced choice of study was a dual attack that none of the male students had to face" (p.57).

Because women graduates are hard to trace and because there were relatively few published obituaries of women, the silence continues. Evaluation of their accomplishments and their direct or indirect contributions to society becomes all but impossible. Levi acknowledges that "the great unknown question of this analysis is to what extent these women were responsible for their husbands' success" (p. 61). It is to his credit that he even raises this question.

Unlike the first cohort which Levi considered "national" in origin, the third cluster of students (1922-1958) came mainly from Toronto. Law was still their favourite field (21% became judges vs 13% for the previous cohort), but these graduates formed a new generation of managers, businessmen and politicians (including cabinet ministers). The role of The Lit in preparation for leadership was less obvious as graduates filtered into new fields such as life insurance and the media. While some members of the WUA managed to break into hitherto restricted professions during the 50's, many barriers remained unyielding to women until the next of Levi's periods (1959-1973). This was "the dawning of the Age of Aquarius," the time of student unrest, the expansion of curricula, the democratization of university governance and the beginnings of Women's Liberation (exemplified by women's admission in 1972 to the previously impregnable male bastion, Hart House).

In his brief Conclusion, Levi deftly summarizes some of the differences between the Canada of his first cohort and of the last, its transformation from a rural to an urban society. He reminds the reader of the changes in the origins, family background and religions of the students and the differences in their post-graduate careers. His concluding sentence, "I hope that this book has shown that the comings and goings [of students] are as important, if not more so, than the time spent in between." (p. 104). While this hope might seem to belittle the significance of the academic experience by reducing it to "the time spent in between," it at least explains the curious title of the book.

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