

# Dimensions of Newfoundland Society and Education

Volume 1

Edited by

Amarjit Singh

Ishmael J. Baksh

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Memorial University of Newfoundland

**DIMENSIONS OF NEWFOUNDLAND SOCIETY AND EDUCATION**

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## CONTENTS

Preface . . . . .	x-xi
Introduction . . . . .	xii
Acknowledgment . . . . .	xiii

## VOLUME I

### **PART I: Society and Education - Reports, Theses and Research**

1. Criticism As Educational Research L. Brown . . . . .	1-6
2. How to Manage or Make Sense of Recent Reports and Documents on the Quality of Schooling (Part I) A. Singh . . . . .	7-24
3. Social Theory, Political Practice and Experts - Making Sense of the Reports on the Quality of Schooling (Part II) A. Singh . . . . .	25-36
4. An Opportunity Missed? The Report on the Presidential Committee to Review Teacher Education P. McCann . . . . .	37-39
5. The Royal Commission Report on Teacher Education - A Response L. Brown . . . . .	40-42
6. Twelve Papers for CDAS W.J. Gushue . . . . .	43-49
7. School District Boundaries Revisited: Report of the Task Force on Integrated School District Boundaries C. Roebothan & P. Warren . . . . .	50-56
8. Report of the Small Schools Study Project F. Riggs & Associates . . . . .	57-68
9. Academic Success and Failure: Final Report to NTA Executive B.A. LeMoine, J. Matchim, J. Gedge, M. Vokey & Associates . . . . .	69-79
10. List of Master of Education Theses and Field Studies In the Faculty of Education; 1976 to 1987 A. Singh . . . . .	80-108

**PART II: Denomination Education**

11.	Where Once We Feared to Tread: Examination of the Denominational Education System W. Russell . . . . .	110-116
12.	Public Attitudes Toward the Interdenominational Sharing of Educational Facilities and Services J.W. Bulcock . . . . .	117-129
13.	Denominational and Teacher Right: An Update on Recurrent Conflict R. Magsino . . . . .	130-136
14.	Denominational Education Revisited R. Magsino . . . . .	137-143
15.	The Future of Interdenominational Cooperative in Education: Is There One A. Ponder . . . . .	144-147
16.	Denominational Education at Any Cost? A. Ponder . . . . .	148-150
17.	The Growth of the Joint Service School in Newfoundland: The Traditionalist - Modernist Conflict A.J. Harte . . . . .	151-158

**PART III: Dropout**

18.	Contrasting Consequences of Students' Orientations to Schooling W.B.W. Martin & I.J. Baksh . . . . .	160-168
19.	Commentary on "Leaving Early" L. Phillips-Riggs . . . . .	169-172
20.	Social Work in the Schools - A Response To "Leaving Early" C. Lundy & M. Campbell . . . . .	173-177
21.	Sociology of Education: A Social Psychological Approach to Early School Leaving A. Singh & I.J. Baksh . . . . .	178-183
22.	Leaving Early: A Critique L Brown . . . . .	184-188

23.	'Ontario Study of the Relevance of Education and the Issue of Dropout': A Response A. Collins .....	189-191
-----	---	---------

**PART IV: Language Studies**

24.	Language Study in the High School L. Brown .....	193-199
25.	Bilingual Education in Newfoundland J.E. Netten & W.H. Spain .....	200-207
26.	The Dictionary of Newfoundland English W.P. McCann .....	208-210
27.	Paradigmatic - Syntagmatic Oral Language Development M.C. Glassman .....	211-217
28.	A Language Perspective for Teachers J. Matchim .....	218-221

**PART V: Reading and Teaching Strategies**

29.	Reading, Teaching Strategies and Student Learning A. Ponder .....	223-226
30.	Teaching Inference Strategies in Reading Comprehension L.M. Phillips .....	227-229
31.	Teaching and Resources: More Than Talk and Chalk - Part 1: Expectations J. Brown .....	230-237
32.	Is the Answer Sufficient Indication of Reading Comprehension L.M. Phillips .....	238-243
33.	Teaching and Resources: More Than Talk and Chalk - Part II: Reality and Conclusions J. Brown .....	244-255

**PART VI: Special Education**

34.	The Role of the British Council in Supporting Canadian Efforts in Special Education L.D. Karagianis & W. Nesbit . . . . .	257-261
35.	Employability and the Mentally Handicapped Adolescent H. Karagianis & W. Nesbit . . . . .	262-269

**PART VII: Other Issues**

36.	Deciding Whom to Believe S.P. Norris & R. King . . . . .	271-278
37.	The Child Centred Group P. Wright . . . . .	279-285
38.	Outdoor and Environmental Education in Newfoundland and Labrador G. Flynn . . . . .	286-287
39.	Hierarchies Revisited I.T. McMaster . . . . .	288-294
40.	The Concept of Multiculturalism Among Students in St. John's M. Yu . . . . .	295-304
41.	Multicultural Education: Natural Partner for Social Studies M. Yu . . . . .	305-309
42.	Education: A Valuable Commodity W. Kennedy . . . . .	310-314
43.	Kindergarten Readiness P.J. Dawe . . . . .	315-319
44.	Newfoundland Child Day Care Program Social Services . . . . .	320-324
45.	In Search of A Critical Pedagogy C. Doyle . . . . .	325-329
46.	A Foundation for Critical Aesthetic Education C. Doyle . . . . .	330-336

47.	Drama Education Rehearsing for the Future F. Hawksley . . . . .	337-345
48.	Storytelling and the Religious Imagination: An Approach to Religious Education A. Collins . . . . .	346-349
49.	Guidance, Counselling and Psychotherapy: The Same Or Different? W. Kennedy . . . . .	350-364
50.	Book Review W.P. McCann . . . . .	365-366
51.	Ability Grouping: Some Recent Literature I.J. Baksh . . . . .	367-372
52.	Regional Variation in Occupational Prestige: The Case of Newfoundland M. Fagan & A. Ponder . . . . .	373-380
53.	Perceptions of the Newfoundland and Labrador High School Reorganization S.P. Norris . . . . .	381-387

**VOLUME II**

**PART VIII: Social Organization of the School**

**A. The School**

54.	Equality of Access to Post-Secondary Education in Newfoundland and Labrador G.L. Parsons . . . . .	389-393
55.	Manpower Policies for the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador in the Eighties M.A. Choudhary . . . . .	394-398
56.	Managerial Effectiveness and Sex Role Stereotyping A. Ponder, J. Fagan, & R. Blagdon . . . . .	399-406
57.	Our School: Parent Perception B.J. Croskery . . . . .	407-415
58.	How Time Is Used in Elementary School Classrooms R.K Crocker . . . . .	416-424

59.	Policy Development by Newfoundland School Boards: Political or Otherwise D.L.. Treslan & G.J. Tremblett . . . . .	425-428
60.	Decision Making: How Effective Is It - Really? D.L.. Treslan & B.A. Lemoine . . . . .	429-433
61.	Expectations and Experiences of Study and Performance in the Transition from Elementary to Junior High School M. Cluett . . . . .	434-439
62.	Report on the National Film Board/Educator's Forum on Women's Studies in Secondary School National Film Board . . . . .	440-441
63.	The Use of Class Time D. Hodder & T. Boak . . . . .	442-449
64.	Education Control Shifts in the Atlantic Provinces - Confirmation and Surprise D.L.. Treslan . . . . .	450-463
65.	Constructing Relationships with School J. Gedge . . . . .	464-474
66.	Small Secondary Schools: Making Better Use of Distance Education A.J. Harte . . . . .	475-479
67.	Legal Considerations In School Board - Student Relationships J. Cooze . . . . .	480-488

**B. The Teachers and Administrators in the School**

68.	Factors Influencing the Career Aspirations of Female Educational Administrators in Newfoundland and Labrador M.V. Guy . . . . .	489-498
69.	Educational Administrators: An Introspective on Perception or An Attack on "Common Sense" R.L. Ryan . . . . .	499-506
70.	Our School: Teacher Perceptions B.J. Croskery . . . . .	507-512
71.	Getting Along With Teachers W.B.W. Martin . . . . .	513-524



72.	Teachers' Perception of Children's Academic Potential in Newfoundland A. Singh & I.J. Baksh . . . . .	525-529
73.	Organizational Structure and Effectiveness: Perceptions of Classroom Teachers V.J. Snelgrove & D. Wheeler . . . . .	530-538
74.	Teachers' Perception of Parents' Interest in Their Children's Education and in Teachers' Ideas in Some Newfoundland Communities A. Singh & I.J. Baksh . . . . .	539-546
75.	Perceptions of Principal's Authority Bases D.L. Treslan & J.J. Ryan . . . . .	547-560
76.	An Investigation of Five Rumours Concerning Initial Teacher Employment in Newfoundland L. Williams & J. Covert . . . . .	561-567
77.	Attitudes of Pentecostal Teachers in Newfoundland Toward Impasse Strategies in Collective Bargaining D. Rideout . . . . .	568-574
78.	Teacher Evaluation: Bridging the Gap Between Theory and Practice G.A. Hickman . . . . .	575-584
79.	What Co-operative Teachers Appreciate Most and Least in Student Teachers L.E. Williams & R.R. Kelleher . . . . .	585-591
80.	Leave Patterns Among the Teachers of Newfoundland and Labrador A. Ponder & J. Bulcock . . . . .	592-601
81.	Professional Collective Bargaining in Public Education - Some Unresolved Issues V.J. Snelgrove . . . . .	602-605
82.	The Principal and Teachers: Sharing Leadership William Kennedy . . . . .	606-609

**C. The Students in the School**

83.	Student Perceptions of the Revised High School Program R.K. Crocker . . . . .	610-618
84.	Our School: Student Perceptions B.J. Croskery . . . . .	619-625

85.	High School Students' Critical Thinking R. King & S.P. Norris . . . . .	626-633
86.	Student Promotion Policy in Newfoundland – Agreement or Confusion D.L. Treslan & C.P. Coombs . . . . .	634-638
87.	Student Rights in A New Era R. Magsino . . . . .	639-644
88.	Harlow in Retrospect: Reactions of the First Group of Student Teachers R.R. Kelleher & L.E. Williams . . . . .	645-651
89.	Student Teaching - Apprentice or Intern J.R. Covert . . . . .	652-656
90.	First Year Performance of Recent High School Graduates In the Chemistry Program at Memorial University of Newfoundland P. Fisher . . . . .	657-669
91.	Students' Views On the Availability of Help from Their Teachers I.J. Baksh & W.B.W. Martin . . . . .	670-677
92.	What Student Teachers Appreciate Most and Least About Cooperating Teachers L. Williams & R. Kelleher . . . . .	678-688
93.	Monotony and Passivity: Student Views of Teaching in Atlantic Canada I.J. Baksh & W.B.W. Martin . . . . .	689-694
94.	The Employment of Substitute Teachers: Some Emerging Patterns in Teacher Absenteeism in Newfoundland A. Ponder . . . . .	695-698
95.	Seeking and Accepting Students' Opinion W.B.W. Martin & I.J. Baksh . . . . .	699-702
96.	Student Perceptions of the Professional Year School Experience A. Collins, R. Kelleher & L Williams . . . . .	703-707
97.	Student and Taxpayer Equity J. Cooze . . . . .	708-712

98.	The Academic Standing of Education Students at Memorial University L.P. Mendoza & J.W. Bulcock . . . . .	713-727
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## PREFACE

This anthology, the third in a series, consists of articles which have been published in The Morning Watch over the eight-year period 1982-1990 (i.e., Vol. 10, Nos. 1-2, 1982 to Vol. 18, Nos. 1-2, 1990). Vol. 11, Nos. 3-4, was never published. The first anthology appeared in 1977 under the title Society, Culture and Schooling: Issues and Analysis, and it contained most of the articles which originally appeared in various issues of The Morning Watch from 1973 to 1977. The second anthology was published in 1982 in two volumes, with the title Society and Education in Newfoundland, and contained articles that had appeared in The Morning Watch in the five years from 1977 to 1982 (i.e., Vol. 5, Nos. 1-2, 1977 to Vol. 9, Nos. 3-4, 1982).

A few words about the origin, history, purpose and orientation of The Morning Watch may be of some interest to readers. In this connection, we quote from the preface to Society and Education in Newfoundland.

Dr. W.J. Gushue, a former Head of the Department of Educational Foundations, was instrumental in helping with launching of The Morning Watch. Publication commenced in 1973 and has continued through the Committee on Publications, Faculty of Education, Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland.

Dr. Gushue, in introducing The Morning Watch to readers, remarked that "... The birth of The Morning Watch is explained by the somewhat rapid awakening of the Newfoundland consciousness. Indeed, that fact is reflected in the title of the journal, in that it is The Morning Watch that precedes a new day – a new and better era for Newfoundland and its people.

From the very beginning there has been no doubt in the minds of the editors that The Morning Watch exists in the main for the teachers of Newfoundland and Labrador...

Over the period of seventeen years, faculty members from various formal departments in the Faculty of Education and from other faculties of the University have written articles for The Morning Watch. Some submissions from people in schools in the province have also been published.

The orientation of this journal remains the same. It is stated as follows:

Social scientists and educators often use jargon and tedious language while commenting on the complex interaction among society, culture and schooling. The editorial policy of The Morning Watch has urged, and still urges, contributors to write with as much simplicity and clarity as possible without foregoing the 'respectable' level of sophistication required for social and cultural analysis. It was felt that there was need to introduce and explain to a specific audience in the province - students, teachers, supervisors, superintendents, members of school boards and the general public - some of the major social science concepts and perspectives that are often used in analyzing social, cultural, political, economic and educational problems and in formulating policies pertaining to such problems. How well each contributor has met such objectives is evident in

the articles included in this book. Also, by exposing her/his ideas, each individual writer has taken the risk of being critically evaluated by others. Hopefully, some of the ideas presented in the articles will initiate dialogue among students, teachers and others regarding pressing social and educational problems in the province and elsewhere. Readers are therefore invited to read these articles critically, to raise questions that are not raised in them and to develop perspectives of their own which may help them understand the larger problems associated with the survival of human beings in today's interdependent world and the relationship of such problems to the individual's everyday life-style wherever she/he might live. This larger perspective on education and society makes sense too as because Newfoundland Society and Culture are going through rapid transformation under the impact of economic and technological forces..."

Recently, some changes have taken place at both a micro and a macro level. At the micro level, for example, the Faculty of Education was re-organized, in September of this year, under the impact of the Hardy Report. Also, a new President, Dr. Arthur May, has been appointed at the University. At the macro level, the Hibernia deal was signed and the province is still waiting for the flow of oil from the off-shore oil deposits. Re-organization of fisheries and related issues are still being discussed. We still do not fully understand the implications of the death of the Meech Lake Accord for Canada and the province. Citizens need to understand fully the implications of the GST (Goods and Services Tax): How does it affect their individual lives? How does it affect the provincial economy? Should we, without any questioning, restructure our system of education within the framework of current economic thought? Or should there be some resistance? Lately, the denominational system of education has again come under critical scrutiny. Soon this province will have a report by the Royal Commission and Inquiry on the Delivery of Programs and Services in Primary, Elementary, and Secondary Education. Hopefully, the Commission will deal with questions such as: To what extent has our present denominational system of education contributed to the maintenance of moral capital? How far has the present system of education in Newfoundland effectively counteracted the corrosive effect of individualistic self-interest on the moral context of the community? It is hoped that many articles written in future for The Morning Watch will analyze the role of these new forces in the educational and social arena.

Amarjit Singh  
Ishmael J. Baksh

St. John's  
January, 1991

## INTRODUCTION

This is a third anthology, containing articles from The Morning Watch during the period of 1982-1990. It has two volumes: Volume I consists of Parts I to VII, and Volume II contains Part VIII. In Volume I Parts I and II contain articles dealing with larger issues pertaining to Society and Education, issues such as: quality of education, relationship between research in educational and social change, denominational system of education and other similar issues. Part III, deals with the issue of Dropout as it relates to schooling in Newfoundland Society. In Part IV, the focus is on Language Studies. In Part V, issues related to Reading and Teaching Strategies are discussed and analyzed. Part VI covers material on Special Education. Part VII includes discussions on various other issues pertaining to schooling in our society. Finally, Part VIII, in Volume II, focuses on the Social Organization of The School. This part is divided into three sections: (a) The School, (b) The Teachers and Administrators in the School, and (c) The Students in the School.

Amarjit Singh  
Ishmael J. Baksh

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We wish to thank all the authors who have contributed to The Morning Watch since its inception in 1973, particularly those who have written for it more recently. We sincerely hope that others will also decide to contribute to The Morning Watch in future as our society and culture encounters oil-related and other changes. It is also obvious that the Morning Watch cannot exist without the backing of the Committee on Publications, Faculty of Education, Memorial University, and we are very grateful to the Committee for its support.

Finally, as we have already said, any work of this kind requires collaboration, cooperation, commitment in terms of time, energy and morale and, above all, the understanding of various people. We wish to thank all the previous Dean's of the Faculty of Education (Dr. George Hickman, Dr. George Ivany, Dean Brose Paddock and Dr. Leslie Karagianis) and the present Dean, Dr. Bob Crocker, for their generous support. We also extend thanks to the heads of the former departments in the Faculty, all of whom have been very encouraging and helpful in diverse ways. Special thanks are due to Bill Griffin, who designed the cover, to the Memorial University of Newfoundland Printing Services and to the staff in the General Office in the Education Building.

If there is any merit in this anthology, the credit is due to all these people. However, the editors bear the sole responsibility for any shortcomings which this anthology might have.

Amarjit Singh  
Ishmael J. Baksh

**PART 1**

**SOCIETY AND EDUCATION – REPORTS, THESES AND RESEARCH**



## CRITICISM AS EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

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Department of Curriculum and Instruction

Educational research, though it is gradually changing, is still mainly identified with empirical, quantitative inquiry. Much of this quantitative research, though done for the benefit of classroom teachers, is largely ignored by them. It is so because it is almost unreadable and ignores the educational context. As Graves (1984) points out in his essay on language research, because the scientific model of research ignores context, teachers find it unhelpful in their teaching. It seems unrelated to them; and they cannot, he concludes, see “their schools, classrooms, or children in the data” (p. 93).

Are there not other forms of inquiry that can produce important insights into education and that can be more meaningful than the scientific model is to teachers? I believe there are, and the purpose of this paper is to discuss one such form.

Eisner (1979), in considering the nature of educational research, writes:

Although teaching is frequently referred to as an art, and although in our vernacular we recognize the artistic aspects of educational practice – the beautiful lesson, the exciting discussion, the well made point, the elegant exposition – when it comes to our attempts to describe or understand educational practice, criticism is almost never appealed to as a possible method or approach (p. 192).

In the remainder of this paper I shall discuss criticism as a possible method for the study of education.

### WHAT IS CRITICISM

I do not mean by “criticism” fault-finding or negative judgement. I use the term here as it is used to describe the practice of literary critics, whose purpose, as critics, is to help readers learn how to read well. They attempt to elucidate the work, to realize its meaning, and in doing so they hope to cultivate in the reader a more refined perception and a fuller response to the work.

Criticism has three components, all related but for purposes of discussion treated here as if they were separate. The three components are analysis, interpretation and evaluation.

#### Analysis

This aspect of criticism asks, what is the nature of the work? What are its parts? How are they put together to form a whole? Two points need to be made here about analysis. First, this aspect of criticism is valuable only insofar as it focuses on those features of the work that are significant, that bring out attention to its primary concerns. For example, we could study Thomas Hardy’s *The Return of the Native* by focussing on its setting or by counting the chapters and words in the book. It is not that the latter is wrong, it is just that it is irrelevant to our understanding of the book as an expression of

meaning. Second, it should be pointed out that analysis is not abstract and general. It is specific, draws on the work, quotes from the work, thus allowing the reader, to a degree, to participate in the work. This going to the work also forms the basis of critics' interpretation and evaluation. It allows the reader to judge the adequacy and completeness of their response. To say this is to say that the work is not just the critics' creation. It has an objective reality, and critics' response to it, their construing of it, must have its basis in the work. As Eisner (1979) points out, it is in this sense that criticism is empirical; "the qualities the critic describes... must be capable of being located in the subject matter of the criticism" (p. 191).<sup>1</sup>

### **Interpretation**

This aspect of criticism asks such questions as, what is the meaning of the work? In what way do the parts contribute to the meaning? What patterns are there? In what way do the parts contribute to the meaning? What patterns are there? How is the work related to other works? The critics' approach to such questions is open-ended. They bring to the work, it is true, their tacitly held knowledge – their knowledge of literature, literary theory, language, philosophy, psychology – but not a predetermined system of analysis. Their tacitly held knowledge helps them to understand, and disclose the meaning of the work – that is, what the surface structure of the work (form events, patterns) points to. Critics are always concerned with meaning. As already pointed out, they are not concerned with the number of words in a poem, the thickness of a novel, or the size of the print used, because these don't contribute to their understanding of the work; they don't reveal the meaning of the work. The business of critics, then, is to look for patterns of coherence, patterns that give discrete actions, images, events significance. They will do this by examining the internal workings (structure, symbol, style) of the work as well as by connecting the work with others of its kind, recognizing it as a part of a larger whole, a larger "verbal universe". However, it should be pointed out here that while critics are interested in particulars, they are no reductionists. The purpose of their discussion of particulars is not to identify or quantify them, but to help readers to articulate, enrich and refine their experience of the work. Second, they do not deal with particulars in isolation; instead they attempt to crystalize their relationships to each other and their contribution to the total meaning. Critics recognize that to focus solely on particulars is likely to efface the meaning of the whole; they therefore attend, as Polanyi (1975, p. 80) says, from particulars to their joint meaning, which is their main focus of attention. However, they are always aware of the distinctive contribution of each particular to the whole. Furthermore, when they identify the work as linked to other works, as a part of a larger literary whole, they do not lose sight of the individual work. They see it as a part of a pattern, but they always appreciate and cherish its uniqueness, its distinctive meaning. There is, then, always a fine balance between knowledge of particulars and knowledge of the whole to which they contribute.

### **Evaluation**

Critics evaluate, judge what they have described and interpreted. They evaluate but they do not measure. They have no tool of measurement which they apply from the outside, no developed rules for arriving at a judgement. As Leavis (1964, p. 32) says,

The critic's aim is, first, to realize as sensitively and completely as possible this or that which claims his attention; and a certain valuing is implicit in the

realizing. As he matures in experience of the new thing he asks, explicitly and implicitly: "Where does this come? How does it stand in relation to...? How relatively important does it seem?"

In this debate with themselves, critics develop, not a measuring instrument but "an active informing principle" for evaluating. The critics' evaluation is personal because it is theirs and not another's; but it is not merely personal. It is, as Leavis (1975, p. 33) again points out, the "product of...collaborative creativity" and claims to be universally valid, to be the truth about the work. Leavis (1975) writes that the form of this collaborative creativity is

"This is so, isn't it? The question asking for a confirmation that the thing is so, but prepared for an answer in the form "yes, but..." the "but" standing for corrections, refinements, precision, amplifications (p. 35).

The critics' interpretation and evaluation are likely to be subjective and partial but, because they invite the "yes, but...", they are collaborative and keep alive critical inquiry, encourage creative intelligence. In this way thinking becomes refined, and truth about the work more nearly reached, and understanding of it advanced.

## **OBJECTIONS**

Some educators might express some objection to criticism as research. They might ask: Is the knowledge generated by such research objective? Is it valid? Is it generalizable? This section will deal briefly with these three questions.

### **Are the Findings of Criticism Objective?**

What is objective knowledge? It is what is discovered about an object of event external to us, when the aim of our study is not to reveal ourselves – feelings, egos – but to understand the object. However, we must not be so naive as to assume that we will ever discover the way that an object or event is, directly, uncontaminated by human thought and perception. Even in empirical work there is some subjectivity. For example, the presence of the observer may change what is studied, or the instrument used may distort the object under study. Furthermore, as Bronowski (1965) concludes, "what the human mind makes of sense data... is always a created thing" (p. 33). It is true that we may conduct some research that seems at least to be more objective than some other, because it calls for less intervention by the perceiving and thinking subject. For instance, we may count the number of minutes spent per week on spelling instruction, and we may correlate the total number of minutes with a score on a spelling test to determine the effect of instructional time. The procedure allows us to achieve a considerable measure of objectivity, but it ignores what to the educational critic is central, namely, what occurred during the instructional time. The critic is interested in describing, interpreting, evaluating the events that actually took place. This act is subjective because it is by a subject; but it is not merely subjective, because it is about an object, an aspect of reality. And as we have already seen, it is not just personal because it claims to be universally valid and is open to and invites public criticism, such interpretative criticism, then, if it is done well, will be as objective as the work of some scientists, such as Jung or Darwin, whose findings, like the critic's, have been based on a "critical reading" of some aspect of the world.

### **Are the Findings of Criticism Valid?**

Though it may be difficult to demonstrate the validity of the knowledge generated by criticism, it is always possible to show that it is more than an expression of taste, more than mere self assertion. Sound critical inquiry will have the following characteristics, characteristics that may not prove validity, but that certainly suggest it. Criticism should:

1. Exhibit sound reasoning. The path of reasoning should be clear – from fact to interpretation. These two – fact and interpretation – should corroborate each other.
2. Supply evidence to support conclusions. The evidence should be complete, not just selected to prove a case.
3. Refine perception and increase understanding. For example, Northrop Frye's theory of archetypal criticism gives significance to individual images, patterns, motifs by linking them to archetypal, universal images, patterns, motifs. In this way particulars are made more meaningful, more intelligible.
4. Accord with other relevant ideas. For instance, researchers of the language of young children have discovered that they do not, unlike adults, revise their work carefully to make their ideas clearer for the reader. This finding is supported by Piaget's theory of egocentricity. Being egocentric, young children have no strong sense of audience, and see no need to clarify their ideas.<sup>2</sup>

### **Are the Findings of Criticism Generalizable?**

In empirical studies the researcher makes generalizations about a whole population based on data derived from a limited representative sample. In fact, the researcher is interested only in those aspects that are common to the whole population, and ignores the peculiar, the uncommon. The researcher as critic, however, is primarily interested in individual works, in their uniqueness. That is not to say that (s)he has no interest in making generalizations. (S)He will generalize when (s)he sees the general in the specific; when (s)he sees, after many analyses, similar themes, images, patterns. However, even here, (s)he is also interested in the variations within the similar, in the author's peculiar use of a common theme, or a familiar pattern. There is, then, revealed in the work of the critic this double aspect, an interest in the unique as well as the universal, in the original and the common.

A final point needs to be made about the role of readers in generalizability. When they encounter the interpretation of the critic, they are free to accept or reject or modify it on the basis of their own knowledge and experience. In this process readers are generalizing to their own experiences, arguing or disagreeing to the degree that the critic's findings accord with these experiences. Generalizations are, then, not just made for the readers, they make their own.

### **Conclusions**

What would be some of the qualities of educational research if it were approached as criticism? It would:

1. Attempt to create the experience of the event studied. It would do this by describing, making specific references to, and including quotations from the event (if it is a verbal one).<sup>3</sup>
2. Emphasize the total context. The positivist focuses only on the phenomenon; the critic is concerned with the phenomenon in its context and its purposive use in the context.
3. Emphasize the unique as well as the common.
4. Recognize the voice of the researcher. It would be written in language with a human face (concrete, specific, personal), a language that complements what it delineates, one that teachers can respond to.
5. Emphasize the search for meaning, be concerned with the deep structures which the surface structures point to. It would look for clues from which meaning could be construed.
6. Be concerned not just with an accumulation of instances but with their nature, and their significance in the whole.
7. Emphasize an open-ended, flexible approach to analysis. It would call for preparedness, but not for a strict measuring device that would prohibit deviation. The critic makes use of an informing principle (not an external measuring device) that allows him to make use of what he finds.
8. Emphasize a close examination of individual events. The case study would be an example.<sup>4</sup>
9. Be evaluative (based on the researcher's knowledge of philosophy, psychology, etc.). The evidence and the philosophical bases for the evaluation would be clear, and the critic would welcome critical response.

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#### FOOTNOTES

1. See also Louise Rosenblatt's **The Reader, the Text, the Poem**, especially chapter 2, "The Poem as Event", for further discussion of this point.
2. See Gail McCutcheon (1981, p. 8) for a fuller discussion of these points.
3. Here I differ from Eisner (1977) who sees educational criticism as an art form. See Barnes (1982) as an example which illustrates my point.
4. See Janet Emig's, **the Composing Process of Twelfth Graders** (1971).

## HOW TO MANAGE OR MAKE SENSE OF RECENT REPORTS AND DOCUMENTS ON THE QUALITY OF SCHOOLING

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### **Introduction**

Policy makers, researchers, experts of different types, as well as educators and citizens take some pride in calling themselves realists, pragmatists, existentialists, reconstructionists, essentialists, perennialists or something else. It seems that underlying this pride is the fact that both experts and citizens, consciously or unconsciously, are trying to choose a philosophy or a discipline which will allow them to define "truth" or provide them with a method which may help them to find it. In the last three hundred years or so, scientific language has helped people to cope with their experiences and solve their problems. While it is admitted that scientific language and concepts have proven to be quite successful in helping people cope, others argue that scientific reason is just ordinary human reason applied to nature. For example, pragmatism, a philosophy begun by Charles S. Peirce, William James, and John Dewey and currently defended by Richard Rorty (1980, 1982), maintains that "science has worked out well, but it is no more privileged than aesthetics or ethics. In the pragmatist view humankind is living out an extended conversation over the generations, and the aim of every scientist, philosopher, artist, critic, psychologist, and citizen should be to participate in and contribute to their culture's conversation." Conversations are socially constructed. According to the pragmatist, there is no fixed, permanent "truth" at all. Michel Foucault goes beyond these philosophers in pointing out the socially constructed nature of truth. According to him truth is inscribed in the knowledge/power relationship. McLaren (1989: 180) explains that knowledge is always an "ideological construction linked to particular interests..." and that "power relations are inscribed in what Foucault refers to as discourse or a family of concepts. Discourses are made up of discursive practices." Foucault (1972: 117) defines discursive practices as "a body of anonymous, historical rules, always determined in the time and space that have defined a given period, and for a given social, economic, geographical, or linguistic area, the conditions of operation of the enunciative function." And discursive practices, according to Foucault (1980: 200), "...are not purely and simply ways of producing discourse. They are embodied in technical processes, in institutions, in patterns for general behavior, in forms of transmission and diffusion, and pedagogical forms which at once, impose and maintain them." McLaren (1989: 180) explains that "discursive practices, then refer to the rules by which discourses are formed, rules that govern what can be said and what must remain unsaid, who can speak with authority and who must listen. Social and political institutions, such as schools and several institutions, are governed by discursive practices."

In the late 1980s, a wave of reports, mostly critical of the quality of the educational system, have appeared in this province and elsewhere, especially in the United States. These reports, implicitly or explicitly, follow certain discourses that are made up of certain discursive practices.

In this paper, I have certain objectives in mind. I will be using somewhat lengthy quotations from certain authors because my goal here is to synthesize certain relevant material which has already been synthesized by several noted scholars. Secondly,

somewhat long quotations are needed because they require their full length to be savored properly.

The main objective of this article is to suggest that there is an urgent need in Newfoundland to create opportunities for a large number of people in the province to participate in the ongoing discourse in our society about the quality of schooling. Traditionally, only a few experts and policy makers have participated in the discourse on the quality of education and their hope was that ideas of a quality educational system would somehow trickle down to the grass-roots level, and that the schools in communities would opt for necessary changes. However, others suggest that in the 1990s, there is a need for ideas to trickle up, to let the people at the grass-roots be involved in the conversation about what constitutes a good educational system in our society. Seymour Sarson, in relation to educational reform in the United States, has pointed out that "if anything is clear in the history of educational innovations and improvements, it has been the failure of policy makers to put ideas into currency before putting them into action. Telling people what they should do before they have had an opportunity to examine and work through the significance of a new approach is inherently unproductive." (Quoted in Boyer, 1983). The purpose of my main objective, therefore, is to encourage democratic participation by the citizens in the policy making process in the province.

The other objective is to discuss those underlying themes of some recent reports and documents published in the United States which seem to have influenced the discourse on the quality of schools in that country and elsewhere, including this province. The purpose is to understand and make sense of material that has been presented in various reports published in this province since 1985. These reports have much to say about the quality of schools and the direction and manner of social and cultural change in the province.

Underlying the first objective is the perception that there is a dearth of interaction between experts and ordinary citizens in the province on the crucial issue of the quality of school. This is not to say that there has been no interaction between these two groups and that the issue about the quality of school has been neglected in the province. Rather the perception relates to the method employed to discuss the issue of quality schooling and with the method being used to demand changes in the educational system through policy changes. Basically, the issue of quality schooling has been discussed by people at the top and the method used to ensure interaction or participation among groups has been the practice of presentation of briefs prepared by a select group of people at restricted public hearings. Using this method, several commission reports and documents have been produced in the province. These documents then are used as instruments for demanding policy changes that have much broader implications for society, economy, polity and culture in the province. There is another aspect to these reports. That is, that each report has a different rationale, methodology and vision of society, economy, polity and culture. In other words, each report uses social science methodology and theory in certain ways to make certain claims pertaining to the larger society and social relations. The implications of methodology and theory for the reorganization of the larger society and the impact of such organization on the individual citizens, their communities and social relations among them are not thoroughly discussed. The reports have a tendency merely to allude to some broad vision of society without specifying what it would mean to live in such societies. The average citizen does not have access to such abstract theories of social change. For example, each report bases its analysis on a different vision of society in the province. We are told that



Newfoundland society is becoming or has become post-modern, that it is entering into the information age, that it is being linked with the high-tech society of North America, that it is moving toward the achieving society, that it is still a rural, unique and traditional society and that the whole society is involved in exploring new pathways to some future. Moreover, each report has a different conception of what constitutes quality schooling. Consequently, the focus has been on various problems facing the educational system in the province. For example, these reports have focused on such specific issues as drop out rates in schools, general achievement levels in schools, achievement in specific subjects, literacy in the province, inefficiency of the denominational system in the province, reorganization of school boundaries, unequal distribution of finances among school districts, schools in rural areas, teacher training, reorganization of post-secondary education and the Faculty of Education, and a host of other specific issues. It could be conceded that those involved in producing these reports – individuals in certain circles who occupy top positions in various community and professional organizations and the state bureaucracy – may have a clear vision about the direction toward which society, economy, polity and culture in the province should move. But the relationship among elites, experts, the state, society and democracy is a tenuous one, to say the least. For example, in the last few decades the state has become the major actor in society.

Recently, various theories have been developed to shed light on exactly what is the relationship between the state and society (see Hall and Ikenberry, 1989). Liberal theory of state power considers the state as a political arbiter between competing interests, the classical Marxist theory views the state as acting in the interests of the dominant class and the feminist perspective focuses on the role of the state in male domination/female oppression. Then there are the neo-Marxist theories of Milliband, Poloutzas, Wright, Pantich, Szyranski and Jessop. A reading of these theories makes it clear that what is good for the state is not necessarily good for society. Similarly, what is good for business is not necessarily good for society.

We are constantly reminded of capital corruption greed, opportunism and the sleaze factor. For example, Ivan Boesky (1989: 99) boasted that “I think greed is healthy. You can be greedy and still feel good about yourself.” The interests of big business or multi-national corporations and society are not always or necessarily compatible. For example, we are told that we should compare our achievements in different areas, specially economic productivity, with Japan. But the big businesses in Canada and in this province do not seem to hold a business philosophy similar to Japanese big businesses. For example, the view of Akio Morita (1989: 99), chairman of Sony, is quite different from the views held by business executives in this province. Mr. Morita states that “if we face a recession, we should not lay off employers; the company should sacrifice a profit; it’s management’s risk and management’s responsibility. Employees are not guilty; why should they suffer.”

There is a lengthy, ongoing debate in this area and the issues surrounding the conflicting interests of society and multinational corporations need to be reflected in any discussion on schooling. A long, rich tradition of research exists on schooling in a corporate economy (Carnoy, 1972). Concerns raised in this set of research on schooling and society should be debated openly in public forums in this province. This will provide an opportunity for citizens to either accept or reject claims made by the researcher in this area. Citizens will be in a better position to exercise their civic responsibilities. There also exists a rich discourse on the notion of society, schooling, citizenship and civic responsibilities. Issues involved in this debate need to be publically discussed. Also, there is an abundance of research material in the area of schooling and its role in

economic, social and cultural development. Several country specific and global models of development have been produced and are widely known in certain circles. However, the general public is being increasingly deprived of a share in such knowledge. One reason is that intellectual knowledge is being increasingly seen as a personal property or a commodity. There is an increased tendency to sell products of intellectual labor for profit.

At the same time, in many instances, public funds and facilities are used to produce such knowledge. The promise that the result of social science research will help us to improve societal conditions for the common good is being undermined. This mindset, and practices associated with it, tends to increase the gap among different types of intellectuals and the common citizens. The relationship between knowledge as commodity in all spheres of society (education, economics, culture, politics, religion) and the nature of social control needs to be discussed openly. For example, the merits or drawbacks of top-down and bottom-up approaches in bringing about social or educational development need to be discussed in public forums. Top-down approaches of development tend to be based on expert knowledge and bottom-up approaches to development take into account knowledge possessed by citizens. Citizen's knowledge is generally based on their experiences in everyday life, and not necessarily on findings of systematic research.

Lessons learned in other countries in the area of development should also be discussed openly. For example, two decades of experience in development (mainly in developing countries) indicate that concepts, policies and patterns of development borrowed from other countries are not often suited to local needs and environment. Many developing countries and regions now realize that they need to evaluate their ambition to become high production/high consumption societies like Japan, West Germany or the United States. The underlying question is: growth for what purpose? For example, growth for self-reliance, social justice and for a decent standard of living for a large number of people in society is often incompatible with growth for general increase in Gross National Product. That is, increases in Gross National Product, in the absence of institutional reform to attain social justice, increase and institutionalize economic and social inequalities. Growth in Gross National Product does not automatically provide a decent standard of living for a large number of people in society. The issues of social inequalities and social justice need to be discussed publically. For example, there are those who believe that social inequalities in society serve positive functions. On the other hand others see social inequalities as a threat to the smooth functioning of society. Public awareness of moral and practical aspects of social inequalities will lead to some degree of consensus among citizens about the extent of inequalities they are willing to tolerate in different spheres of their lives, for example, how much inequality they are willing to tolerate in the educational system, in the area of taxes, wages, sex stereotyping, housing, etc.

Finally, what should be our responsibilities for future generations? That is, how can we talk about the role of education in intergenerational responsibilities or our duties to the future? In order to reflect on this issue we need to understand the ongoing discourse among those men and women who emphasize the objective of "maximizing growth" (growth men and growth women) and those who are concerned with environmental issues. In the 1990s, major concerns are going to be the ethics of doing business (i.e., how can business make profit without destroying communities and the life styles of people in them) and the moral aspects of technological change and economic growth. It seems that growth men and growth women and environmentalists are at

logger heads, but as Steeten (1988) points out they need not be. There is a rich ongoing discourse in this area in which citizens need to participate. Any policy decision to change school systems with the objective of “maximizing growth” without the extensive debate on the role of education in protecting the environment is bound to be both one-sided and short-sighted.

The point is that ordinary citizens also need to understand theories of social and cultural change that underlie various reports, simply for the reason that citizens are the ones who are expected to change their behaviors and social relationships. The citizens also need to know about uses and misuses of social science research and about the limitation of social sciences in predicting, affecting and sustaining social and cultural change in a meaningful manner. Social science research has traditionally promised a great deal to society and its citizens but has not been able to deliver effectively what it has promised (Mishra, 1984). Then, there are many ethical problems involved in doing research (Harnett, Singh, etc.). These issues should be debated openly and citizens should have opportunities to participate in these theoretical debates. The media can play an important role in this. Also, public forums in the form of conferences, seminars, debates could create opportunities for the citizens and the experts to discuss these matters.

Moreover, there are gaps or cracks between the perceptions of those who produce models of social and cultural change and the perception of the people who are expected to change their behavior, social relations, life styles and structure of their communities, so it is imperative that the experts and the citizens talk with each other, listen to each other carefully, find out what the real needs of society are, how those needs are being met at the present time, and where the gaps and cracks exist. There are advantages to having a free dialogue between people whose knowledge comes from their experience through living in the community and those people whose knowledge is derived from scientific investigations. Also, there is often a gap between theory and practice, and between practitioners and theoreticians or researchers. Talking with each other openly and frankly reduces the gap between theory and practice, and in the process all parties – ordinary citizens, professional practitioners and researchers – feel empowered, i.e., all of them end up having some sense of power or control over their lives. Expected social and cultural changes, then, become meaningful. Also, participating freely, responsibly, with a high degree of social consciousness, in group discussions enhances and strengthens our democratic political system as well as our democratic life style. It makes us good citizens.

In relationship to educational reform Seymour Sarason (1984) points out that “if anything is clear in the history of educational innovations and improvements, it has been the failure of policy makers to put ideas into currency before putting them into action. Telling people what they should do before they have had an opportunity to examine and work through the significance of a new approach is inherently unproductive.”

### **The Year of the Reports**

Since 1985, a wave of reports, mostly critical of the quality of our educational system, have appeared in the province. Findings of some of these reports have been summarized in the earlier issue of the *Morning Watch*, Vol. 15, Nos. 1-2, Fall 1987. Included in that issue were a report by Dr. W.J. Gushue entitled “Twelve Papers for

CDAS" (Department of Career Development and Advanced Studies); the Report of the Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment (reviewed by Dr. Lloyd Brown); "Exploring New Pathways: A Brief Presented to the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador" by the NTA (discussed by Mr. Wayne Russell of the NTA); "School District Boundaries Revisited: Report of the Task Force on Integrated School District Boundaries" authored by Mr. C. Roebathan and Dr. Philip Warren (now our Educational Minister); Report of the Small Schools Study Project by Dr. Frank Riggs and associates; "Leaving Early – A Study of Student Retention in Newfoundland and Labrador" discussed and followed by a report entitled "Academic Success and Failure: Final Report to NTA Executive" authored by Dr. Joan Matchim, Ms. Beverly A. LeMoine, Dr. Joe Gedge, Dr. Myrtle Vokey and others. More recently, the Hardy Report was published which recommended fundamental reorganization of the Faculty of Education of Memorial University. And finally, we now have Dr. Robert Crocker's report entitled "Toward An Achieving Society." Incidentally, all these reports were commissioned during the tenure of the P.C. Government led by Hon. Premier Brian Peckford.

If we put ourselves in the larger context of the North American scene, we will find that we have not been out of step, since the themes in these reports have been consistent, consciously or unconsciously, with the themes of the conservative restoration of school and society in the United States. Starting from President Richard Nixon's coming to power in the United States and through the era of President Ronald Reagan, the equality of schooling in the United States has been criticized within a conservative discourse. Ira Shor (1986: 7) writes that "in education, as in any other part of society subjected to restoration, there is a conservative ideology underlying the reversal of the 1960s: that ideology intervenes against the democratic distribution of wealth and power. Policy-making power and money are redistributed upward in a restoration. The conservative language for this reversal pits 'quality' against 'equality': Restoration policy promotes itself as the defender of 'excellence' and 'high standards'. Such political vocabulary dominates discussion in a conservative period. It helps authority disguise the real intention of strengthening hierarchy. To restore the domination of the old order, the results of the equalitarian era are judged from the top down and found to be dismally inferior to the quality of learning before the changes were made. However, the debate never allows the words 'hierarchy', 'domination,' 'power,' to enter the discussion. The standards of the lite are posed as undebatable, the only language in which to judge the situation, a universal rather than a class-specific evaluation." Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's domination of politics and public policy in England has reinforced many themes of the conservative restoration of school and society in the United States and elsewhere. In a similar manner, Prime Minister Brian Mulrooney has recently made public statements critical of the educational system in Canada. (See CAUT Bulletin, September, 1989).

The conservative restoration movement began as a response to the perceived crisis situation in the United States in the 1960s. Shor (1986: 2) states that "with the sense of crisis everywhere, it seemed natural to pose education as part of the social drama rather than as an isolated debate on effective teaching. Not only were the fates of schooling and society radically linked, but the pace of events convinced many that a great historical change was in the offing." And "the legendary eruption of protest culture in the 1960s still haunts life in the 1980s..." So, "in response, a conservative restoration emerged after Richard Nixon's tight 1968 election victory" and "in economics and in education, the Nixon Administration began turning back the tide of activism. It began the first of several chilling recession which ushered in the hard times of the 1970s. In schooling, the Nixon program included a vast national plan called 'career education.'"

Curriculum was tilted in the direction of work discipline and job-training. Perhaps that would cool the ardour of youth. If not, careerism was followed in the mid 1970s by a 'Literacy Crisis' and a 'back-to-basics' movement. Perhaps those programs would put some noses to the grindstone. In 1983, while some key insiders like Ravitch continued criticizing the 1960s, a new crisis of 'mediocrity' was officially declared, and a new war for 'excellence' was launched. The radical and utopian excitement of education in the 1960s became mediocrity and austerity by the 1980s." And "one road to the school crisis of the 1980s was the 'legitimacy crisis' of the 1960s, worsening in the 1980s. Evidence of mass alleviation from school and other institution abounds. A major survey by Lipset and Schneider (1983) found confidence in society at all – time low." (p. 4) And "declining liberalism and radicalism also gave Reagan more running room than Nixon enjoyed." (p. 5) Consequently, beginning in 1983, many reports on the crisis of school appeared. All these reports pleaded for national consensus. Houston et al (1988: 127) points out that "in the following five years, more than three hundred such reports were issued (in the United States). Some considered education in the nation; others made recommendations for particular aspects of teacher education; some related to specific subject areas (mathematics and science), and some to particular states (Washington, Florida, and New York) or regions of the county (Southern Regional Education Board). For the most part, the memberships of these commissions and task forces included business executives, politicians, and distinguished university administrators and liberal arts faculty. Very few members of the education profession were included. The perspectives and recommendations vary from report to report, but, when synthesized, provide certain view of quality in schools which differ from other views of quality in schools."

Basically, these reports analyze schools in terms of their roles and functions for our society. It is assumed that we live in an industrial or post industrial capitalist, liberal, democratic society with a welfare oriented state. However, there are conflicting viewpoints on the meaning of each of these terms and on the implications of different meanings for organizing schools for certain purposes, aims or goals in our society. Also, there is much disagreement on what is a good society. Therefore, basically, the debate on the quality of schooling in the United States, and by implications elsewhere, has been between the radical, liberal and conservative visions of society and concerning the role of the State and schools in society. Starting from 1969, there have been concentrated efforts in the United States, England and other Western Countries to restore school and society in the conservative ideological mode or mind set (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985; Noll, 1989).

### **Taking Stance**

Individual, organizations, professional groups and various agencies of the State take different stances on the functions, goals and aims of education or schooling in society. It is, therefore, important that a majority of citizens, especially parents, teachers, school administrators and students need to understand, as clearly as possible, what stances they are taking on issues pertaining to the role of the school in society. Politicians and bureaucracy at all levels, especially those who deal with matters related to the educational system in the province, need to make their stance(s) on important educational issues known to the public as openly as possible using various methods and strategies that do not distort the communication process.

Studies in the philosophy of teaching reveal that people hold different philosophies of education. For example, five philosophies have been generally identified which underlie the analysis of various recent reports and documents pertaining to the quality of schooling. These are: perennialism, essentialism, progressivism, social reconstructionism and existentialism. It is not possible to expand on these philosophies in this article. However, as Houston et al (1988: 63) point out, “the perennialist teacher is concerned with opening students’ mind to rational thought and to the truth that can be found in the ‘classics’, work of Aristotle, Plato, Saint Thomas Aquinas, Shakespeare, and other ‘great authors’.” For example, “Mortimer Adler (1982) is a perennialist scholar who advocates a curriculum based on the study of the classics. His Paideia Proposal – for twelve years education for all students – includes physical education and manual arts, but the core of the curriculum is for fundamental knowledge in history, literature, languages, sciences, fine arts, and mathematics, with an emphasis on the basic intellectual skills of reading, writing and computation. Students who would go through his program would develop the abilities to reason critically and to conduct scientific investigations in their search for knowledge.” (p. 63, 64) Adherents of essentialism believe “...that schools should exist to see that certain, selected elements of the culture are passed on to succeeding generations. The primary emphasis for the essentialist is on the subject matter rather than the student. The student is viewed as a recipient (often passive) of those parts of human knowledge deemed of sufficient importance to be included in the curriculum. The essentialist teacher represents the mainstream of contemporary American educational belief that the basic skills of reading, writing, and mathematics should be mastered before one goes to learn the specific disciplines of history, biology, spanish, literature, and so on.” (p. 64) Moreover, for an essentialist educator “standardized textbooks are the normal reference and lecture/practice/recitation is the preferred instructional mode.” Curricula based on essentialist philosophy “can be found in almost every school district in every state. While the perennialist teacher emphasizes the rational thinking process and encourages discussions, arguments, and debate, the essentialist teacher emphasizes the mastery of academic content and desirable social values.” (pp. 64-65) Progressivism as an educational philosophy is associated with the name of John Dewey, the major educator who elaborated on progressivist thought. For him “the responsibilities of living in a democratic society demand social as well as academic knowledge and skill. The progressive curriculum emerges from the needs and interests of the students, much as a democratic government is (or should be) found from the needs and the desires of the populace.” (p. 65) Those who believe in social reconstructionism stress that “...schools should be active agents of social change, leading the way to a new and more ideal social order. Students are encouraged to question traditional values and even to question the value of academic content.” (p. 65) Further, “society becomes the subject matter, and the function of the student is to effect social change through skills and attitudes learned in the school setting.” And finally adherents of existentialism believe that “... the most important human activity is the search for the meaning of one’s own existence in an irrational world – a search that can take place in or out of school settings. Carried to the extreme, an emphasis on existentialism could lead to a society without formal schools.” (pp. 66-67)

### **Teacher Preparation**

Most recent reports on the quality of schooling have much to say about teacher preparation and how teachers view the practice of teaching. Houston et al (1988: 67) write that “just as educators have differing philosophies about purposes of education,

educators also hold different beliefs concerning professional responsibilities.” Some research indicates that teachers tend to hold seven stances or views on teaching and on the professional conduct of teachers. For example, “The first three stances, child-focusers, task-focusers, and pragmatists, describe what we might term professional teachers, or teachers who believe in the importance of schooling. They are all effective in their ability to work with students but in very different ways. Child-focusers are able to develop children's positive self-concepts and, through that, promote achievement. Task-focusers... are primarily concerned with achievement. Pragmatists are the politicians in school; they understand the system, and they know how to use it to help students succeed. Although all three are concerned with self-concept and achievement, they vary in emphasis.” However, “the next two stances, contented-conformist and time servers, describe teachers for whom school is a place to earn a living. Their real life is outside of school, and they prefer that school responsibilities not interfere with that life. Beginning teachers are often intimidated by teachers who are time servers because of their negative comments about everything from the administration to innovative instructional methods to the ‘naive’ enthusiasm of novice teachers.” The next two groups of teachers are ambivalent teachers and alienated teachers. The stance taken by ambivalent teachers is “that ‘things will get better,’ although they never do. They have no consistent concept of their role as teacher. Alienated teachers, are clearly in the wrong occupation and, fortunately, they are a small minority of the teaching force... The alienated teachers feel that there is no hope, that nothing will improve – ever. These teachers no longer enjoy teaching and may try to force their views on you.” (Houston et al 1988: 67-68)

The point is that we need to discuss these philosophies of education and stances of teachers openly in public forums. Let every citizen hear various discourses on educational matters in the province. Let there be various opportunities for the public to participate in a democratic way in these discourses. The argument behind this suggestion is that if the society has a ‘central project’ in which people believe – for example building a new society or a new educational system – then even routine tasks take on meaning.

### **Indicators of Quality Schooling**

Before we identify some major themes that underlie several reports, it is appropriate that we discuss various other indicators of quality schooling. The fact is that the bases for determining indicators of quality of schooling are numerous. Several notions about quality schools have become part of the discourse on school reform. In the late 1970s, quality schools were defined “as those that brought about changes in students achievement... The movement, called effective schools research, was closely aligned with studies of effective teachers, (teachers whose students score higher on achievement tests) or process-product research (teaching procedures that result in greater production of student achievement). However, other definitions of school quality have developed out of the conceptualization of educators, needs of special interest groups, school accrediting agencies, and societal trends.” For example, schools are considered quality school to the extent to which they (1) teach eternal truths, beauty, and goodness; (2) teach skills for democratic living; (3) include student exploratory activities; (4) teach how to learn; (5) have adequate staff and resources; (6) meet national needs; (7) improve the education of disadvantaged groups; (8) are similar in student body values; and (9) provide multiple choices for students. (Houston et al 1988: 116-117).

### Major Themes in Some Recent Reports Published in the United States

Many of the recent reports published in the United States were discussed at the symposium organized by the Harvard University. Howe (HER 1984: 4-5) in summarizing the proceedings of the symposiums, enumerated the major themes that emerged in these discussions as follows:

1. Schools are more complex than many of the reports suggest.
2. Although some of the research studies catch the complexity of life in schools, most of the reports do not. Change in the schools is difficult and slow, and the reports fail to mention the conditions that impede change efforts; for example, an aging population with fewer and fewer children in school effecting expenditures, public disenchantment and low professional status make it difficult to attract and keep able teachers, administrators, and school board members.
3. The goals set forth in the reports were criticized for their over-emphasis on solving what Cohen calls "the Toyota problem," that is, the problem of improving productivity and efficiency, and their lack of attention to teaching children how and why to participate in the democratic process.
4. In many of the reports and studies, the preschool and the elementary school years are neglected. The emphasis on the high school overlooks the development importance of these formative years.
5. The reports – especially those produced by committees – seem to assure that school improvement can be mandated without attention to the quality of human relationships and the structure of decision making at the local school level.
6. The voices of teachers are not heard in the reports which often make specific recommendations directly affecting classroom issues of curriculum and instruction. The panelists sadly noted that even this symposium did not include a classroom teacher.
7. In stressing the need for excellence in education, the reports fail to address the implicit conflict between demands for excellence and equity and overlook the educational resources in the culturally diverse population of our schools.

It is possible only to mention some of the points raised by the participants in this symposium pertaining to the issues they raised. For example, regarding standardized tests and the general focus on tests the following points were made:

1. "...the reports barely mention the increasing tyranny of standardized tests."
2. "Certainly the manner of the call for high standards suggests nothing else but 'tougher tests'... to more rigorous and measurable standards."
3. "There are worrisome suggestions also, in support of the use of tests scores to judge teachers, i.e., call for 'objectivity measuring the effectiveness of teachers'."
4. Goodlad writes that "we use test score, such as those on the SAT, as though they tell us something about the condition of schools. They tell us even less about schools than a thermometer designed to measure body temperature tell us about



body health. The SAT, for example, was not designed to measure the effectiveness, let alone the characteristics of schools. And yet, we act as though schools are in good or bad shape depending on the direction of the curve of attainment on the test scores.”

5. “The dependence on test scores – the focus, thereby, on easily measurable skills in technical, managerial and ultimately anti-intellectual ... there is no way to tell whether a student has a sense of the questions that biologists ask, how to go about exploring them, how they relate to each other, how mistaken hypothesis can be productive (talking about standardized tests in biology).” (p. 19).
6. “The word that is commonly used, when referring to the wish to keep tabs on schools and teachers through the use of standardized tests, is ‘accountability’. ...Rather than expecting teachers and principals to be accountable to a bureaucracy for carrying out someone else’s decisions in a manner to be mechanically assessed, we should expect them to be responsible to the students and their parents for working and defending sound educational decisions.” (p. 20)

In regards to teachers, the following points were noted:

1. ...In these reports and in the debates to which they have given rise, by the absence of the voices of teachers. The absence of teachers is more serious, because, in schools, education is what teachers do... Teachers’ voices are absent from educational discourse in general, not only from the current debate, but the current reports themselves contribute to this problem” (p. 17).
2. “The assumption seems to be that teachers are a kind of civil servant, to be ‘trained’ by those who know better, to carry out the job as they are directed to do, to be managerially, to be though third-party studies.” (p. 17)
3. “To the extent that they are conceived of as civil servants, to carry out orders from the above, teachers are deprived of the occasion to bring to bear on their world the whole of their intelligence, understanding and judgement to that extent, the students are deprived of those qualities and the educational enterprise is impoverished.” (p. 18)

In regards to higher standards economy and schools the following points were made:

1. “Consistently, all of them (reports) convert the absence of excellence and call for ‘higher standards’.” But Massachusetts commissioner of education, wrote that ‘if a kid can’t clear four feet, it doesn’t do much good to raise the bar to four feet, six inches. It does help to give more and better coaching, more and better training.” (HER, p. 15)
2. “I am ... puzzled that the reports seem to hold the schools responsible for the current crises in the economy... America’s Competitive Challenge, for example, in converting the shortcomings of the work force, states that 20 percent of young people seeking employment are without jobs and for this gives three reasons: one reason relates the fact to the overall high unemployment rate (speaks of ‘increased competition for jobs’); the other two reasons, however, attribute the problem to the educational system. It is difficult to see how a higher reading level

among young people will increase the number of jobs available in the economy” (p. 16).

Regarding qualities to be developed outside the market place and for living productively while unemployed the following points were made:

1. None of the reports give due attention to qualities we might wish to develop in young people for their lives outside the market place and the university. Elizabeth Adams point out that “the world hasn’t fallen flat on its face for lack of knowledge of math and computers or whatever” (p. 17).
2. “But the reports proceed as if no other qualities really need attention... They give the schools no role in enabling people to see themselves as ‘fit’ to contribute to public discourse, in developing people’s sense of responsibility for one another, in helping people to understand the need to struggle individually and collectively for a more just world’ (p. 17).
3. “Given the employment prospects, one might even accept the responsibility to educate young people to live productively while unemployed’ (p. 17) ... Gabriel Chanan has proposed a number of non-academic abilities quite as demanding as the arts and sciences: how to identify worthwhile and possible tasks; how to create cooperative groups to carry out these tasks; how to participate in public decision-making; how to benefit from local facilities and amenities; how to negotiate with resource holders.” (p. 17)

Ira Shor in his well argued book entitled Culture Wars: School and Society in the Conservative Restoration 1969-1984, has reviewed a number of those reports mentioned above. Apple explains that the book is written within a perspective that looks at the educational system as providing” ...an arena in which different groups with different conceptions of what is important to know, and often different power, fight it out, so to speak. The culture that ultimately finds its way into the school is the result of these battles, compromises, and what has been called ‘accords’. However, these accords can only be temporary. Given the fact that the economy is often in crisis, that power does shift in government, and that ideological tensions in the larger society are often exacerbated (and are now growing rather rapidly), educational policy and what happens inside school buildings are constantly subjected to these battles. And sometimes these can be quite intense. Questions of schooling, then, became intensely political.”

He further points out that “one need only look around to notice that this politicization has become much more visible. We are witnessing a large number of attacks on schools, especially from right-wing critics. Censorship is growing, and there are clear attempts to define what counts as important knowledge only that which meets the needs of ‘reindustrialization’ and ‘rearmament.’ At the same time, there is a movement in a majority of states in America to standardize and control both the processes and outcomes of teaching, thus taking as many aspects of teaching as possible out of the teacher’s control and placing it in a framework of an inappropriate industrial logic. The ultimate effects of this may be the “deskilling” of teachers and a loss of any substantive vision of what education can be besides simply socializing to existing norms and values...

There has been a remarkable offensive – one combining big business and finance, and conservative political and religious groups – aimed at delegitimizing

democratic discourse and restoring 'authority.' This is occurring in government, in the media, in the paid and unpaid workplace of men and women, and elsewhere," (pp. ix-x).

Ira Shor's book documents the considerable success of the conservative restoration in the United States. However, as Apple points out, "Shor sees the possibility ... of a different kind of 'restoration' growing within the current 'search for order,' if only we can learn from what has happened in the recent past." In commenting on the recent past in the United States, Shor summarizes a number of the arguments in the book as follows"

"Cynicism can be as politically unmanageable as open rebellion. The historic transition from protest culture in the 1960s to 'the culture of narcissism' in the 1970s only posed new and more widespread crisis. The reversal of the 1960s arrived at the predicament of the 1980s through many mechanisms inside school and out. In three major waves of school reform, restoration policies revealed the importance of curriculum in culture war. Career education in the early 1970s, and the back-to-basics Literacy Crisis a few years later, both contributed to an alienation and decay which alarmed official commissions in 1983 as they launched a third reform effort. This epic search for order began in 1969 with a society in upheaval and a school system breeding dissent. Fifteen years later, neither education nor any other major institution was working to anyone's satisfaction. When the new restoration eventually retreats, culture war will open for another age of opposition whose success rests on learning from the culture war of the past."

The recent reports in the United States "were precipitated by increasing evidence that America's schools had lost the luster of quality." However, these reports have quite narrow and different ideas about what constitutes poor quality of schools. For example, The National Commission on Excellence in Education enumerates the following indicators of poor quality:

- International comparisons of student achievement, completed a decade ago, reveal that on 19 academic tests American students were never first or second and, in comparison with other industrialized nations, were last seven times.
- Some 23 million American adults are functionally illiterate by the simplest tests of everyday reading, writing, and comprehension.
- About 13 percent of all 17-year-olds in the United States can be considered functionally illiterate. Functional literacy among minority youth may run as high as 40 percent.
- Average achievement of high school students on most standardized tests is now lower than 26 years ago when Sputnik was launched.
- Over half the population of gifted students do not match their tested ability with comparable achievement in school.
- The College Board's Scholastic Aptitude Tests (SAT) demonstrated virtually unbroken decline from 1963 to 1980. Average verbal scores fell over 50 points and average mathematics scores dropped nearly 40 points.

- Many 17-year-olds do not possess the “higher order” intellectual skills we should expect of them. Nearly 40 percent cannot draw inferences from written material; only one-fifth can write a persuasive essay; and only one-third can solve a mathematics problem requiring several steps.
- There was a steady decline in science achievement scores of United States, 17-year-olds as measured by national assessments of Science in 1969, 1973, and 1977.
- Between 1975 and 1980, remedial mathematics courses in public four years colleges increased by 72 percent and now constitute one-quarter of all mathematics courses taught in those institutions.
- Average tested achievement of students graduating from college is also lower. (A National Risk, 1983, 8-9).

These commission reports also made several recommendations about curriculum and teachers, school organization, school finance, and the relative responsibilities of federal, state, and local governments. Here it is only possible to discuss some of these points. Participants of symposium at Harvard University, as mentioned earlier, also discussed these reports and made several comments. Many others have provided constructive critical analysis of these reports.

For example, Ira Shor’s coverage of various themes of these reports in their proper social, cultural and political contexts is quite impressive. After analyzing social, political, economic and culture scene in today’s American society, Shor points out that the conservative restoration movement focussed on careerism, back-to-basics and excellence in education. The themes underlying the campaigns for these issues have been (p. 176):

- restoring authority and reversing mass movements.
- restoring the good names of business and the military.
- adjusting people to ‘setting for less’ in activism and aspirations and to accepting a new arms race.
- justifying inequality through testing and language regimes.
- disguising inequality as excellence.
- disguising job-training as computer literacy.
- glamorizing the cheap-labor future of high-tech.
- concentrating administrative power through merit-pay flaws and through new required testing and courses for students.
- selectively pushing math and science under general cover of academics for all.
- controlling critical learning in liberal arts through career and basic skill programs.

- financing school reform through regressive taxation.
- tilting school funds away from compensatory programs, in the name of excellence.
- using Standard English, correct usage and 'American Heritage' core curricula to tilt curriculum away from bilingual, bidialectical, interdisciplinary, women's and minority studies.
- using preservice licensing exams in literacy to screen out minority candidates and attract more whites to teaching, on the eve of a new baby boom in the 1980s.

Shor further writes that "this program for culture war was accompanied by structured silences on a number of key questions. These silences allowed restoration forces in the comprehensive overhaul of 1983 to stay mute on the seamy effects of conservative policy..."

Among the issues ignored in the 1983 reports were:" (p. 177)

- literacy and textbook censorship.
- creation science challenging evolution.
- attacks on secular humanism, sex education, busing, affirmative action, gay rights.
- school budget acts and military budget increases.
- rising test scores among black students.
- high unemployment despite careerism in schools and colleges.
- the disabling of liberal arts by careerism and back-to-basics.
- unequal spending between rich and poor districts.
- unequal spending between university and community campuses.
- the deskilling of jobs from automation and computerization.
- declining entry-level wages for new graduates.
- limited job-prospects from high-tech.
- increasing worker-alienation, student resistance and teacher performance strikes.

Stanley Aronowitz and Henry Giroux (1985) critically discuss the conservative, liberal and radical debate over schooling and provide some suggestions to transform schools beyond these ideologies. Shor summarizes some of the counter-themes which could be discussed to counter the conservative restoration thrust in the larger political and economic Spheres. These are: (p. 177)

- question authority to promote democracy.

- expose inequalities in sex, race, age and class.
- encourage high aspirations and the demand for more.
- keep opposition visible and active, suited to conditions.
- universalize high-quality social services including education.
- transfer resources through taxes from private sector to public programs.
- convert military spending to social investment.
- promote trade union organization and strike support.
- create jobs through public industries and community projects.

At the level of educational reforms, several policy questions could be discussed. The questions are: (pp. 177-178)

- unrestricted open admissions to college.
- free tuition for higher education.
- vigorous affirmative action in college admissions and in faculty hiring.
- overfund poor school districts and community colleges through a special federal tax on the top 20 percent income brackets.
- raise public school teachers' pay to the equivalents of engineers' salaries for comparable degrees and years of service.
- reduce administrative personnel and budgets 50 percent.
- incorporate students and community members in school governance and curriculum planning.
- develop joint councils of students, parents, teachers and administrators to examine merit and demerit in each constituency and to determine rewards and corrections for each group.
- special funding for bilinguals and bidialectical programs.
- support students' rights to their own language against the mechanical study of correct usage.
- no customized work-training in schools or colleges.
- no tracking out of the college bound and the non-academic student.
- students' rights to know and teachers' rights to teach: free access to all books, materials, and ideas, as well as unhindered discussion of all subjects.

Based on the suggestions made by Boyer, Goodlad andSizer, Shor points out that specific education reform could begin with the following steps: (pp. 177-178)

- a four-class load per day for teachers in public school.
- classes limited to twenty students.
- starting public school at four and end at sixteen (Goodlad).
- absorb computers as a subject in humanities (Boyer).
- simplify, reduce the bureaucracy surrounding the classroom.
- test less, and replace the 'talking teacher' pedagogy with active discussion classes and field projects (Goodlad's strong point and Herb Kohl's program in Basic Skills).

Further, Shor suggests addition of the following items: (pp. 178-179)

- a four-day work week for public school teachers.
- a fifth-day 'field project' for students working with specifically hired project teachers.
- graduation from high school at sixteen, into a community meritor network funded publically and organized locally. The network's units would include on recent 16-year-old graduate, plus three community members – an 18-year-old, another about 25, and third in her or his 40s. The new graduate would be in a merit or group for two years, after which she or he would become an 18-year-old member of a new merit or group, for a second two-year term. This community 'paideia' could develop young people's plans for work, community service, travel, artistic growth, further study and social life. New graduates in the networks could attend college while being meritored but it would be wise to put off that decision for a while in favor of development through meritor channels.
- curriculum in school and discussions in the meritor groups should include sexual subjects appropriate to the student's culture, language, interests and age.
- curriculum should address other non-traditional subjects besides sexuality; war and peace, Utopia, folk culture, labor history, women's and minority studies, socialism and capitalism, etc.
- the student's voice in its own idiom should be emphasized in class discussions and writing.
- intuition, imagination and art-making should be major parts of the curriculum.
- students and teachers should meet to design plans for the physical renovation of their school or college.

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**SOCIAL THEORY, POLITICAL PRACTICE AND EXPERTS –  
MAKING SENSE OF THE REPORTS ON THE QUALITY  
OF SCHOOLING (PART II)**

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In an earlier article in the *Morning Watch* (see “How to Manage or Make Sense of Recent Report and Documents on the Quality of Schooling”, Vol. 17, Nos. 3-4, Winter 1990, pp. 21-37) I pointed out that in the late 1980s, a wave of reports, mostly critical of the quality of the educational system, appeared in this province and elsewhere, especially in the United States, and that these reports, implicitly or explicitly, follow certain discourses that are made up of specific discursive practices.

In the same article, I also noted that traditionally, only a few experts and policy makers (elites) have participated in discourses on the quality of education. A large number of citizens have been left out of the policy making process, and perhaps as a consequence recent discourses on the quality of education have been successful, to some extent, in shifting our attention away from issues associated with the notion of the common good. It is not difficult to observe that we live in a system which is both complex and vulnerable and where experts and specialists give the false appearance of knowing and governing wisely. In this situation citizens need more rather than less democracy, more participation rather than trusteeship and oligarchy in order to protect and extend the gains of the past in the democratic societies. Moreover, there are good reasons to believe that it is perhaps better, from the view point of the common good, to have a large number of intelligent citizens willing to participate in the making of social policy than to have a small number of selected experts (elites) telling citizens about how to live their lives (see Bowles and Gintis 1987; Carnoy and Shearer 1980; Daly and Cobb Jr., 1989; Jordan 1989, and Raskin 1986).

Further, I pointed out that discourses on the quality of schooling are related to discourses in other areas. One way to make sense of reports on the quality of schooling is to participate and contribute to these discourses in a meaningful way. This seems important because several recent commission reports and documents produced in this province and elsewhere are often used as instruments for demanding policy changes that have far reaching implications for society, economy, polity and culture in the province. In this connection it is important to recognize that each report has a different rationale, methodology and vision of society, economy, polity and culture. In other words, each report uses social science methodology and theory in certain ways in an attempt to create a certain set of expectations. Lester Throw (1983: 226) explains this point further by pointing out that social science such as “psychology, sociology, and politics all have theories that might produce a set of expectations very different from those ascribed to Homo economicus. Patterns of socialization, cultural and ethnic history, political institutions, and old-fashioned human will power all affect our expectations.” He further points out that “human beings are extremely complex and can be studied from many points of view. Each point of view abstracts from the concrete actuality and focuses on particular aspects of human behavior. Homo religious is the human being considered as religious; Homo polities, as political; and Homo economicus, as economic.”

Obviously, the authors of various reports and documents on the quality of schooling have different viewpoints. However, there are two common points that are

emphasized by all of them. That is, they emphasize (1) prevailing economic thought and, (2) the scientific nature of their studies. These points are briefly discussed below with the hope that readers will find the discussion useful in their attempt to make sense of the reports on the quality of schooling.

### **Contemporary Economic Thought**

Most of the reports on the quality of schooling are written from the viewpoint of contemporary economic thought which celebrates the virtues of the market, individualistic self-interest and competition. It is now well recognized by economists as well as others that the market is the best basic institution of resource allocation. So, no one seems to be anti-market. This celebration shifts our focus away from the limitations and failures of the market. Therefore, the focus on market limitations and failures ought to draw our attention while reading the reports on the quality of schooling critically. For example, Daly and Cobb (1989: 49-51) mention three broad categories of problems with the market that have been identified by economists: "(1) the tendency for competition to be self-eliminating, (2) the corrosiveness of self-interest on the moral context of the community that is presupposed by the market, and (3) the existence of public goods and externalities." Briefly, Daly and Cobb draw our attention to the fact that "competition means not rivalry, but the existence of many alternatives for both buyer and seller – but competition involves winning and losing, both of which have a tendency to be cumulative. Last year's winners find it easier to be this year's winners. Winners tend to grow and losers disappear. Over time many firms become few firms, competition is eroded, and monopoly power increases. To the extent that competition is self-eliminating we must constantly reestablish it by trust busting." Further, "monopoly is by definition anti-competitive, but even bigness that falls short of monopoly presents a problem ..." and "...there is a conflict between favoring markets and favoring complete laissez-faire. Maintenance of competitive markets require the abandonment of laissez-faire at least to the extent that government must assume the role of limiting monopoly and excessive bigness." Daly and Cobb explain that "somewhat analogous to the tendency of the market to erode its own competitive foundations is the corrosive effect of individualistic self-interest on the containing moral context of the community. However much driven by self-interest, the market still depends absolutely on a community that shares such values as honesty, freedom, initiative, thrift, and other virtues whose authority will not long withstand the reduction to the level of personal tastes that is explicit in the positivistic, individualistic philosophy of value on which modern economic theory is based. If all value derives only from satisfaction of individual wants, then there is nothing left over on the basis of which self-interested, individualistic want satisfaction can be restrained. Depletion of moral capital may be more costly than depletion of physical capital... The Market does not accumulate moral capital, it depletes it." Similar arguments are presented by Hirsch (1976). Daly and Cobb point out that "...in the real world, failure to respect the limits of both social and biophysical community is the greatest threat to a market society." In light of this brief discussion on the limitations and failures of the market, some questions may be raised. These are: How should citizens make sense of the business community's demands for restructuring the educational system? Does the agenda of the business community take care of the common good? Or does it enhance the interests of some specific segment of society? Does the urban sector benefit at the expense of the rural sector?

Again, very soon, in this province, we will have a report by the Royal Commission and Inquiry into the Delivery of Programs and Services in Primary, Elementary, and

Secondary Education. Dr. Len Williams of Faculty of Education, Memorial University, is the chair of the Commission. And again, considering the limitations and failures of the market, a number of questions can be raised: Hasn't our present denominational system of education contributed effectively to the maintenance of moral capital? Hasn't the present system of education in Newfoundland effectively counteracted the corrosive effect of individualistic self-interest on the moral context of the community? Should we, without questioning, restructure our system of education within the framework of current economic thought? Or should there be some resistance?

I would like to make some observations on the effectiveness of our school system from the view point of the common good. I suggest that the present denominational system in the province has been most effective, in view of the fact that most of the teachers who have gone through this system and, then through the post-secondary educational system in this province, have returned to their own communities or some other communities in rural Newfoundland. This is not a small achievement in view of the evidence we have on the effect of schooling on rural society. Internationally, where schooling was introduced as a crucial variable in the equation of economic development (i.e., schooling was treated as an "investment item" instead of "consumption item"), one overwhelming result was that most educated people moved away from their rural communities in search of high paying jobs or any kind of jobs in urban centers. This outward migration of educated people or what is often referred to as the phenomenon of "brain drain" had/has a devastating impact on the moral, social and economic fabric of rural communities in many countries.

Things fell apart, people no longer felt at ease, and above all only a few experts or planners felt responsible for the plight of the uprooted or for the uprooting process itself. Admittedly, the GNP of many developing countries grew, but as we now know, growth of GNP alone is not a good measure of the common good. If the restructuring of our educational system, in the context of prevailing economic thought, produces future educators who fail to return to rural communities to teach the younger generation, the moral, social and economic fabric of rural Newfoundland is obviously in jeopardy. Also, a life style which is rooted in a certain ecological setting, and cherished by many, will be threatened without any good reasons. We are used to thinking about educational change in terms of trends in urban school system. Perhaps this is why we seem to have little time to reflect on the notion of non-urban school system. Consequently, trends in non-urban school system have not become major issue in the educational policy making process in this province, although some attention has been directed toward this issue (Warren, 1977a, Riggs et. al., 1987). Hopefully, the forthcoming Royal Commission report will provide us with some insights into these and other related questions.

### **Relationship Between Social Theory and Political Practice**

The emphasis on the role of the experts as intellectuals, and on scientific rationality in the policy making process requires that citizens be familiar with at least some aspects of the on-going discourses in these areas. Therefore, in this section I raise several questions related to these topics and briefly discuss each of them. These questions are: What is the relationship between social theory and political practice? What is the relationship between politics, social science research, social control and social change or social engineering? What form of knowledge is produced by intellectuals-cum-experts in our province at this time? What functions are intellectuals/experts/professionals performing in today's Newfoundland society? And

what functions are citizens as intellectuals performing or should they perform *vis-a-vis* those experts? Issues related to some of these topics have been discussed in the past issues of the *Morning Watch* (Singh 1977a, 1977b, 1977c; Warren 1977b; Ponder 1977). Other related issues are discussed in much detail elsewhere (Hamnett, Porter, Singh, Kumar 1984).

The point is that a great amount of critical information exists on the topics of the relationship between social theory and political practice (Lloyd, 1983) and on the relationship between education, politics, social science research, social control and social change (Karabel and Halsey, 1979; Popkewitz, 1984). In western countries the debate on the relationship between social theory and political practice has been going on for the last two hundred years and to say the least, as Dahrendorf and others point out, there is an evident hiatus between social theory and political practice. (See discussion on ideas of Hans-Georg Gadamer, Karl Popper, Jurgen Habermas, Karl Marx, Max Weber, Hegel, Plato, Aristotle by Dahrendorf, Bottomore and others in Lloyd's book, *op.cit.*). For Dahrendorf (1983: 25) political practice means "the kind of thing that government ministers or perhaps members of Parliament do, and by social theory... the sort of thing that professors do, at least certain professors...". Similarly, an hiatus between social theory and education theory exists in our society (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985: 23). Several recent documents on the quality of education apparently use some social theory to establish their rationale for doing educational research. These documents however, do not reflect adequate sensitivity to the critical discourse that surrounds the relationship between social theory and political practice. It might be the case that discussion on the relationship between social theory, political practice, social science research, education, social control and social change is beyond the scope of these documents. Nevertheless, citizens would be more thorough in their understanding of what is being said in these documents, if the documents could have more adequately reflected sensitivity to such information. The point is, from the standpoint of citizens' civic responsibilities (e.g., they should participate in the policy making processes which might affect their everyday living), the need for public discussions on such issues cannot be ignored. For, in the absence of such debates, the general public remains uninformed about the philosophy of social change (i.e., relationship between social theory and political practice). As a consequence, the notion of science is glorified or mystified, and is then used as a source of authority. Consciously or unconsciously, this tendency seems to ignore or undermine the idea that scientific rationality is a form of ideology. Those who do not take such understanding into account in policy making seem to be more involved in adopting an authoritarian posture (top-down) in social policy matters. They seem to be more attracted to instrumental rationality or technocratic rationality as a world view (i.e., as a result are more interested in the domination of people and nature for some instrumental end and are also interested in subordinating knowledge to the principles of efficiency, hierarchy, and control) than to a world view which emphasizes the significance of cooperation, sharing, caring and compromise in the organization of collective social and political life towards the common good. For example, "The call for excellence and improved student creativity has been accompanied by policy suggestions that further erode the power teachers have over the conditions of their work while simultaneously proposing that administrator and teachers look outside of their schools for improvements and needed reforms. The result is that many of the educational reforms appear to reduce teachers to the status of low-level employees or civil servants whose main function is to implement reforms decided by experts in the upper levels of state and educational bureaucracies. Furthermore, such reforms embrace technological solutions that undermine the historical and cultural specificity of school life and further weaken the possibilities for school administrators and teachers to work with parents and

local groups to improve schools” (Arnowitz and Giroux 1985: 23). Instrumental rationality thus becomes a barrier to organizing our lives based on the principle of genuine justice and equality; it even discourages citizens from getting involved in any discourse that may invoke in them the desire to seek alternative ways of living. To be sure, there are several traditions in social science research that have produced rich discourses on the possibility of creating a more just world order (Walker, 1984) and the role of an educational system in such a world order. But the recent and much publicized reports on the quality of schooling in the United States and elsewhere have chosen technocratic rationality as a basis for their discourse (for the history of this emerging technocratic rationality in both the schools and public life, see Spring, 1972; Tyack, 1974; Kleibard, 1973; Zeichner, 1983; Giroux, 1984). In this way they seem to be perpetuating values and attitudes that negate democratic living. Aronowitz and Giroux (1985: 23-24) point out that “a strange paradox haunts the discourse regarding the crisis facing public education in the United States” and

“underlying this paradox at work in the discourse of school reform is a dual failure: first, there is the growing public failure to recognize the central role that teachers (and citizens) must play in any viable attempt to revitalize the public schools; secondly, the failure to recognize that the ideological and political interests underlying the dominant thrust in school reform are at odds with the traditional role of organizing public education around the need to educate students for the maintenance and defense of the traditions and principles necessary for a democratic society.”

In his discussion on social theory and political action, John Dunn (1983: 135) points out that

“collective social and political life is not a classroom, with masters (or mistresses) and pupils in the end there is simply us (citizens), trying to decide as best we can and on the basis of necessarily limited powers, what we have good reason to do. It is this more modest and democratic vision of the nature of modern political authority which we would have learned by now if we truly understood the history of social theory. It is this to which we need individually and collectively to discipline our imaginations. And unless we... do manage collectively to learn it and learn it very fast indeed, our political and social future... is likely to be excessively ugly.”

Moreover, there are ethical responsibilities involved in demanding changes in individual behavior and expecting people to change their established community and family life styles on the basis of the finding of social science research alone. Also, the limitation of social science research in altering social and cultural patterns and sustaining those changes for the long or short term for some collective (common) good needs to be openly discussed for the benefit of the majority of citizens.

The complexity of social and cultural change increases when we consider the implications of theory and methodology for the reorganization of the larger society. Most reports on the quality of schooling advocate large social changes without adequately discussing their impact on individuals life chances, their communities and their social relations. The experts seem to shy away from such deeper responsibilities, or scientific rationality itself undermines a caring attitude toward others. However, it could be conceded that experts and intellectuals involved in producing those reports may have a clear vision about the direction toward which society, economy, polity and culture in this

province should move. But the point is that the average citizen does not have access to such abstract theories of social change. This does not mean that ordinary citizens are totally devoid of any social theory. Every person has a social philosophy and possesses self-understanding by which he/she lives. Dunn (1983: 120) points out that

“we all do have our own understandings of ourselves, however vague and prevaricatory and externally grotesque these may be. And the self-understanding of all human beings is deeply interwoven with their understanding of social settings of their lives, with, that is to say, their amateur social theories (amateur social theory has always been, and will always remain, partly constitutive of human existence).”

Dunn also talks about two other kinds of theories: professional and official social theories, and discusses relations between these three notions of theories and political action. And he does so

“in the context of the very old-fashioned questions in political theory and ethics of how we have good reason to perceive ourselves and how it makes sense for us to live our lives... if the way in which we have good reason to live our own lives is, as Socrates argues against Calicles, not as more or less discreet brigands but rather with the principled trustworthiness which is a precondition for friendship and community, then the same should hold good of other human beings too. And if this is not the way in which we have good reason to live our lives, then we cannot reasonably expect others to presume it appropriate for themselves either” (Dunn, 1983: 132).

And perhaps in a similar vein, Gramsci, in his discussion of intellectuals and nonintellectuals, points out that all men and women are intellectuals, but not all of them function in society as intellectuals. That is, according to Gramsci (1971)

“There is no human activity from which every form of intellectual participation can be excluded: homo faber cannot be separated from homo sapiens. Each man (sic.), finally, outside his professional activity, carries on some form of intellectual activity, that is, he is a ‘philosopher’, an artist, a man of taste, he participates in a particular conception of the world, has a conscious line of moral conduct, and therefore contributes to sustain a conception of the world or to modify it, that is, to bring into being new modes of thought.”

Technocratic rationality, as an ideology, seems to lead to the direction of social change that undermines the notion of community, friendship, sense of civic duties and amateur theories about how we ought to live our lives in relation to others. However, as Dunn (1983: 132-3) points out

“civic dutifulness and a genuinely egoistic maximization can be fitted together, both in theory and practice, only by a measure of intellectual inattention.... and this is true over time either way — whether we adopt sentimental or moralistic views of ourselves as moral agents and cynical views of others, or espouse our own cynicism self — referentially and yet expect that others will pay the costs of the moral expectations which we solemnly proffer to them. On the whole professional social theories take

the first form, while official social theories (since they have to solicit the cooperation of subjects or citizens and since governing is so troublesome) more frequently take the second. Professional social theories are very much theories cast in the third person. You and I, we're good friends — and perhaps even good citizens if we choose to be so — but they — they're egoists to a person: first in social life for what they can get out of it).”

And Dunn (1983: 133) further states that

“collective political and social life (even the reproduction of the capitalist mode of production) is not something which can be done for us by a government or a party. It is the living of our lives. The living of our lives is something for which professional social theory has (and perhaps can in principle have) very little respect. And at least when politically applied from above (when espoused as official social theory) what professional social theory does is to expropriate the existential reality of individual lives. As official social theories, as doctrines of state, all professional social theories are widely undemocratic whatever formal role they may allot to the term democracy in their public self-justification.”

Democracy and democratic living do not have the same meaning for everyone. There is an on-going and rich tradition of discourse in this area. Held (1987) discusses various models of democracy and its relationship to society, economy and political system. But Dunn (1983: 134) points out that

“democracy is simply the political form of fraternity, the recognition that the species to which we belong is a species comprised of amateur social theorists and that rational cooperation and trust for its members must always depend in large part upon their actual beliefs and sentiments. Fraternity is a very varying historical possibility. But it can only start where professional social theory leaves off.”

Therefore, a way(s) has to be found which would allow us to combine the amateur theories of citizens, official theories of the government and professional theories of social scientists, if we are to make sense of how we should live good lives and choose what quality of schooling means to us as citizens.

However, this obvious desirability of mixing theories held by citizens, professionals and social scientists is hindered by a particular mind set which appears to have become predominant in our society in the last decade or so. Within this particular form of mental set, intellectual knowledge is increasingly seen as personal property, as a commodity or as cultural and intellectual capital (Eyerman, et al., 1987). There is an increased tendency to sell the products of intellectual labor for profit. However, at the same time, in many instances, public funds and facilities are used to produce such knowledge. The traditional promise that the result of social science research will help us to improve societal conditions for the common good is being undermined. This mind set, and practices associated with it, tend to increase the gap among different types of professionals and common citizens.

### **Types of Intellectuals and Their Social Functions**

Aronowitz and Giroux (1985), following Gramsci, analyze the social function of educators as intellectuals by using four categories. These are: (1) transformative intellectuals, (2) critical intellectuals, (3) accommodating intellectuals, and (4) hegemonic intellectuals. These, they claim, are ideal-typical categories. According to them,

“...transformative intellectuals must take seriously the need to come to grips with those ideological and material aspects of the dominant society that attempt to separate the issue of power and knowledge. Which means working to create the ideological and material conditions in both school and the larger society that give students the opportunity to become agents of civic courage, and therefore citizens who have the knowledge and courage to take seriously the need to make despair unconvincing and hope practical”. (p. 37)

And critical intellectuals differ from the transformative intellectuals in the sense that their posture

“is self-consciously apolitical, and they try to define their relationship to the rest of society as free-floating. As individuals they are critical of inequality and injustices, but they often refuse or are unable to move beyond their isolated posture to the terrain of collective solidarity and struggle.” (p. 37)

These intellectuals believe in that conception of rationality which makes it possible for them to separate science from ideology. Karl Mannheim (1936) made the most celebrated effort to establish the status of intellectuals as a “free-floating” critical social layer. Similarly and more recently, as Aronowitz and Giroux explain,

“Habermas wishes to free the emancipatory human interest from the limits imposed by history on the capacity of social class to make their particular interest universal. Yet by positing the autonomy of reason and the possibility of freeing knowledge from its ideological presuppositions, he has merely reasserted the ideology of modernity in which science as a value of neutral discourse is possible and depends for its realization on such categories as undistorted communication, reflexive understanding and autocritique... Suffice it is to say that science itself has become aware of the limits of its own aspirations for totalization, that the discovery of the ineluctability of difference is among the most important achievements of physics and biology of the twentieth century.” (p. 39)

Further, Aronowitz and Giroux point out that

“accommodating intellectuals generally stand firm within an ideological posture and set of material practices that support the dominant society and its ruling group. This category of intellectuals also define themselves in terms that suggest they are free-floating, removed from the vagaries of class conflict and partisan politics. But in spite of such rationalizations, they function primarily to mediate uncritically ideas and social practices that serve to reproduce the status quo... Another more subtle variation is the intellectual who disdains politics by proclaiming professionalism as a value system, one which often entails the spurious concept of scientific objectivity.” (p. 39)



And finally

“hegemonic intellectuals do more than surrender to forms of academic and political incorporation, or hide behind spurious claims to objectivism; they self-consciously define themselves through the forms of moral and intellectual leadership they provide for dominant groups and classes. The stratum of intellectuals provide various factions of the dominant classes with homogeneity and awareness of their economic, political, and ethical functions. The interests that define the conditions as well as the nature of their work are tied to the preservation of the major foundations, on the faculties of major universities, as managers of the culture industry, and in spirit, at least, in teaching and administrative positions at various levels of schooling.” (p. 40)

Aronowitz and Giroux explain that

“...Gramsci attempts to locate the political and social function of intellectuals through his analyses of the role of conservative and radical organic intellectuals. For Gramsci, conservative organic intellectuals provide the dominant class with forms of moral and intellectual leadership. As agent of the status quo, such intellectuals identify with the dominant relationships of power and become the propagators of its ideologies and values.” (p. 35)

However,

“for Gramsci, radical intellectuals also attempt to provide the moral and intellectual leadership of a specific class, in this case, the working class. More specifically, radical organic intellectuals provide the pedagogical and political skills that are necessary to raise political awareness in the working class in order to help the members of that class to develop leadership skills and to engage in collective struggle.” (p. 45, footnote 26)

These categories of intellectuals are not supposed to be too rigid. As Wright (1978) points out, many intellectuals, including educators, occupy contradictory class locations. The experience of various types of intellectuals must be analyzed in terms of the objective antagonisms they face on site, where they occupy their positions.

To conclude, as citizens, we need to be alert or adopt an attitude which allows us to be critical or vigilant of the ways social science and professional/governmental knowledge are transformed into some kind of higher status knowledge that becomes untouchable by ordinary citizens. We as citizens need to develop in ourselves abilities and self-concepts that allow us to recognize how social science and professional knowledge can be given some sort of mythical status and how they could become a source of symbolic violence. Social science knowledge and social scientists can be and ought to be subjected to moral and ethical judgements without challenging the objectivity of social science research (Sen, 1983). As a category of intellectuals, social scientists, their products (intellectual capital) and the process of intellectual labor (i.e., how they choose questions, the priorities of their research, the selection of findings, and the publicity they give to their conclusions) are often open to normative scrutiny of their peers. But scientific actions — like all other actions, should be open to public scrutiny as well. This means that the work by social scientists is not above the collective social

conscience of the larger society, i.e., it is not above the collective insights (amateur theories) ordinary citizens have about their environment and everyday living. These issues should be debated openly and citizens should have opportunities to participate in these theoretical debates. The media can play an important role in this. Also, public forums in the form of conferences, seminars, debates could create opportunities for citizens and experts to discuss these matters openly. Talking with each other openly and frankly reduces the gap between theory and practice, and in the process all parties — ordinary citizens, professional practitioners and researchers — feel empowered, i.e., all of them end up having some sense of power or control over their lives. Expected social and cultural changes, then, become meaningful. Also, participating freely, responsibly, with a high degree of social consciousness, in group discussions enhances and strengthens our democratic political system as well as our democratic life style. It makes us good citizens.

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**AN OPPORTUNITY MISSED? THE REPORT OF THE  
PRESIDENTIAL COMMITTEE TO REVIEW TEACHER EDUCATION**

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It is often stated that there has been a "revolution" in Newfoundland education since 1949; if a comparison is made between the schools of that year, 85% of which were one- and two-room buildings,<sup>1</sup> and the modern, well-equipped institutions of today, staffed by a largely graduate profession, then revolution may not seem too strong a word. Revolutions, however, are often followed by periods of stagnation, as the Soviet Union has discovered, and the Newfoundland education system may well be in such a situation today. At the same time there are stirrings of dissatisfaction, fuelled by rising expectations, among parents, teachers and educators. During the past year or so there has been an upsurge of public discussion and comment concerning the high level of illiteracy in the Province (and the connection of this with unemployment), the underfunding of education generally and of higher education in particular, and the alleged waste and duplication inherent in the denominational system. In addition, parents have expressed dissatisfaction in the local press at what they perceive to be shortcomings in classroom teaching, and much of the blame has been laid upon those who educate the teachers, namely the Faculty of Education at Memorial University.

"In response to concern expressed by various groups that the teacher education program no longer met the needs of the province,"<sup>2</sup> a committee to review teacher education was established by the President of the University in August 1987, with Dr. Madeline I. Hardy, Director Emeritus of the Board of Education for the City of London, Ontario, as chairperson and prominent local educators as members. Focussing Our Future, The Report of the Presidential Committee to Review Teacher Education in Newfoundland and Labrador, as it is formally known, was published in November 1988, and has been the subject of widespread discussion inside and outside the University. In this article I want to concentrate on those aspects of the Report which concern the community in general, bearing in mind that it is difficult to separate the internal structure of the Faculty from its role as an agent of public education. If my assessment of the Report is largely critical, I do not thereby impugn the personal integrity of members of the Committee, nor underestimate the work they put in; my concern is with the ideological basis of the Report as a whole, the effect of this on the recommendations for improved teacher education, and their probable impact on education and culture generally.

One's first impression of the Report is that its orientation is towards the technical, rational and administrative aspects of education rather than the human dimension. Of the fourteen chapters of the Report, the first seven deal with various aspects of teacher education in general, and the remainder with the organisation of the Faculty of Education. The approach to the problem of the reform of teacher education is made on the basis of a number of reports, studies and "models" (largely American and mainland Canadian), the proposals of which, mostly organisational and structural, are summarised in a highly abstract fashion. The conclusion reached is that "improved admission standards, more rigorous academic preparation, longer field experience, the use of the case study approach in teacher education curriculum, differential certification and career ladders, and the professionalization of teachers,"<sup>3</sup> are the means where by teacher education may be improved. The historical, social and cultural context in which Newfoundland teacher education operates is virtually ignored. Hardly surprisingly, only about a dozen of the 98 recommendations for reform focus on the content of education

or questions of pedagogy, and none on the cultural domain; the remainder are practical, technical and utilitarian. The formulation of the problem has determined the nature of the solution, and that solution, I contend, will do little to achieve the goals the situation demands.

It need not have been so. The terms of reference of the Committee, though specifically relating to the organisation, administration and finance of education, allowed the study (as the Report emphasises) to be both “thorough” and “broad”.<sup>4</sup> There was thus some scope for an examination of the evolution of teacher education in Newfoundland (which exhibits some important peculiarities), the demographic and social context in which the educational system operates, and the strong cultural tradition of Newfoundland. As the Report stands, it could apply to any province in Canada, or indeed almost any country. The abstract and utilitarian formulations of desirable aspects of teacher education and teacher qualities have little anchorage in the social milieu of an island with a complex history based on a fishing economy.

Problems which Newfoundland education must address — the preservation and extension of cultural forms, the elimination of illiteracy, and the reduction of the disparity in educational opportunity between rural and urban areas (the significance of which the Report plays down)<sup>5</sup> — are given little or no consideration. Yet these and other problems are ones which teachers of the present day and the immediate future must be educated to meet and help solve, and their education should be organised with these ends in view. It is all very well to propose that teachers should be able, committed, understanding, hard-working, etc.<sup>6</sup> But able to do what, in which context? Committed to which social goals? Understanding of which cultural peculiarities? In viewing reform almost entirely in abstract organisational terms, and largely neglecting a consideration of the content, form and methods necessary to improve teacher education in the particular context of Newfoundland for the 1990's and beyond, the Committee has missed a great opportunity. The emphasis of the Report could well have been on pedagogical science and community relevance, and have provided a mine of ideas and theoretical formulations for discussion and application.

The technocratic ideology which permeates the Report (including the title)<sup>7</sup> envisages reform in terms of numbers, percentages, additions and subtractions. We are asked to believe that “able and committed teachers” will be produced by raising admission standards, limiting student numbers, curtailing the number of education and professional courses, possibly making a reduction of 10% in the size of the teaching faculty, increasing the length of school internships, re-organising methods courses, and so on. Raising admission standards to 60% (and ultimately to 65%) grade average in “fifteen courses other than Education courses”<sup>8</sup> is put forward as a magical formula which will eliminate “weak” students (who, it is assumed without evidence, will become poor teachers) and help the production of “able and committed” teachers. Does this mean that students with a 60% or 65% average could then perform badly in education courses and on student teaching and still become good teachers? Or does it mean that the work of the Faculty of Education is irrelevant to the development of pedagogical excellence? The excessive devotion to academic marks and grades is reminiscent of the ideology of I.Q. testing, which assumed that performance in certain examinations at certain ages was an infallible guide to the future performance — in life as well as education — of young people. Concentration on examination marks is inimical to the concept of Education as a multifarious process of developing the full potential of various and complex human beings, whatever their assumed “intelligence”.

Furthermore, the raising of entrance standards and limitation of numbers mark a complete break with the traditional policy of the Faculty of Education — that of giving a broad general education (in addition to specific teacher education) to virtually all comers. The Report of the Task Force on University Priorities of 1976 stated that “in terms of its importance to general culture, the priority of faculties like Education ranks...high,” and to limit the scope of its offerings would be “not unlike asking Medicine to limit, by means of a ‘core programme’, to only that which a physician absolutely needs to know.”<sup>9</sup> In other words, the Faculty of Education has for many years served a dual role as the vehicle for the preparation of teachers and as an agent of general education for many who did not, and did not intend to become teachers, with incalculable advantages to the community.

Admittedly the work of the Faculty of Education has been, and is, open to criticism, and could greatly be improved. But to transform it into a smaller, more elitist, more narrowly “professional” body, largely divorced from the culture which sustains it, will neither produce the “high quality teacher education” the Committee rightly seeks, nor benefit the community by offering opportunities to the relatively disadvantaged.

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2. *Focussing Our Future, The Report of the Presidential Committee to Review Teacher Education in Newfoundland and Labrador*. (Memorial University of Newfoundland, November, 1988), p. 2. (Hereafter Hardy Report)
3. Hardy Report, p. 12.
4. Hardy Report, p. 2.
5. Hardy Report, p. 26
6. Hardy Report, pp. 21-22.
7. The spelling and grammar of the title suffer from the pernicious influence of the word processor. The spelling of the present participle of the verb “to focus” is “focusing”. “To focus” is a transitive verb requiring a concrete noun as a direct object, e.g., a camera. An abstract noun such as “the future” needs to be preceded by “on”. “Focusing on the Future” would therefore be the better title.
8. Hardy Report, p. 27.
9. *Report of the Task Force on University Priorities*. (Memorial University of Newfoundland 1976), p. 56; p. 98.

**THE ROYAL COMMISSION REPORT ON TEACHER  
EDUCATION: A RESPONSE**

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If confidence in one's ability to speak with authority, even without evidence or particularity, is a mark of one's understanding the issues of teacher education, then, without a doubt, the authors of **Education for Self-Reliance** possess it. Such confidence, perhaps arrogance is not too strong a word, expresses itself in this statement in which the Commissioners consider recommending a separate teacher training college:

Indeed, this Commission is so concerned about the wide range of teacher training problems in this province that we considered recommending a separate teacher training college which would offer a teacher's certificate separate from, and in addition to, a regular degree programme that students now follow at Memorial University (p. 221).

This is a statement exuding such a bold self-assurance that at first one almost hesitates to question it—almost, but not quite. What, one cannot help wondering, would be the advantage of this separation, this wrenching of the Faculty of Education (to become a teacher training college) from the University? What could possibly be gained by divorcing teacher training programs from the humanities and sciences which nourish them, from the stimulating environment of scholarship which the university offers? All across Canada universities prepare teachers for certification. Does the Commission, in considering the recommendation of a normal school, know something the country's educators do not? Dr. Naomi Hersom (1987), President of Mount St. Vincent University, in a recent address at the Association of Universities and colleges of Canada Conference, pointed out that teachers colleges and normal schools had stopped training teachers in the sixties, and that "over a period of two decades, the Canadian public education system has turned to the universities to prepare virtually all teachers for certification" (p. 1). She also stated that teacher education programs which integrate professional and arts and sciences courses over the length of the programs (as our primary and elementary programs do) have been found superior to those that do not, and that the teachers completing such programs are likely to be more competent than those whose professional courses are completed after finishing their arts or science degrees. Specifically, she says that the integrated program provides more opportunities for the evaluation of students as teachers, more opportunities to determine the commitment of students to teaching as a career, than does, what she calls, the consecutive program," the kind the Commission "considered recommending." Her conclusion is:

Students who have opportunities to study and practice the sciences of education over longer periods of time are more likely to be viewed by teacher colleagues and administrators as competent, based largely on perceived ability to plan and organize work in the classroom in ways that are appropriate to the grade level and to the type of students being taught (p. 10).

However, the Commissioners only considered recommending the establishment of a normal school. The reason they gave for not actually making the recommendation is interesting:



We have, however, agreed that Memorial should be capable of modifying its education programme to accomplish the objectives of sound teacher training (p. 221).

Such disdain for the University in general, and the Faculty of Education in particular, is uncalled for. Such bold effrontery, such cutting condescension are rare in such reports, and inappropriate. A clear examination of the issues and less arrogance are appropriate here.

What exactly do the Commissioners say about teacher training that Memorial Should be capable of modifying? First, they condemn the Faculty for teaching “education techniques” developed in California and Ontario. It is true that Newfoundland educators have too often opted for the fads and trends from elsewhere, but the University has not been alone, or even the leader, in this. Open area schools, the integration of the handicapped, sex education, vocational education in the high schools are all trends “from away” and all trends supported by the Department of Education, school boards and school administrators. But these trends are not pernicious just because they are imported. What is important is the pedagogical soundness not the place of origin of techniques and trends. We should no more condemn educational techniques because they were developed in California than we would medical techniques because they were not developed at Memorial’s School of Medicine. We in the Faculty of Education have learned from educational philosophers, subject specialists, curriculum theorists, and psychologists from around the world. I find it difficult to imagine anyone arguing that it should be otherwise.

Later in the Report, the Commissioners blame, in part, the lack of “progress toward reshaping...Newfoundland’s education... system for the realities of the 1980s and 1990s” on “inertia within the Faculty of Education.” I am not going to argue that there is no room for improvement. However, it should be pointed out that in the past few years the Faculty of Education has developed new courses in law and computer education to meet the demands of the reorganized high school program. It has developed courses and institutes in French and hired three instructors to train teachers for French immersion. It has developed new undergraduate and graduate programs for primary and elementary teachers. It has just completed a new undergraduate degree program in Native and Northern Education. It is presently developing a new undergraduate program for high school teachers. If the Commissioners did not know about them, they should have recognized the inappropriateness of the word “inertia” to characterize the Faculty.

At times complex issues are treated by the Commissioners as simple, unequivocal statements of fact. For example, they write that an average of 55 percent for entrance requirements is low. They conclude that it “does not ensure that students in the Faculty are meeting the standards that must be reached” (p. 62). Perhaps 55 percent is low. But what would it need to be to ensure that students meet “the standards that must be reached”? Would 60 percent ensure it? Sixty-five percent? What exactly are the standards that must be reached? May there be qualities, other than academic achievements, that might ensure the meeting of “the standards that must be reached”? Should we consider commitment to teaching? Attitude to children? Love of learning? Personality? The point is that preparing young people “for the demanding role of teachers” (p. 62) is not a simple business, certainly not one in which standards can be assured simply by raising entrance requirements.

Sometimes it appears that the Commissioners are unaware of the facts. For instance, they recommend that the Faculty of Education should develop "a co-operative programme in education similar to those of the Faculties of Engineering and Business Administration" (p. 123). However, when, at a Faculty of Education seminar, one of the Commissioners was asked whether he knew of our internship program (superior to the co-operative program in my opinion because more focussed and more closely supervised), he responded that he did not know about it. It is this off-handedness generalization that is my major citizen of the Commissioners' discussion of teacher education. I welcome criticism if it is sound, but extemporaneous criticism, without evidence and unsubstantiated, however confidently stated, is inappropriate in a report that educators and the Government are meant to take seriously.

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## TWELVE PAPER FOR CDAS

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In 1985 and 1986 the writer submitted twelve papers to the Department of Career Development and Advanced Studies (CDAS).

The following papers were submitted on the 18<sup>th</sup> of April, 1985:

- "Mandate Document"
- "Philosophical Statement"
- "Post-Secondary Institutions"

Some of the items covered in this paper are:

- Recommended system for the Community Colleges
- The matter of governance vis-a-vis CDAS and Memorial University
- The importance of R & D in our (proposed) Institutes
- Three short background papers
- "Education and Productivity"
- "The Information Age"
- "Research and Development"

On October 1, 1985, a paper titled "R & D and Productivity" was submitted. This paper is somewhat incomplete, that is, it is not ready for publication, so the Assistant Deputy Minister was asked to keep this paper in his own desk. However, as R & D papers go, it does contain a lot of information (61 pages) and may be of interest to some people.

Further comment on the 1985 papers will not be made here, in that the 1986 papers would be of more immediate interest to our readers.

In 1986 the writer spent four months interviewing the province's employers (business, industry and three levels of government) to ascertain, inter alia, their opinions of the programs and graduates of our post-secondary institutions, their recommendations for future institutional programs, their thoughts regarding the work place of the future, and so on. Accordingly, a report titled "Interviews of the Post-Secondary Institutions, Business, Labour and Government" was submitted on September 18, 1986.

Obviously, it was not possible to interview all of the province's employers; instead representatives of the different industries were interviewed. For example, John Carson, President and General Manager of Abitibi Price, spoke for the forest industry; Chris Collingwood, President, Baine Johnson & Co., spoke for merchandising; Bill Campbell, Manager of Administration, Iron Ore Company of Canada, spoke for the mining industry, and so on. Three people were asked to provide a summary at the end of the interviews. They were Harold Lundrigan, President of the Lundrigan Group, Chairman of the Newfoundland Economic Council and member of the Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment, Dr. Wilson Russell, formerly of the Faculty of Engineering at MUN, latterly of NORDCO, and currently President of National Petroleum Ltd. And three other companies (five interviews) and Wayne Humphries, Executive Secretary of the same Royal Commission (about a dozen interviews). The number interviewed totalled 84.

Among the findings, the following are among the more significant:

1. The greatest criticism (by far) was that recent entrants into the labour force are unable to write adequately. (Naturally, the interviewer reminded the employers that criticism would be more properly directed at another jurisdiction but they wished to make the criticism anyway).
2. The employers were asked whether our post-secondary institutions (PSI's) should emphasize special skills or programs of a general nature; 100% came down on the side of the latter.
3. The large employers predicted a static work force, e.g., the Federal Government, the Provincial Government, the fishing industry (excepting value added production, which has great potential), the mining industry (excepting gold mining, which, again, looks very promising), the forestry industry, and so on. The great majority of new jobs, therefore, will have to come from small businesses.
4. Grade IX is far too low a criterion for functional literacy.
5. The following items might help to explain the employer's position in the previous item:
  - All the employers at IOC (1600) have taken a (real) course in statistics.
  - People in sales, we were told, should have some university education.
  - An ordinary university degree no longer suffices for work in some of the media "because the news is too complicated."
  - The manual now in use in large trucks requires a reading level of Grade 12.
6. The most kudos for any program in the PSI's were directed toward that of Engineering Technician at the Cabot Institute. (It should be emphasized that this program is not necessarily the "best" in the province; rather, it was the one program that was mentioned favorably the most). However, it is of interest to note the reason given for the kudos; it was that the Engineering Technicians were generally educated — "they can put their hands to anything" — after, of course, they had done the background study.

Other programs that were rated highly:

- The Electronic Programs at both the Cabot and Marine Institutes.
  - The Co-operative Programs in Business and Engineering at Memorial University.
  - Programs for Captains, Mates and Engineers at the Marine Institute.
  - The Engineers and Secretaries who worked with the Offshore Companies -- "They are as good as anywhere in the world."
7. The Hospitality Industry in Newfoundland's growth industry (12,000 workers in 1986). However, in terms of training, the industry is approximately where it was in Come Home Year (20 years ago).
  8. With regard to the Offshore Development Phase, the perception of the PSI's as to the role they will play is rather optimistic.

9. The most positive response to any item was elicited regarding the offering of Entrepreneurial Skills Programs. Senior executives from the private sector would not only be willing but honored to assist the PSI's with these programs. The employers stressed the point that the offering of courses by teachers in our PSI's will be of little assistance to people who wish to start their own businesses. In this respect the program offered by the Bay St. George Community College is a promising model for the rest of us. A final note: the employers agreed that business education should commence at the public school level not later than Grade 6. (This is obviously not in the jurisdiction of CDAS but it should be mentioned anyway.)

### **The December 1986 Papers**

On December 23, 1986, the final three papers were submitted to CDAS:

- "Labour Marketing Forecasting and the Canadian Occupational Projection System"
- "The Emerging Jobs of the 1990's"
- "Newfoundland's Post-Secondary Institutions — Recommended Changes"

In the first-mentioned paper, the writer was asked to advise the Department on the efficacy of the labour projection system (COPS) that is used in Canada. The only comment that will be made here is that it was recommended that not too much reliance be placed on that system by CDAS but that they may as well stay with it since it is the only system that we have.

With respect to the other two papers, it is, of course, rather presumptuous for any individual to undertake either of these tasks — but then, the writer had signed a contract to do just that, and, over a two-year period, he did the best he could.

### **The Emerging Jobs of the 1990's**

It is instructive to attempt to predict the occupations that will be static, shrinking, or of "the endangered-species" category, some examples of which are:

- Cashiers
- Telephone Operators (The system almost runs itself.)
- File clerks
- Meter readers
- Post office workers (The first institution to be negatively affected, in a large way, by telecommunications.)
- Bank tellers
- Labourers
- Servicing (When was the last time you brought your TV set into the repair shop?)
- Primary sector workers (excepting value added processing in fishing and gold mining)
- Middle Management (Yes, the old pyramid is crumbling here, too)

The following are some of the predicted growth occupations of the 1990's:

### Writers

They already are “wanted” people. Simply stated, this is the information age and legions of writers will be needed, viz:

- on-line information writers
- scenario writers for telemarketing
- writers of reports, recipes, directories
- translators of scientific and technical works
- writers for Cable TV (explosive growth here). Programs for students, legal and medical programs for the poor, programs for the unemployed, etc.
- commercial scholars to do technical writing (the number of workers needed for these documents may be greater than all the workers in journalism right now)
- local writers for national and international data bases

### Teachers

But not teachers for the public schools where their numbers will decline (because of the three “busts”

- Baby, Government and Immigration). However, in the Information Age, “everyone from 3 to 81” will be looking for knowledge, viz:
- Teachers for the Community Colleges — very explosive growth here, and for all the usual reasons, but it is instructive to note that there are more functional adult illiterates in this province than there are students in the entire public school system.
- Day Care Teachers — Another area of very explosive growth (and we will need teachers and not baby sitters).
- Teachers for the private sector — this is the fastest growing segment of education in North America right now.
- Private post-secondary teachers — and don’t let what’s happened in this province fool you. These institutions were operating in oblivion of the Information Age; in the future, they will need “real teachers”.
- Teachers for private institutions at the school level.
- This trend is already well under way in the U.S.
- Teachers for all these Cable TV programs noted above.

The implications for the MUN Faculty of Education are enormously important.

- Health Services
- This relates to the “greying” of the population. People over 65 are growing three times as fast as the rest of the population; therefore, there should be rapid growth in occupations such as the following:
  - geriatric social workers
  - pharmacists
  - “Practical nurses”
  - a new type of medic (who will use the interactive capability of the computer)
- **The Computer Industry**

Employers in both the private and public sectors in this province estimate that the growth rate will be 25% per annum.

– **Biotechnology**

According to the best of the experts, this should be the second fastest growing occupation in North America (the fastest being telecommunications). The conventional wisdom in Newfoundland is that this field is too far fetched for us. (Almost unnoticed by the media is the fortuitous appointment of the new Dean of Science of MUN - this is the field of study of Dean Visentin and, besides, he's from the Federal Government.)

- Aquaculture - We're already under way in this field - enough said.
- Electronic technicians - Our times are also called the Electronic Age.
- Entertainers - In the 1990's they will "come into their own".
- Laser technicians - say - "So Long" to the machinists, tool and die workers.
- Police Officers, Prison Officials, Security Guards (unfortunately).

**"Newfoundland's Post-Secondary Educational Institutions - Recommended Changes"**

In this paper, the writer selected five foci of concern to CDAS:

Literacy programs  
 General education  
 Technician education  
 R & D  
 Entrepreneurial skills programs

**Literacy Programs**

The most crucial problem for CDAS, indeed for the whole province, is that of illiteracy - basic illiteracy and functional illiteracy.

In this respect, the visits that the writer made to the offices and plants of both the public and private sectors in this province convinced him that the criterion of Grade IX for functional literacy is ridiculously low. The number of functional illiterates in this province is not, therefore, 127,000 as reported by the Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment, but is much larger. On the local CBC TV program, "Here and Now" for September 22, 1987, Peter Calami of Southam News reported that, according to his recent study 44% of the Newfoundland adult population failed a very elementary (lower than Grade IX) literacy test.

Incredibly, the (House) Royal Commission recommended that Memorial University be given the primary responsibility for literacy. The writer is one of the strongest supporters in the province of the work of the Commission but he wrote that this recommendation "...indicates that the Commission underestimates the magnitude of the task, shows little insight into the logistics of the task, and is somewhat confused regarding the purpose of our post-secondary institutions."

The Community Colleges (on 20 proposed campuses), of course, should be given the primary responsibility for literacy programs. Illiteracy, like unemployment, in this province, is an outport problem, so, obviously, the work has to be done in the small communities.

Of course, MUN, like all our educational institutions, has a large part to play here. Apart from the obvious contribution of Extension Services, the Faculty of Education should have been "up to their eyes" in this work for years.

### **General Education**

This item is of special importance to the Community Colleges, that is, this age demands skills that are generic, transposable, polyvalent, as opposed to those that are practical, specific, vocational. The employers in this province seem to the writer to be more supportive of this position than some of the personnel in our post-secondary institutions.

### **Technical Education**

The point noted above applies here as well and relates mainly to our three technical institutes. Our readers no doubt are aware that these institutions, especially the Marine and the Cabot, are already well along in a restructuring phase for programs that are more general and more technical (as opposed to "trades").

### **Research and Development**

A society today that is weak in its R & D activity will remain second-rate and will have a type of branch plant existence. The same principle applies to industries, firms, and, significantly here, to post-secondary educational institutions. (It is interesting to note, in passing, that all the reports, papers and studies that have been presented to the provincial government have recommended the "leap frog" approach - because we cannot do it ourselves.)

CDAS is urged, therefore, to encourage research in the Institutes. (The flume tank activity at the Marine Institute shows good promise.) The excellent work at Memorial - Earth Sciences, Biochemistry, the Offshore Complex - should be supported and encouraged.

### **Entrepreneurial Skills Programs**

These programs are of central importance to CDAS because the great majority of new jobs in the province will be provided by small businesses; however, Newfoundland has not had much in the way of an entrepreneurial tradition.

Incredibly, again, the (House) Royal commission recommends that the primary responsibility for coordinating and delivering entrepreneurial programs be assigned to Memorial. Again, the contribution of the University in this respect will be enormous - the P.J. Gardiner Institute comes first to mind and the Education Faculty has a very



important part to play here. But obviously, CDAS itself has to co-ordinate this enormous effort, and, obviously again, all the post-secondary institutions will assist with the delivery of these programs.

#### **Two Addenda**

1. The Department of Career Development and Advanced Studies did not ask me to interview such a large number of employers. Rather, I was contracted to interview representative members of labour, government and the private sector. However, when that task was finished, I decided to interview as many employers as I could because here, obviously, was a very valuable source of information that had not been tapped before.
2. With respect to priorities in education, at both the school and post-secondary levels, the employers' opinions, though critically important, are but one of many sources in modern society.

**SCHOOL DISTRICT BOUNDARIES REVISITED:  
REPORT OF THE TASK FORCE ON  
INTEGRATED SCHOOL DISTRICT BOUNDARIES**

**Cecil Roebathan and Philip Warren  
Presented in this issue by Amarjit Singh**

In May 1986, the Integrated Education Council appointed a two-person Task Force comprised of Professors Cecil Roebathan (chairperson) and Philip Warren to carry out the proposed study. Professors Roebathan and Warren submitted their report to the Reverend Ian S. Wishart, President, Integrated Education Council St. John's, Newfoundland, in February 1987. The terms of Reference were stated as follows:

- (1) To examine the boundaries of Integrated school boards with a special emphasis on those boards with either present enrollments of less than 2,000 students or with beginning classes of less than 200 students.
- (2) To make recommendations with respect to future district boundaries.
- (3) To begin its work on the west and southwest sections of the Province with the view perhaps of having at the time of the Interim Report, firm recommendations with respect to the Ramea and Burgeo Boards.

The Report consists of letter of transmittal, list of six tables, five maps, five chapters and two appendixes. All this is founded in sixty-eight pages.

Some excerpts from the Task Force Report are included here. It is hoped that readers of the **Morning Watch** in the community, graduate and undergraduate students in the Faculty of Education, and school personnel will benefit from the material presented in the Report.

In Chapter One the authors of the report introduce us to the historical background relating to the development of Integrated educational districts in the province. According to them:

Part I of the Schedule to the Schools Act, 1969, divided the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador into twenty Integrated educational districts; another one was added sometime after the legislation was enacted. Apart from a few minor changes in their boundaries, these districts have remained virtually unchanged for seventeen years. During that period, no further consolidation or reorganization has taken place.

This does not mean that no thought has been given to the question of school district boundaries over the years. In 1972, a Committee was appointed to examine the matter in some depth. Its main purpose was to propose larger units of administration to be established and to make them "as co-terminous as possible" with Roman Catholic districts. The Integrated Education Council's records indicate that this Committee functioned for five or six years and submitted a number of reports, including specific recommendations. However, its major recommendations were never implemented, and the exercise did not result in any significant changes to school district boundaries.

In 1982, another Committee, representing the same groups, was appointed but with a much narrower mandate. This Committee was asked to consider the boundaries of three districts: Labrador East, Strait of Belle Isle, and Vinland. It concluded its study and submitted its report in September of that year, recommending that:

- (a) An inter-denominational district be established for central and southern Labrador; and that
- (b) Vinland and Strait of Belle Isle Districts be consolidated.

These proposals did not appear to be fully acceptable to the various denominational groups; neither did they win the support of the school boards involved. Consequently, no action was taken to implement them. The Committee continued its study with its mandate expanded to include the districts of Burgeo and Ramea. Three years later, in September, 1985, it reported that, because of factors such as declining enrollments and changing communication patterns, the whole Province, rather than certain sections of it, should be included in the study. The Committee recommended the appointment of a task force to undertake this assignment.

The procedures followed by the authors are outlined below:

The Task Force felt that its examination of district boundaries should not be undertaken without basic theoretical framework. The study began, therefore, with an examination of the literature to determine what conclusions experts in the field of school district organization had reached concerning such matters as optimum size for school districts, alternatives to district consolidation, and criteria to be used in organizing school districts. Members also wanted to know what recent developments, if any, had occurred, particularly in the other jurisdictions of Canada similar to our own. The findings and conclusions arising from this review are summarized in Chapter III, entitled "Approached to School District Reorganization".

In order to gather further background information, the Task Force examined all the relevant records in the Department of Education and the Integrated Education Council office. It reviewed the work already done by the Committees appointed in 1972 and 1982, as well as the written reaction to these reports and recommendations. It studies the district profiles already prepared by each Integrated school board in the Province. In its examination of the files of the Department of Education, it attempted to determine precisely what changes have been made to Integrated district boundaries since the consolidation of school boards in 1969.

The Task Force concluded that it should discuss the consolidation issue with the boards concerned and consider their views before making any recommendations affecting their boundaries. Accordingly, with one exception, it visited districts singled out for special consideration under the Terms of Reference. In these districts, discussions were held with central office staff and, in a number of instances, with teacher representatives. Generally, each visit concluded with a meeting of the school board or its

focused on enrolment projections, the advantages and disadvantages of further consolidation, and the options available for reorganization. School boards and other groups were also invited to express their views to the Task Force in writing, if they wished to do so. A number of them responded to this invitation. (See Appendix A for a list of visits undertaken and Appendix B for a list of briefs and letters received.)

In the districts not covered by these visits, school boards were invited, by memorandum, to write the Task Force expressing their views and making any suggestions for changes in their area. Two responded:

Another important component of the study was a series of meetings with representatives of the various organizations in education. The Task Force met with officials from the Newfoundland Teachers' Association, the Newfoundland and Labrador School Trustees' Association, the Superintendents' Association, the Department of Education, and a number of other groups. This was done not only to solicit their views on school district boundaries but to give them an opportunity to react to various proposals, which, if implemented, would have implications for their organization and their members.

In order to provide the public at large with an opportunity to express their views on this matter, a newspaper advertisement was placed in papers throughout the Province outlining the work of the Task Force and soliciting written submissions. While there were few responses to this advertisement, the Task Force considered it important that this be done. Perhaps it should be noted that the question of public reaction to further consolidation was one of the major issues discussed with school boards and their employees in the various meetings held throughout the Province.

In Chapter Two the authors review recent literature on the development of school districts in the province. They state that:

Before integrating their services in 1969, the Anglican, United Church, and Salvation Army Church Authorities administered over 225 school boards in the Province. More than 200 of these boards had fewer than 800 students under their jurisdiction, and only three of them had 2,000 students or more. That picture changed dramatically after integration. All of these boards, except for Burgeo and Ramea, were consolidated into larger units and their number reduced to 19. Burgeo and Ramea were permitted to continue under a special provision of the Schools Act, the intention being to incorporate them with a larger district within a few years. (See Map I)

As it happened, that incorporation never took place. Indeed, as we stated earlier, very few changes took place in district boundaries after the reorganization of the sixties. The only really significant change was made in 1973. At that time, the Canada Bay - Main Brook part of Vinland was transferred to the Strait of Belle Isle, and a stretch of the Labrador Coast — from Cape Charles to Norman Bay — taken from Labrador East and added to Vinland. These changes were made because it was felt that the areas in question could be administered more effectively by the boards

receiving them. Informal observations in the three Districts have since indicated that the revisions were justified.

The authors further note several changes that have taken place in the district boundaries since 1969. These include: (1) "...the diversification of the school curriculum at all levels and the inclusion of many special programs designed to meet the interest and needs of all children", (p. 15) (2) "improvements in the transportation system in the Province" (p. 15), and (3) "declining enrollments." (p. 15). They point out the following implications of these changes:

The implications of diversified and expanded school programs, declining enrollments, and improved transportation services for school district boundaries are obvious. More sophisticated school programs require that districts have sufficient students to justify improved physical facilities and expanded professional assistance to teachers. Generally, this calls for bigger districts. But declining enrollments are making districts smaller. In fact, districts which once had low or marginal enrollments may no longer be able to economically offer the range of services they once did and may not be able to respond to needs for additional services at all.

The impact of the vastly improved transportation system is more positive. To begin with, it has made it possible to reduce the number of schools administered, through consolidation. New roads and air routes have made schools more accessible to the district office and, consequently, easier to administer and service. They have brought once isolated communities into the social and cultural milieu of more urban communities. Smaller numbers of schools and better transportation services have made it possible in most rural regions of the Province for bigger geographical areas to be serviced by one school board. In short, some of the smaller educational districts we now have can be consolidated into bigger and more effective units.

In order to supply more background information concerning the districts selected for special consideration, we have included Tables V and VI. Table V gives the number and classification of schools for each of the eleven smaller districts. These data provide some indication of the administration workload for district office personnel. It should be noted that discretion was used in classifying schools because a number of them did not fit neatly into any one of the four categories listed. They accommodate grades in two or more of these groups. For the sake of convenience, they are placed in the groups they appear to fit most comfortably. Table VI contains a breakdown of the professional staff for each district office.

In Chapter Three Roebathan and Warren talk about the approaches to school district reorganization and review supporting and opposing arguments for each approach. The approaches discussed by them are: (1) further consolidation, (2) the regional service concept, (3) school district sharing, and (4) the status quo, with extra funding for smaller districts. In summarizing the review of these approaches, the authors state that:

...the present is an appropriate time for a review of school district boundaries in Newfoundland and Labrador. Few changes have been

made in boundaries since widespread consolidation took place in the late 1960's. Presently, we are experiencing declining enrollments and demands for better use of educational resources. At the same time, there are demands for new demands for new educational programs and services for teacher as well as students. These factors, among others, confirm the need to review all educational structures, at the local level as well as the provincial.

While the most commonly proposed approach to school district restructuring is consolidation, other options include the establishment of regional or intermediate service centers with specialized staff personnel, the development of regional services through school board sharing, and the strengthening of smaller districts through the provision of extra funding. The proposals made in the next chapter of this Report involve a combination of these approaches. Further consolidation of Integrated districts is possible in certain regions of the Province. District sharing, including interdenominational sharing, is proposed for other regions. In still others, some

Chapter Four includes options and recommendations. The authors state that:

From the beginning, the Task Force approached the issue of district consolidation with a number of basic questions in mind. They included the following:

- (1) What are the potential educational advantages and disadvantages to both students and teachers if we consolidate or reorganize?
- (2) What economies or diseconomies of scale might result from consolidation or reorganization? What startup costs might there be?
- (3) What effects will consolidation or reorganization have on provincial allocations of teachers, board office staff, and funds in the reorganized districts?
- (4) Will the reorganized area be sufficiently compact geographically for the school board to meet regularly and for the board office to provide adequate services to all its schools, teachers, and students at reasonable costs?
- (5) Will local interest and parental involvement be maintained in the more distant parts of the reorganized districts?
- (6) Will consolidation or reorganization result in further school closures and more student bussing?
- (7) Will one district involved in consolidation see itself as "bailing out" another district in terms of either short- or long-term debts?
- (8) What are the enrolment projections for the area?

- (9) Are there alternatives to school district consolidation or reorganization, such as the provision of regional services, district sharing, or the provision of special funding for necessarily small districts?

These questions served as guidelines in arriving at the recommendations contained in this Report, since they indicate the kinds of information necessary for making decisions about school districts reorganization and consolidation in this Province.

With respect to minimum district size, in terms of student enrolment, the Task Force considers the 2,000 figure to be reasonable in some areas, given the geography and demography of this Province, even though four or five times that number would be desirable. While it may always be necessary to operate one or two districts with fewer than 2,000 students, we maintain that further consolidation or some form of inter-denominational co-operation can eliminate most of the smaller districts now in operation. We also feel that it might be unnecessary or unwise to permit any integrated district to continue if its enrollment falls below 1,500.

The Task Force made the following recommendations:

- (1) That the district of Burgeo and Ramea be consolidated with Bay of Islands - St. George's district at the earliest possible date (p. 42).
- (2) That the Strait of Belle Isle and Vinland districts be consolidated and that the new district be given additional staff and funding (p. 46).
- (3) That the St. Barbe and Deer Lake districts be consolidated (p. 49).
- (4) That the Cape Freels and Terra Nova district be consolidated (p. 51).
- (5) The integrated education council consult with the Catholic Education Council with a view to working out a co-operative arrangement whereby all the Integrated and Roman Catholic schools in Labrador East could be administered by one board and all the schools in Labrador West by another (p. 55).
- (6) That the Integrated Education Council consult with Catholic Education Council with a view to adopting a cooperative arrangement whereby one board could administer, especially for instructional purposes, all the schools in the area (p. 56).

Further, for various reasons, the Task Force considers it unwise to suggest any boundary changes at the present time in Port aux Basques, Conception South, Central Newfoundland and Avalon districts (p. 56-58).

In Chapter Five, the last one, the authors present strategies for implementation for Integrated Education Council, school boards, the Department of Education (pp. 59-61). They also discuss other items such as: the process of consolidation, displacement of staff, time table for implementation and regional services and district sharing.

Roebathan and Warren recommended that changes mentioned in this chapter be implemented in September 1987 in the Ramea and Burgeo Districts, in September 1988, in the districts of St. Barbe South and Deer Lake, and in the districts of Cape Freels and Terra Nova; in September 1989, in the Strait of Belle Isle and Vinland districts, and that no later than September 1992, rest of the district be the subject of further study.

In concluding this chapter the authors state that:

Throughout the Chapter, a number of elements of any successful reorganization effort have been addressed. Certainly, there must be input from local authorities and citizens, and involvement by teachers, administrators, and other employees in the process. All groups must be willing to consider the various options in as objective a manner as possible. The importance of financial incentives to facilitate the reorganization process has also been stressed. But most important to the success of consolidation will be the strong and effective leadership of district Superintendents, their central office colleagues, and school boards themselves at the local level. Their vision will help ease the pain and reduce the emotion of change. Following consolidation, their leadership will largely determine the extent to which the potential of reorganization for improvement in student learning will be achieved. School district consolidation may at times be difficult, but it may also be exciting and challenging. It will be successful if it contributes to the development of the best possible education for the children we serve.



## REPORT OF THE SMALL SCHOOLS SUPPLY PROJECT

Frank Riggs and Associates

Presented in this issue by  
Amarjit Singh

Professor Frank Riggs and his associate submitted their report to the Honorable Loyola Hearn, Minister of Education, Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, on December 31, 1986. The final report was published in January 1987, under the heading mentioned above. Three background reports were also prepared for this report. These are: (1) Riggs, F.T., Small School Survey, Report No. 1, (2) Martin, W.B.W. and W.H. Spain, A Comparative Analysis of Student Views on Schooling: A Question of School Size, Report No. 2, and (3) Riggs, F.T., Summary of Submissions, Report No. 3.

These are important documents which throw light on certain aspects of the educational system in this province. Those interested in the educational scene will find these publications useful for various purposes. Therefore, some selected excerpts from the final report of the small schools project are reproduced in this issue of the **Morning Watch**.

The final report contains acknowledgments, letter of transmittal, six chapters, a list of tables, and set appendixes. The appendixes include: list of school visited, small school survey questionnaire, student attitude questionnaire, request for briefs, list of submissions and list of background reports.

Chapter One is an overview, and therefore it is reproduced here in full.

### Chapter 1 of the Report

#### Introduction

During the past 25 years a sharply declining birthrate and a population shift towards urban centers have resulted in a smaller school population and fewer schools in Newfoundland and Labrador. The resettlement of people from many small communities and the improvement in the means of transportation of students have reduced the number of small schools but Newfoundland still has nearly 30 percent of all its schools (nearly 8 percent of school enrolment) with fewer than 100 pupils. Most of the small schools are located in small communities in almost every region of the Province except the east Avalon and Port au Port Peninsula. The heaviest concentration of small schools is in coastal Labrador. With a continued decline in school enrolment, projections are that in the next decade there will be even fewer schools but an increase in the number of small schools.

Small schools are not new to Newfoundland. In 1960 there were approximately 1300 schools in this Province, many of which were one-room schools, and there were hundreds of multi-graded classrooms. Nor are initiations new to address the educational challenges of small schools. In 1938 The Correspondence Division of the Department of Education was established "to combat the problem of giving children in isolated

settlements, where it was not possible to have a school, an education by correspondence tutors." These courses were not used as support programs for small schools, but rather to provide instruction to students, who because of isolation, could not attend any school. Itinerant teachers who taught in schools which were situated in close proximity to the railway track were also used at that time. However, as more schools were built, and as employment opportunities improved during the war years, and as resettlement took place, the need for correspondence courses and itinerant teachers diminished.

Throughout the fifties there was a resurgence of interest in correspondence courses and in 1956 there was a Department of Education proposal "to introduce a program of correspondence courses to sole change and two-room schools which could not avail of the services of Regional and Central High Schools." This was an ambitious effort. It offered courses in Grade 9, 10 and 11 involving 50 schools in its first year of operation. In June 1958 Daniel W. Bragg was appointed Director of Correspondence. His responsibility was to co-ordinate all activities associated, with the correspondence courses. However, around the end of 1963, partly due to the introduction of bursaries for high school students, the effort that began in the thirties and was rived in the fifties, had ended. In 1979 regulations were passed, and are presently in effect, which provided additional teacher allocations to small schools, but there has been relatively little attention given to the programs concerns in small schools since 1963.

There are presently two overriding issues which force us to focus on small schools. One is related to programs. A broader program in primary and elementary grades has been approved by the Department of Education and also the expectations of teachers, students and parents have been heightened by the introduction of the Reorganized High School Program. The second issue is the declining enrolment in the schools. Unless there is mass resettlement or extensive school consolidation, schools in the future will have fewer students than at present. This is the present reality, and it is this reality which this study addresses.

### **Terms of Reference**

The specific terms of reference of the Small Schools Project are as follows:

- A. **Objective**  
To investigate problems peculiar to small schools with an aim toward developing proposals to enhance educational opportunities for students in these schools.
- B. **Critical Components**  
Emanating from this overall objective, specific attention should be given to, at least, the following critical components:
  - 1. Identification of unique problems associated with small schools.
  - 2. Teaching Strategies.
  - 3. Program Modifications.
  - 4. Support Services and Personnel.

### **Scope of the Study**

The Small Schools Project consists of an Advisory Panel and a Director. From the outset it was decided not to define a 'small school' but rather to investigate characteristics of schools and attempt to derive a definition from these characteristics. It was felt that it was better to focus on school characteristics rather than solely on school size. In this way the focus would be on challenges and problems associated with the small schools instead of on school enrolment per se.

Characteristics of schools were investigated in a number of ways. One, the Project Director held meetings with School Superintendents, Board Office Personnel, and School Board Members (Appendix A). During these meetings an effort was made to gain some insight into the particular character of the school district and the challenges presented by the small schools.

In addition, it was considered important to obtain information on the qualifications of teachers who teach in the smaller schools, as well as information on the working environment of teachers, teachers' opinions of problems which the encounter, and suggestions for minimizing these problems.

The information obtained from this survey is referred to in various places throughout this Report and is reported in detail in Background Report No. 1, "Small School Survey."

Also, the attitudes of students who attend the smallest schools were investigated through a students attitude questionnaires (Appendix C). The results of the students survey are reported in detail in Background Report No. 2, "A Comparative Analysis of Student Views on Schooling: A Question of School Size."

The Small Schools Project also solicited input through written submissions from School Boards and other agencies with a direct involvement or strong interest in education (Appendix D). This invitation resulted in 26 briefs being submitted (Appendix E) which dealt with issues such as school programs, teacher education, necessary support personnel, finances and school consolidation and co-operation among religious denominations. The concerns raised in the submissions are cited in various places throughout this Report and are summarized in Background Report No. 3, "Summary of Submissions."

The study also attempted to gain some insight into pupil achievement and school retention as they related to the smaller schools in the province. However, in this matter we were not as successful as we had hoped to be. Given the nature of collecting this kind of data and the time constraints, we have not been able to be conclusive in our findings as we anticipated. However, in another section of the Report additional reference is made to this part of our work.

In Chapter Two the authors have reviewed selected literature on small schools. Specifically, it summarizes literature on the definition of small schools, the nature of education provided for in small schools, the financing of small schools, and suggestions for operating small schools. The Chapter also includes a list of important readings in the form of short bibliography. For lack of space only selected excerpts from the report are included here.

**What are Small Schools?** The literature reviewed in the report indicates that:

There is no single definition of small schools accepted by all researchers. Instead, there are a variety of definitions, each determined largely by the size of schools in the jurisdiction for which the definition is developed. Sher (1985, p. 23), in a discussion of small schools in the OECD nations, implicitly makes the same point. He says that in these nations there is "considerable variation... as to the meaning of smallness," that in France (which in 1979 had 11,000 one-teacher schools), and in Portugal (where in 1918, 80% of the students were served by schools with no more than 2 classrooms), "a three-teacher primary school would not be considered small. Conversely, a rural primary school in the U.S. that has 'only' one teacher per grade level would be considered relatively small."

In Canada, too, there are different concepts of smallness and different ways of determining the definition of a small school. Manitoba has two definitions – one for elementary and one for high school. Marshall (1985a, p. 28) says that when an elementary school has "less than the one-teacher-to-one-grade situation", it is defined as small and qualifies for special assistance. At the high school level he says, that 50 students per grade is considered small and is "the cut-off point for providing extra resources." In Saskatchewan small schools, for grant purposes, are defined as any schools which have fewer than 20 pupils per grade (Ryan et al., 1981, p. 6). Alberta (Schreiber and Hathaway, 1985) defines the small school as one with fewer than 15 pupils per grade. Ontario (1985), in determining which schools are to be given additional grants, combines the number of pupils per grade and the distances from other schools under the jurisdiction of the board. For example, an elementary school that has fewer than 20 pupils per grade and "is located more than eight kilometers from all other elementary schools under the jurisdiction of the board" is eligible for a special grant. A high school is eligible for the grant if it has fewer than 120 students per grade and is located more than 32 kilometers from all other secondary schools under the jurisdiction of the board.

Regarding instruction in small schools, the report provides a summary of the literature in this area which indicates the instructional advantages of small schools as follow:

This brief review would suggest that small schools have no advantages. Many writers and researchers disagree. Without denying the truth of most, if not all, of the points that have been made, they qualify some of them and add others that call attention to the advantages of small schools.

The following is a summary from the literature of the instructional advantages of small schools.

1. In small schools more time is spent learning and working (Walker, 1985).
2. The instructional environment in small schools is superior because there are more opportunities to adapt the learning program to the needs of the individual (Walker, 1985, Marshall, 1985a).
3. Teachers from small schools are more aware of the needs and interests of students because there is a greater amount of student/teacher contact (Walker, 1985; Marshall, 1985b, Beckner, 1980).
4. In small schools students participate in a broader range of activities. For example, in small schools students assume more leadership positions than they do in larger schools (Walker, 1985; Ryan, et al., 1981).
5. In small schools there are better and closer relations with the community (Beckner, 1980; Marshall, 1985b).
6. There is a better opportunity for a learner-centered atmosphere and program (Marshall, 1985b).

**Student Achievement:** “The results of studies that measure academic achievement of students from small and large schools provide no conclusive evidence of the superiority of either”, according to literature reviewed by the authors in their final report (p. 19).

**Staffing:** In this area it is noted that “one of the most serious problems that has faced small schools has been acquiring and retaining qualified teachers.” (p. 10)

**Finances:** The authors report that “those who write about financing small schools generally agree that they have higher per-pupil costs than do large schools.” (p. 10)

Further, the ways of operating small schools are discussed in this chapter under the headings Staffing, Curriculum and Instruction, and Funding. For example, in the area of staffing the literature contains many suggestions for solving staffing problems in small schools (p. 12) in this province:

To help teachers in small schools cope with multi-graded classrooms, some departments of education have granted extra teaching units. For example, the Newfoundland Schools Act (1979) specifies the following regulations governing additional salary units for small schools:

6. Each School Board shall be entitled to one additional salary unit for:
  - (a) each school with 4 or more grades in which the enrolment does not exceed 25.
  - (b) each school with 6 or more grades in which the enrolment does not exceed 50.

- (c) each school with 2 or more grades in which the enrolment does not exceed 75.
  - (d) each school with 89 or more grades in which the enrolment does not exceed 100.
  - (e) each school with 9 or more grades in which the enrolment does not exceed 150, and
  - (f) each central high school in which the enrolment divided by 25, rounded to the nearest whole number, is fewer than the number of grades in the school.
7. (1) Each School Board with a mean school enrolment of less than 200 shall be allocated 2 additional salary units and each Board with a mean school enrolment of less than 150 shall be allocated 4 additional units.

Under Section 6 of this regulation, 161 additional teachers have been hired, and 46 have been added under Section 7(1).

In the area of Curriculum and Instruction the authors of this report note that "...one of the major criticism of small schools has been the limited variety of curriculum offerings. One way of increasing the number of course offerings is through correspondence courses." (p. 14) In the area of funding, Riggs, et al., note that:

Because of declining enrollments and because education has been mainly financed on the basis of student numbers rather than the cost of program offerings, some small schools have had difficulty in providing quality education for their students. To allow small schools to enhance educational opportunities, department of education across the country have developed compensatory support programs for small schools. The following are brief descriptions of some of them.

In Chapter Three and Four, the authors of the report discuss questions relating to (1) programs and program delivery for small schools, and (2) program support and school consolidations, respectively, and make several recommendations which deal with these questions. In concluding Chapter Three, they state:

In this chapter an attempt has been made to focus on programs, program adaption and program support. In this regard we have recommended a compulsory program for primary and elementary grades and a minimum number of course offerings for Senior High Schools. The Junior High Program is currently under revision and for that reason we have not discussed it in this Report. However, it is hoped that implications for small schools and multi-grade classrooms will be considered by those responsible for revision of that program.

The identification of curriculum objectives across the subject areas in the primary and elementary grades is, in our opinion, an important task. It is in this way, by identifying curriculum objectives and by developing a thematic approach to this curriculum, that teacher effectiveness will be

enhanced. Generally, schools which have been involved with this approach, although on a smaller scale than is being proposed here, have expressed satisfaction. In some specialized areas we have recommended itinerant teachers. An emphasis on distance education for high schools has been recommended as a means of providing a broader range of courses to the smaller high schools. This appears to be a reasonable compromise in the absence of an adequate number of teachers to teach the necessary course offerings in all schools.

It is recommended that resources necessary for curriculum support be made available to small schools by means of a block grant which would be in addition to the present per-pupil library grant. We see this as necessary in order to support a resource based curriculum and components of the reorganized high school curriculum. Surveys conducted as part of the Small Schools Project indicate that small schools have either no library or a library that has much less variety in resources than libraries in the larger schools.

Because it is impractical and financially prohibitive to consider resource centres for all schools, we have recommended that a Resource Centre be part of the Regional Office. This office is being recommended as a Pilot Project to provide additional program support through itinerant teachers, a resource centre and guidance counsellors.

Small schools often lack facilities such as gymnasias, multi-purpose rooms and, to some extent, science laboratories. We believe that this lack of facilities should be addressed, despite the financial implications, in the future construction of small schools.

In summary, the focus has been on programs suitable for small schools and aspects of supporting these programs. Chapter 4 deals in more detail with other aspects of funding and allocation of personnel.

In Chapter Four Riggs et al. make several recommendations about program support and school consolidation. These and other recommendations, part of the chapter provides a discussion of topics such as: school consolidation, schools in small isolated communities, preference for community schools and religious preference. (pp. 48-54) These pages make interesting reading. However, due to the lack of space the content of these pages cannot be reproduced here.

Chapter Five provides a summary of the background report, "Small School Survey," as well as recommendation on teacher education. This background report included "aspects of the academic Qualifications of teachers, teacher assignments and the problems facing teachers in small schools..." (p. 55). Recommendations included in this chapter are mentioned at the end of this article.

Finally, Chapter Six of the report is devoted to a summary and recommendations and is reproduced here in its entirety.

The emphasis throughout this Report has been on programs for small school. It follows, therefore, that the most important recommendations are those which appear first, in Chapter 3, and are directly aimed at improving

the programs which are available to those who attend the small schools in the province. We have made specific recommendations on the adapting of the primary and elementary curriculum and on an increased use of technology in program delivery, especially in the small high schools.

However, there are other factors which impinge on programs and program delivery. Hence, there are recommendations on personnel to co-ordinate, to offer guidance services and to teach these programs. That is why we have made recommendations which would give school principals in small schools time to be involved, not only in administrative duties associated with being a principal but also time to be involved in curriculum and program issues. We have also recommended that itinerant teachers be allocated to School Boards so that more students than at present can have the opportunity to study subjects such as Music, Art, French, Industrial Arts and Home Economics. At present there are insufficient opportunities for students in small schools to study these subjects.

Through surveys which we conducted as part of the work of the Small Schools Project and by observations, we were made aware of deficiencies in facilities in small schools. The lack of gymnasias, libraries, and laboratories prompted us to make recommendations in that area.

Despite the present high cost of education, this Report includes recommendations that additional funding be made available to support programs in small schools, the present level of funding has not enabled small schools to develop and maintain an acceptable standard of program support and consequently we feel that additional funding is necessary. The recommendations in that area are based on grades and programs rather than on pupil enrolment. Our position is that the school programs must be the focus since the school must offer these programs for each grade independent of the grade enrolment. An added advantage of this position is that programs are not sensitive to fluctuations in school enrolment and hence this provides greater stability in the funding which is available.

Finally, we have made recommendations regarding school consolidation and cooperation among religious denominations. It is important to understand that these recommendations are not attempts to discredit small schools, but rather an attempt to offer what we believe to be an opportunity for pupils to study a more varied program than is presently possible in small schools without diminishing the social and moral development which have been characteristic of Newfoundland education. For schools which must exist because of isolation we have made as bold and as liberal recommendations as we think possible. However, we believe it would be irresponsible to recommend that small schools in or near communities with larger schools should also qualify for special considerations. An alternative exists. That alternative may require students to walk across the road or to be transported a short distance to a large school. We are not convinced that there need be any less of the religious denomination component of the education of children who are affected in this way. This is not, however, a report aimed at the destruction of small schools. We believe we have made recommendations which will enhance the quality of education in



small schools where they must exist, but we have attempted to distinguish those which must exist from those which need not exist.

We trust that the recommendations which follow will appear reasonable to those affected by them. We do not consider it hazardous to make recommendations on the assumption that small schools will continue to exist in the foreseeable future. In Newfoundland, 'small schools' will be part of our educational system for a long time and we must plan with the Acknowledgment and knowledge of these schools and not in ignorance of their existence and importance.

### **Recommendations**

#### **Recommendation 3.1**

That all primary and elementary schools independent of size and location, should have the ability, and be required, to offer instruction which would fulfill curriculum objectives in the following: Language Arts, Educational Drama, Religious Education, Mathematics, Health and Family Life, Physical Education, Social Services, French, Art, Science, and Music.

#### **Recommendation 3.2**

That sufficient personnel be employed early in 1987 to identify overall curriculum objectives of the present primary and elementary program and to develop from these objectives a primary and an elementary program using, where appropriate, common texts across grades and/or a thematic approach necessary to attain the curriculum objectives.

#### **Recommendation 3.3**

That by direct classroom teaching or by distance education, all senior high schools should have the ability to offer all courses which are prerequisite to entry into post-secondary institutions and the ability to accommodate particular course requirements of small number of students.

#### **Recommendation 3.4**

That measures be taken to ensure that a course in high school chemistry level 2 and a course in high school physics level 2 are available to small schools by September 1987. Consideration should be given to delivery by computers, audio-video tapes or by other means of distance education.

#### **Recommendation 3.5**

That mobile laboratory units in industrial Arts and Home Economics be made available to small high schools which are accessible by road.

#### **Recommendation 3.6**

That a Regional Office be established (school year 1987-88) as a Pilot Project to provide services to small schools in a selected area of the Province. This office should be staffed to provide services which are deemed most necessary to the area to support the school programs recommended in the Report.

**Recommendation 3.7**

That small schools receive an initial block resource grant in addition to present funding during 1987-88. This grant should be based on the number of grades taught in the school.

**Recommendation 4.1**

That a 'small school' be defined as

- (a) each primary and elementary school in which the enrolment divided by the number of grades is not greater than twelve.
- (b) each all-grade, central or regional high school in which the enrolment divided by twenty-five is not greater than the number of grades in the school.

**Recommendation 4.2**

That school boards shall be entitled to one additional salary unit for each 'small school' under its jurisdiction and identified in Recommendation 4.1 (a) and two additional salary units for each 'small school' identified in Recommendation 4.1(b).

**Recommendation 4.3**

That School Boards be required to use salary units allocated for Program Co-ordinators in the appointment of Program Co-ordinators only. Those units should not be used to employ regular classroom teachers.

**Recommendation 4.4**

That the School Act (Teachers' Salaries) Regulations, 1979 (Amendment Section 9, Subsection 2, paragraph (c) be amended to read, "...Less than 12 but not less than 4, one salary unit may be allocated.

That Section 9, Subsection 3, paragraph (a) be amended to read, "...salary units may be allocated to School Boards in accordance with...."

That Section 9, Subsection 3, paragraph (b) be amended to read "One salary unit shall be allocated for every 5 pupils.

That Section 9, Subsection 3, paragraph (c) amended to read, "...exceeds 5 or a multiple of 5...."

That Section 9, Subsection 3, paragraph (d) be amended to read, "...is provided in less than 5 in a school but not less than 2 in a school, one salary unit may be allocated."

That Section 9, Subsection 4, paragraph (b) replaced by, "One half of a salary unit may be allocated for each pupil in those schools where there are fewer than 3 pupils."

**Recommendation 4.5**

That School Boards provide to the Department of Education, before August 31, 1987, necessary documentation for all special education teacher allocations.

**Recommendation 4.6**

That School Boards be given flexibility in the deployment of special education teachers to ensure maximum benefit to exceptional children.

**Recommendation 4.7**

That 'small schools' receive funding in addition to the current funding in accordance with the following schedule:

Schools with 4 grades	\$2,000
Schools with 5 grades	\$2,400
Schools with 6 grades	\$2,800
Schools with 7 grades	\$3,200
Schools with 8 grades or more grades	\$3,600
Small all-grade, Central and Regional High Schools	\$5,000

**Recommendation 4.8**

That School Boards receive funding to assist in the travel of Program Coordinators as follows:

For each 'small isolated school	\$800
For each 'small school which is accessible by road that is, a non-isolated school	\$400

**Recommendation 4.9**

That School Boards be required to develop a policy on school closings which would include the requirement that parents, teachers and students in communities affected, be informed at least 2 years in advance of the intended date of school closing.

**Recommendation 4.10**

That the concept of joint service schools and interdenominational cooperation be pursued and encouraged by agencies involved in education.

**Recommendation 4.11**

That the Department of Education and the Denominational Education Councils adopt the policy that by August 31, 1991 in order to qualify under the Small Schools Program a 'small school' must be more than 10 km distant, for primary and elementary schools, and more than 30 km distance for central or regional high schools from a larger school, which is accessible by road, independent of the area served by the District School Boards of the Different Religious Denominations.

**Recommendation 4.12**

That the 'Small Schools Support Program' be defined to include the following:

- (a) resource grant as referred to in Recommendation 3.9
- (b) allocations as referred to in Recommendation 4.2
- (c) funding as referred to in Recommendation 4.11

**Recommendation 5.1**

That provisions be made in teacher education programs to accommodate a greater number of students in the primary degree program.

**Recommendation 5.2**

That the Faculty of Education include a component in Primary and Elementary Teacher Education Programs to reflect characteristics of Small isolated schools and multi-graded classrooms.

**Recommendation 5.3**

That a set number of student teachers be required to complete the Internship Semester of their Teacher Education Program in a small school.

**Recommendation 5.4**

That the teacher education programs for secondary teachers reflect the characteristics of small schools and multi-graded classrooms by requiring completion of a range of courses related to the secondary school curriculum.

**ACADEMIC SUCCESS AND FAILURE: FINAL REPORT  
TO NTA EXECUTIVE**

**Beverly a. LeMoine (Chairperson),  
Joan Matchim, Joe Gedge,  
Myrle Vokey, et al.\***

**Prepared for this issue by Amarjit Singh**

Leaving Early – A Study of Student Retention in Newfoundland and Labrador was published in 1984 and reviewed in previous issues of the **Morning Watch**. The report by LeMoine, Joan Matchim et al. To the NTA Executive is a follow-up, as the authors point out, of a recommendation made by the **Leaving Early** study which stated “That the Newfoundland Teachers’ Association take the initiative in a multi-agency study designed to formulate guidelines on how to reduce academic failure.”

Consequently, the NTA Executive struck a committee which met for the first time in October, 1985, and submitted its revised report to the NTA Executive on July 2, 1986. Some excerpts from that report are included here for the benefit of readers of the **Morning Watch**.

The importance of the report is that not only does it deal with an ongoing issue of student retention in the Province, but it also deals with an issue within a perspective of Critical Theory. At the end of this report a bibliography is provided. The articles and books listed within may be useful to those who want to read further about the research being done on various aspects of education from the Critical Theory perspective. In the introduction LeMoine, Matchim, et al. State that the research done within the framework of Critical Theory “supports the necessity of understanding the more critical factors of how meanings and purposes of schooling become internalized in students, teachers and society (Giroux, 1981-83; Apple, 1979, Connell, 1982).”

Further in their introduction, the authors point out:

For as unique and individualistic as are the personalities, needs and wants of every child who enters our care, such are the reasons why children decide to leave school. Dropping out or failure is not an issue which can be solely isolated in terms of curriculum, teachers and specialist personnel, or material resources. In the overall assessment of educational concerns the above issues are integral components in the achievement of academic success and failure.

And,

As educators in today’s society, we are constantly reminded that never before has there been such a high percentage of students rejecting school. This factor must be examined in terms of the changes which are occurring in the larger society which directly impinge on the quality of the educational and home experience. Declining birth rates, changing family and employment patterns, limited dollars and new technologies are but a few of the constraints affecting academic success and failure. At the same time the public has become actively involved in making claims upon the educational system. Demands for individual differences to be

accommodated, for the right to have input into school decision making and to choose the language of instruction, are but a few. With new regulations regarding Special Education (Section 13, School Act) teachers are expected to be all things to all people. Teachers face the demands of specialty concerns but few receive the necessary support backup to ensure their success. However, it is the teacher who remains on the firing line when public demands are not realized. It is not the legitimacy of these demands but the reality of them which is being stressed. As professional educators and more importantly as concerned people the need to provide a humanizing, secure and challenging educational experience is more important than ever. The necessity of having students understand and believe that we (teachers/schools/public) are caring and responsive to their needs is even more critical.

In reviewing the work done by others in the area of student retention in the Province the Committee points out that:

Student retention has received considerable attention in Newfoundland and Labrador during the past decade or so. (Warren, 1973; Crocker and Riggs, 1979); and LEAVING EARLY – A STUDY OF STUDENT RETENTIONS IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR, 1984). Statistics reflect on approximate dropout rate of 40-45%. This figure is substantiated by figures presented in Statistics Canada (1977-78) as well as by Crocker and Riggs.

The **Leaving Early** Report concluded that there is a distinct connection between academic failure and dropping out. Consequently, the promise of reduced failure was proposed as a possible resolution to the students who leave school early. Although this conclusion may indeed have some merit, other researchers suggest that concern with student retention necessitates a more intense examination of student processes than that reflected in academic failure (Coleman, 1966; Rutter, 1979).

Much of the research related to dropping out has been framed within the concept of Deficit Theory, i.e., low socio economic status, inferior conditions and/or experiences in the home and immediate environment. As well, the questionable assumption that people in the lower strata of society hold values which are not consistent with school practices and expectations has received considerable attention. The tendency for people to make inferences about the richness of life experiences in low, middle and high income families is far too evident. Caring, responsive families can not be limited to income levels. The need to look beyond these materialistic issues is reinforced by writers such as Giroux (1981 and 1983), Apple (1979), and Connell (1982). These researchers have documented the importance of looking from a different perspective which addresses the practical and ideological relationships within and between the home, school and larger social community. These relationships reflect a dynamic interplay which is constructed by what happens in the child's experiences.

This idea is reflective of concerns which many of the teachers in this province have identified. Those districts which have established

committees to examine student failure have voiced the need to look deeper into the subjectivities of students.

Teachers have told us that:

- those students who are not achieving success generally have a low self image and self esteem.
- the teaching of content has become prioritized over the teaching of the child.
- external issues are fostering negative attitudes which result in students asking "What's the sense? What's it all for?"
- students seem to be dropping out despite improved facilities, improved programs, additional teachers and improvement in the training of teachers.
- the root of the issue includes the meaninglessness of curriculum and the lack of motivation afforded students by school systems.
- the students who drop out are not necessarily "problem" students.
- schools should be engaged in more programs to enlighten public opinion as to the value of education.

The students' perspective of schooling in the Newfoundland context has been prioritized in Wilfred Martin's *Voices from the Classroom* (1985). This book suggests there may be a serious contradiction in the practice and theory of education as experienced by those engaging in the 'teaching' versus the 'learning' process. If we acknowledge that perception constitutes truth for the beholder, then the students' views about school rules, homework, student embarrassment, teacher pets and victims must be seen as critical components of academic success and failure. This perspective is particularly important if we agree that dropping out of school is not a problem but a symptom of a deeper relationship between a child who chooses to leave and a school system which did not or could not respond to the child's perceived purpose of school. Levin (1977) provides further insight into student involvement for lack of in the school by stating:

We complain about students' inability or unwillingness to behave as we expect them to without considering our own narrowness in holding such an expectation. Failure in communications are always the other party's fault. How well do we listen? How seriously do we take students' point of view? (p. 110)

Nevertheless, it is the child who decides to sever the tie. The decision is not a passive act but a choice which is deliberate and purposeful. Regardless of the specific reason, the reality is that the child believes resolution of a concern is possible without the school. In the eyes of the dropout, the reassurance, support and understanding which they require is no longer available. Martin (1985) stresses that if teachers are to

achieve their potential as teachers and if parents are to be the key partners in the formal education process then it is essential for both to understand the students' interpretation of school life. The fact exists that students do formulate their own meanings towards learning, teaching, dropping out and the total schooling experiences. These perceptions although reflective of individual interpretations, realizations, prejudices and exaggerations do constitute truth for the individual student.

Perhaps this is why Martin's data based on the feelings of Newfoundland students is of such importance. The students' responses suggest that:

Academic failure, disciplinary problems and even the dropout phenomenon cannot be fully explained through isolating community and related socioeconomic backgrounds of students, and/or characteristics of students such as intelligence, motivation and aspiration. One must look at the sociological dimensions of teacher learning processes in the classroom, including the interpretations and reinterpretations of one another's attitudes, actions and plans of action which form the springboard for the interactions which take place, and the social relationships which develop in the classroom. (1985, p. 82)

In the section on statements of purpose, the Committee states that:

The initial problem identified by this committee was to establish some meaning for 'academic success' ...We realized that to more fully understand the process of success and failure it was necessary to delve deeper into purposes of schooling...

It became necessary to question not only how purposes and meaning about school evolve for children, but also for teachers and the larger society...

Imperative to our work was the need to listen to teachers' voices. The dichotomy between the public versus the school's understanding of school purpose is real...

Pedagogical factors require close attention, i.e., are certain teaching strategies more effective than others? Are present reading programs responsive to our diverse student population and is that too strong an emphasis on programming for employment?

Concerns regarding regional disparity and geographic employment patterns were also raised – why is it that statistics for dropouts are higher in rural versus urban areas? The committee realized that the issue of inequality may well be a cause of concern but the perspective from which we examined this variable was critical. Rather than focus on economic or materialistic factors, it was proposed to examine the more subtle socially determined inequalities as manifested in human interactions, value systems, curriculum choices and methodologies. Examination was initiated about what facilitates the learning experience in a school, that institution where meanings and values are shaped and power relationships are negotiated. The committee questioned how children and teachers



formulate meaning about learning, evaluation and attitudes. The compatibility of the student's versus the school's meaning was raised. Is it not reasonable to assume that children may drop out because the school experience rejects their meanings and values? Alternative strategies for helping teachers, students and parents become involved in critiquing their own experiences, practices and beliefs are available and are worthy of careful consideration. Programs such as STEP/STET or PLUS\* might be used to facilitate an understanding of the need to involve everyone in the participatory process of life in the classroom. Thus, the purposefulness of schools (e.g. in reading) will mesh with the communities' purpose (e.g., oral communication) so each values and shares the others contribution to a common goal (e.g., literacy).

This report attempts to offer perspectives related to pertinent areas of research regarding academic success and failure. These include:

- the importance of basic literary and shared school/community language goals;
- the concerns of special needs'
- the significance of effective schools' research;
- the relationship between the more subtle influences of the school culture vs the culture of the child.

For example, in discussing perspectives on language, the child, school and community, the committee seems to be stating that language competency in its various modes of reading, writing, speaking and listening is interrelated with academic success. These language modes are tools for student's learning and for displaying what has been learned. To gain an understanding of the role of language in learning.

It must be viewed within a holistic framework that focuses on the interrelatedness of child, school, family and microculture. Language in this context must be viewed from a broad perspective that purported by Halliday (1975), who suggests that language allows for relationships to be established, for personality and individually to be expressed, and for exploration and questioning of our world. Language allows us to create.... to control.... and to convey information. It permits us to acquire and to satisfy our needs as well as to establish our identity with others who belong in our speech community.

The extent to which society in general and schools in particular facilitate these processes will directly influence a child's confidence and competence in becoming a literate participant in today's world. Difficulties arise when a person's language values and functions are not supported or recognized by other group members regardless of whether they be in the school or larger community.

Further,

It seems reasonable to speculate that whatever modes and purposes of communication are utilized by a community to any significant degree becomes valued forms of communication by that community's members. Through participation in families and their culture, children learn to use and

value certain communication modes and purposes. To a large extent it is these forms, uses and values of language that children bring to school with them. Undoubtedly the school's basic purpose regarding language is to promote the linguistic competency of children.

The report states that through language arts curriculum we, as educators, may have promoted purposes and values for language to the detriment of other purposes. The need to examine our own priority regarding language is imperative if we are to understand the possibilities of conflicting purposes and values that students may experience in home, community and school contexts. The Report points out that:

in previously isolated Newfoundland communities, everyday living depended on face-to-face interactions and oral languages. Such communities were said to possess a strong "oral tradition". As well, poetic purposes of language were expressed through story-telling, folksong and verse. Such a context places a high value on oral forms of language. In examining whether schools have supported these strong oral traditions, one might observe classroom practices to see whether they have promoted them to any significant degree. The following examples illustrate ways in which this might be achieved:

- (a) members of the community would be actively involved in the life of the classroom and considered to be valued resource people.
- (b) community oral traditions such as story-telling and folksong would be included as significant forms of communication in the language arts program.
- (c) particular stories and songs which have remained written accounts of significant historical and social events would become manifested in a 'living curriculum'.

The absence of these or similar practices might indicate a school's lack of support for the oral communication mode of the student. Similarly analysis of the community's non-support written language might be seen by such factors as:

- (a) an absence of written materials in the student's home.
- (b) no community library.

In concluding the discussion of language and academic success the Report expresses the perspective that educators need not only to emphasize the important historical and present day relationships existing between language in home, school and community contexts but also to give consideration to students' needs for communicative competency in larger societal contexts both for their present and future living:

Schools and communities must become mutually supportive in helping their members achieve language competency. Schools will probably need to initiate the process realizing that if students are to see the language inside the classroom as related to real life purposes and processes, then

these language modes and purposes must be supported and sustained by the community. (p. 12)

Other sections of the report include a discussion of special needs, a review of the effective school literature, and relational perspective in education. In the discussion of the effective school literature the report states that:

One of the greatest benefits of the Effective Schools Literature is that it provided a starting point to conceptualizing today's educational environments. It also provides teachers with an opportunity to become active, knowledgeable participants in school improvement programs based on the belief that teachers can do better what they are already doing well. Rather than depicting the school as a separate entity, the research points to the importance of recognizing the school experience as the sum total of community culture, group dynamics and staff/student expectations.

Rutter (1979) and Brookover (1979) have completed considerable research dealing with the importance of school and its relation to the home and community in the dynamics of the learning process. Their research supports the belief that when school "culture", "ethics" or "purpose" is defined in terms of confidences in the ability of children to succeed, high expectations for all, and specific teaching strategies student behaviour and learning is positively affected. Although many of us have probably not verbalized this belief we don't expect this to be earth shattering news. It is common sense that when we are given support, encouragement and purpose, we will do better. We are reminded of this statement by Goethe "Treat people as if they were what they ought to be and you help them become what they are capable of being."

The Effective Schools Research did attempt to isolate specific cause-effect characteristics relevant to successful schools. Brookover (1979) stressed the importance of basic communication and computational skills. Edmonds (1978) established five characteristics as follows:

- high expectations for pupil achievement
- careful monitoring of pupil progress
- orderly, safe environment
- school-wide instructional focus
- strong instructional leadership (p. 14)

Further,

Continuing emphasis is additionally being placed on school climate. It is important to consider that the concerns which we are failing to address with students we have not addressed within ourselves: specifically – values, meanings and experiences. In seeking to understand future educational roles, it is essential to go beyond mere teaching strategies to philosophy and to promote the concept of not only the student as learner, but the teacher as well.

The effectiveness literature focuses on the relevance of a healthy school climate. This refers to positive interrelations between the child, teacher,

administration and community. Just as the child is deserving of respect and dignity, so is the teacher. This means facilitating the involvement of each in school decision-making or influencing teacher work patterns so as to stimulate their participation in the school's growth process. Another suggestion would be to promote self-evaluation and internalization of school objectives and goals rather than the more traditional forms of external evaluation by outside people. (p. 15)

In recognition of the fact that academic success and failure factors can best be understood in the specific contexts in which students experience them, the committee decided against proposing general recommendations and instead proposed that serious-minded educators in their specific schooling contexts begin a process of critique and dialogue:

Rather than suggest a recommendation which imposes change based on assumptions of weaknesses and generalized remedies, we propose it may be profitable to focus our deliberations and thought on beliefs and practices that might enhance the present quality of learning. To find fault and attribute blame may not be as conducive as our practices suggest. It is time that we enrich our own meanings (and others) in an atmosphere of collaboration, positivism, and reflection. Imposed change seldom achieves the desired level of success: therefore, the opportunity must be provided for teachers to internalize how and why change should occur. Rather than responding to external demands, this opportunity will foster a voluntary change based on personal commitment and beliefs.

Be assured that the easier option is to suggest that increased school effectiveness may result from attention to such factors as an orderly, safe environment, monitoring of achievement or instructional leadership. But let's not jump too quickly into applications and procedures for there are no Monday morning guarantees or absolutes that such factors will increase academic success or reduce academic failure. Somehow the very suggestion that these variables are significant in reducing academic failure belittles the dynamic process of education.

The greatest success of this report will be in the critiquing that follows. It is only through this process that we will challenge our own beliefs and perspectives and consequently, construct new meaning and practices for our educational future.

\*STEP – Systematic Training for Effective Parenting

STET – Systematic Training for Effective Teaching

PLUS – Professional Longevity Under Stress

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**MASTER OF EDUCATION THESES AND FIELD STUDIES  
COMPLETED IN THE FACULTY OF EDUCATION: 1976 TO 1987**

**Prepared for this issue by  
Amarjit Singh**

In March 1976, I published a monograph including abstracts of studies completed by graduate students during the period of August 1967 to March 1976. The title of that monograph was **Abstracts of Master of Education Theses (August 1967 to March 1976)** and it was published by the Department of Educational Foundations, Memorial University. A copy of the monograph can still be obtained by writing to the Chairperson, Committee on Publication, Faculty of Education, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, A1B 3X8.

The feedback regarding the usefulness of the monograph has been quite positive, and several colleagues and others in the field have suggested that it would be timely and desirable to have it updated. The Publication of titles of graduate theses and field studies in this issue of the **Morning Watch** is a first step in that direction.

Our readers may like to know that the Faculty of Education has been very active in the area of educational research. From 1967 to 1976, 152 studies (theses, projects and internships) were completed (see the earlier monograph). Since 1976, 349 theses, projects and internships have been completed by graduate students in the Faculty. This shows an increase of over 100%.

In addition to theses, etc., 57 field studies reports have been completed by students in the Master of Education in Teaching Degree Program. The information on these field studies can be obtained from the Office of the Associate Dean, Faculty of Education, and the information on the graduate theses, etc. is available in the main library of the university.

Further, the Committee on Publication in the Faculty has published a number of research monographs during the last several years. Several analytical articles and the results of small scale research in education in the province have been regularly appearing in the **Morning Watch** (this publication is now fifteen years old). The Institute of Research and Development in Education in the Faculty has also been publishing many important documents and research papers on education in the province. In addition to these internal publications, a number of books, journal articles, reports, chapters in books, etc., have been written by our colleagues. We encourage our readers to know what sort of research is being done in the Faculty of Education, and we invite our readers to provide us with their critical comments.

### **Listing Scheme**

The titles of graduate theses, etc., completed in each department, along with the names of the authors and the year of publication are presented below. The names of the advisor or supervisors, i.e., persons who assisted graduate students in their research work, appear in brackets at the end of each listing. The field study reports, along with their authors, year of completion and name of supervisor, are numbered separately and appear under the appropriate heading.



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1. Adams, David. A Comparative Study of Urban and Rural Students Attending Two Urban Schools on Selected Attitudinal Variables and Academic Achievement. December, 1977. [Dr. G. Sheppard]
2. Alexander, Anthony. Effects of the S.T.E.T. Program on Teachers' Self-Efficacy, Locus of Control, and Strategies for Classroom Management. Fall, 1987. [Dr. Glenn Sheppard]
3. Barry, Wayne A. A Report of a Counselling Internship and Associated Research Undertaken in Harlow, England. May, 1984. [Dr. N. Garlie]
4. Bernard, Melvin. No title. Graduate Diploma, October 1980.
5. Bonnell, Fred. A Needs Assessment of Guidance and Counselling Services as Perceived by Trades Students of the District Vocational School of Newfoundland and Labrador. October, 1982. [Dr. Dave Watts]
6. Brokenshire, Gwen. Construction and Validation of Student Questionnaire Measuring Attitudes to Self, School and Teacher, May, 1977. [Dr. T. Boak]
7. Brown, Dennis. The Development of an Audio-Visual Career Information Package with Relevance for Individuals Intending to Pursue Studies at Memorial University of Newfoundland. October, 1979. [Dr. D. Watts]
8. Butt, Jackson. The Effects of a Self Administering Fitness Program on Anxiety, Self-Concept and Fitness. May, 1980. [Dr. R.T. Boak]
9. Colbert, Frederick. The Effects of Time Limits and Reading Comprehension on Performance on the Canadian Tests of Basic Skills. October, 1983. [Dr. Bryan Hartmann]
10. Colbourne, William. The Contribution of High School Grades and Public Examination Results to the Predictor of First Year Performance in Post-Secondary Technical Programs at the College of Trades and Technology. October, 1978. [Dr. W.H. Spain]
11. Cooper, David. Report of a Counselling Internship in Harlow, England Including a Research Component in Studying Cultural Differences in Moral Development (Internship Report). May, 1983. [Dr. N. Garlie]
12. Cooper, Lucy. A Report of a Professional Internship Conducted at Beaconsfield High School, St. John's, Newfoundland. October, 1982. [Dr. L. Klas]
13. Costello, Jim. Effects of a Gerontology Unit on Children's Attitudes Towards the Elderly. May, 1986. [Dr. Terry Boak]
14. Crosbie, Janet. Death Concern: A Comparison of Attitudes Towards Death Held by Counsellors, Teachers, Clergy, Nurses and Student Nurses in Newfoundland. December, 1977. [Dr. N. Garlie]

15. Cuff, Doreen. Preparation for Mainstreaming: Self Perceived Competence of the Regular Classroom Teacher, October, 1980. [Dr. W. Nesbit]
16. Cutler, Nathan. A Report of a Counselling Internship Undertaken at the Regional College, Corner Brook, with a Report of a Research Study Assessing The Effectiveness of a Career Awareness Program. (Internship) December, 1977. [Dr. G. Sheppard]
17. Dalton, Benny. A Report of a Counselling Internship, with a Report of an Intern's Skills Evaluation Using Gerard Egan's Counselling Model. October, 1984. [Dr. Norm Garlie]
18. Davis, T. Brandon. An Investigation into Home Environmental Process and Status Variables of Primary School Children in Carbonear, Newfoundland. October, 1979. [Dr. Lorne Taylor]
19. Delaney (Gallant), Marina. A Counselling Internship Completed at Western Memorial Regional Hospital, Corner Brook with a Report of a Need Assessment Study. May, 1983. [Dr. G. Sheppard]
20. Denine, (Hayes) Shirley. An Appraisal of the Counsellor Education Program at Memorial University of Newfoundland as Perceived by its Students: Summer 1970-Spring 1973. (Project) October, 1978. [Dr. D. Watts]
21. Dicks, Keith. Adjustment and Achievement: A Comparison of Two Methods of Counselling. October, 1976. [Dr. L. Klas]
22. Downton (Badcock), Alanna. Teachers' Praise and Disapproval Responses as a Function of Audio-Cueing. May, 1980. [Dr. B. Hartmann]
23. Dunn, Marcia. The Effect of Group Vocational Guidance on the Certainty, Satisfaction and Realism of Vocational Choices of Grade XI Students.
24. Dunphy, Iris. Factors Related to the Traditional or Nontraditional Career Choice of Females in Newfoundland High Schools. October, 1987. [Mrs. Mildred Cahill]
25. Foley, Leonard. Self-Knowledge and Self-Control for Adolescents: Teaching Psychology in Newfoundland High Schools. May, 1983. [Dr. G. Sheppard]
26. French, Fred. Selected Factors Related to Semester Grade Point Average of Third Year or Later Students in the Faculty of Education at Memorial University of Newfoundland. May, 1977. [Dr. L. Klas]
27. Furlong, Marie. An Investigation of the Attitudes, Demographic and Personal Characteristics of a Group of Illiterate Adults in Rural Newfoundland and Their Relationship to Participation in Adult Literacy Training Groups. October, 1982. [Dr. G. Sheppard]
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30. Goulding, Kirk. Name was withdrawn from Graduate Studies list September 1978.
31. Gosse, Verena. Non-Disabled Persons' Attitudes Towards The Physically Disabled as a Function of Educational Level and Contact. May 1976. [Dr. G. sheppard]
32. Green, Gary. Meaningfulness as a Predictor of the Influence of Categorized Client Statements Upon Counsellor Judgements. Fall, 1977. [Dr. N. Garlie]
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37. Hewlett (Pardy), Marina. The Effects of Offshore Oil Development on the Public School System in Newfoundland and Labrador. May, 1983. [Dr. Bill Spain]
38. Hillier, Charles. Future Direction in Vocational Services for Trainable Mentally Retarded People in Newfoundland and Labrador: A Delphi Study. October, 1982. [Dr. L. Klas]
39. Howard, Phyllis. A Study of Vocational Guidance Services in Selected High Schools in Newfoundland. October, 1976. [Sister Perpetua]
40. Hunt, Gertie. The Development of a System for the Classification of Children's Written Responses While Imaging Situations Related to a Dental Visit. Fall, 1986. [Dr. G. Sheppard]
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43. Johnson, Arlene. A Counselling Internship at the Memorial University Diagnostic & Remedial Unit & The Development of a Computer Based WISC-R Test Analysis Worksheet & Program. Spring, 1986. [Dr. T. Boak]

44. Johnston, Brian. The Development of Role Definition. Selection Procedures, Training Programme, and Resource Materials for Resident Assistants. December, 1977. [Mr. J.Y. Parsons]
45. Kendell (Woodward), Sharon. An Investigation into Stress Factors and Levels of Stress as Perceived by Regular Classroom Teachers of Newfoundland and Labrador. May, 1983. [Dr. Lee Klas]
46. Kennedy, Leonie. An Investigation of the Level and Sources of Professional Stress as Perceived by Specialist Teachers of Newfoundland and Labrador. May, 1983. [Dr. Lee Klas]
47. Langdon, Bernice. Internship in Guidance and Counselling at Prince of Wales Collegiate Including a Research Component on the Effectiveness of a Study Skills Program. May, 1977. [Dr. R.T. Boak]
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56. Miller, Brian. An Examination of the Incidence of Giftedness Among Juvenile Delinquents. May, 1987. [Dr. B. Hartmann]
57. Mooney, I. Francis. Social Comparison in the Classroom: The Relative Impact of Academic Standing and Ability Grouping in the Classroom. October, 1979. [Dr. Michael Fagan]

58. Murphy, Marylynn. A Report of a Counselling Internship at the Memorial University Counselling Centre, with a Research Study Assessing the Feasibility and Suitability of the Vocational Choice Group Counselling Plan. May, 1983. [Dr. Gary Jeffery]
59. Nolan, Paul. Withdrew March, 1978.
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61. Pilkington, Kathy. An Experimental Comparison of Live Versus Video Tape Instruction on Changing Attitudes Towards Disabled Persons. October, 1984. [Dr. L. Klas]
62. Reynolds, Elizabeth. The Need and Development of a Textbook for Adult Learners Entitled Communicating with Confidence. October, 1979. [Dr. D. Watts]
63. Rideout, Wayne. A Study of the Effects of the Stott Flying Start Learning-to-Learn Program on Selected Measures of School Readiness with Pre-Kindergarten Boys. May, 1983. [Dr. G. Sheppard]
64. Ryan, Agatha. The Relationship of Self-Esteem and French Achievement in Early French Imersion. Fall, 1987.
65. Ryan, Hazel. The Relationship Between Teachers Facilitating Conditions and Changes in Teachers Perceptions of Classroom Behaviours of Grade Two Students. [Dr. W. Spain]
66. Ryan, Lawrence. Report of a Counselling Internship Undertaken in Harlow, England Including a Research Component Analyzing the Internal Consistency of the Memorial University of Newfoundland Scale of Happiness. May, 1981. [Dr. N. Garlie]
67. Sacrey, P. Diana. A Study and Comparison of the Ideal and Actual Roles of the University Undergraduate Prefect as Perceived by the Prefects and Students in the Residence Halls of Paton College. October, 1976. [Dr. L. Klas]
68. Shave, Gene. Attitudinal Factors Related to the Decision of Academically Capable Students not to Pursue Post-Secondary Education. May, 1985. [Dr. Bill Spain]
69. Smith, Joyce. The Evaluation of Toys. Selected Criteria and Expert Consensus. May, 1983. [Dr. D. Watts]
70. St. Croix, Mildred. The Influence of Method of Administration, Sex of Examiner, and Sex of Subject on the Reliability and Validity of the Marianne Frostig Developmental Test of Visual Perception. May, 1976. [Dr. W.H. Spain]
71. Stevens, Robert. The Relationship of Self-Concept and Purpose in Life to Involvement in Student Activities. May, 1981. [Dr. D. Watts]

72. Thorburn, Barbara. The Relationship of Personality Characteristics to Job Satisfaction in a Nursing Population. May, 1985. [Dr. Bill Spain]
73. Walsh, Marie. A Study of the Effectiveness and Efficiency of the Canadian Tests of Basic Skills, Grade Point Average and Teacher Judgement in the Identification of Intellectually Gifted Children. May, 1983. [Dr. Bryan Hartmann]
74. Wareham, Alfred. A Study of the Effect of Parental Group Counseling on the Academic Achievement of Grade Eight Underachieving Students. December, 1977. [Dr. N. Garlie]
75. Warren, Gerald. The Relationship Between the Level of Divorce Adjustment of Custodial Mothers and the Self-Concept of Their Children. October, 1987. [Dr. Dave Watts]
76. Warren, Marie. Internship in Guidance and Counselling undertaken at Foxtrap Junior High School Including a Research Component Studying Student and Teacher Perceptions of Student Problems as Identified by the Mooney Problem Checklist. May, 1977. [Dr. N. Garlie]
77. Wheeler, Calvin. The Effect of Monetary Incentive and the Timing of such Incentive on Transfer of Learning Tasks. May, 1977. [Dr. G. Sheppard]
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79. Wilbur, Brian. The Effect of Test Time Limits on Performance for Controlled Amounts of Study. May, 1984. [Dr. Bill Spain]
80. Wilson, B. Paul. A Study of the Effects of a Required Study Skills Program upon Academic Achievement in the First Year of University. October, 1976. [Dr. R.T. Boak]
81. Wilson, Nancy. Development, Implementation and Evaluation of a Short-Term Career Awareness Program for Delivery to Rural Schools in Newfoundland. October, 1979. [Dr. D. Watts]
82. Wiseman, Ada. Teacher Perceptions of the Expectations of Parents in an Oil Development Environment. May, 1983. [Dr. Bill Spain]
83. Wiseman, Tom. Factors Related to the Traditionalism of Career Choice. May, 1983. [Dr. Glenn Sheppard]
84. Wrigley, David. Home Stimulation Program for Language Development in Kindergarten Children. Graduated May, 1979. [Dr. R.T. Boak]
85. Yetman, Glenn. Obvious Versus Subtle Timing Procedures on the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale - Revised. May, 1984. [Dr. Bryan Hartmann]

86. Young, Robert. Student Influence upon the Teacher: Three Case Studies and their Theoretical Implications for a Bi-directional Interaction Model. October, 1984. [Dr. Bill Spain]

#### **Division of Learning Resources**

87. Abbass, Lily Khattar. A Report on the Development of a Videotape Series on Teaching Sign Language to Parents and Relatives of Deaf Children. October, 1985. [Dr. Mary Kennedy]
88. Anderson, Elizabeth Louise. A Report on the Development of an Instructional Package Exploring the Elements of Space, Line and Color. October, 1986. [Dr. R.T. Braffett]
89. Barker, Andrew Thomas. A Report on the Development of Instructional Units Entitled Logging with the A.N.D. Company, 1909-1960 and Logging with Price (Newfoundland): Summer Operations - October 1981. [Dr. G. Fizzard]
90. Bartlett, Wilfred John. A Report on the Development of an Instructional Unit Entitled, Data Base and Spreadsheet Applications. October, 1986. [Dr. G. Fizzard]
91. Bazeley, David Peter. The Development of Instructional Material to Facilitate Long-Term Retention of Operating Procedures for Oil spill Countermeasures Equipment. October, 1986. [Dr. G. Fizzard]
92. Blake, Hayward Cecil. A Study of Selected Characteristics of Schools and School Libraries that Affect or Influence the Level of Library Service in the Secondary Schools of Newfoundland and Labrador. October, 1984. [Dr. G. Fizzard]
93. Boyce, Gilbert John. A Report on the Development of an Instructional Unit Entitled The Newfoundland Sailing Fleet, October, 1986. [Dr. R.T. Braffett]
94. Bromley, Margaret. A Report - Television as a Consumer Health Medium. October, 1985. [Dr. G. Fizzard]
95. Brown, Irene Elsie. A Report on the Development of a Unit of Curriculum and Instruction Entitled Recreation in St. John's. October, 1986. [Dr. R.T. Braffett]
96. Brown, Jean Ida Mary. A Study of the Evolution of School Library Media Programs and the Process of Educational Change with Implications for Program Implementation. October, 1985. [Dr. Mary Kennedy]
97. Brushett, Benjamin. A Report on the Development of a Teacher Handbook for the Utilization of Various Instructional Materials in the Teaching of Secondary Mathematics. May, 1980. [Dr. G. Fizzard]

98. Calcutt, Helen Colleen. The Development of a Suggested Activities Program to Teach Students in Grades Four, Five and Six Library Skills. Using the Continuum of Skills Established by the Department of Education, Province of Newfoundland, 1977. May, 1980. [Dr. G. Fizzard]
99. Carr, Harry Ian. A Report on the Development and Evaluation of a Slide/Tape Program Entitled Medicine and Illness: The Cause or the Cure. May, 1985. [Dr. Mary Kennedy]
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101. Cody, Ann. The Development of an Instructional Unit on the Norse People, their Early Explorations, Lifestyles and Customs, and their Settlement at Lanse aux Meadows. October, 1983. [Dr. G. Fizzard]
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136. Bromley, Ronald. Developing and Executing a Plan for a School-Community Communications Program. [Dr. Fred Buffett]
137. Cahill, Regina. A Study of the Community Schools of the North Vancouver School District (No. 44) British Columbia, 1976. [Dr. S. Stryde]
138. Canning, Rich H. Energy Conservation in School Buildings in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1983. [Dr. Hubert Kitchen]
139. Clarke, Lester. Variables Associated with the Relational Value-Orientations of Pupils and Teachers in Urban Newfoundland, 1986. [Dr. H.W. Kitchen]

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141. Coffin, George. *A Profile of Shared School Services in Newfoundland*, 1977. [Dr. John Stapleton]
142. Coombs, Cyril. *An Analysis of Student Promotion Policies in Newfoundland Central and Junior High Schools and Associated Feeder Schools*, 1981. [Dr. D. Treslan]
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144. Dawe, Roland A. *A Study of Evaluation Systems for School Principals in the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador*, 1983. [Dr. P.J. Warren]
145. Doyle, Brendan. *A Study of the Status of Economics in Grade XI as perceived by Students and Teachers in the Roman Catholic School Board District of St. John's*, 1987. [Dr. Llewellyn Parsons]
146. Fowler, Robert. *An Analysis of the Post-Secondary Plans of the 1975 Grade XI Students under the Bay St. George Roman Catholic, the Port-au-Port Roman Catholic, and the Humber-St. Barbe Roman Catholic School Boards*, 1978. [Dr. Llewellyn Parsons]
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148. Harris, Carol E. *The Evaluation of Choral Performance in Newfoundland*, 1984. [Dr. Arthur Ponder]
149. Lamswood, Foster. *An Examination of the Grade XII Component of the High School Program in Lethbridge, Alberta, with Primary Emphasis on the Existing Curriculum and Evaluation Practices*, 1978.
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151. LeMoine, Beverly A. *The Role of Interest Groups in Educational Decision-Making: A Case Study*, 1984. [Dr. Dennis Treslan]
152. Major, Wade. *A Study of the Organization and Administration of Classification within the Newfoundland and Labrador High School Athletic Federation*, 1986.
153. Matthews, Paul. *A Study of the Administration and Organization of Extracurricular Programming in an Alberta School Jurisdiction*, 1978. [Dr. Dennis Treslan]
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157. Moakler, Judith B. A Study of the Metric Skills of Grade Seven Students in a Selection of Newfoundland Schools, 1986. [Dr. P. Warren]
158. Newhook, Jeanette M. A Model for Parent-Teacher Communication in the Kindergarten Year, 1985. [Dr. Hubert Kitchen]
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160. Penney, Gregory. An Investigation of the Influence of Participative Decision-Making on Productivity and Job Satisfaction of High School Teachers, 1977. [Dr. A. Ponder]
161. Piercey, Minnie A. Role of the Northern Nurse and other Professionals in Combating Wise Abuse: Implications for Administrative Policy and Education, 1985. [Dr. D. Treslan]
162. Pittman, James. The Task Areas of Selected Newfoundland High School Principals, 1980. [Dr. P.J. Warren]
163. Pond, Wayne. How Principals and Superintendents View the Principal's Role in Recruitment and Selection of Staff, 1985. [Dr. Dennis Treslan]
164. Rideout, David. Attitudes of Pentecostal Teachers in Newfoundland toward Appropriate Strategies for Resolving Impasses in Collective Bargaining, 1986.
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166. Ryan, Lloyd. An Analysis of Some of the Relationships between Management Style of Junior and Senior High School Principals and Teacher Job Satisfaction and Productivity, 1979. [Dr. A. Ponder]
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171. Swanson, Eleanor. Evaluation of the Community Health Education Programs in Prenatal Nutrition and Juvenile Diabetes - A Component of the Telemedicine Experiment, 1977. [Dr. John Stapleton]
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174. Trask, N. Albert. Attitudes, Socio-economic Status and Achievement of Inuit Students in Labrador, 1979. [Dr. Vernon J. Snelgrove]
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**Department of Curriculum and Instruction**

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180. Adams, Ford. Expectations of Teachers and Education Students for Academic Achievement Among Middle and Lower Class Children. July 1979. [Dr. Gerry Murphy]
181. Anderson, Ann Gladys. Error Patterns in the Simplification of Polynomial Expressions. January 1982. [Dr. Lionel Mendoza]
182. Anderson, Stephen William. Testing and Teaching Grammatical Connectives in a Special Grade Six Class. September 1979. [Dr. Lloyd Brown]
183. Ash, Brian. The Development of Literacy: Practice and Intent. July 1985. [Dr. F. Wolfe]
184. Banfield, Helen Gwenllian. The Influence of Teacher Control and Pupil Characteristics on Process Achievement in Elementary Science Classes. September 1978. [Dr. Geoffrey Jones]
185. Barbour, Robert Wayne. Le Quebec au Temps Jadis: An Instructional Module for Imparting Cultural Information on Certain Aspects of Live in Early Quebec. December 1982. [Mrs. Joan Netten]
186. Barrett, Gladys S. Investigating the Effect on Reading Comprehension of Using a Classification Scheme in Conjunction with the Cloze Procedure to Teach the Process of Context Clue Utilization. December 1985. [Dr. Joan Matchim]
187. Bissell, Betty A. The Effect of a Literature Enrichment Program on the Vocabulary and Reading Comprehension of Grade One Students. February, 1981.
188. Boak, Cathryn Jean. The Composing Process: Insights from the Literature and from an Established Adult Writer. August, 1985. [Dr. Linda Phillips-Riggs]
189. Bonnell, Reginald H. The Development of a Directory of Instructional Materials to Supplement the History Curriculum at the Senior High Level in Newfoundland Schools. March, 1977. [Dr. G. Koski]
190. Boone, Wilbert Arthur. An Investigation of the Van Hiele Levels of Thinking in Geometry at the Beginning of the Ninth Grade. March, 1984. [Dr. Frank Riggs]
191. Brooker, G.M. Classroom Control and Reading Achievement in Grade Two and Grade Five. May, 1983. [Dr. R.K. Crocker]
192. Bull, Norman L. Secondary Leaving Evaluation in Newfoundland 1972-1976. March, 1977. [Dr. R.K. Crocker]

193. Burry, David J. The Development of a Remedial Reading Program for the High School Educable Mentally Handicapped Student. May, 1984. [Dr. Marc Glassman]
194. Butler, Linda. The Development, Implementation, and Evaluation of Mathematics Laboratories in an Elementary Education Mathematics Methods Course. July, 1981. [Dr. Dale Drost]
195. Byrne, Gerald F.V. A Humanistic Approach to Study Skills — with Emphasis on the Intangibles: Self-Concept, Thinking, and Motivation. March, 1984. [Dr. F. Wolfe]
196. Cahill, E. James. A Thematic Approach to the Teaching of Literature in the Junior High School. January, 1984. [Dr. F. Wolfe]
197. Caul, Robert Marvin. The Use of A Game for Revision in a World History Course. January 23, 1985. [Dr. Gerry Murphy]
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200. Cole, Roy. A Study to Compare the Effects of Discovery Teaching and Expository Teaching upon the Achievement and Retention Levels of Matriculation Grade-Ten Students Being Taught Some Aspects of the Quadrilateral. June, 1980. [Dr. Dale Drost]
201. Cole, Edward Warren. The Content for a Non-University-Preparatory Mathematics Program for Grades 9, 10, and 11 as Perceived by Mathematics Teachers in the High Schools and Trades Schools in Newfoundland. November, 1979. [Dr. G. Woolridge]
202. Coles, Linda. An Examination of the Grade Two STEM Science Program. April, 1984. [Dr. R. McCann]
203. Connolly, Larry M. A Study of the Effectiveness of a Teacher Developed Unit on Proof in Secondary School Geometry. November, 1981. [Mr. D. Drost]
204. Connors, Genevieve Mae. A Study of Teachers' Ratings of Pupils' Reading Achievement, Based on Five Factors Identified by Ten Teachers in Each of Grades Three and Six. July, 1981. [Dr. E. Janes]
205. Cooke, Brendan A. A Comparison of Three Levels of Diagnostic-Prescriptive Remediation of Student Misconceptions Relating to Stiochiometric Calculations. August, 1985. [Dr. A.K. Griffiths]
206. Coombs, Clarence. The Development of a Library-Research-Activity Unit on Greek Mythology for the Junior High School Grades in Newfoundland. August, 1985. [Dr. L. Brown]

207. Cooper, Varrick. The Development and Evaluation of a Unit of High School English Dealing with Newfoundland Dialect and Standard English. January, 1982. [Dr. Frank Wolfe]
208. Corbett, George. Mainstreaming of Mildly Mentally Handicapped Children: Obstacles as Perceived by the Regular Classroom Teacher. November 21, 1984. [Dr. L. Brown]
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213. Dalley, Frederick D. The Preparation of a Guide to the Selection of Learning Materials for Educable Mentally Retarded Students in the Senior High School. March, 1977. [Dr. G. Fizzard]
214. Dalton, Margaret R. Using Children's Literature to Foster Language Development and to Improve the Writing Ability of a Grade One Class. September 25, 1984. [Dr. Linda Phillips-Riggs]
215. Doody, Linda M. The Development of a Program for In-Servicing Parents of Pre-Kindergarten Children. May, 1986.
216. Doyle, Mary. Schema Theory and the Teaching of Literature. March, 1987.
217. Dunne, Maureen E. A Study of Topical Reading Interests and Their Relation to the Literature Texts of Selected Grade Nine Students. January, 1980. [Dr. Lloyd Brown]
218. Earle, Marilyn J. The Relationship Between Perceptual-Motor Development and Intellectual Ability in Children in Grades One Through Four. March, 1979. [Dr. Gerard Murphy]
219. Edmunds, Michael-John. A Study of the Explanations Used by Elementary School Students in the Interpretation of the Fraction Concept, and Addition and Subtraction of Fractions. August, 1982. [Dr. Frank Riggs]



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221. Fewer, Dennis. A Study of Teachers' Emphasis of the Objectives of the Grade Six Mathematics Program. January, 1983. [Dr. D. Drost]
222. Fitzgerald, Barbara C. An Examination of Current Issues in Business Education Courses in the Newfoundland and Labrador Senior High School Program. February 21, 1985. [Dr. F. Wolfe]
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245. Hobbs, Sandra Dianne. A Beginning Reading Program for a Select Group of Native Students. November 30, 1984. [Dr. Ethel M. Janes]
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254. Keating, Robert M. Speech Act Theory and the Teaching of Literature. February, 1984. [Dr. F. Wolfe]
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266. Leonard, Gerard Arthur. Using the Language Experience Approach to Teach Reading to a Group of Senior Special Education Students. January, 1979. [Dr. E. Janes]
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269. Maddock, John J. The Development of an Inservice Instructional Program for Teachers of Poetry in Junior High School. June, 1981. [Dr. Frank Wolfe]
270. Major, Maureen Mary. A Study of Inferencing Activities in Selected Basal Series at the Primary Level in Canadian Schools. August, 1986.
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273. Maxwell, Patricia Jean. The Effects of Selected Student Errors on the Consistency of Teacher Grading in Mathematics. August, 1982. [Dr. L.P. Mendoza]
274. May, Sarah Frances. A Study of the Heuristic Strategies Used by Grade Seven and Eight Students to Solve Novel Mathematical Problems. August, 1980. [Dr. L.P. Mendoza]
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278. Mooney, Aloysius H. An Investigation of the Effect of Evaluation Techniques on Pupil Achievement in the Teaching of a French Program. December, 1981. [Mrs. Joan Netten]
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281. Murcell, Joseph Carter. The Effects of Supplementary Activities in an Academic Geometry Course on Student Achievement and Attitudes. June, 1982. [Dr. Dale Drost]
282. Murray, Brendan E. A Study Investigating Two Hierarchical Models Relating to the Attainment of the Concept of Momentum, 1981. [Dr. Alan Griffiths]
283. Nagy, Anne. Language Interventions with Non-Verbal Retarded Persons: A Review of Related Theory and Selected Curriculum Materials. May, 1983. [Dr. F. Wolfe]
284. Neary, Gordon F. The Development of a Suggested Core Media Skills Program for Grades Nine to Eleven. May, 1977. [Dr. G. Koski]
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**PART II**  
**DENOMINATIONAL EDUCATION**

**WHERE ONCE WE FEARED TO TREAD: AN EXAMINATION OF  
THE DENOMINATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEM**

**Wayne Russell  
NTA**

The Newfoundland and Labrador education system has never, by national standards, been adequately funded. The amount spent per child in our province has consistently been among the lowest in Canada. There is a staggering difference between the amount spent per child here and the Canadian average. In the Table which follows, I have compared the numbers over selected years from 1965 to 1987 and calculated the percentage differences.

Annual and corresponding reports for earlier years.

Statistics Canada, unpublished information.

Canadian Teachers' Federation, unpublished information.

**Total Spending<sup>1</sup> for Primary, Elementary and Secondary  
Education Per Pupil Enrolled, Selected Years, 1965 to 1987<sup>°</sup>**

	1965	1970	1976	1980	1984	1985	1986	1987
Newfoundland	194	413	1301	2044	3532	3084	3296	3406
Canada	471	793	1683	2781	4277	4464	4653	4831
Difference	277	380	382	737	745	1380	1357	1425
% Difference	142. 8	92.0	29.4	36.1	21.1	44.7	41.2	41.8

<sup>°</sup> denotes estimate

<sup>1</sup> Includes spending by school boards plus departmental expenditures made on behalf of school boards.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, *Financial Statistics of Education, 1982-83*, Catalogue 81-208.

There was, as we are all aware, a commitment immediately following Confederation towards an improvement in the delivery of primary, elementary and secondary education. We brought with us into the Canadian family an education system that was not only drastically underfunded, but also inefficiently administered. There was, for example, approximately 300 school boards and 1200 schools. It was also a system in which the churches played a dominant role and in recognition of this Term 17 was placed in the Terms of Union. The term states in part: "...The legislature will not have authority to make laws prejudicially affecting any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools, or denominational colleges, that any class or classes of persons have by law in Newfoundland at the date of union....".

Working within the confines of Term 17 this province reorganized its delivery system and increased its funding. The reorganization saw the reduction of school boards from approximately 300 to 35, the number of schools from in excess of 1200 to approximately 600, and the Department of Education to functional administration, from denominational administration. The increase in funding moved, as shown in the table above, from a percentage difference with the Canadian average of 142.8 percent in 1965 to 21.1 for 1984.

It was, I believe, expected that the improvements would continue until such time as we had achieved a Canadian average. The Newfoundland economy, with much help from the Federal Government, was slowly improving and money was found to improve our school buildings, allocate more teachers, provide more school based resources and upgrade the curriculum. There were, of course, high and low points, generally reflecting the economy but the trend was upwards. There were those, of course, who visioned greater things for our province, as reflected in a quotation recently carried by *The Evening Telegram* in its "From the Files" section. The statement, made on October 7, 1972 by the then Premier Frank Moores was:

Newfoundland could be making equalization payments to other provinces in a few years if development of suspected oil reserves on the Grand Banks proceeds as anticipated. Premier Frank Moores said in an interview Friday.

The latter part of the 1970-s and the early 1980s saw Canada enter a deep and extensive economic recession. The recession arrived later in our province but it went deeper and is lasting longer. The economic indicators at this time are not positive towards improvement. In the 1987 Provincial Budget the Honorable Doctor John Collins, Minister of Finance, wrote:

Despite last year's performance, the province is in an increasingly difficult position. Our economy remains weak while other provinces strengthen and prosper. Our employment picture is a national disgrace. We are suffering net outward population migration largely because of economic circumstances. Aggregate income, business investment and federal spending in the province falls short of our needs to the extent that "tight money" persists and retards development potentials.

These conditions exist at the thirty-eighth anniversary of our confederating with the rest of Canada, a milestone passed only two days ago. The simple fact remains that the undoubted social benefits of the Act of Union have not been matched with economic gains, anywhere nearly sufficient to raise us to an acceptable Canadian standard of living. Improvement is so slow, under current federal/provincial interaction, that a position of equity will not be obtained within a foreseeable time span.

This harsh assessment at the outset of our thirty-ninth year in Confederation is confirmed by an array of factual evidence which allows for us no other interpretation.

The Newfoundland Teachers' Association watched as the recession continued. It listened as economic experts concluded that the long-term prospects were not positive. It saw a reduction in the increase of monies available for education. It knew the statistics



which showed that we were no longer gaining on the national average and had, in fact, lost ground. It knew that all segments of our education system was struggling to maintain what had been built. Cutbacks were much more common than improvements. We knew that the portion of public money spent on education was declining and we strongly advocated that the trend be stopped. The portion of public spending for education had decreased from 26.5% in 1979 to 22.9% in 1986. However, even if the percentage was returned to 1979 levels it would mean an increase of 3.6%, or a total of only \$14.7 million, based on spending for primary, elementary and secondary of \$408.4 million in 1986-87. The amount would help but it falls far short of the amount required to meet Canadian standards for 1986-87 which is estimated to be \$185.9 million, based on a difference per pupil of \$1,357 and an enrolment of 137,000 pupils.

It was easy to conclude that with limited opportunities for increased funding, we should utilize the monies available in the best economic manner possible.

Any review of our delivery system would quickly show that we have to deal with three major obstacles. They are the geographic size of our province, a small, widely distributed population and an overlapping denominational system. In combination, the three factors make it more expensive to educate a pupil in this province than in any other part of Canada, with the possible exception of the Territories.

Two of the factors, geography and population distribution, cannot be altered. Any additional cost associated with them must be absorbed. (Others have tried to change at least one of these factors, with what most would agree were less than successful results). We considered what the administrative and economic realities of the current structured denomination system were. We found, as most working in the system know from experience, that it was both economically wasteful and administratively inefficient. Considering the duplication in capital cost and the inefficient use of teaching personnel, we found that as much as one dollar in five was required to support the system as structured. The inefficient use of teaching personnel arises from the need to staff more small schools than are necessary and the inability, resulting from subdividing, to utilize to advantage the specialized training and talents of most teachers. Considering both the overlapping jurisdiction and layers of administration within each denomination, the administrative inefficiencies are clear to see.

We did not consider the option of dismantling the denomination system and replacing it with a single public education system. We were aware of the provisions in Term 17, and the principle of denominational education where it is a marriage of the support of the church with the value of education is supported by the Association. It was also recognized that the inefficiencies were not so much associated with denominational education as they were with the structure utilized.

The problem, as seen by the NTA, is isolation by denomination, that is, each denomination operating independent of the other. The solution we believed was to reorganize along cooperative lines. Such cooperative denominational sharing could occur in all regions of the province, including metropolitan St. John's. What was needed, then, was to examine the system and ask if new and innovative ways could be found to maximize our resources while at the same time retaining the church involvement in the system.

We knew it was not popular or common in education circles to comment negatively on the denominational system and it was assumed that those who did so

would come under much pressure from church-related groups. A method was needed to place the position before government, the educational agencies and the public in general. In this way the reaction would be from a broad base and hopefully a balance of views would be obtained. It was decided to place the position in a brief to Cabinet. The brief would be widely circulated in education circles and released to the public by way of the media. The brief, titled "Exploring New Pathways", was released in May of 1986. It explained what was characterized as a serious and extensive flaw, that being isolation by denomination, and asked for a major review with the aim towards improving the administrative and economic efficiencies of the system.

The reaction was both predictable and surprising. The Denominational Councils, as expected, dismissed the report and defended the current system. The Provincial Government surprisingly challenged the position of isolation by denomination and argued that the system was neither administratively nor economically inefficient. It further claimed that the trend was already towards denominational cooperation. The vast majority of all practitioners in the system would, in my opinion, strongly disagree with both conclusions. The editorial media reacted favorably to the report. It appeared from reaction to public affairs programming and other sources that the majority of the general public would support a review of the system. This was later confirmed by a survey entitled "Attitudes Towards Denominational Education in Newfoundland" and conducted by Mr. Mark Grasser from the Department of Political Science of Memorial University of Newfoundland for the C.B.C. show "On Camera".

In the preparation of this article, I was asked by the editors of this journal to comment on the effect which the brief has had on the delivery system. It is, of course, a judgement call. There have been a number of things happening in keeping with the general premise of the brief. It would, however, be somewhat presumptuous to conclude that they are a direct result of the brief. It may be that they are a reflection of the times, they were accelerated by the brief, or that they were generated by the brief. It is clear that the brief has had an impact, if for no other reason than out of the dozens of so-called briefs which our Association has prepared before and after this brief, those who refer now to the NTA brief are usually understood to be speaking of "Exploring New Pathways".

My list of what has occurred in keeping with the general premise of the brief, includes:

- An open and frank discussion among educators of the denominational system and in particular the inefficiencies of the isolated structure. A continuous examination of any delivery system is not only healthy but is necessary. A system that is fundamentally strong can only benefit from such discussion. A system fearing such discussion also fears the possible changes which such discussion would discover. The strength of our system can withstand such discussion and its weaknesses will be improved.
- A number of major studies released following the brief also considered and made recommendations on the denominational systems. These studies include: 'School District Boundaries Revisited', a report of the task force on Integrated school board boundaries prepared by Mr. Cecil Roebothan and Dr. Philip Warren; 'Report of the Small Schools Study Project', the report of a task force chaired by Dr. Frank Riggs; and 'Building on our Strengths', the report of the Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment, chaired by Dr. Douglas Howse.

The report of the task force on Integrated school district boundaries contained these recommendations:

That the Integrated Education Council consult with the Catholic Education Council with a view to working out a cooperative arrangement whereby all the Integrated and Roman Catholic schools in Labrador East could be administered by one board and all the schools in Labrador West by another.

That the Integrated Council consult with the Catholic Education Council with a view to adopting a cooperative arrangement whereby one board could administer, especially for instructional purposes, all the schools in the area. (The area being Bay d'Espoir-Hermitage-Fortune Bay)

The report of the small schools study project contains these recommendations:

That the concept of joint service schools and interdenominational cooperation be pursued and encouraged by agencies involved in education. That the Department of Education and the Denominational Education Councils adopt a policy that by August 31, 1991 in order to qualify under the Small Schools Program a "small school" must be more than ten kilometers distance, for primary and elementary schools, and more than thirty kilometers distance, for central or regional high schools, from a larger school which is accessible by road, independent of the area served by the district school board of the different religious denominations.

The report of the Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment was strongest, recommending: "The province MUST undertake a review and cost analysis of the denominational education system" (emphasis mine).

The recommendation contained in the NTA brief was:

The Provincial Government should establish a Royal Commission with the broad mandate of examining the administrative and economic disadvantage of the current denominational system and provide recommendations for improvement.

- There are some excellent examples of denominational cooperation. These include the sharing of specialist teachers, cooperative bussing, and cooperative schools. The Gander-Bonavista-Connaigre Roman Catholic School Board and the Terra Nova Integrated School Board have a longstanding record of cooperation and last year that continued with a combined school to serve students of Fogo Island. It would be incorrect to claim that this cooperative school emanated from our brief but the positive reaction to the brief may have contributed to successfully concluding what was a difficult cooperative venture. Much can be learned from the way these two school boards maximized the efficiency of delivering the program while at the same time maintaining the principles of the denominational system.
- There has been at least a pause in the division of schools by denomination. There had been such divisions in a number of areas, in the years preceding the presentation of the brief. The pause might be a waiting period for the negative

reactions to such divisions to erode or it might be a genuine interest for cooperation. Only time will tell.

- The Newfoundland and Labrador School Trustees' Association took as its theme for the 1987 annual general meeting "Pulling Together — A Team Approach". A number of the discussion topics related to cooperation.
- There is, I understand, in discussion between the denominational groups as to how cooperation can occur between the denominations. It would be of interest to see if positive cooperative efforts occur from these discussions.

There are, then, positive changes. The question is are they "tinkering" to bring the system through the period of time when there are serious questions about its effectiveness or are they together a positive direction for the future? Considering that all of them are occurring "ad hoc" we must await a clearer indication of direction. One could be more optimistic if there was, for example, discussions leading towards the combining of schools in some area, serviced by two or more denominations into a college whereby there would be a central core of specialized, expensive programs including physical education, fine arts, laboratory sciences and shops, with associated denominational schools. In this way, a greater range of curriculum could be made available to the students, overlapping in the expensive programs would be eliminated, and the principle of the denominational schools retained. What is needed, of course, is a clear direction and commitment to change. A clear direction will only occur from a detailed study and a commitment to change will occur when we revise our thinking of what education is all about. For me, Roger Grimes, when President of the NTA, expressed it best when he said, to effect, 'What is needed is a change in our thinking so that when we plan we do not automatically think isolated denominational schools and then ask how can the program be delivered; rather we think most effective program delivery and then ask how can the principles of the denominational system be incorporated'.

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## **PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD THE INTERDENOMINATIONAL SHARING OF EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES AND SERVICES**

**Jeffery Bulcock**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Public opinion surveys are designed to obtain accurate information on public issues. The Strong and Crocker (1989 Report) on "Public Opinion on Education" was no exception. The findings were used by two task forces on education: the Task Force on Educational Finance (1989) and the Task Force on Mathematics and Science Education (1989). The public opinion on education telephone survey was noteworthy for two other reasons. First, most public opinion surveys in Newfoundland are based on stratified random samples of from 400 to 500 respondents. Since the larger the sample (other things equal), the more accurate or reliable the findings, the Strong-Crocker (1989, p. 5) survey with its 1002 respondents was able to report an extremely small margin of error. Second, the survey was of the omnibus variety which amalgamated educational surveys on similar topics conducted by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (St. John's, 1986), the Canadian Education Association (1984), and Dr. Philip Warren (1978, 1983). Thus, the data base was unusually rich with information not only on key issues such as the amount of support for changing the denominational structure of education, but also on the backgrounds of the respondents — their age, gender, educational and occupational attainments, religious membership, and their attitudes towards a host of educational matters.

One of the problems with public opinion surveys is that those who commission them want immediate feedback. The analysts, therefore, do not have time to provide much more than descriptive data relevant to the major issues in question. In the case of the Strong-Crocker (1989) Report attention focused on the question:

As you know, Newfoundland has a system of denominational school boards and denominational schools. In your opinion, should Newfoundland keep this system or change to some other system?

Strong and Crocker (1989) provided more than just descriptive data. They showed that 55 percent of those polled preferred to keep the denominational system; but they also showed how this result could be broken down (or stratified) by the age, gender, urban-rural residence, educational level, occupation, religion of the respondent and by whether the respondent had children in school or not. These results from the Strong-Crocker Report are presented in Table 1.

### **SECONDARY ANALYSIS RATIONALE**

From Table 1 it can be seen that women are more likely to wish to keep the denomination system, than men; that rural residents, those with less than a high school education, those with no children in school and those with no children in school and those who are members of the Roman Catholic and Pentecostal religions are also predominately in favour of keeping the present denominational system of education. What Table 1 does not inform the reader is whether these results are significant or not. In other words when taking the other factors such as age, education and religious

membership into account, are gender differences in favour of keeping the denominational system still significant? Is it gender that accounts for “keeping” the

**TABLE 1**  
**Percentage Favouing Retention of the Denominational**  
**System by Selected Variables**

	Percent Answering "Keep"
Total	55.3
Sex	
Male	50.8
Female	59.5
Age	
18-25	62.5
26-35	53.8
36-49	52.4
>50	57.4
Urban/Rural	
Urban	49.9
Rural	59.9
Education Level	
<grade 8	67.7
some high school	63.5
completed high school	56.2
some trade school	52.8
some university	41.4
graduated university	33.3
Occupation	
Prof./senior management	34.2
Technical/mid. management	33.8
Skilled-clerical/trades	60.8
Semi-skilled clerical/trades	57.8
Homemaker	62.5
Disabled	80.0
Retired	61.8
Unskilled	54.7
Religion	
Roman Catholic	63.1
Anglican	50.2
United Church	50.0
Salvation Army	57.9
Pentecostal	74.0
Other	39.5
None	31.3
Children in School	
Yes	54.4
No	57.0



denominational system, or is it something that gender represents such as educational level or occupational status? And this kind of question can be asked of any one of the stratifying factors in Table 1.

Suppose that United Church members tended to be more highly educated, tended to hold more prestigious jobs, and tended to be more regularly employed regardless of sex than the members of other religious groups. How does one know that it is their religious membership that accounts for their marginal support (as reported in Table 1) for denominational schooling or these other qualities for which religious membership is a proxy? If United Church religious membership is a proxy for these other factors then it is unlikely that religion would be a factor accounting for United Church members' opinions about keeping the denominational system or not.

Whether a factor in the equation accounting for the support of a denominational school system is significant or not can be mathematically ascertained by conducting a multi-variate statistical analysis. Before addressing the question about public attitudes towards interdenominational sharing, however, a multi-variate statistical analysis is conducted for illustrative purposes with respect to the above question about whether to keep or change the denominational system of education in Newfoundland. Because the outcome variable is a dichotomy or binary coded variable (respondents were asked whether they wanted to either keep or change the system) the kind of analysis conducted was a two group multiple discriminant function analysis.<sup>1</sup>

The conceptual model presented diagrammatically in Figure 1 shows only clusters of blocks of concepts and their relationship to the dependent variable. Blocks to the left are exogenous variables, while the dependent variable on the right is endogenous. The variance of exogenous variables is determined by causes outside the model. On the other hand the variance of endogenous variables is explained by exogenous and in some models (but not in this one) by other endogenous variables in the model. If the variable clusters are labelled X1 through X4 and the dependent variable X5, equation (1) describes the model:

$$x_5 - b_{51} x_1 + b_{52} x_2 + b_{53} x_3 + b_{54} x_4 + e_1 \quad (1)$$

And if the dependent variable of the sharing model to be discussed below is labelled X6, the equation describing this second model is:

$$x_5 - b_{51} x_1 + b_{52} x_2 + b_{53} x_3 + b_{54} x_4 + e_2 \quad (2)$$

In effect it is postulated that: (a) four blocks of variables — background factors, denominational membership, occupational status, and attitude toward schooling — account for (b); namely, two attitudes toward denominational schooling — (i) support for changing the system or not, and (ii) support for more sharing of facilities and services or not.

## **AN EXAMPLE OF MULTIVARIATE STATISTICAL ANALYSIS**

Before conducting any multivariate analysis, the analyst has to formulate the structural model, or specify the relationship between the dependent and independent variables. In this example the dependent variable or criterion variable is a dichotomy

(INSERT FIGURE 1)

**Figure 1. The conceptual model**

Key: Block #1 variables included age, gender, UR (urban or rural residence), EDU (educational attainment), CHLDN (children in school or not); block #2 variables included D1 (RC), D2 (Anglican), D3 (United Church), D4 (Salvation Army), D5 (Pentecostal), D6 (other or none); block #3 variables included J1 (professional or senior management), J2 (technical or middle management), J3 (skilled clerical or skilled trades), J4 (semi-skilled clerical or trades), J5 (unskilled), J6 (homemaker), J7 (retired), J8 (student); block #4 variables included Q22 (the importance of teaching moral and religious principles), CBETTER (whether the schools have changed for the better in 8 areas), QUAL (assessment of schooling quality in 6 areas), ACSTAN (perceived importance of academic standards in 4 science fields). Note that CBETTER, QUAL, and ACSTAN are linear composite variables.

in which “changing the denominational system” was coded 1 = keep, 2 = change. The factors hypothesized to account for decisions concerning keeping or changing the system were classified under four headings: background factors, religious membership, occupational status, and attitudes. These variables are identified in Table 2. Attitudes toward keeping the denominational system are shown in Figure 2.

The four groups of variables (or blocks) are related to the outcome variable in the manner shown in the conceptual model presented in Figure 1. Each block of variables is composed of a set of factors which are hypothesized to account for the probability of preferring a change in the educational structure. There are five block one variables, six block two, eight block three, and four block four variables — in total some 23 hypotheses. See Table 2 and the footnote to Figure 1.

The results are presented diagrammatically in Figure 3. Note that only the significant relationships are depicted. For the research aficionado the numbers above the paths in Figure 3 are standardized, partial regression coefficients, while the numbers below each path in parentheses is the t-value. The first relationship between GENDER and CHANGE is negative (-.086). Since GENDER was coded 1 = male, 2 = female; and since the probability of supporting the change variable was coded 1 = keep 2 = change, a negative sign meant that male respondents were more likely to favour changing the system than female respondents. The t-value of -2.379 is greater than two; hence, the hypothesis is supported.

The other interesting finding for block one variables was that respondents with high levels of education support change. Among the religious membership variables Anglicans and United Church members compared to Catholics supported change; while compared to Catholics Pentecostal respondents were even more supportive of keeping the system.<sup>2</sup> In the occupational category, block three variables, the two most prestigious categories — professionals and senior management on the one hand, and technical and middle management on the other — when compared to skilled workers, supported change. In terms of attitudes, those who believed that the schools should place greater emphasis on the teaching of moral and religious principles supported change; while those who believed that the schools were changing for the better did not support change.

What has emerged is an elitist model of change. Respondents with the highest levels of educational attainment and the most prestigious jobs supported change. Apparently, in the presence of the other factors age, urban-rural residence, and whether a respondent had children in school or not did not matter. Two attitude variables labelled QUAL, for schooling quality, and ACSTAN, for academic standards, were not significant factors either.

The most powerful relationship, that between Q22 and support for change, is the most ironical. It means that those who wish to dismantle the denominational system are those who would place the greatest value on the teaching of moral and religious principles.

TABLE 2

## Variables Included in The Change and Share Models

Q'aire Item	Mnemonic	Description	Variable Type
Q16	CHANGE	Change or keep denominational school system	dichotomous
Q18	SHARE	More sharing of facilities and services or not	dichotomous
Q36	AGE	Age in terms of age group membership	ordinal
Q41 Q40 Q37 Q1	UR GENDER EDU CHILDREN	Urban or rural residence Whether male or female Educational attainment Whether any children in school or not	dichotomous dichotomous ordinal dichotomous
Q39 Q39 Q39 Q39 Q39 Q39 Q38 Q38 Q38 Q38	D1 D2 D3 D4 D5 D6 J1 J2 J3 J4	Roman Catholic Anglican United Church Salvation Army Pentecostal Other or none Professional or senior management Technical or middle management Skilled clerical or skilled trades Semi-skilled clerical or semi-skilled trades	dichotomous dichotomous dichotomous dichotomous dichotomous dichotomous dichotomous dichotomous dichotomous dichotomous
Q38 Q38 Q38 Q38 Q22N3	J5 J5 J7 J8 Q22	Unskilled worker Homeworker Retired Student Importance of teaching moral and religious principles	dichotomous dichotomous dichotomous dichotomous ordinal
Q11N1 to Q11N8	CBETTER	Whether schools have changed for the better	interval
Q19N1 to Q19N6 Q33N2/N4/ N6/N8/N10	QUAL ACSTAN	Rating of school quality scale Importance of high standards in math and science	interval interval

**(INSERT FIGURE 2)**

**Figure 2.** Attitudes toward keeping the denominational system 1986, 1988

### **A MODEL OF INTERDENOMINATIONAL SHARING**

It was shown above how to analyze the data from an opinion survey in order to test blocks of hypotheses. In the given example there were four blocks of variables — which incorporated 23 hypotheses, 9 of which were supported. The estimated model which emerged was referred to as an elitist model of educational change because support for it came largely from the most socially powerful groups in Newfoundland.

The model of interdenominational sharing had as its dependent variable responses to variable 19 on the telephone interview schedule. This variable read as follows:

If denominational schooling were to be retained, should there be more sharing of facilities, programs, and services by denominational authorities?

1. Should be more sharing.
2. About the right amount of sharing now.
3. Already too much sharing.

The variable was recoded so that “more sharing” = 2 and the two remaining categories were collapsed into a single category, “no more sharing” = 1; thereby creating a dichotomous variable. The survey results for this question are shown in Figure 4 and the findings of the multivariate analysis are presented in Figure 5.

It is readily noted from Figure 5 that out of 23 hypotheses only two were supported — one from block 1 and one from block 4. As may be calculated from the residual term, less than 4 percent of the variance in the dependent variable was accounted for. This means that the model had a weak fit to the data. In fact, none of the block 2 and block 3 variables proved significant. All one can say in a positive sense about the model is that the educationally advantaged — that is, those with high levels of educational attainment — were among the strongest supporters of interdenominational sharing; and those who believed that the school system was improving for the better were likely to be opposed to more sharing. Those opposing more sharing fell into two camps; those who thought there was enough sharing already and those who believed that there was already too much sharing. (See Figure 4).

**(INSERT FIGURE 3)**

**Figure 3:** Parameter estimates for the denominational system change model.\*

\*Coefficients above the paths are standardized partial regression coefficients. The t-values are reported in parentheses below the paths. Note that t-values greater than or equal to  $\pm 1.96$  are significant at the  $p < .05$  level. All nonsignificant paths are excluded in the interest of clarity. The variable enclosed in the eclipse is a linear composite. All other variables, in rectangles, are observed variables. The results for block #2 variables are in relation to the omitted category (see note 2) which in this case is the RC group; and the results for block #3 variables are in relation to the skilled worker group. Note that there were 9 significant relationships out of the total of 23 hypothesized relationships.

**(INSERT FIGURE 4)**

**Figure 4.** Attitudes toward the sharing of facilities, programs and services.

**(INSERT FIGURE 5)**

**Figure 5.** Estimates for the model of support for interdenominational sharing.\*

\*See footnote to Figure 1 for key to variable mnemonics. Coefficients above the paths are standardized partial regression coefficients; t-values are reported in parentheses below the paths; NS = not significant. Variables with nonsignificant paths have been omitted in the interests of clarity. Linear composites are enclosed in ellipses; observed variables are enclosed in rectangles.

Notwithstanding the fact that the model had a poor fit and that only two hypotheses out of 23 were supported the findings are politically important. They mean in the first place that support for sharing is evenly distributed among different age groups, that support does not depend on whether respondents live in rural or urban communities, or whether they have children in school or not; and that there is no gender bias in terms of support for interdenominational sharing. It further means that there is no single denominational group more (or less) supportive of sharing than any other denominational group because none of the religious membership variables was significant. And just as support for sharing was found uniformly distributed among the different denominations, so it was for the different occupational categories. In terms of attitudes, those who place great importance on the achievement of high academic standards in the sciences were no more or less likely to support sharing than those who placed little importance on academic standards in the sciences. Similarly, those rating the schools low in quality were just as supportive as those rating the schools high in quality, as were those rating the schools high in quality, as were those placing great importance on the teaching of moral and religious principles compared to those placing less importance on this aspect of the school curriculum.

## CONCLUSION

It is the lot of politicians to decide how to allocate society's scarce resources. Where there is a majority in favour of some policy governing resource allocation the politician's task may be eased somewhat, but history reminds one that there are few issues on which a clear majority exists. And even where it does, history also reminds one that it is not always wise to use the political clout of the majority to give them what they want. In terms of many political issues it is not so much whether a policy is popular as to whether it is rationally justifiable. After all, the majority view may be morally unacceptable.

The point of this discussion is to suggest that on most political issues there are minority group claims and, therefore, the tendency is for each group to press its case in the hope that the issue may be decided in its favour. The modern term for this is lobbying. In practice, then, between elections, governments have to attend to a great many sectional claims. The government is morally obligated to attend to these claims; but more than that, it must do so to gain the cooperation required to stay in power. This is not to say that government should act merely on the basis of the findings from public opinion polls. Any government that bent before every gust of public opinion would soon lose the respect and confidence of the governed.

What this study has shown is that in terms of support for changing or keeping the denominational system of education a clear majority of opinion does not exist. Thus, if the government wishes to interfere as some avant garde elitist groups would prefer it must have a strong rationale for doing so and vice versa. A rationale was provided by this study. The matter of whether to keep or change the denominational system is one in which minority group claims are of paramount importance. The claimants moreover are among the world's foremost lobbyists with well over a millennium of successful experience with many different kinds of governing bodies. Thus, to change the system would be to invite political misfortune. Instead, a government can take heart over the fact that there is widespread support amongst all denominational and occupational groups for interdenominational sharing. The findings of this reanalysis of the public opinion on education data clearly indicate that



implementation of policies of interdenominational sharing would likely meet with widespread public support. There could well be, of course, modes of sharing which would be better received than others. In this case the government might be well advised to find out which sharing methods would be the most acceptable — a task which should not be too difficult, and which at this time might be one to which a high priority could be given.

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## NOTES:

1. Since the dependent variable in this example is a dummy variable, or binary coded vector, four modes of analysis are possible; namely, two group multiple discriminant function analysis, dummy variable regression analysis and profit analysis. Here, the results reported were based on dummy variable regression, but were checked against the results from a discriminant function analysis. When the mean response range for a binary dependent variable is between .3 and .7, as is the case here, there is little to be gained from using either logic or profit analysis. Note, however, that a number of textbooks on research design and statistics, and especially those written for an educational or psychological audience, define binary classifications as nominal variables. In fact, they are not. In the present case respondents were asked, whether they favoured keeping the denominational system of education (coded 1) or changing it (coded 2). The mean score was 1.400 which means that 40 percent of the sample wished to change the system. In other words the means of binary variables have a meaningful metric in that they represent a proportion or probability; hence, have all the characteristics of interval scales, and may be interpreted as such. The estimation of probabilities is one of the major contributions of the social sciences to measurement theory. It means that binary classifications are free from the constraints identified in most texts on measurement with nominal level variables and can be treated as interval scales. There is a sound treatment of these matters in Neter and Wasserman (1974). For a critical view of social science measurement, but one supportive of the stand taken here, see Duncan (1984).
2. While this is not a technical paper, it should be pointed out that GENDER, UR (urban or rural residence), CHLDN (children in school or not), all the block #2 variables (D1 to D6), and all the block #3 variables (J1 to J8) were dichotomies or dummy variables. In the case of GENDER either the respondent was female or not female; and in the case of variable D1 the respondent was either

Roman Catholic or not Roman Catholic. Excluding the dependent variable there were 17 dummy variables. When dealing with a block of dummy variables such as a block of religious membership variables or a block of occupational status variables, estimation calls for omitting one group (one dummy variable) in each block. The omitted group is effectively constrained to zero; hence, becomes the reference group for interpreting the coefficients of the included variables. The preferred practice is to omit the variable in the block which in the judgement of the analyst offers the most meaningful interpretation. In block #2 the Roman Catholic group was omitted, and in block #3 the skilled worker category was omitted. Both omitted groups contained the largest number of respondents of any category in the block; hence, were potentially the most influential group. This is why in the interpretation of the findings for the effects of religious membership or occupational status they are always with reference to the group constrained to zero; that is, either the Roman Catholic group or the skilled worker group. For extended discussions of dummy variable analysis see Draper and Smith (1981) or Pedhazur (1982).

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## **DENOMINATIONAL AND TEACHER RIGHTS: AN UPDATE ON A RECURRENT CONFLICT**

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### **Recent Developments in Newfoundland**

Some legal precedents affecting the rights of denominational school boards and their teachers have emerged in the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador during the last four years. This recent development was initiated when a media consultant contested his firing by the St. John's Roman Catholic School Board. The case reached the Trial Division of the Newfoundland Supreme Court which handed down a decision in 1979.<sup>1</sup> Three years later, the same Division heard and decided on a case involving the Exploits-White Bay Roman Catholic School Board and the Newfoundland Teachers' Association.<sup>2</sup> Its judgment was subsequently sustained by the Appeal Division of the Court this year.

There is no doubt that the rulings in these recent cases establish the parameters within which the rights of denominational School Boards and their teachers will be perceived and exercised within the Province. In fact, just recently, an Arbitration Board (which heard the case of a Conception Bay North teacher fired for marrying someone of a different faith without dispensation) explicitly employed, among other things, the 1979 ruling in deciding in favor of a grieving teacher.<sup>3</sup> However, insofar as the Supreme Court of Canada — the court of last resort in the land — has not pronounced on the matter, the parameters established by Newfoundland courts may be regarded as provisional. Because fundamental denominational rights are adversely affected we can expect appropriate school boards in the Province to appeal, sooner or later, to the federal supreme court for a definitive judgment.

Whichever side one may sympathize with, denominational attempts towards an appeal should prove inevitable. The enormity of the issue involved requires its decisive settlement once and for all if possible. While Newfoundland courts have apparently taken a consistent position on denominational rights, the fact remains that courts in other provinces have adopted a divergent stand. On the whole they have recognized the right of denominational school boards to employ denominational standards or qualifications in the hiring and firing (or termination) of their teachers. In light of this disparity, it is understandable that school boards in the Province will actively seek a vindication of their rights in the Supreme Court of Canada.

### **Litigated Cases on the Mainland**

British Columbia's **Caldwell and Stuart**<sup>4</sup> could turn out to be the very first vehicle for the Canadian Supreme Court's determination of rights of denominational school boards related to their control of teacher qualifications. The fate of this case has been a tortuous one; the case itself exemplifies the complexity of judicial adjudication.

Ms. Caldwell was a Catholic teacher in St. Thomas Aquinas High School on a yearly contract starting in 1973. Four years later, despite full awareness of her

church's and school's regulations, she married a divorced Methodist in a Methodist Church. Subsequently, her contract for the following school year was not renewed by the school principal/school board.

Before the Board of Inquiry which heard here case, Ms. Caldwell's counsel argued that her non-renewal violated Section 8 of the British Columbia Human Rights Code. It states, among others, that (i) every person has the right to equality of opportunity based on bona fide qualifications with respect to his occupation or employment, and that (ii) no employer shall refuse to employ, or to continue to employ any person on the basis of race, religion, color, sex, marital status, age, ancestry, place of origin and political belief. However, ruling in favor of the respondent principal, the Board of Inquiry accepted the argument that the nature of Catholic education is such that Catholic schools may require, as bona fide qualification, a teacher's membership in the Church and adherence to its teachings. The Board found it unnecessary to deal extensively with other issues raised in the hearings, such as exemption for Catholic Schools from the anti-discrimination section (S.8), implications of Article 93 of the B.N.A. Act of 1867, and freedom of religion.

Unhappy with this ruling, Ms. Caldwell brought her case to the British Columbia Supreme Court. In his judgment, Justice Toy noted the Board of Inquiry's error in law in claiming that religion can be used as bona fide qualification for employment. To do so, the Court reasoned, would be to render the intent and prohibitions in the section meaningless. Moreover, Justice Toy observed, other arguments raised by the principal's counsel could not be sustained. He denied the applicability to the case of the code's exemption clause which reads in part (Section 22):

Where a(n)...educational...(or) religious...organization...that is not operated for profit has as a primary purpose the promotion of the interests and welfare of an identifiable group...of persons characterized by a common....religion..., that organization or group shall not be considered as contravening this act because it is granting a preference to (its) members...

His reason was that in Caldwell's case, no granting of preference to members was involved because nobody (or no Catholic) was hired to replace her. Further he declared that in British Columbia there were no pre-Confederation statutes giving Catholics or any other denomination any rights or privilege in the field of education. Finally, he insisted that, while Catholics' freedom of religion was involved, this freedom must be exercised within the laws of the Province.

Justice Toy's ruling was brought to the British Columbia Court of Appeal, however. Reversing the decision of the Supreme Court Justice, the Appeal Court did not find a violation of the Code's anti-discrimination clause (Section 8). The Court determined that Ms. Caldwell was terminated not for her religion or for her condition of being married, but for her action which violated a permissible, valid school/church rule. Moreover, it insisted that Section 22 must be permitted to prevail over Section 8 if it is to accomplish its purpose. For the Court, this section specifically preserves the right to associate. In its words, "Without it, the denominational schools that have always been accepted as a right of each denomination in a free society would be eliminated."<sup>5</sup>

Denominational success in British Columbia is matched by a previous success in Ontario through the litigation of **Re Essex County Roman Catholic Separate School Board and Porter et al.**<sup>6</sup> This case involved two female teachers discharged by the board for having entered into civil marriages. Upon request to the Minister of Education, their case was heard by a Board of Reference which subsequently ordered their reinstatement. The school board, however, contested before an Ontario Divisional Court the authority of the Board of Reference which subsequently ordered their reinstatement. The school board, however, contested before an Ontario Divisional Court the authority of the Board of Reference to direct continuance of teachers' contracts in cases involving teacher dismissals on denominational grounds. It argued that the provision of the Education Act, 1974 which empowered the Board in such matters was **ultra vires** (outside the competence of) the Ontario legislature (which had passed the Act) because it violated denominational rights guaranteed by Section 93 of the British North America Act of 1867.<sup>7</sup> Agreeing with this contention, Justice Weatherspoon referred to **Board of Education for Moose Jaw School District No. 1 v. Attorney-General for Saskatchewan**.<sup>8</sup> Here the court held invalid a provision for binding arbitration in Saskatchewan's **Teacher Collective Bargaining Act, 1973** because it involved rights and privileges of separate denominational school boards, namely, the regulation of the selection of teachers, the administrative and instructional duties of teachers and the nature or quality of an instructional programme, including religious education. In conclusion, he declared: "...(I)t is **ultra vires** the Legislature to empower a Board of Reference to direct a continuance of a teacher's contract in cases when the teacher has been dismissed for reasons which have a denominational validity and value to justify termination of employment, even though not of sufficient cause in law" (p. 439).

Interestingly, Porter and Podgorski's failure to obtain reinstatement did not deter another teacher in the same school board from fighting for her rights despite her principal's judgment that she did not possess denominational qualifications for teaching in the Catholic school.<sup>9</sup> A teacher of several years on yearly contracts, Ms. Kersey was a non-Catholic hired to teach music because no Catholic teacher could be found to fill the position. The school board had a long-standing policy of preferring Catholics but also for hiring non-Catholics when required by circumstances. Ms. Kersey was informed of this policy. The position was regularly advertised before the beginning of each academic year for two years. In 1980, her position was declared redundant owing to budget restraints. However, though laid-off, Ms. Kersey retained recall rights to vacancies that would be available, as provided for in the collective agreement between her Teachers' Association and the school board. A year later, the board advertised a position in special education. Although she specialized in that area, and although in possession of recall rights, she was not considered for the vacancy. Subsequently, it was offered to a Catholic teacher who was lower on the recall list.

That, only a few years ago, the Province's Appeal Court sanctioned the school board's right to control teacher qualifications did not seem to affect the Arbitration Board's decision in this case. As the Board saw it, the fundamental issue between the parties was whether the school board can require that a teacher with contractual recall rights be a Roman Catholic in order to occupy a full-time teaching position. The Board found the school board in violation of the collective agreement because (i) there was nothing in the agreement or in past practice indicating that Roman Catholicity was a basic requirement in all recall situations, and because (ii) denomination was not included within the list of qualifications specified in the

particular posting for the job in question. Accordingly, it ruled that the school board consider Ms. Kersey's application and suitability for the position in terms of stated qualifications required in the posting.

### **The Newfoundland Cases**

Ironically enough it is in Newfoundland, the Province which exhibits the fullest implementation of the denominational principle, where denominational rights appear to be most threatened. Just this year, an Arbitration Board heard and upheld the case of a female teacher whose employment was terminated by her school board.<sup>10</sup> Her firing resulted from her marriage to an Anglican person at an Anglican Church without her having received appropriate dispensation.

As in the Kersey case in Ontario, the Newfoundland Board of Arbitration based its ruling on its determination of the spirit, intent and plain language of the collective agreement between school boards and their teachers. The Board found nothing in the agreement which justified the use of "denominational cause" in the termination of the teacher's services. Further, while it did not question the authority of school boards to pass by-laws imposing reasonable denominational requirements (e.g., in this case, to abide by laws and regulations of the Catholic Church) it rejected the school board's attempt to use a by-law as an extension of the collective agreement. In the absence of express recognition in such agreement, the by-law remained a unilateral declaration by the school board. Its implementation was thus in violation of the agreement.

In focusing on the collective agreement, the Board was clearly following the guidelines set by the Trial Division of the Provincial Supreme Court in **Re Stack and the Roman Catholic School Board for St. John's (1979)**.<sup>11</sup> This case involved a teacher with the Board who married an Anglican lady at an Anglican ceremony in 1970 and who, as a media consultant with the same Board, was divorced by his wife.

Initially, this case was heard by a Board of Arbitration. Although the Board disagreed with the school board claim that the case was not arbitrable (because allegedly the collective agreement under which the grievance was filed was in violation of the school board's legal/constitutional rights), it nevertheless upheld the dismissal. In its view, the Board had no jurisdiction or competence to determine whether the consultant's divorce constituted immoral conduct. Since a school board had the right to dismiss a teacher for immoral conduct, it must have the right to determine what it considered immoral.

The Provincial Supreme Court reversed the judgement, however. It joined the Arbitration Board in rejecting the school board claim that the School Amendment Act, 1974, and the Collective Bargaining Act, 1973, unconstitutionally eliminated pre-Confederation grounds for dismissal without notice and rested those grounds within the collective agreement process. The Court reasoned that these legislations were of general application and did not impinge on denominational rights, namely, to denominational teaching and to the integrity of specified schools. It declared, however, that the Arbitration Board erred in law in ruling that the school board could determine for itself the grounds for dismissal without notice. The Arbitration Board had the duty to determine whether the consultant's conduct was such as to justify his dismissal without notice; the opinion of the defendant school board was not material

to the issue. In coming to this conclusion, the Newfoundland court took issue with the conclusions of the Ontario courts, particularly the Court of Appeal's statement that "if a school board can dismiss for cause, then in the case of a denominational school cause must include denominational cause." Justice Noel, in response, declared that "denominational cause" had no meaning in law, and that "gross misconduct" or "similar just cause," being conceptual, not factual, must be determined in the context of the collective agreement between teachers and school boards.

The same Newfoundland court's insistence on the use of the collective agreement in settling disputes between teachers and school boards emerged in a recent case involving the Newfoundland Teachers' Association and the Exploits-White Bay Roman Catholic Board.<sup>12</sup> In this case, the school board had to reassign teachers as a result of a school closure due to a decline in enrollment. It prepared a list of the teachers in accordance with years of service but placed, in priority, five Christian Brothers who had fewer years of service than all other teachers on the list. On behalf of some grieving teachers, the NTA submitted their grievance to arbitration.

At the Arbitration Board hearings, the school board challenged the jurisdiction of the Board to arbitrate the case on two grounds: (a) Christian Brothers, providing services to the Bishop of Grand Falls and the school board, were not members of NTA and thus not subject to the Collective Bargaining Act, 1973; and (b) the Arbitration Board lacked jurisdiction to allow grievance in that to do so would impair denominational rights in Newfoundland as provided for in law. The Board of Arbitration, however, rejected both of these grounds. Consequently, the case was appealed by the School Board to the Trial Division of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland. However, the appeal failed. A subsequent appeal to the Appeal Division of the Court was equally unsuccessfully. A further request for permission to bring the case up to the Supreme Court of Canada was also denied.<sup>13</sup>

### **Concluding Observations**

The conflict of rights between denominational school boards and their teachers will receive the attention of the body politic and of the Canadian courts in the years to come. The Charter of Rights and Freedoms may be seen to have sharpened the conflict when it recognized the significance of these competing rights. Thus Section 2 on fundamental freedoms guarantees "(a) individual freedom of conscience and religion" and "(b) freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression..." Section 15 on equality rights declares that "every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination...based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability." With these combined provisions, individual teachers within denominational school boards are likely to summon greater courage in pursuing the exercise of their individual rights. On the other hand, the charter stipulates the preservation of the rights of certain schools in Section 29: "Nothing in this charter abrogates or derogates from any rights guaranteed by or under the constitution of Canada in respect of denominational, separate or dissentient schools." This re-affirmation of the rights of denominational groups in education indicates recognition of the continuing significance of religion in the Canadian way of life. These groups may be expected to exert militant concern for the definitive determination of the scope of their rights by the highest court in the land.



Needless to say, resolution of conflicts arising from the exercise of individual and group rights will not be achieved easily. The complexity of the issues and the depth of commitment to each competing right could lead to polarized positions and, finally, to resigned belief that our court of last resort will have to settle the matter once and for all.

It appears inevitable that, sooner or later, the Canadian Supreme Court will have to make its pronouncement on the matter. Whatever it says, one would hope that the body politic will come up with educational arrangements which will accommodate individual and denominational rights in a just manner.<sup>14</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>**Stack and Roman Catholic School Board for St. John's** (1979) 23 Nfld. And P.E.I.R. 221.

<sup>2</sup>**Roman Catholic School Board, Exploits-White Bay and Newfoundland Teachers' Association** (1982). Xerox copy.

<sup>3</sup>**Report of a Board of Arbitration: The Roman Catholic School Board for Conception Bay North and the Newfoundland Teachers' Association** (1983). Xerox copy.

<sup>4</sup>**Re Caldwell and Stuart** (1980) 114 D.L.R. (3d) 357.

<sup>5</sup>**Reasons for Judgment of the Honourable Mr. Justice Seaton**, British Columbia Court of Appeal (1982). Xerox copy, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup>**Re Essex County Roman Catholic Separate School Board and Porter, et al.** (1977) 160 O.R. (2d) 433.

<sup>7</sup>Section 93 of the B.N.A. Act, 1867, reads in part as follows:  
 "In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in "relation" to education, subject and according to the following provisions:  
 (1) Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union."

<sup>8</sup>**Board of Education for Moose Jaw School District No. 1 et al. V. Attorney-General for Saskatchewan** (1975) 6 W.W.R. 133.

<sup>9</sup>**The Essex County Roman Catholic Separate School Board and The Members of Ontario English Catholic School Teachers' Association, et al.** (1982). Xerox copy.

<sup>10</sup>See Footnote 3 above.

<sup>11</sup>See Footnote 1 above.

<sup>12</sup>See Footnote 2 above.

<sup>13</sup>**The Evening Telegram**, "Roman Catholic School Board denied request to take appeal to federal court." June 29, 1983, p. 2.

<sup>14</sup>My views on this matter are found in "Human Rights and Denominationalism: Hard Decisions Ahead in Newfoundland Education." **The Morning Watch** 5: 3-4 (March-May 1978, pp. 1-7, and in "Denominational Rights in Education: Legal and Philosophical Inquiry," a paper presented at the 1983 Conference of the Canadian Society for the Study of Education held in Vancouver, British Columbia. Further observations are found in Ray Goulding and Peter McBreairty. "Teacher Personal Lifestyle and Denominational Rights," **The NTA Journal** 70: 2 (Spring, 1982), pp. 34-41.

## DENOMINATIONAL EDUCATION REVISITED

**Romulo Magsino**  
**Educational Foundations**

### Introduction

The contentious nature of education in Newfoundland and Labrador is under the spotlight once again. The recent outbreak of debate witnessed through the media has been perceived as a sign of widespread criticism of, and acute dissatisfaction with, the denominational character of the schools in the province.

Whether the debate accurately reflects a prevailing rejection of denominational education and an unbridgeable division of positions within the population is unclear. The extent as well as the intensity of the debate is, at any rate, understandable. Undoubtedly, an ideological chasm separates denominational leaders and supporters, on the one hand, and those who, on the other hand, are critical of denominationalism. In the last year, several reports evaluating and suggesting the possibility of changes in our educational system have appeared. Also, contentious cases of conflict, such as the non-accessibility of French immersion classes to non-denominational children and the firing of teachers for violation of church requirements, have disturbingly surfaced. It is no surprise, in the presence of these occasions and stimuli for questioning the denominational nature of our education, that vocal defenders and critics of denominationalism loom large in the public view.<sup>1</sup>

About ten years ago, the province's denominational education survived a similar scrutiny stimulated by the so-called "morals clause". I joined that scrutiny by writing a paper entitled "Human Rights and Denominationalism: Hard Decisions Ahead in Newfoundland Education".<sup>2</sup> That brief exploration of our educational system ended with my observation that the possibility of establishing non-denominational schools in the province should be examined. I also observed, however, that there was no justification for the elimination of the denominational system of education, although school boards needed to share resources much more extensively. Are these observations valid in the 1980's?

### The Constitutional Status of Denominational Education

The constitutional basis of denominational education traces back to the British North America Act of 1867 (now called the Constitution Act, 1867). Though this Act grants in s. 93 exclusive power to the provincial legislature to make laws in relation to education, it stipulates in s. 93(1) that "Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the province at the Union." Originally applicable to Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, s. 93 became applicable to British Columbia in 1871 and to Prince Edward Island in 1873. Slightly modified versions of the section became part of the statutes which constituted Manitoba (1870), Alberta (1905), and Saskatchewan (1905). At one time or another, this empowering section and its limiting clause have been tested in the courts of law.

Thus, early in this century, the Ontario legislature enacted a statute which allowed authorities to withdraw from school trustees of French-speaking Catholic schools all powers they exercised and to vest them in a commission appointed by the provincial government. In ruling against the Ontario government, the Privy Council (then the court of last resort for Canada) held that the statute violated s. 93(1) because it prejudicially affected the right of management by denominational trustees which was part of provincial law at the time of confederation.<sup>3</sup> In Quebec, the legislature passed a 1903 law which deemed Jews to be Protestants. This would have enabled the Jews not only to join with Protestants in the establishment of a denominational school and in the election of school trustees (including Jews) but also compel Protestant schools to accept Jewish children. Challenged in the court, the statute was finally found in 1928 to be unconstitutional by the Privy Council. Its application, the Council declared, had prejudicial effect on the pre-confederation right of the Protestant minority to establish its own schools under the exclusive management of Protestant trustees for the exclusive use of Protestant children.<sup>4</sup> In the same year, the Council confirmed the power of the Ontario legislature to subject the denominational schools' protected rights and privileges to some degree of regulation. However, the Council admitted as "indeed true that the power to regulate... does not imply a power to abolish".<sup>5</sup>

In recent years, the protection afforded by the courts to the rights of denominational schools has appeared undiminished. Less than three years ago, the Supreme Court of Canada struck down a Quebec law which repealed a pre-confederation law stipulating that denominational schools must share in provincial grants for education on a basis proportionate to the number of children attending denominational schools compared to the number of children attending non-denominational schools. This 1979 law also provided for a referendum of electors with respect to taxation above a certain ceiling. Noting that the law did not expressly recognize the right to proportionality, the Supreme Court ruled that it prejudicially affected a right conferred by law at the time of Union and thus infringed s. 93 of the Constitution Act, 1867. Furthermore, it involved a prejudicial invasion of the powers guaranteed by s. 93 insofar as it allowed an elector the entitlement to vote in a referendum whether or not his religious affiliation was that of the school board in question. This, the Court reasoned, could result in the school board having its decision rejected or approved by the vote of electors who are not subject to its administration.<sup>6</sup> In line with the thrust of previous court judgements, the Superior Court of Quebec invalidated the legislature's 1984 Act Respecting Public Elementary and Secondary Education. This Act was intended to replace the present Protestant and Catholic school boards in the province by an entirely new system of school boards determined solely on a linguistic, non-religious basis. Using strong language, the court found that the Act was outside the competence of the province to enact, null in its entirety, and of no effect because it offended s. 93(1) of the Constitution Act, 1867.<sup>7</sup>

The preceding discussion of court cases points to the constitutional inviolability of denominational schools whose legal rights were in place at the time of confederation. For Newfoundland and Labrador, this inviolability guaranteed by Term 17 (of the 1949 Terms of Union) - a provision corresponding to s. 93 - is perhaps even stronger. As Bartlett has noted, the province's denominational education is more solidly entrenched than that of any other province due to the relatively late date of its entry into confederation.<sup>8</sup> This historical circumstance allowed the full attainment of legal recognition of and provision for denominational schools, thereby

avoiding a number of problems encountered by denominational schools in other provinces. By 1949, the province's denominational school boards with their administrative structures and financial arrangements had been securely in place not only in practice but also by law.<sup>9</sup> Thus, legally, our denominational system's constitutional right to exist and to be free from prejudicial legislation clearly passes the standard set in **Maher v. Town of Portland** which declared: "Surely the rights contemplated must have been the legal rights, in other words, rights secured by Law, or which they had under the Law at the time of Union."<sup>10</sup>

### **Denominational Education and Political Will**

The lack of promise in a direct constitutional challenge against denominational education may suggest the need to explore the political route. This avenue looks attractive in light of a recent survey of public attitudes toward the denominational system in the province. The 1986 report of a survey directed by a MUN Political Science Department professor, Mark Graesser, revealed some statistics similar to what he found in his 1979 survey. It showed that 56% (of those with an opinion) favoured a change to a single public system and that 45% preferred retention of the present denominational system.<sup>11</sup> Intriguingly, a 1983 study by a MUN Educational Administration Department professor, Philip Warren, came out with a reverse conclusion: 47% agreed/strongly disagreed (21% was undecided). His 1983 findings, Dr. Warren noted, were very similar to those of his 19778 study though there was a slight increase in both the level of agreement and the level of disagreement, with a corresponding decrease in the percentage for the undecided.<sup>12</sup> Why the findings of these two researchers differ would make for an interesting study by itself. Certainly, changed circumstances (e.g., from 1983 for Warren's survey to 1986 for Graesser's) cannot account for this disparity. After all, they did not seem to change the latter's findings despite seven intervening years between them (1979 and 1986).

Whatever the explanation, the question is whether the increased public support, if there be any, for a secular public system should be used as a leverage to pressure the provincial legislature to replace the denominational system against the wishes of its leaders and supporters. Unfortunately, even the success of political pressure will not ensure satisfaction of a majoritarian desire for change. Even if such pressure results in the passage of legislation dismantling the denominational system, it is more than likely that a court challenge to that legislation will end in a setback similar to what Quebec's Act Respecting Public Elementary and Secondary Education (1984) suffered. Under the present Canadian constitutional law, even the majoritarian political will must bow to entrenched constitutional provisions.

Majoritarian anti-denominationalists may be tempted to question the constitutional protection afforded denominational schools and demand the abolition of what Smiley calls an "unfortunate inheritance".<sup>13</sup> Ironically, such a demand would be opposed diametrically to the current Canadian trend involving increased governmental support for denominational schools. Recently, the controversial initiative by the Conservative Davis government in Ontario was carried forward successfully by the Liberal Peterson government. Intended to provide full funding to all grades in separate schools, Bill 30 passed through the Ontario legislature<sup>14</sup> and also received constitutional stamp of approval from the Ontario Court of Appeal.<sup>15</sup> This governmental move illustrates the principle of state and church cooperation in

Canada, a principle which is anathema to the American constitutional system marked by a wall of separation between the two institutions.

In Canada, state-church cooperation is marked by extensive governmental support for religious schools. Quebec's Catholic and Protestant schools make up a dual system financially underwritten by public funds. Ontario, Saskatchewan and Alberta have systems of separate Catholic schools which, regarded as special forms of common public schools, receive financing from the government. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island have, by law, only secular public schools. Actually, however, certain schools have been identified as largely Catholic or Protestant so parents send their young to the appropriate school. Moreover, members of religious orders are employed as teachers in consideration of the denominational character of the community served by a school. Furthermore, in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, private schools may avail themselves of free textbooks and instructional materials from some government bureaus. In fact, outside of the Atlantic provinces and Ontario, private schools, and thus small religious groups running their own schools, receive from provincial governments varying degrees of financial and other forms of assistance: direct financial grants on a per-pupil basis and aids for print and non-print materials, for the use of such shared services as libraries and shops, and for transportation. Thus, whereas the American principle is one of separation and non-financial support for religious objectives and activities, the Canadian principle is one of engagement and cooperation.<sup>16</sup> Thus, any political demand for disbanding the denominational system-based on the separation of church and state cannot appeal to any Canadian principle or tradition. To do so is to import into our shores a principle from an alien tradition.

Naturally, importation of an alien principle is not always wrong. Yet such an importation of great significance requires an uncontrovertible demonstration of the superiority of the imported principle to what it seeks to replace. Determining the comparative merits of these competing principles is, unfortunately, an extremely complex matter and cannot be dealt with fully in a short paper. Nevertheless, three relevant points need to be addressed even if briefly. First, the principle of separation of church and state is not without problems of its own. In particular, it has been criticized as an unfortunate basis of unjust treatment of religious groups whose attempts at preserving their faiths are compromised by having to send their children to secular schools unless they are financially capable of paying for tuition and other expenses of their children in private religious schools. Even where financial capacity is not a problem, the issue of injustice remains because religiously committed parents end up paying twice for educational purposes (i.e., for actual schooling costs and for payment of taxes, part of which is used for the schooling of children in secular schools). Justice or fair treatment, a fundamental human rights principle, requires anyone or any group to be treated in a non-discriminating way; it morally compels any differential, disadvantageous treatment, if at all, to be based on relevant, overriding considerations. Should a majority of the Newfoundland and Labrador public demand secular education, could be justified by considerations so compelling as to over-ride the religious groups' human right to fair treatment? Second, though various arguments may be raised in support of completely secularized schools for the province, they do not, individually or collectively, take on a compelling character. The claim about economic efficiency and academic efficiency being attained more effectively in a secularized arrangement oversimplifies a complex problem; it is also punctured by the academic crises in public schools<sup>17</sup> and by studies showing the superior achievement of Catholic school pupils compared to their public school

counterparts in the United States.<sup>18</sup> The charge that denominational schools are divisive is based on an unquestionable assumption that, by itself, religious diversity divides people into conflicting groups. It fails to take account of cross-cultural studies tending to show that perceived unfair treatment of one group or another, rather than the fact of cultural or religious differentiation, gives rise to conflict.<sup>19</sup> Very possibly, a heavy-handed imposition of nothing but secular schools could have a lingering divisive effect in the province unless aggrieved denominational groups undergo a marked loss of religious fervor and commitment. Also, the charge that denominational schools indoctrinate, and necessarily so, requires not only a refined analysis of the concept of indoctrination, but also a factual determination of educational practices in the province. Unless these are undertaken seriously, the charge is nothing more than a mischievous criticism that distracts from level-headed resolution of our education problems.<sup>20</sup> Third, in a western society dominated by the ethos of materialism and self-centred pursuit of happiness, denominational schools with their stress on religion offer alternative values and principles which deserve understanding and appreciation by young people. Taught and inculcated appropriately, these values and principles have enormous potential for the enrichment of human life in a truly humane society.

### **Why Non-Denominational Schools?**

The human right to just treatment is, however, a two-edged principle. Even as it justifies retention of denominational schools by religious groups, it equally justifies non-discriminatory treatment of parents who do not profess denominational allegiance or who possess valid grounds for wanting their children taught in non-denominational schools. It finds repugnant any lack of access to desired and otherwise available classes by children simply on account of having no religious affiliation or the wrong one from the school board's perspective. It allows active involvement and possible decision-making, elective roles for those who contribute financially to the educational system. Unless their competence is affected negatively, unless harm to children becomes likely, or unless the effectiveness of the school is compromised, the principle allows teachers to live their personal lives in privacy just as other professionals do. It sanctions the free exercise of religious convictions without consequent penalties imposed by school boards.

Unfortunately, the completely denominational character of Newfoundland and Labrador education presents substantial limitations to the just treatment of non-denominational parents, pupils, rate-paying individuals, and teachers. Yet, to eliminate these limitations by dismantling the denominational system is equally repugnant to the principle of just treatment of religious groups. Thus, the principles, moral alternative which commends itself is the formation of non-denominational schools to supplement the denominational system.

The establishment of government-supported secular schools is a complicated matter that needs further analysis and study. Certainly it will be attended by problems and difficulties. It will require commitment, imagination, hard work and good will. It will also demand additional financial outlays and resource-sharing among denominational schools themselves and between them and the emerging secular schools. Initially, the enterprise sounds forbidding. Unfortunately, alternatives are limited and are even more forbidding in relation to the requirements of justice.

Majoritarian political will may achieve the dismantling of denominational education. Or constitutional guarantees for denominational schools may successfully submerge the entitlements of non-denominational persons and groups. However, there is no moral, justifiable reason for people of good will to polarize in pursuit of either goal.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Among the stimuli are the Newfoundland Teachers' Association's **Exploring New Pathways**, A BRIEF PRESENTED TO THE Government of Newfoundland and Labrador in 1986; the Report of the Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment titled **Building on Our Strength** (St. John's: Queen's Printer, 1986); Mark Graesser's report of a survey, titled "Attitudes Toward Denominational Education in Newfoundland"; and the case of **Wash v. R.C. School board for St. John's**.

<sup>2</sup>Published in **The Morning Watch: Educational and Social Analysis 5** (3-4), March-May 1978, 1-7.

<sup>3</sup>**Ottawa Roman Catholic Separate Schools v. Ottawa Corporation** (1917) A.C. 76.

<sup>4</sup>**Hirsch v. Montreal Protestant School Commissioners** (1928) A.C. 200.

<sup>5</sup>**Tiny Roman Catholic Separate School Trustees v. The King** (1928) A.C. 363.

<sup>6</sup>**Attorney-General of Quebec v. Greater Hull School Board**, 15 D.L.R. (4<sup>th</sup>)

<sup>7</sup>**Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards v. Attorney-General of Quebec**, 21 D.L.R. (4<sup>th</sup> 36).

<sup>8</sup>V.J. Bartlett, above, **Denominational Education in Newfoundland**. No details, p. 54.

<sup>9</sup>See Bartlett, above, pp. 1-26; Also, C.J. Green, **A Memorandum Dealing with Certain Questions Arising Under Term 17 of the Terms of Union of Newfoundland with Canada and Statutes of the Province Relating to Education**. December 8, 1955. Xerox copy, pp. 15-27 and Appendix B.

<sup>10</sup>**Mahe v. Town of Portland**, 14 N.B.R. 273, at 292.

<sup>11</sup>**M.W. Graesser, "Attitudes Toward Denominational Education in Newfoundland. "Report of a Survey, October 1986.** Xerox copy, pp. 6-7.

<sup>12</sup>**P.J. Warren, Public Attitudes Toward Education in Newfoundland and Labrador 1983** (St. John's: Department of Educational Administration, Faculty of Education, MUN), pp. 36-44.

<sup>13</sup>D. Smiley, "Courts, Legislatures, and the Protection of Human Rights." In **Courts and Trials**. Edited by M.L. Friedland (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 94.



<sup>14</sup>"Ontario Bill Guarantees Funding for Province's RC School System," **The Evening Telegram**, June 24, 1986, p. 26.

<sup>15</sup>**Metropolitan Toronto School Board v. Attorney General for Ontario**, February 18, 1986. S.C.O.C.A.

<sup>16</sup>For a longer discussion, see my "Human Rights, Fair Treatment, and Funding of Private Schools in Canada." **Canadian Journal of Education** 11(3), Summer 1986, 245-263.

<sup>17</sup>See, for example, the National Commission on Excellence in Education, **A Nation at Risk** (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983).

<sup>18</sup>See, for example, J. Coleman, T. Hoffer & S. Ilgore, **High School Achievement: Public, Catholic and Private Schools Compared** (New York: Basic Books, 1982).

<sup>19</sup>W. Beer & J. Jacob, **Language Policy and National Unity** (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Allanhead, 1985).

<sup>20</sup>For a good discussion of indoctrination, see R.S. Laura, "To Educate or to Indoctrinate: That is Still the Question." **Educational Philosophy and Theory**, 15(1), March 1983, 43-55, and E.J. Thiessen, "Indoctrination and Doctrines." **Journal of Philosophy of Education**, 16(1), 1982, 3-17.

## THE FUTURE OF INTERDENOMINATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN EDUCATION: IS THERE ONE

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### Introduction

Newfoundland education is a system at the crossroads. In the next few years, some substantial changes will be needed to make it both more effective, but especially, more efficient. If these changes do not occur, it may very well be that its capability, when compared to its provincial counterparts elsewhere, will be significantly reduced and it will be unable to deliver "quality education".

### Problems in Education

The problems of educating the residents of Newfoundland and Labrador is a difficult one. With a population approaching 600,000 and a vast geographic area to cover, barriers to efficient delivery are considerable. For example, 26 percent of the schools in the Province have fewer than 100 students. This difficulty is further exacerbated by the fact that Newfoundland possesses publicly funded, denominational education. That is, four systems exist: Roman Catholic, Pentecostal, Integrated (composed of the founding Protestant faiths) and Seventh Day Adventist. Thus any given area of the Province may be served by two, three or even four different school boards. In short, considerable duplication exists in both the delivery and administration of school programs.

The core of the problem is isolation by denomination. There is such a duplication of effort that we believe as much as one dollar in five is now used solely to support this isolation. That is to say the system reorganized could redirect a possible one-fifth of current spending. (New Pathways (1986): 12).

The critical problem associated with these assertions by the Newfoundland Teachers' Association is that there is little hard evidence to support them. In short, they are simply guesses and should not be considered anything else. Yet, they serve to underline one of the basic problems in the system - wastage. Although estimates of dollar amounts may vary, the efficiency problems of operating four systems have been clearly identified.

### Problems Paying

The Province's ability to pay for such a system is in obvious question. For example, since 1971 the school population has steadily declined from 163,000 to 139,000 odd in 1986 and projections suggest a further reduction to 114,000 by 1995. At the same time, the teaching population has increased from 6,648 in 1971 to 8,050 in 1986. The point is that, even disregarding inflationary factors, the system is becoming much more expensive to operate. At least part of this increase must be

attributable to duplication. Should the system continue in its present form, costs will continue to escalate.

The Province's ability to generate and expend its financial resources is similarly limited. Per capita income remains the lowest in Canada. Taxes, both sales and personal income and unemployment figures remain at, or near, the top for the whole country. In 1988-1989 the cost of education represents an estimated 23.2 percent of current account expenditure, exceeding even that of Health Care. Additionally, even though Newfoundlanders make the greatest effort in terms of dollars per capita for education, the per pupil school board expenditures remain the second lowest in Canada. With declining enrolments and increasing projected needs for services, the generation of additional funds for education remains problematic.

### **What are the Choices?**

The choices for educators are quite clear. Either the system is, somehow, revised to make it more efficient in terms of what might be broadly termed substantive education. Or, it continues to operate on a purely denominational basis and sacrifices its ability to offer that education. To put it in simple terms, the choice may have to be made as to whether integrated mathematics or higher quality mathematics is to be offered to students. Clearly, some sorts of inter-denominational co-operation appear to be the best path for increased efficiency, recognizing that such co-operation could reduce the efficiency and effectiveness of the delivery of the moral-religious component of education, which is clearly a prime goal of denominational schooling.

Just what form or forms this co-operation might take will be dealt with in a subsequent article.

### **Facilitators of Change**

If ever the conditions were "right" to bring about change, now is the time. Clearly a number of factors can be identified which might help to facilitate the change process. The first is economic. The general economic situation in the Province was touched upon in the introduction. However, with the fishery in disarray, pulp and paper future uncertain and the limited potential of a number of other basic industries, economic conditions appear unlikely to change in the short-term.

At the same time, the financial positions of the boards is equally dismal. Declining enrolments, coupled with the substantial debt, may well bring into question the viability of some of our school boards. Even though bailouts may occur, the Government has moved to limit further debt accumulation without its permission. In short, economies of scale resulting from interdenominational co-operation may increase efficiency.

Another factor, although not directly related to education, may add significant impetus to the change process. The revelations of the Hughes Inquiry, concerning the sexual misconduct of the clergy, has clearly reduced the status of the church generally, and in education in particular. When this is coupled with the hiring of a convicted sex offender by an integrated board in central Newfoundland and his subsequent conviction for a second time, it may well force the public to, rightly or wrongly, question the perceived benefits of denominational education. Additionally,

the charging and/or conviction of teachers in various systems for misdemeanours can only add strength to the change process.

Finally, what the public thinks may be of critical importance. Respondents to a Task Force poll of attitudes towards education were asked to judge the importance of twelve school subjects. Religious education was ranked 12<sup>th</sup> among the subjects, suggesting that religion is regarded less important than the aims of education for the Province would suggest. It should be noted that public attitudes towards specific subject content probably cannot be generalized to denominational education. However, when combined with the findings of Graesser (1986) and Warren (1979) who determined that the public support for denominational education was, at best, marginal, it brings into question how much support the system really has.

### **Impediments to Change**

Change will not occur easily. Several impediments to change are readily identifiable. First is the resistance of the churches to change. The churches, like any other organizations, will seek to expand and/or protect their sphere of influence in education. That is, they behave like organizations. Thus to expect them to surrender decision-making power in education without a fight is naive.

Secondly, it appears unlikely that the Government will confront the churches directly. A political rule-of-thumb in the Province is that messing with the churches is political suicide. The former Conservative Government sought some incremental changes in reducing the churches power by raising the number of board members to be elected from 1/3 to 2/3. Even this somewhat innocuous change made the churches respond by limiting elected school board members to adherents (members of faiths for whom the boards were founded). Even though some boards have since recanted, it supports the notion that perceived threats to the churches bring dramatic responses.

Still another impediment to change is the possible misinterpretation of public opinion. That is, people may not be too concerned with denominational schooling on a day-to-day basis. However, in time of crisis, the clergy may very well exhort the troops from the pulpit and make the diminution of church power an emotional issue.

Another factor inhibiting change is empire protection. Dr. D. Treslan, Chairman of the Roman Catholic Boundary Study, maintains that the greatest resistance to change comes from the superintendents. That is, they see the reduction in the number of administrative units as similarly reducing the number of opportunities for CEOs. It appears likely that similar sorts of resistance will be experienced among all administrative personnel.

Yet another barrier to change may well be that publicly funded denominational education is a given in this Province. Virtually all of the decision-makers have been educated under this system. Thus, it is the norm and any changes may well be viewed as an aberration.

The greatest impediment to change could well be the present Department of Education, which incidentally has a good record in some areas and generally has the respect of this author. However, its liabilities stem from its administrative style rather

than its philosophical stance. It appears to believe that compromise is the best solution, a somewhat tenuous assumption. As a consequence, every problem, the solution to which may offend some segment of its constituency, is referred to committee. What this does is forestall the decision-making process and postpone some of the hard decisions which the Department appears loathe to make. Thus its decision-makers could best be described as "Tomorrow's Revolutionaries", its administrative style by "Dear Mother, I am sending you a \$100, but not today."

Finally, the resistance of communities to the possible loss of "their" school may be an additional barrier to co-operation. The recent example on the west coast where the efforts of the Denominational Councils to bring about a joint service agreement appears to be thwarted by the communities' wishes to retain a school. It may very well be that individual communities' perceived need to retain the school will predominate over any advantages offered by interdenominational co-operation, specially if students must travel by bus to another community.

### **Conclusions**

This writer is not very optimistic that any significant changes will occur in Newfoundland education in the immediate future. Despite the encouraging rhetoric of the Denominational Education Councils and the Department of Education, not much is happening. At present, fewer than one percent of students in Newfoundland and Labrador are educated under joint service agreements. Thus the discussion of such agreements has generated much more heat than light.

Given the number of groups who see the preservation of the status quo in their best interests, progress appears likely to be incremental. Frankly, it is much easier to study problems, establish committees, make recommendations, appoint other committees to study the recommendations and so on. Thus, this is the route most likely to be followed by Government, a path which, although it possesses some obvious downside risk, does not require the potentially perilous and decisive action of major reform.

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## DENOMINATIONAL EDUCATION AT ANY COST?

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Increasingly, the denominational education system is coming under closer public scrutiny. Recent reports of the NTA and the Commission on Employment and Unemployment, as well as articles in national journals (see for example Ponder 1986a and Ponder 1986b), have served to demonstrate a growing concern whether our system is really cost effective.

Additionally, recent studies on attitudes towards denominational education suggest that the public may not be totally committed to retaining the present system (see for example Graesser, 1986). In light of these happenings, it would be easy to argue that the denominational system should be abolished and replaced with a "public" school system such as those extant in provinces such as Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. However, closer examination of the problem raises a number of interesting questions.

First, let us address the issue of cost effectiveness. The NTA makes a number of unsupported assertions about the cost of the system:

The core of the problem is isolation by denomination. There is such a duplication of effort that we believe as much as one dollar in five is not used solely to support this isolation approach. That is to say the system reorganized could redirect a possible one-fifth of current spending. If this is so it gives rise to some statistics which are shocking.  
**(New Pathways (1986): 12)**

The problem is that there is little or no evidence to support them. They are simply guesses and should not be considered anything else. In fact, the only way a cost comparison between public (all students attend the same system) and denominational (separate by denominations) education could be made would be a community by community study. It might be able to determine if and where savings through co-operation might be enjoyed.

As to the second question of public attitudes towards denominational education, this must be put in a historical context. The denominational system has its origin in Term 17 of the Terms of Union with Canada which reaffirmed what had already been part of Newfoundland law – the right of the churches to operate their own schools. Although the system has undergone some changes since Confederation, it has retained its essentially denominational character. Virtually all Newfoundlanders have been educated under such a system, which has operated unopposed for a lengthy period of time. Thus any interpretation of public indifference must be cautious. Because the person on the street is indifferent to the way the system operates on a day-to-day basis cannot be generalized to the basic issue of denominational vs. secular education. Thus, when the system is threatened, public support may be forthcoming in a strength not apparent in more peaceful times. Certainly politicians appear to recognize the fact and are careful never to attack the essential nature of denominational education.

To this writer the question is not one of secular vs. denominational education. Recognizing the historical-traditional factors, denominational education for Newfoundland and Labrador is a given. However, does this mean denominational education at any cost? Clearly, given the limited resources available for education, the answer is **NO**. Thus the NTA instead of making unsupported guesses about cost effectiveness could zero in on some areas where obvious cost savings could be affected. One of these is clearly capital costs, more specifically the cost of building schools.

Revisions to the Education Act in 1969 gave the responsibility for the allocation of capital grants for education to the Denominational Education Councils. The legislature appropriates sums of money for capital expenditures but the actual distribution of these funds is performed by Denominational Education Councils (Integrated, Roman Catholic, or Pentecostal) which are appointed bodies, answerable to no one (except possibly their own church hierarchy) and representing no real constituency. For example, in 1983-84 the Government provided \$3,974,400 for capital spending as the Roman Catholic School Boards' proportional share of capital grants for education. The distribution of these funds was determined by the Catholic Education Council (CEC) which consists of twenty-five members: the Archbishop and three bishops and twenty of their appointees, as well as the Executive Secretary of the CEC (The Constitution of Catholic Education Committee 1969, p. 5). In this instance the funds were distributed amongst 11 or 12 Roman Catholic Boards, with a low figure of \$50,000 for Conception Bay North Roman Catholic Board to a high of \$1,300,000 for St. John's Board. The point here is that although the Government allocates the total amount of money for the province's Roman Catholic schools, how the money is actually spent is determined unilaterally by the appropriate CEC.

What this does is allow the denominations to build schools wherever they choose. Where a shortfall in school capacity exists no criticism should be raised. However, where sufficient school capacity exists building additional facilities incurs needless expense and one which the province clearly cannot afford. The incidences of needless school construction are well documented and there is no need to discuss them here. What is necessary are some mechanisms to protect the taxpayers from such expenses.

**First, one could remove the responsibility for the distribution of capital grants from the DECs and give it to the Department of Education.** This would allow the government to control school construction and keep it consistent with its own educational priorities. However this proposal may be somewhat naive given present conditions:

The system continues to exist because the government and the DECs are now in symbiotic relationship. In return for the added status and importance which the distribution of capital grants gives the DECs, they deflect criticism from the government, more specifically the Department of Education. For example, during the Honourable Lynn Verge's term of office as Minister of Education, a controversy arose on Fogo Island concerning the condition of certain schools. The Minister was able to deflect criticism of the department by stating, quite correctly, that monies were allocated to each of the denominations but their actual distribution was the responsibility of the DECs. The existence of the DECs appears guaranteed so long as this relationship continues. Further, the public

appears relatively uninformed as to how capital grants are actually distributed. Thus, wherever controversy arises, representations are invariably made to the Department of Education which, in turn "passes the buck" to the DECs. (Ponder (1986): 12)

Secondly, one could put restraints on the distribution of capital grants, such as the following:

1. In communities where sufficient total school capacity exists no new schools may be constructed.

This would prevent unnecessary school construction and force the DEC to allocate grants on the basis of real need.

2. In communities where excess school capacity exists, the denominations must negotiate a co-operation agreement or one would be forced upon them by the government.

What this would do, is press the denominations to explore the possibility for co-operation with respect to capital equipment, course offerings, etc.

Such a proposal, if adopted, would do little to modify mistakes of the past. What this would accomplish is provide some protection for the future. First, it assures that the essential denominational nature of the system is retained. Secondly, it protects the taxpayers from some of the excesses, perpetrated in the name of denominationalism, which have occurred in the past.

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## THE GROWTH OF THE JOINT SERVICE SCHOOL IN NEWFOUNDLAND: THE TRADITIONAL-MODERNIST CONFLICT

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### Introduction

Public education in the 1970s and 1980s was marked by increasing secularization. This growing secularization has been accompanied by the rejection of the traditional authority of the school and the weakening of emphasis on the common values traditionally accepted by society. The development of character as a responsibility of the school, as well as the school's emphasis on the pursuit of such ideals as virtue, excellence, and truth have been diminished. They have been replaced by an emphasis on self-fulfilment, self-concept, and the search for individual values, the trademarks of "progressive" education.

Shils (1981:12) describes tradition as forces "from the past. . .still at work in the present." He sees tradition as "all that a society of a given time possesses and which already existed when its present possessors came upon it. . ." and maintains that the acceptance of traditions as valid guides is "one of the major patterns of human thought." Butts and Cremin, in their introduction to A History of Education in American Culture (1953), suggest that "history should be designed to help educators understand. . .what forces from the past are still at work in the present, and what we have to reckon with as we move into the future" (Butts and Cremin, 1953 as cited in Cramm 1981:2).

Some contemporary trends in educational policy throughout much of North America appear to suggest a resistance to modernism as we move into the 1990s, i.e., an emphasis on "back to basics" programming, values, and standardized examinations. In some educational jurisdictions, such as the provinces of British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario, growing conservatism has resulted in greater privatization of education through the introduction of public funding for non-public schools and has resulted in significant increases in enrolments in independent schools<sup>1</sup>. In 1988 the Ontario government set up an inquiry to examine religious education in elementary public schools. Two years later, the Supreme Court of Ontario declared it illegal to teach a specific religion (as distinct from teaching about religions) in Ontario public schools. The stage is set for confrontation between secularists, who demand that the school be neutral about religion, and many religious traditionalists, who would like their religion to be included as part of their children's education. Thus, the "progressive" and secular trends which have characterized modernist North American education since the 1960s appear to be, for the first time, facing a real challenge.

In this paper, it is argued that Newfoundland and Labrador, somewhat isolated from the rest of North America, represents, in the 1990s, a classic example of the ideological confrontation between traditionalism and modernism in education. An apparent trend towards a more modern and "publicly accountable" system of education in this province is, it would seem, to be in some contrast to traditionalist revival which is currently occurring throughout many other parts of Canada and the United States. While the general trend across much of North America appears to be towards more traditional practices in the provision of education services, current developments within Newfoundland's denominational system of education would seem to indicate that the province is moving towards a common interdenominational and increasingly secular and

progressive system of education. It is not suggested here that Newfoundland is bucking the uniform trend elsewhere. After all, British Columbia and Alberta, in the forefront of privatization, are, at the same time, introducing progressive educational practices in the public elementary school. Rather, Newfoundland, it is suggested, with a system uniquely denominational in North America, appears to be embarking on a path to secularization experienced by most other provinces over the last twenty years.

In the past several years Newfoundland's denominational system of education has become the subject of much public debate. Projections of a continuing decline in enrolments (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 1986, 1990), the increasing costs of meeting educational budgets, especially in rural areas, and public expectations for improved facilities and services have highlighted the duplication inherent in the system. A number of recent reports<sup>2</sup>, some commissioned by the Provincial Government, as well as the recent establishment of a Royal Commission to examine the delivery of educational services in the province, have focused media and public attention on interdenominational cooperation, particularly on the concept of the "joint service school", as a means of reducing duplication while at the same time maintaining the denominational infrastructure.

The term "joint service" was first used in Newfoundland education with reference to the amalgamation of Protestant schools in the province's industrial towns of the early twentieth century (Rowe 1976). Today, however, it has come to be identified with schools operated through legal agreements between Roman Catholic and Integrated school boards for the purpose of providing educational services, including separate religious instruction, to each of the two major denominational groups, i.e., Catholic and "Integrated" Protestant students. Joint service schools, according to the guidelines set by the Denominational Education Councils (DECs) for their formation, respect the philosophy of each board and guarantee the rights of the clientele of each system.

My recent doctoral dissertation (Harte 1989) investigated the joint service concept in an attempt to determine not only why interdenominational cooperation occurred and how these interdenominational cooperation occurred and how these interdenominational arrangements work in practice but also the level of satisfaction with joint service arrangements and the relationship of the joint service arrangement with changing beliefs and attitudes concerning religion and religious practices in education. It examines the recent move towards interdenominational cooperation within Newfoundland's denominational system in light of the struggle between these forces of traditionalism and modernism in Newfoundland society.

### **The Traditionalist - Modernist Conflict: One Plausible Interpretation**

Those involved with the formation of joint service arrangements maintain that such arrangements result from a number of common interrelated factors. These factors include economic considerations, low student enrolments, geographic and religious segregation, leadership, and a desire for improved educational facilities and services.

In addition to these immediate and "tangible" factors, however, there is evidence that societal changes, such as increasing secularization and levels of religious tolerance, may help to explain why joint service school arrangements become possible, i.e. acceptable. In each case study examined in my study as well as in the overall data. It was found that students are less interested than parents in separate denominational

schools. This difference between students' and parents' preference for type of school suggests a possible weakening of denominational schooling. Also, the high level of satisfaction with the joint service arrangements would seem to suggest that while for some parents and teachers, especially Catholics, a separate denominational school would seem to represent the "ideal" relationship among school, church and home, for the large majority, the joint service school represents a realistic compromise for education in these small communities today. Furthermore, the fact that most respondents see increased religious tolerance as a positive outcome of the joint service arrangements and that parents do not believe that such arrangements weaken religious beliefs and practices of youth are consistent with the notion that religion today is not seen as a divisive force in Newfoundland society, particularly in education.

An attempt to explain changes in a traditional practice of providing separate Catholic and Protestant education, however, must assess the extent to which those historical traditions which gave rise to an support the continuation of the separate denominational schools are undermined by the ideological world-views of modern society. It appears that increasing secularism and sense of religious tolerance characterize individuals and group (parents, teachers, administrators, trustees) as they exert political pressure for improved facilities, increased services and a more equitable distribution of resources. They see the denominational system, a deeply rooted social and political tradition, as inhibiting the development of what secular modernists see as the most economic and administratively efficient provision of educational facilities and services, i.e., a public system. Consequently, the joint service school, it might be argued, represents a compromise between the traditional separate school and a universal public system.

The weakness of such an "all-encompassing" approach is that it somehow implies that the macro-level modernist tendencies in society are perhaps less important than the more immediate, tangible factors such as finances, geography and leadership in explaining policy determination. The notion of modernism, however, incorporates many of these same factors. Professional leadership, the desire for improved facilities and universal programs, secularism, the decline of small communities and increased religious tolerance are all components of educational modernism in post-Confederation Newfoundland and Labrador.

The "modernist-traditionalist conflict" explanation for interdenominational cooperation is further limited by the fact that the realization of joint service arrangements has been slow. Why, it might be asked, if such arrangements result from a general decline in the adherence to traditional values and practices in favor of modernist tendencies, hasn't expansion of the concept, especially between the school boards in this study been more rapid? There are both within the boards included in my study and in other areas of the province many apparently similar opportunities for cooperative arrangements. One possible answer might be that the emergence of joint service arrangements occurs as a result of the presence of certain immediate incentives (as identified in the study) within a conducive environment (modernism marked by secularism and tolerance). The absence of either, it might be further suggested, inhibits or even prevents the realization of cooperative ventures.

Despite the fact that, as was demonstrated in my study, many educators, as well as parents and school board members, believe joint service arrangements have positive outcomes, the move towards greater cooperation has been slow. Attempts to explain what would appear to be a obvious contradiction, i.e., the reluctance of school boards

to take advantage of co-operative arrangements which would result in improved educational opportunities for its students, must take into account the deeply rooted political and social impact of denominations, as well as Newfoundland's strong, traditional sense of community often characterized by religious differences.

The system of education in Newfoundland and Labrador, perhaps more than anywhere else in North America, is a reflection of local conditions, i.e., economic and social traditions. Geographic isolation has, until recently, meant that our educational system has been less subject to external influences than was the case in the other parts of Canada or the United States (Lawr and Gidney: 209. Well into the twentieth century and even long after Confederation, much of Newfoundland and Labrador remained isolated. Consequently, communities developed a strong sense of independence. This sense of independence often inhibited consolidation in education even within the confines of the denominational system.

In the absence of any form of local or municipal government in most communities outside the larger centres, the church existed as the only organized social institution. The local clergymen were often virtually the only persons with any education or interest in education. It is not surprising, then, that the clergy of the various churches played such a prominent role in the early development of education in Newfoundland and have continued to maintain their influence long after government assumed responsibility for the provision of education. Many school board members had virtually no knowledge of education and consequently were content to leave all initiative to the local clergy.

Today, however, Newfoundland and Labrador, like other areas of Canada, is faced with economic and educational ambitions of an increasingly modern society. An increasing number of administrators, teachers, parents and community leaders now view education as a means to improve the economic and social life of rural communities. The challenge, therefore, is to improve educational opportunities while, at the same time, to accommodate traditional values and religious preferences. The joint service school is, it is argued, a small but significant step in this direction.

There is evidence from an examination of existing joint service schools to suggest that the inclusion of legal clauses to ensure religious identity within such arrangements does have positive outcomes from a traditionalist perspective. For example, the joint service schools examined in my study appear to have, to varying degrees, a sense of both Catholic and Protestant presence. Catholic students, for the most part, did not perceive themselves as substantially less religious than did their parents. Furthermore, as was suggested by Integrated teachers, there appears to be a greater sense of awareness of Protestant religion within the joint service school as compared to the average Integrated school.

Likewise, the effect of providing legal protection for religious identity within education has also been demonstrated at the provincial level. The 1968-69 reorganization of the Department of Education along functional rather than denominational lines, thereby ending church representation within the Department, has not resulted, as the Catholic representatives on the Warren Commission feared, in the removal of the churches from education and in the complete secularization of education in this province. The establishment of denominational education committees (DECs) with specific rights and responsibilities recognized by law has continued and has protected the traditional partnership of church and state in Newfoundland's educational system.

And, while for many professional educators, i.e., administrators and teachers, the joint service school represents an opportunity for modern facilities, improved services and, overall, an effective and efficient means of delivering educational services to sparsely populated areas of the province, there appears to be a noticeable difference in the general perspective of Protestants and Catholics towards increased interdenominational cooperation. To most Protestants, it would seem, the educational advantages provide evidence of the benefits of further integration; to many Catholic clergy and educators the joint service arrangement represents a compromise of Catholic education.

There are, it should be pointed out, those who would disagree with my use of the term "efficient" with reference to consolidation either within a purely denominational school system or in joint service arrangements. In the context in which it is used here, the term implies acceptance of values exhibited by administrators and government that large schools are considered more efficient than small schools because they can provide a broader program and do so at a lower per pupil cost. Some educators, parents and school board members, however, consider a small school in their own community as more "efficient" because it maintains the traditional link between community and church. The problem, however, is that many of these same individuals or groups who would prefer this type of traditional school also expect the same range of programs and services as would be offered in a larger centralized system. Thus, the struggle between the forces of modernism and traditionalism.

While those interviewed did not consider the expansion of joint service schools as posing a threat to the future of the denominational system of education in the province, findings from the data analysis are consistent with general secularist trends in society. Many Catholics who, for example, would prefer Catholic schools to joint service arrangements, indicated their willing to accept a compromise in favor of the modern facilities and improved services provided through cooperation. Accommodation, they suggest, at least provides the opportunity for a Catholic presence within a broader and more effective educational system than would be the case with separate denominational schools. There are, however, one might argue, parallels between accommodation in the case of interdenominational cooperation in education and that which has occurred within the mainstream Protestant and the Catholic churches.

Accommodation to modern times within both the mainstream Protestant and the Catholic churches, i.e., keeping abreast of the times, has not proved successful in curtailing the decline in church attendance and the erosion of religious participation. Within the mainstream Protestant churches, particularly the United and Anglican churches, attempts to reverse this pattern by making the churches more responsive to secular and social causes have failed. (Advocates of secular outreach, however, will argue that the declines would have been worse if accommodation had not taken place). Likewise, the attempts by the Catholic church to reach out to the youth and to make the church more relevant through "folk masses", youth organizations and other means, have met with only limited success. Church attendance, especially among youth, has, in recent years, shown a steady decline. Furthermore, many practising Catholics no longer adhere to church teachings on matters of divorce, birth control and moral issues. The openness with which church teachings are questioned or ignored constitutes an aspect of modernism.

At the same time, and perhaps as a reaction to the accommodation of mainstream churches to modern, secular society, fundamentalist churches and movements, such as

the Pentecostal and Seventh Day Adventist churches and the Catholic charismatic movement, have increased their membership and involvement. Those attracted to these churches and movements often feel that their religious or spiritual needs are not being met within the increasingly secular, mainstream Protestant or Catholic churches. They see religion as important in every aspect of their lives and, consequently, many send their children to their own schools, despite the fact that these schools are often small and attendance requires extended travel. The implication for education is that accommodation in the form of interdenominational cooperation represents a stage in the eventual complete secularization of education. The extent to which "legal safeguards" to protect religious identity within joint service arrangements will impede this secularist trend is currently a matter undergoing careful scrutiny and debate in this province.

## **CONCLUSION**

March 31, 1989 marked the fortieth anniversary of Newfoundland's entry into Confederation. The post-Confederation era in Newfoundland maybe described as a period of rapid social change as attempts are made to bring the new province "kicking her heels" into the mainstream of North American life. Perhaps in no aspect of Newfoundland society have these changes been more strongly and widely felt than in the field of education.

A government-supported school centralization policy begun in the 1950s and the integration of Protestant school systems in the 1960s highlighted the changes to Newfoundland's educational system in the first two decades following Confederation. In the 1970s a number of Roman Catholic and Integrated school boards, with the support of their respective Denominational Education Councils (DECs), entered into co-operative agreements on such matters as the transportation of students, the sharing of personnel, and the construction and operation of so-called "joint service schools." These Interdenominational schools, it has been argued in this article, represent, in Newfoundland and Labrador today, a compromise between the traditional practice of providing separate denominational schools and the demands for modern facilities and services associated with public education.

An examination of the trends and tendencies in my 1989 study of joint service schools support this notion. A comparison of data across respondent groups suggests a gradual "progression" away from sectarianism and towards secularism. Protestant respondents showed a general openness to a public system of education while Catholic respondents appeared willing to accept the joint service arrangement. Protestant parents in general, as pointed out earlier, tended to select the options of a joint service and a public school while Catholic parents tended to choose between a separate denominational school and the joint service arrangement. The same pattern appears among administrators and teachers. Educated administrators and teachers, representing modernism more so than parents or trustees, appear even more willing (than parents or trustees) to accept, in the case of Catholics, the joint service arrangement, and, in the case of Protestants, a public system.

Despite this secular trend, the move towards greater interdenominational cooperation in Newfoundland's education system has been slow. This reluctance of school boards to take advantage of co-operative arrangements which would result in improved educational opportunities particularly in rural areas of the province, it has been suggested, must take into account the deeply rooted political and social impact of

denominationalism, as well as Newfoundland's strong, traditional sense of community often characterized by religious differences. Thus, the joint service school may be seen as a compromise within the modernist-traditionalist conflict. Such arrangements appear to be acceptable as a reasonable and sensible accommodation for education especially in many rural areas of the province. These schools are seen as having the potential of providing quality education in the modern sense, through the provision of improved facilities and services and a broader range of programs, and in the traditional sense, through the maintenance of a religious perspective. The question remains, however, as to whether such compromises and accommodation will eventually led to totally public, secular system of education in Newfoundland and Labrador.

#### NOTES:

1. Before the 1985-86 school year, Roman Catholic school boards in Ontario received public funding up to Grade 10. Between 1985 and 1987 public funding was gradually extended to the remaining grades: to Grade 11 in 1985, to Grade 12 in 1986, and to Grade 13 in 1987. During the same period, enrolment in Catholic High Schools in Ontario increased from 66,840 in 128 schools to 122,775 in 157 schools (Ministry of Education, Province of Ontario, Education Statistics, Ontario, 1987). Since British Columbia's Independent Schools Support Act extended state funding to public schools in 1977, the independent school sector has grown significantly. Enrolments increased from 16,800 students attending 101 schools in 1978-1979 to 27,900 attending 181 schools in 1986-87 (Ministry of Education, Province of British Columbia, One Hundred and Sixteenth Annual Report, July 1, 1986 to June 30, 1987, p. 88; as cited in Policy Explorations, No. 3, Summer 1988, Centre for Policy Studies in Education, University of British Columbia.
2. These reports included: Building on Our Strengths (Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment 1986); Report of the Small Schools Project (Small Schools Study Project 1987); School District Boundaries Revisited (Task Force on Integrated School Boundaries 1987); Educational District Boundaries: A Framework for the Future. A Study of Roman Catholic Educational District Boundaries (Catholic Education Council Boundaries Committee 1988). Exploring new pathways. A brief presented to the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. Newfoundland Teachers' Association 1986).

Editors' note: For discussion of most of these reports, see The Morning Watch, Vol. 15, Nos. 1-2, Fall 1987.

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**PART III**  
**DROPOUT**

## **CONTRASTING CONSEQUENCES OF STUDENTS' ORIENTATIONS TO SCHOOLING<sup>1</sup>**

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Given the assumption that the nature of one's orientations toward schooling has an influence on one's actions, plans of action, and, subsequently, one's achievement in a given situation; also, accepting the assumption that students' orientations toward schooling are important in the teaching-learning process; it is easy to speculate on the consequences of the different categories of student orientations toward schooling.<sup>2</sup> One would expect, for example, that those who see the school as a great place to be as well as those who define their schooling experiences as interesting will have higher degrees of commitment to, and greater involvement in, learning than those whose orientations lead them to define the school as boring and, consequently, perceive it to be waste of time. In fact, many high school students in Newfoundland and Labrador realize the importance of positive orientations toward school in contributing to their schooling experiences. That is to say, they see the need for such orientations to make their schooling experiences more meaningful, as these experiences relate to such things as self-development and academic performance. To quote one grade 11 boy:

I think that a person's satisfaction with what he has accomplished is an important part of school life. His attitudes also greatly affect his sense of accomplishment. I feel too that whether or not a person has friends and enjoys being around other people and mingling socially with members of the student body (especially, the opposite sex) is very important.

Other students point to the negative consequences of the orientations of certain students on other students who are more positively oriented towards schooling. In the words of one grade 10 girl:

Another point is about the students of our school. The majority of them don't care about school. The ones that do care don't study because their friends don't. Some students are in school to tease or make fun of teachers. If these weren't in school, the rest of the students would do a lot better in school work and our school would have a better environment.

Two of the more contrasting consequences of different student orientations toward school can be exemplified, on the one hand, by looking at the comments of students who reported that they want to quit school, and on the other hand, by focusing on the observations of those who suggested the need for more student respect for the schooling process.

### **"I'm Going to Quit School"**

In line with student observations about school as a waste of time, and with the perceptions of those who say that "school stinks", it is not surprising that certain students wrote about their desires to quit school when they were asked to comment on their schooling experiences. Also, it is interesting to note that even those who "think school is okay" are sometimes anxious, in the words of one grade 9 boy, "to get out of school

as soon as possible". In fact, many students representing a variety of overall orientations towards school have at some time or other in their schooling experiences thought about quitting school. While the dropout rate from schools in Newfoundland and Labrador is relatively high - indeed, it is reported to be among the highest, if not the highest, of any Canadian province - the findings of the present study suggest that there are many students who think of dropping out of school but do not follow through on their thoughts. Those who think of quitting school refer to the schooling experience itself and/or a desire to enjoy what they perceive to be a less restricted life in society outside of the school as the major reasons for their entertaining the possibility of pursuing such a plan of action. In other words, there are two important sets of factors in student decision-making processes vis à vis leaving school: in-school factors and out-of-school factors.

### **In-School Factors**

From the illustrations of student definitions of school as presented earlier,<sup>3</sup> it is seen that there are certain features of the culture of the school which seem to lead many students to define their schooling experiences as great, important, interesting, exciting, and good. Other students tend to isolate what, for them, are the negative aspects of schooling experiences and then go on to define their schooling experiences as boring, a drag and a waste of time. Thus, it seems that there are two significant dimensions of the in-school factors which need to be identified in attempting to unravel the complexities of the causes of the dropout phenomenon. One of these dimensions is the fact that there are certain features of schooling which may be described as having a pushing-out, a negative influence on the student in that they are intertwined with student reasons for quitting school. Such features may include the lack of school facilities, inadequate opportunities to participate in extra-curricular activities, the number and type of courses which are available to students, and the failure of school to give adequate attention to such things as the aims of education, the purposes of schooling, the rationale for courses, the intent and meaning of the schooling process, and the demands and challenges of society. The opposite characteristics may be seen to have a holding influence on students in that students see them as positive features of school, making them want to remain in school. In addition to these characteristics which may be relatively easy to identify and to assess in somewhat objective ways, there are other features of schooling which may be more difficult to identify and assess as such. In other words, these features are more open to a variety of subjective definitions, thereby resulting in a multiplicity of social realities in the student world. Certain of these features may be seen to be attractive dimensions of schooling by some students while simultaneously viewed to be repugnant by other students. In fact, the subjective interpretations of students in a given situation is the bottom line in determining whether specific features of schooling have a dominant negative or a dominant holding influence on students.

The multiplicity of subjective realities amongst high school students in Newfoundland and Labrador is illustrated by the diversity of their observations as given within this book. To give particular emphasis to the multiplicity of social realities amongst students, the comments of two grade 11 girls are of interest at this point. One of these girls blamed teachers for the boredom experienced by students, and teachers were also seen to be the culprits in student failures on examinations and for their dropping out of school. The other student indicated that, perhaps, students themselves, and not the teachers, are to blame for the school being boring. Here are their comments:

I feel that the teachers are responsible for people failing and dropping out of school, because they 'do not' make classes interesting, instead they follow the same routine which becomes boring. I feel that it's time that the teachers changed some of their old habits and tried to make school as interesting as possible for both themselves and students.

And another thing, some of our subjects tend to be a little boring, maybe it's because of the teachers or maybe it's because of me lacking interest in it.

To illustrate further the student perceived importance of in-school factors as the cause of their boring experiences and their desires to drop out of school, here are comments from three grade 10 girls from as many schools:

I find school quite enjoyable at times but at other times it can be very boring. Such as when teachers get in class and ramble on about something which may not be related to the particular subject. This happens quite frequently, and I find it quite boring. Teachers could make school more enjoyable for the students if little effort was put forth. I can understand why some students want to leave school soon. I can sit in a Biology class not get one thing out of it but a headache. The teacher does not come down to the students' level.

Teachers are boring and some classes are a waste of time to go to. They blackmail you with detention and you never get any free classes. Teachers are too serious and they get on with a lot of crap and never carry on. If this continues a lot of students will get bored and leave.

I feel that if school was made a little more exciting than the same old boring thing then there would be a lot more interest and less dropouts.

If a student is in a bad mood and a teacher knows, the teacher just usually makes it worse. In the end the student ends up paying for it.

It might be argued that the subjective realities of these students are not in line with the perspectives of other students and/or teachers. That is, the organizational, the curriculum and the action domains of the school culture get defined in different ways by different actors in the setting. In addition, any one of these domains may even be defined differently by the same actors from one time to another. But, whatever the case, the suggestion here is that when in-school features get defined in a similar way, even by only a few students, then these features and students' orientations toward them must be given special attention in attempting to understand the schooling experience of high school students. Hence, substantial significance is achieved by the student perspective on such issues as (1) school courses and their relevance to student careers within and outside of the school, (2) opportunities for participation in extra-curricular activities, (3) quantity and quality of school work, (4) teaching strategies employed in the school and (5) the organization of the school.

### Out-of-School Factors

Out-of-school factors include the perceived freedom available in society, the expected excitement in the out-of-school environment, the euphoria associated with becoming an adult, and the desire of getting a job and making a good living. While some of the out-of-school factors may be attracting students into thinking about quitting school, other external factors such as parental pressure, scarcity of jobs and fear of being on one's own may be forcing students to consider their plans with respect to dropping out of school. As in the case of in-school factors, definitions which students give to the objective reality of society outside of the school are crucial to identifying reasons for their planning to quit or to do otherwise. In other words, there are certain out-of-school factors, and the meanings students give to these factors, which may, like the in-school environment, have a tendency to pull students from school while other factors make school a more attractive alternative.

To elaborate on the out-of-school factors which seem to be salient to student decisions, it is noted that while some students have expressed a desire to quit and "get a job", other students made reference to specific occupations they plan to pursue when they leave school. For one grade 9 girl the plan was to "quit and go into the Armed Forces". Several other students had plans similar to those of one grade 9 boy who reported he was discontinuing his schooling when he got old enough and was "going to work in the fish plant". On the other hand, a few students expressed views similar to a grade 9 girl who said that although she likes school, she wishes she was out working. However, she added: "If I had the chance to work, I wouldn't quit school, I would finish school first and then try and get a job."

A few students from different schools identified their parents as the major reason for their not leaving school. To illustrate, here are three of their comments:

If I had my way there would be no school because I hate it and I would like to quit, but my parents won't let me quit.

(Grade 10 boy)

School is boring but necessary. It keeps you out of trouble and teaches you stuff you should know. Only for the sports I think I would fail. Sports is the only thing that keeps me in, aside from my parents wanting me to stay in.

(Grade 11 boy)

I don't like school all the time. Sometimes it's okay. There's nothing to do her only play sports and don't want to do that. I hate sports. Some of the teachers are all right but there's a few I don't like. Only for my parents I wouldn't be here today. I would be out working somewhere or at least trying. Come to school in the morning and the same thing over and over each day. I'm sick of school. I feel like quitting but my parents want me to get my grade eleven.

(Grade 11 girl)

According to certain students, they have had thoughts of leaving school, but they changed their minds after they began to realize that life would not be easy if they did not have "a good education". To quote one grade 9 girl:

I think that school is o.k. because some of the subjects are very interesting and help us to develop skills which we should know. Also teachers show how much they like you. Sometimes I get mad and want to quit school because it is boring, and sometimes I get mad because of the amount of homework we get, but then I realize how important school is. It helps us learn more and get a job. What can you do if you do not have a good education?

Relatedly, a grade 9 girl in a second school offered her opinion on the importance of school to students:

I think school is great but like anyone else I at times wish I could quit. When I think about it I realize just how lucky I am to have this school. I think school is what you make it. I think people should make the most of it. Students, teachers and parents should realize the importance of a school.

Also, a grade 10 boy gave his conviction that many people will wish to be back in school once they are out of it. In his words:

I think that while many people say they can't wait to get out of school, when they do get out and have no job they'll wish they were back. They'll also wish to be back even with a job, because of their marks they'll wish they had done better.

Combining advice from his family with the experience he had gained while out of school, one grade 11 boy who had dropped out of school decided to return to it. He wrote:

I think school is important in everyone's life. My attitude last year was somewhat different than this years. Last year I quit my grade XI in April. I was doing well but didn't care. After quitting I learned that life has its ups and downs. I took advice from members of my family and my foster parents and returned this years. I am hoping to go all the way. I learned that you can't make the same mistake twice. Everyone needs an education today if they want to get ahead in life. After all we don't want the dolphins to be any smarter than us.

Another grade 11 student a girl from a different school reported that she came to realize the importance of school and would even be sad to leave when she completed high school:

In the past three or four years I have come to realize just how much school really does mean to me. Not only passing all my grades but also enjoying the activities throughout the school. When the time does come to leave, I shall be very upset. I will be able to look back over the good and bad times that I have experienced.

While not necessarily expressing such a strong emotional attachment to their respective schools as this grade 11 girl expressed toward hers, other students did address the need for students to have positive orientations toward their schools. Their observations on this topic are discussed in the following section.

### Need for Positive Orientations Among Students

A relatively large number of high school students in several schools representing different parts of Newfoundland and Labrador indicated a need for students to have more positive orientations toward schooling than they are at present perceived to have. For example, after opining that "school could be a lot better than what it already is", one grade 11 girl said: "Students go around in their own little groups not liking each other." According to this girl, students "should be more friendly to each other". Even those students who professed not to like school suggested that since they "got to go" to school, it is imperative that they learn to like it. As some students pointed to the need for more positive orientations toward school in general, other students specified particular dimensions of schooling toward which students need to develop positive orientations.

One grade 9 boy observed that "school in general is worth respecting and trying to understand". Another boy in the same grade, but from a different school, claimed that his school "is doing its best to do the things to make it a good school". "But", he added, "if students do not think highly of the school they won't get much from it.". The school is perceived by some students to be "offering a lot of opportunities", and students, according to one grade 10 girl, "should try to take advantage of these opportunities". She continued her observations by noting that "the first thing students must do is learn to like the teachers and school". Although many students see the school as a boring place to be, some of those who perceived the school in this way seemed to agree with one grade 10 boy who wrote: "School is boring but it's good for you." A grade 10 girl in another school agreed that the school is "really boring", but she continued her remarks by saying, "but if I want to get a good education I have to stay". In a similar vein of thought, a grade 9 girl wrote:

I think everyone should have their grade 11, at least it is very important. Even though it might be boring to you as it is to me I think you should try your hardest.

Also along the same lines of thought, another grade 9 girl, in a second school, elaborated:

I think school is a good thing for people and they should try and stay in school, in school it mainly depends upon you and your teachers if you are interested and when you have good teachers then there is no reason why you should be bad. But in some cases you can't do it. For example if I didn't have the attitude to do everything then I know I would not do good, but I do have the attitude. If the teacher was very boring then how are you to learn? Well, yes, you could learn, but how are you going to stay interested? It is not easy. So I think you should have an education or you're not going to get very far in life these days.

"Boredom", according to one of the students in the present study, "can be eliminated with a little effort on the part of students and staff." Relatedly, a grade 9 girl offered her opinion that students have to put an effort into their school work so that it will not become boring. She wrote:

I think school is pretty good. Sometimes it gets a bit boring, and yet you get disgusted with the teachers and hard work, but if you want to get

something in life you have to keep working at it, because nothing comes easy.

Another grade 9 girl elaborated further on a similar observation:

I think that attending school is very important to everyone, and every person can make school much less boring for themselves only if they want to. But if a person tries to make school more exciting for himself, he has to do it in a way that will not turn his friends away from him.

Focusing on student orientations toward school work, one grade 10 girl observed that "school is not as bad as people think and the only way to get ahead is to study hard so that you will do well in your school work". This grade 10 girl went on to argue that doing well in one's school work will mean that the work will not "look so bad or seem so difficult". In addition to commenting on the accessibility of education, one grade 11 boy noted the importance of learning "the right way to study":

I don't think the school system is too bad. It is there for everyone and people are the blame if they don't want to get an education. Education today is easy to obtain because there are all kinds of well educated teachers to help you out in every way, shape and form. The textbooks are essential to everyone if he or she is going to get through school and move on to obtain a college or university degree. People should learn the right way to study and not wait until the last night and scramble for a test and go to school and forget it. People should study every night for an hour or so and it will be easier on them in the long run.

One grade 9 girl claimed that "studying is not hard", but she seemed to suggest that students must work hard at learning to like school. She explained:

Most people think school is just a waste of time and that they could be doing other things rather than sitting down doing work. Sure I feel that sometimes, but we all have to work hard and learn how to like school. I respect all or most all of the teachers and try to get along with them. Studying is not hard at all, we have all of the information all we have to do is read it. In my opinion, I like school a lot.

The suggestion of a grade 10 girl from one school was implied in the comments of many students from different schools. After claiming that "school is what you make it", she explained: "If you come hating it you will hate it, and you'll have a bad experience, if you come liking it you will enjoy it." In pointing to the need for a little more interest among students for schooling, to add to the interest which they already have for it, one grade 11 boy noted some of the immediate payoffs for students. He wrote:

I feel that this is a very good school in that it accomplishes what it is supposed to accomplish. That is it educates to the best of its ability the students that pass through the doors. yet, if a student is interested it can do a lot more. The many activities and sports that are available is astonishing. With a little bit of interest and hard work a student can become a part of a well known organization. . .It is this little extra that creates more friends and makes the long hours of study bearable.



It has been observed that both teachers and students have responsibilities to develop positive orientations toward all dimensions of school life. On occasions when schools are perceived to be "good", for example, it has been suggested, in the words of one grade 10 girl, that "if all teachers and pupils put their help in" there would be "better understanding in the school".

Obviously, certain students have been thinking of ways to develop more positive orientations to schooling. To illustrate, one grade 10 girl expressed her opinion as follows:

I think our school is basically a good school, but more things could be done to encourage students to take more interest in their work. Rather than having a student do his or her work because they are afraid of the teacher, they should develop an interest in it.

Many students realize that it is very difficult to develop teaching and disciplining strategies which are appropriate for each and every situation encountered in the school. It has been reported, for example, that certain students take advantage of teachers and that while it is important to aim at changing the attitudes of these students it is not always an easy task. To quote one grade 10 girl:

Our school, as I see it, is a good school, but some of the students take advantage of nice teachers. In our class for example some people get in the back in groups and talk and talk. They don't do hardly any work, and when we have exams they always say, "I don't think I passed, the exam was really hard, the teacher always makes it hard." I know I'm not perfect but they, the bad students, can give a little as well as the rest. These students are difficult to handle. It is hard for us, the teachers can't help it and it is about time everyone cooperated. Otherwise I think our school is not fancy, but most all students and all the teachers are nice.

In addition to the student perceived need for them to be more interested in school, different students have expressed the opinion that "school should be interested in the students", which often means, in the words of one grade 11 boy, "school getting involved in more school activities". The complaints of one grade 9 girl about the lack of interest she perceives her school to have in student affairs reflect the views of many in the present survey:

I feel that (name of school) is a school that is uninterested in such things as Allied Youth, school council, and school newspaper; which I could be interested in if there were such things here. In other schools that I have gone to there has been A.Y., Councils and Newspapers which gives students a chance to have fun and learn new things. This school is old and not very updated.

The orientations of students toward schooling and the extent of the interest which schools are perceived to have in student affairs are both intertwined in the generation of school spirit. Many of the students in the present study made reference to the importance of school spirit in the schooling experiences. As expected some of those students expressed their satisfaction with the high level of school spirit in their respective schools, while other students expressed desire for, and the value of, more school spirit. By making such remarks, students were often hinting at the need for both teachers and

students to have more positive orientations toward school. To illustrate, here are comments from grade 11 girls:

I think our school should have more spirit. This school or I should say that the students are the ones that do not have enough spirit or interest in this school. For this school to be more interesting for others that follows us more spirit should be established.

I think (name of school) is pretty good. Although it could use more spirit. There are lots of groups but they are not run properly and students don't participate. They don't appreciate these groups.

I think there should be a better school spirit in this school, among students and among students and teachers. You can't do anything without school spirit, so why don't we all think this way.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>This article is an excerpt from a forthcoming research monograph on Student Views of Schooling in Newfoundland and Labrador pp. 140-151.

<sup>2</sup>These orientations are outlined in detail in the forthcoming monograph. They range from the belief that "school is great" to the view that "school stinks" and "is a waste of time".

<sup>3</sup>Student Views of Schooling in Newfoundland and Labrador, pp. 92-139.

<sup>4</sup>There is a multiplicity of sociological processes in the school which may contribute to students' negative attitudes toward schooling. Some of these processes have been focused on in a series of monographs written from the present research. These include Teachers' Pets and Class Victims (W.B.W. Martin, 1982) Helpful, Understanding and Co-operative Teachers (W.B.W. Martin, 1983), Teacher Expectations and the Student Perspective (I.J. Baksh and W.B.W. Martin, 1983), Student Observations on School Rules in Newfoundland and Labrador (W.B.W. Martin and I.J. Baksh, 1984), and Student Embarrassment (W.B.W. Martin, 1985).

## **COMMENTARY ON "LEAVING EARLY - A STUDY OF STUDENT RETENTION IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR"**

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My purpose in writing this is to introduce some of my concerns emanating from the Leaving Early Report. It is pivotal to my thinking that there be an extension of the way of looking at the one reality. In essence, it is my opinion that in the process of recognizing that a tremendous dropout problem exists we have to start with the question, "What causes the problem?" I believe reading to be a major source of the problem. Also, I believe that if anything effective is to be done to solve the problem, it has to begin in the primary and elementary grades, not in the high school grades. Possibly, I run the risk of attempting to be over inclusive.

### **Students Must Understand What Reading Is**

The report states that 45 percent of the dropout students had failed one or more grades in elementary school and, also, that 53 percent of the dropout students left school before age 15 years and were in grade 7 or lower. Why? It is my seasoned opinion from years of working with children who have learning problems that knowledge for them is a "basket of words". Allow me to elaborate. Many children "believed" to have learning problems quite often have reading problems, and those who do legitimately have learning problems quite often have language problems. With respect to the former, poor readers differ from good readers in their perception of reading. Poor readers tend to emphasize the importance of exact word recognition rather than understanding what is read. Also, that word recognition is usually at the expense of understanding what they are reading.

Students experiencing reading difficulties generally perceive that reading is "knowing the words" when, in fact, we as educators attempting to bridge the gap between research and practice know that much needs to be brought to the page from the experience of the reader. For example, many of us can "pronounce" the words in Wittgenstein's *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, but few understand it. The students who believe reading to be "knowing the words" will be hampered in the extension of their ability to read to learn. Children enter school with vast oral language backgrounds; that is, their listening and speaking vocabularies are well developed. Beginning reading instruction should utilize this oral language background in acquainting children with the printed word. So, to foster initial reading growth, the emphasis has to be child-centered on what already holds meaning for them. As children mature and gain facility with the printed word, reading should then become the vehicle to augment the process of learning to read whereby children can now shift the focus from their personal meaning to that of how the word is used in the context of the materials they are reading. They are now using their ability to read to gain access to vast amounts of new experiences, learn new words, and acquire additional meanings for old words. We have all taught children who can either pronounce all the words but not understand what they had "read", or who "read" nonsense and think it acceptable.

This lack of an understanding that reading is comprehending meaning causes many children to become potential dropouts in even the primary grades. Nothing can be done to effectively help these students with their reading until they first understand what

it is. Why do children have such a misconceived perception of such an important process as reading? After decades of emphasis on word recognition and phonics, it is difficult to break with tradition. The need for improved instruction in reading comprehension is clear, as four major studies of current classroom practice illustrate. Durkin (1979, 1981); Morine-Dershimer (1979), and Duffy and McIntyre (1984) report a prevalence of teacher assessment (question asking) and "mentioning" (teachers doing example(s)). Instruction in comprehension accounted for less than 1 percent of the time. In other words, teachers seldom taught pupils how to do tasks. Instead, they monitored pupils as the latter did their activities, supplying correctives in response to errors. Three reasons come to mind for such a dismal picture about reading instruction. First, until the last decade, we have had little specific knowledge regarding the nature of comprehension. Recommendations to teachers often have consisted of either vague encouragement to create learning environments that value meaningful reading activities or "tricks of the trade" viewed as technical aids to be implemented in routine and mechanical ways. Second, until recently, we have had little data regarding the nature of classrooms. Without a clear concept of the environment in which learning takes place and an appreciation of the way various aspects of the environment constrain instruction, it is difficult to improve the teaching of comprehension. Finally, there has been and continues to be a debate regarding the nature of instruction. In short, there are many teaching suggestions for practicing comprehension but not many for explaining or applying comprehension. Without a clear concept of what instruction is, it is difficult to provide teachers with substantive assistance to improve the teaching of comprehension.

### **Teachers Need Autonomy**

The research of the past ten years suggests repeatedly that good teaching is probably the best way to prevent reading problems. It is well to remember that the most efficient way to remediate reading problems is to teach reading, but many times we attempt to teach everything but reading. Those children who are not taught to understand and apply effective reading strategies are accumulatively regressing. The language written in many of the content area subjects is what I call a "great divide". The gap between the language which is familiar and meaningful to the students and that used in the text widens as the children move through the grades into more content area materials. The texts are written by experts in science, social studies, and history, to name a few, without consideration given to idea density, sentence structure, word frequency, etc. The problem is one much larger than the student, the teacher, the school, the system. I advocate teachers who understand the teaching-learning process, who do not take fool's credit for those who come to school already reading but rather accept the challenge to teach those children experiencing difficulties, and who autonomously decide that a prescribed text is unsuitable for the needs of the students and draw upon alternative materials rather than having students repeat the same material year after year. Such positive thinking and autonomy have to be conveyed to the teachers and supported by such institutions of higher learning as our own.

### **Students With Perseverance**

What do any of us do when asked to do something beyond our competence, do not enjoy doing, or which does not make sense to us? Well, I suppose I should speak for no one but myself - well, I avoid it. Talk to children about the school phobia issue raised in the Early Leaving Report, and they'll reluctantly say that "Miss might ask me to read

and she's just waiting to jump on me"; one grade eight boy confided to me last fall, "My guts just goes into knots, the words all runs together and sometimes if Sir really pushes me, by the time the rest of the class is finished jeerin', even my toes feels like their sweatin' ". The graduate students on campus taking their master's statistics course mouth similar types of comments along the hallways of the University about that course. It would seem to me that as humans, we can withstand only so much frustration, anxiety and feelings of inadequacy before something has to break.

Let us relate the school phobia notion to other reasons why students stated they left school. Many stated they left because they were slow learners and because they were older than most kids in their grade. It seems obvious to me then that these are realities for these students which they have acquired over a period of time. In fact, they may be beliefs which began in the primary and elementary grades culminating in dropping out at the high school level. Many of the dropouts have to be admired for their perseverance in staying so long in a system that did not accommodate them. This brings me to my next point.

The report states that some of the students responded that they received no advice from teachers. I see two problems here, one being that it is not unknown to hear some high school teachers make pronouncement~ such as, "I am a grade nine teacher, not a grade six teacher; if the kids can't get it, that's their problem". The second and possibly the more important is that many teachers are teaching full classes, and that even though many teachers want to make the experience better for those students experiencing difficulties, realistically no such programs exist. So, in terms of the suggestion made in the report, that some schools ought to make a more deliberate attempt to monitor potential school leavers, it seems to me fruitless unless some program(s) is in place that, in fact, teachers can recommend to students. How can these teachers offer advice one way or the other for those experiencing learning problems when in most cases all they have to offer is a continuation of the same, which clearly is not and has not been solving the problem.

### **Greater Than A Schooling Problem**

Some people might argue that two routes exist for students: the academic and the non-academic. I'm not surprised that students do not generally like the route of the non-academic subjects. It is yet another confirmation of their inability to perform according to the system. It carries with it a type of "second class' label. Furthermore, in my experience, it is still quite an academic program taught using the traditional methods. I was carrying out a language intuition project last year, and this is how one class was introduced to me: "This is my grade ten idiot class, don't expect much". Aside from that particular experience, the students in other general classes expressed concerns when I asked them to read a sentence and decide if it sounded normal to them. They quite often lacked the confidence to trust the nature of my request and, even more despairingly, their own judgement of how the sentence(s) sounded. These students had acquired these feelings of inadequacy undoubtedly from various sources, one of which I feel is teacher attitude.

Finally, contrary to popular belief, the literacy gap is not narrowing but rather widening. In a recent report by UNESCO on the "Future of the Book", it suggests that we instinctively tend to identify books with culture, and are somewhat incapable of imagining a world without books. In actual fact, however, books as such lead a vulnerable

existence which began only recently with the invention of printing. In economically developed countries, books have become a medium of mass communication which is paradoxically beginning to be seriously endangered by technology. It is posited that the transition from the "Gutenberg galaxy" to the "Marconi galaxy" is well underway. These are not futurist predictions but realities for the very near future. Those who have dropped out of school or those potentially dropping in the near future feel, I suspect, even more devastated by the threat of technology. Let me try to make the point a different way - the problem of school retention is much greater than one would perceive because it is not only an inability to cope with schooling but also an inability to cope with the realities of technology.

### **Conclusion**

In summary, I am aware and somewhat troubled that there are gaps in my commentary, but it is an accurate writing of those salient points which I felt compelled to address from my reading and language perspective. Dropouts do have reasons for leaving school; let us identify those problems and do something about them early, in the primary and elementary grades with extension programs into the junior high and high school grades. We need programs that meet the needs which give rise to the decision to drop out. Our current situation is somewhat a Hobson's choice for many of our students whereby neither the alternative to stay in school nor the alternative to quit is an acceptable one. The programs currently in place for students experiencing academic failure appear to be nothing more than mirages in a learning desert. In addition, to confound that situation even further, our society generally tends to have expectations that all students must be destined for institutions of higher learning rather than to have respect for a wide range of life possibilities.

The Leaving Early Report is a major advance in our understanding of the suspected dropout problem in this province. It attempts to identify the many factors associated with student decisions to leave school prematurely by seeking the views of individual students to complement the questionnaire on group factors. Considerable beneficial effects will hopefully grow from this report as the authors reiterate that there must be recognition that a problem exists. I agree, for as one who has read the report, it is felt that the problem is not benign but rather malignant.

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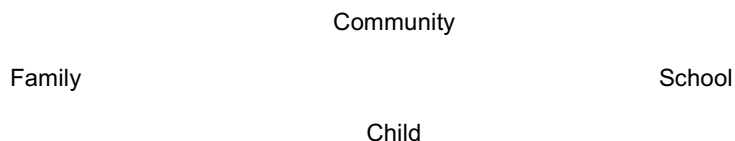
## **SOCIAL WORK IN THE SCHOOLS - A RESPONSE TO "LEAVING EARLY"**

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The long held concern that educational opportunity is not equal for all students has recent validation by way of an extensive research study conducted within the province.' The finding that almost half of the students drop out prior to completion of high school is duly alarming and warrants an immediate restructuring of the educational process. We hold that it is essential to assess the findings and contributing factors within a holistic framework, focusing on the interrelatedness and interconnectedness of the child, the school, the family and the community. This article examines leaving early from a systems perspective and puts forward the suggestion that social workers can contribute in fostering full development of the child and thereby assist in removing some of the obstacles to educational achievement.

### **Systems View**

A systems perspective forces us to leave a linear cause-effect position and to see the natural world as an organic whole in which all parts are interdependent. Leaving school early is not solely an educational problem but a home/school/community problem requiring a systems approach to intervention. As illustrated in the schematic below, the components, although separate systems, are interdependent and together form a larger system.



Family functioning influences school functioning. The child, being part of both, connects the two systems, both of which are influenced by the community.

### **Situational Context**

In the study Leaving Early (1984), the community, rural or urban, was a significant indicator of educational completion. Those students in rural areas are more likely to drop out of school than their urban counterparts. Although the province as a whole is economically the most depressed in the nation, when the situation is contrasted regionally, we find the severest conditions in the rural regions. This socioeconomic strife is compounded in native communities. In fact, approximately 70-80% of Indian students do not complete a high school education (Pauls, 1984).

When considering families that are impacted by economic insecurity, it is safe to assume that they will have increased difficulty in meeting the physical, emotional and

social needs of the children. Socioeconomic hardship has been directly related to the problem of truancy (Tibbenhan, 1972). Non attendance and subsequent poor achievement are considered potent predictors of dropping out of school (Watson, 1975; Barth, 1984). Additional personal and social difficulties in families that create obstacles to learning for the child are: alcoholism, divorce, illness, unemployment, marital discord and inadequate parenting skills. It has been found that in families of truants, there is often a complex interaction of many such problems (Nielsen and Gerber, 1979).

Academic learning is influenced by factors in the family and in the community. At times the child may encounter obstacles to achievement in these systems. Social workers have knowledge of individuals, families and communities as well as the skills for systems intervention to help children and families whose emotional or social problems are interfering with learning.

### **Social Work Practice in Schools**

School social work has existed as a distinct practice since the early 1900's (Costin, 1969; Hancock, 1982). The inclusion of social work practice in the school setting is based on the premise that schools must assume a responsibility for child development beyond the academic teaching of the child (Lambert and Mullaly, 1982). When the values and expectations of the major systems the child is part of, i.e. family, school, community, are incongruous, the child is often caught up in an ensuing conflict which inhibits his/her development (Garbarino, 1982). School social workers are charged with the responsibility of assisting systems in minimizing conflicts and enabling children to better cope with contradictory expectations.

In order to operationalize the themes which emerge from the recommendations of the report, *Leaving Early* (1984), we believe that the incorporation of at least the following three social work functions in the educational system is essential:

- 1) Provision of counselling services for students and families.
- 2) Provision of liaison work to strengthen the connection between student/family/school/community.
- 3) Participation in programmes with a preventative focus.

### **Counselling Services**

Specific problems exhibited by students in the school setting that come to the attention of the school social worker include disruptive behavior, extreme shyness, hyperactivity, truancy, pregnancy, alcohol and drug abuse, sexuality issues, teacher-student conflict, inter-family problems, and evidence of neglect and child abuse. Poor scholastic achievement is often the result of a complex interaction of any number of these factors. The problems cannot be dealt with in isolation and it is important that they be understood within the broader context of a students' participation in peer groups, family and community life.

Social workers are prepared to assess family functioning and, depending on circumstances, the school social worker interviews parents independently, reporting back



to the principal/teacher when appropriate or structuring family conferences involving both school personnel and family members (Tucker and Dyson, 1976 and Aponte, 1976). A combination of counselling approaches may be used to ensure that each student and family is involved in the most helpful way possible.

### **Linkage of Systems**

The school social worker has a working knowledge of community resources and a commitment to the brokerage aspect of his/her role, which facilitates liaison work between the school/family/community systems. As a social worker becomes alerted to the particular needs of families and students, he/she provides counselling services as previously described, or in some instances, refers family members to other professional services in the community. In situations where there is a scarcity of service resources, social workers identify such gaps in service and work towards mobilizing power groups and the government to address unmet needs. In addition, the school social worker stands at the interface of the home and the school and focuses on facilitating positive communication between the two systems.

### **Preventative Programmes**

Apart from responding to apparent problem situations mentioned earlier, a school social worker is committed to developing preventative measures to counteract the development of potential problems such as leaving early. School related problems are frequently a manifestation of difficulties experienced by students in peer relationships, family communications, and/or community life. These manifestations are indicators of students at risk. The earlier the indicators can be identified, explored, and dealt with, the better the chance that dropping out will not result. The teacher and social worker operating as a team in the primary and elementary grades, for instance, can establish the type of support often needed by both pupils and families. Helpful and positive communication experienced between the family and school system in early school years will offset alienation between senior students and the school system.

The study, *Leaving Early* (1984), recommends the necessity for establishing a committee on retention, and seeking parental involvement around such a preventative approach could be a very positive step. Congruent with the above comments regarding early detection of students at risk, we would recommend that parental involvement be encouraged prior to students entering secondary school. P.T.A. members and other parents are frequently interested in the quality of school life for all children and their energies should not exclusively be directed to fund raising and providing material objects for schools. Parent volunteers in the school library or classrooms develop a keen appreciation of their child's educational environment and through this identity convey enthusiastic and helpful attitudes to their children. School social workers can provide a linkage between parents and school by organizing and promoting such parental interest and by identifying and encouraging parents who might normally not respond to such involvement (Germain, 1982).

### **School Social Work - Social Work Students**

During the past eight years, the School of Social Work, Memorial University, has had fourth and fifth year B.S.W. students completing their field practicums in school settings in Newfoundland and Labrador. As there are no social work positions to date with school boards in this province, these students are supervised by faculty members of the School of Social Work. Their involvement in school social work activities has been welcomed by principals, teachers, guidance counsellors, students, and families. Student social work practice has encompassed many of the areas addressed in this article and, in our opinion, the work has underlined the need that does exist for a multidisciplinary response to the serious situation regarding the high number of students in the educational system who, for various and complex reasons, do not achieve.

### **Summary**

Recommendations from previous and recent Newfoundland studies on the problem of school retention have generally advocated an educational response which minimizes emphasis on contributing factors related to social, family, and community problems (Kennedy, 1964; Snelgrove, 1983; Leaving Early, 1984). We have argued that the inclusion of social work in a school system is essential if the full development of the student population is to be achieved.

Leaving early is not solely an educational problem as it represents a sequence of events and a combination of causes. Leaving early is a systems problem and professionals need to combine efforts to address its multi-dimensional nature.

Note: Leaving Early. A Study of Student Retention In Newfoundland and Labrador. St. John's, Newfoundland, 1984.

This study will be referred to throughout the text as Leaving Early (1984).

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**SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION: A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL  
APPROACH TO EARLY SCHOOL LEAVERS**

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This article is written in the spirit of participating constructively in the on-going dialogue in this province on the issue of low student retention at the high school level. Recently, a report entitled **Leaving Early - A Study of Student Retention in Newfoundland and Labrador** by a committee consisting of distinguished educators in the province has once again high-lighted the fact " . . . that many students have not stayed in school to complete Grade Eleven" (p. xi). To be sure, to our best knowledge, as long as fourteen years ago Drs. Herb Kitchen, Phil Warren and many other well-known educators in the province have established similar facts about the retention rate in our schools.

The **Leaving Early Report** contains eighteen recommendations, some of which are as follows:

Recommendation 1

THAT all persons, institutions and organizations involved in the education of youth in this province, recognize the serious loss of student potential through early leaving; and determine any action they may take, independently and in cooperation with others, to improve the student retention rate in this province.

Recommendation 2

THAT school boards immediately examine the school records of all eleven to fourteen-year-olds, identify those who are potential early leavers, and take special steps through counselling, programming, and parent and teacher support, to improve their opportunities for success in school.

Recommendation 3

THAT Memorial University re-examine its teacher education programs, and ensure the inclusion in those programs of a great degree of sensitization of prospective teachers to the vital role positive attitudes toward students can play in their lives.

Recommendation 4

THAT the Newfoundland Teachers' Association and all school boards develop inservice programs to increase the awareness of practicing teachers to this vital role.

#### Recommendation 5

THAT for those early school leavers who return to school, schools boards and schools do everything reasonably possible to enhance the chances of success.

#### Recommendation 6

THAT each secondary school in the province establish a "committee on retention", whose function would be to identify students with particular academic or personal problems which would lead to their contemplating leaving school, and to involve students and parents in an intensive program designed to keep the student in school.

### **Some Suggestions Already Made**

The authors of this article and many of their colleagues in the Faculty of Education have been concerned with the issue of how to teach successfully a large number of students at all levels of schooling in the province. The Morning Watch has, ever since its inception in 1973, published several articles which dealt directly or indirectly with this and other related issues. At least, in the Morning Watch several authors have attempted to review the latest research on student achievement and have suggested how students in the province could achieve at a higher level.

We concede that perhaps no research dealing with the organization of learning and teaching and its consequences for large numbers of students is one hundred percent perfect. We contend only that the present state of the art in educational research recognizes the existence of various perspectives (e.g., sociology, psychology, anthropology, political science, economics, and demography) and does to a reasonable degree provide us with some useful insights into how to organize our school system, and teaching and learning in them, so as to reduce failure rates greatly.

In this article we once again highlight some of the insights gained through a long tradition of research in sociology and social psychology of education which has come to be known as expectation research. The following insights derived from this type of research have implications for organization of learning and teaching both at societal and school levels. Societal or macro-level implications are that:

1. the average person, even when living in deprivation and obscurity, is endowed with an innate brain capacity, and has on hand a learning ability, which can be stimulated and enhanced far beyond the current relatively modest levels.
2. human potential is being artificially constrained and vastly underutilized, so much so that for all practical purposes there appear to be virtually no limits to learning.
3. by raising the expectation level of its people each society creates its own ability and achievement levels.

4. human learning takes place when all people are teachers, when there is universality of expectations and homogeneity of models, and when teaching is continuous followed by consistent and repeated use of approval and disapproval or reward and punishment for appropriate and expected behavior.

(Brookover and Erickson, 1969)

Unfortunately, as Brookover and several other scholars point out, "in most discussions of the goals of education, educational leaders tend to emphasize the importance of educating the individual to "the limits of his capacity." Similarly, "college and university administrators talk about educating anyone who has the potential or who can profit by such experience. Such discussion reflects the notion of dimension... However, we have no vocabulary which posits the concept of change or expansion or development of intelligence through the creation of appropriate environmental experiences. The concept of a varying and pliable learning ability is therefore very difficult to introduce, and it is not easy for us to comprehend such an idea without a vocabulary with which to discuss it" (Brookover and Erickson, 1969: 8).

If we want to achieve a high rate of success in our school, we must move away from the idea that human ability is fixed. Instead, we should develop attitudes based on the belief that almost all human beings can learn whatever any particular person can learn if they are encouraged, are expected to learn and are provided with the appropriate environment. Now we turn to school or micro-level implications of expectation research.

There is a long tradition of research in education which focuses on the classroom expectations of teachers, teacher behavior, student self-concept, and student achievement. Brookover and Erickson (1969, 1975) in their analysis of the school as a social system, focused on group norms and expectations. In fact, in the school system there is a whole system of variables which will affect the student. The general hypothesis that students behave in terms of others' expectations and that teachers' expectations are relevant to elementary age students is well supported by research.

Cooper and Good (1983: 3) extensively review the research and state that "the relations between teacher expectations, teacher behavior, and student performance have been, and continue to be, active research areas." Brophy and Good (see Cooper and Good) did detailed analyses of the sequential relationship between teacher expectation and student performance. Their model involved four steps:

1. The teacher develops an expectation, predicting specific behavior and achievement for each student;
2. Because of these expectations, the teacher behaves differently toward each student;
3. This treatment informs each student about the behavior and achievement expected from him/her and affects the students' self-concept, achievements, motivation and level of aspiration;
4. If teacher treatment is consistent over time and students are behaviorally compliant, the students' achievement will come to correspond or remain correspondent with teachers' belief about the students.

Their conclusion was that high teacher expectation will lead to or sustain student achievement at high levels, while low expectations will diminish or support low student achievement. Brophy and Good (see Cooper and Good, p. 10-11) report twelve of the more common ways teachers' action can vary with expectations:

1. Seating low-expectation students far from the teacher and/or seating them in a group.
2. Paying less attention to lows in academic situations (smiling less often and maintaining less eye contact).
3. Calling on lows less often to answer classroom questions or to make public demonstrations.
4. Waiting less time for lows to answer questions.
5. Not staying with lows in failure situations (i.e., providing fewer clues, asking fewer follow-up questions).
6. Criticizing lows more frequently than highs for incorrect public responses.
7. Praising lows less frequently than highs after successful public responses.
8. Praising lows more frequently than highs for marginal or inadequate public responses.
9. Providing lows with less accurate and less detailed feedback than highs.
10. Failing to provide lows with feedback about their responses as often as highs.
11. Demanding less work and effort from lows than from highs.
12. Interrupting performance of lows more frequently than highs.

Brophy and Good recognize that not all teachers hold the same expectations for low and high-achievement students and that not all teachers treat high and low-expectation students differently.

Rosenthal examined over three-hundred studies and stated that 37 percent reported significant results in the direction consistent with expectations. Smith's study also supported the view that expectation effects were significant. Brookover and Erickson (1969) comment that adult expectations held for students vary in norms from one school to another and, in fact, from one classroom to another. They point out that achievement expectations in various schools demonstrate quite clearly that school teachers, administrators, and students hold differing expectations of student performance in various schools.

The relationship between expectations held by significant others (e.g., teachers, parents, peers, etc.), students' self-concept and students' achievement has been well supported by research in many countries. The relationship between an individual's positive self-concept of ability and achievement in school has also been well supported in the literature in the sociology of education. However, one major barrier to the development of a good self-concept is the existence of differential expectations for different groups of people. Elsewhere we have stated that:

different expectation levels bring about a type of learning that seems to perpetuate social inequalities. Moreover, this kind of learning is taking place all the time at various places. It is taking place in schools, in homes, in neighbourhoods, in churches, on streets, at playgrounds, and at work. Parents, teachers, school administrators, government officials, professors, clergymen, friends, peer groups, adult relatives, television, radio, newspapers, and publishers of books are all involved. (Singh & Baksh, 1977: 28)

### **Some Things to Believe In and Some Things to Try Out**

Like many other sociologists of education we have been suggesting that:

teachers, principals, school administrators, professors, and others may like to spend more time on social environments with new norms and beliefs about human behaviours and new organizational patterns to counteract the negative learning. This can be done at both levels of environment: macro and micro. (Singh and Baksh, 1977: 28)

Let us continue to focus on the micro level. Brookover and his associates (1979) point out how the school-climate can be changed to ensure success for all children. They note that "the conclusion of social scholars (Jencks et al., 1972, and Hauser, Sewell, and Alwin, 1976) that schools do not and [or] cannot make a difference in the achievement outcomes has been based on, inadequate evidence." Based on their extensive research over the years, they identified school characteristics that encourage success for almost all students regardless of their family, ethnic, race and socioeconomic backgrounds. According to them, schools in which students enjoy a relatively high level of academic success tend to have certain characteristics. For example, the school staff has a positive view of students' ability to learn, communicating this view to one another, to students and to parents. Also, teachers accept responsibility for students' failure to learn, constantly seeking ways to "reach" students who have difficulties. Classroom time is spent on actual instruction, not in marking work or solving discipline problems. Brookover et al. (1979:147-8) write:

Briefly, the characteristics of the school social system which we hypothesize will produce high achievement and other desired outcomes may be summarized as follows: First of all, assume that all children can and will learn whatever the school defines as desirable and appropriate. Expect all children to learn these patterns of behavior rather than differentiate among those who are expected and those who are not expected to learn. Have common norms that apply to all children so that all members of the school social system expect a high level of performance by all students. With these evaluations, expectations, and norms



characterizing the school social system, the patterns of interaction between teacher and pupil should be characterized by consistently appropriate and clearly recognized reinforcement of learning behavior. Failure should be followed by immediate feedback and reinstruction rather than positive reinforcement. Positive reinforcement should be given only when correct responses are made. This type of school environment is best characterized by what has come to be known as the Mastery Model (Bloom, 1976). Mastery of each unit of instruction by all should be the goal and the total school social system should be mobilized to achieve that goal. Thus students, teachers, and all associated in the school social system should assume that all students can and will learn, should provide appropriate norms and expectations, and practice the appropriate patterns of reinforcement and instruction for all students. This may be facilitated by having students work in teams and compete with other teams rather than as individuals competing with each other.

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## LEAVING EARLY: A CRITIQUE

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**Leaving Early - A Study of Student Retention in Newfoundland and Labrador** has received a great deal of publicity and has been accepted with enthusiasm. One writer, for example, proclaimed it "a major advance in our understanding of the suspected dropout problem" (Phillips-Riggs, 1985, p. 13). I disagree. This Report is seriously flawed. It makes the too-easy assumption that leaving school early is, for whatever reason, a bad thing. It is incomplete; its questionnaire is faulty; and, as a result, it omits important information; and the information it does include is often too general. These are the criticisms dealt with in the remainder of this brief paper. I make them frankly but without animosity. My aim is not to disparage the Report, but to show that the dropout phenomenon is a complex one, and that more than is provided in this Report is needed if we are to understand it and make intelligent decisions with respect to it.

The writers of this Report assume that it is always better for all students to be in school than out of it, that leaving early is a "serious educational and social problem" (p. 120), and, further, that it leads to "a serious loss of student potential" (p. 112). This assumption appears to be regarded by the writers as incontrovertible, for they feel no obligation to discuss the issue, or to provide evidence to support the generalizations quoted above. Instead, they are simply stated as conventional wisdom, conventional wisdom that has gelled into cliché. Cliché may produce publicity, but not insight; it may even motivate action, but not necessarily appropriate action.

To develop more fully and concretely my criticism of the underlying assumption of the Report, let us consider three students:

When Jim left school he was seventeen years old. He had passed grade IX and X, but was not doing well in grade XI. Though he discussed with his teachers and parents the benefits of schooling, he quit before the school year was over and went fishing with his father. Later he opened an outboard motor repair shop, which he has been running successfully for three years.

John was fifteen when he dropped out. He had failed grade IX, and, according to his principal, had "reached his potential." He himself confessed that he was "not prepared to work." He disrupted his class, and was regarded as a bad influence on other students in his class.

Joan was a brilliant grade XI student, and although she was doing fairly well, she dropped out. She explained that school did not challenge her. She summed up her frustration: "I was called a troublemaker because I was inquisitive and expressed my own ideas. Those who succeeded in our class did things the teachers' way, and wrote what they knew the teachers wanted."

All three of these students are drop-outs, but are there no distinctions to be made among them? Are "educational and social problem", and "serious loss of student potential" suitable descriptions of all three? Why, for example, would we characterize Jim as any kind of problem? He is successful and enjoys his work. He left school only after

careful thought. In other words, he exercised the autonomy for which the school had been preparing him all along. Why, then, would his decision not be respected? John's leaving early may lead to a social problem; but can we reasonably expect the school to take responsibility for it? If we believe his principal, "loss of student potential" would not be an appropriate qualifier here. And because of his bad influence on his peers, his staying in school - not his leaving - would have caused an educational problem - for other students. Joan's dropping out is obviously related to the absence of a challenging school program, and the teachers' lack of respect for creativity and originality. The school board, then, has a responsibility to do something about it. Here the school has an educational problem, and here we may rightly speak of wasted student potential.

There are a variety of reasons for dropping out of school, and characterizing the phenomenon as a "social problem," an "educational problem," and "a loss of student potential" without analysis, interpretation, or evidence, instead of creating an understanding of the subject, distorts it. Unless we are particular and discriminating in our discussion of the "drop-out problem" we are not likely to be very wise in our approach to it. For example, if we accept the notion that no students for any reason should drop out of school, we are apt to develop unrealistic schemes to keep them in. Many schools have, for example, tried "social promotion," have weakened academic courses, have introduced insipid vocational courses to prevent failure and, therefore, to encourage students to stay in school. The writers of Leaving Early seem to be sympathetic to such plans. They recognize that the new expanded high school program has made available to students many options (many, it should be pointed out, that were designed for weaker students). However, they conclude "that even with all the options available it is impossible for some students to attain sufficient credits for graduation," and recommend that school boards "make modifications as student interests and needs warrant" (p. 118). Such a position raises serious questions: Do the kind and quality of credits not matter? Is schooling merely the granting of credits to whoever wants them? Can modifications to courses be made solely on the basis of students' interests and needs? Is the integrity of the subject not to be considered? Since students' interests and needs are so varied, could any school cope with such a multiplicity of modifications? After all such modifications are made, may not the school as a center of learning be undermined? These are questions that I do not intend to discuss here. I raise them to call attention to the fact that we cannot deal with the "problem" of leaving early without considering the specific nature of it, without attempting to grasp it in its particularity. Any generalized attempt to solve it is likely to be extreme, and seriously flawed.

Further, I believe that the assumption that no one should leave school early, that, in fact, it seems almost unnatural for students to do so, is based on an unrealistic view of the nature of the school. The school is an institution that requires hard work, articulateness, disciplined study and thought, an institution that introduces students to the cultural heritage, the forms of thought that distinguish a culture, such as science, literature, art, mathematics. But those are not the qualities that society fosters, nor are they the forms of thought that society cherishes. In fact, for many children they are qualities and disciplines of thought that are a part of an alien culture. Yet the school's primary responsibility is to develop those qualities and to initiate the young into this culture. Why, then, should we be surprised when students look to what they perceive to be the less restricted and less demanding life outside of school and leave early? I raise this point not to exonerate the school nor to absolve it of all responsibility for the large number of drop outs, but merely to inject a note of realism, to show something of the difficult task of the school, and to suggest that modifying courses "as students' interests and needs warrant" is a too facile attempt to deal with a complex issue.

This Report, as the writers themselves admit (p. 2), is incomplete. It contains information from students but none from parents or teachers. Though the authors emphasize this as a limitation of the study, few readers seem to recognize it, and treat the Report as if it were definitive. The omission of information from parents and teachers is a serious weakness in the Report because it denies us valuable insight. For example, Sister Mary Kennedy (1966) discovered in her study that dropping out of school seemed to be a traditional pattern in some families. She reported that 70% of the dropouts included in her study stated that both their parents and their siblings had also dropped out of school (pp. 93-94). She further reported that there was a lack of parental control and educational influence in the homes of drop-outs (p. 98)<sup>2</sup> This is important information and its absence in *Leaving Early* prevents its writers from making any specific recommendation involving the family, and precludes their discussing the social dimension of dropping out of school.<sup>3</sup>

Information from teachers and the family might also have allowed the authors to make more specific recommendations with respect to school programs and instruction. For example, lately schools have given much more attention to independent study. Such study usually involves research work done outside of the school, using outside resources. A UNESCO study (1977), dealing with this topic, concluded:

Generally speaking, the school does not feel that it is concerned with the way in which this time is used, placing responsibility for it on the pupil and his family (p. 17).

If this statement applies to the school in our province, and if, as Sister Mary Kennedy points out, most of the parents of drop-outs are themselves drop-outs and little concerned with education, then students who perhaps need it most are not going to receive help from the home. This means that those students who are less privileged and who are, more than likely, behind in their studies, will fall further behind. It seems, then, reasonable to conclude that schools must take more responsibility for independent study; and that they should do it by providing well-stocked resource centers and qualified school librarians to help those students who need help and cannot find it at home. Again, there is not, nor can there be, a specific recommendation with respect to this aspect of instruction without appropriate information from teachers and parents.

The Report concludes that academic failure "is the most predominant of the four school-related reasons presented" (p. 37) and that "approximately 70.0 percent of the early leavers were at least one grade behind in school" (p. 40). Based on this information it recommended a "multi-agency study designed to formulate guidelines on how to reduce academic failure" (p. 117). But, how are we to formulate guidelines if we do not know why pupils fail? Is the failure reported here due to poor teaching? Poor school attendance? Lack of help at home? Lack of effort? Poor study habits? What? We need truthful answers to such questions and we are not likely to get them without contributions from teachers and parents.

This study is further weakened by its method of gathering and interpreting information. For example, by supplying answers to the question, "Why did you leave school before graduation"? for respondents to choose from, the researchers make it difficult to determine whether the reasons chosen by students were the real ones for their leaving. Information from parents and teachers might have helped the writers and the readers determine the truthfulness of the students' choices.

Further to this latter point, I think much more attention should have been focused on the responses given under "other reasons", which the Report dismissed in seven lines, concluding that they were "far too numerous to mention" (p. 65). However, they could have been synthesized and more fully discussed than they were. Such a discussion I think would have been interesting, and valuable, because such responses are, more than likely, honest, more honest than those chosen from a list supplied by the researchers. From this point of view, the results of the interviews, if they had been synthesized and interpreted would also have been insightful. Merely providing summaries of a sample (ten out of one hundred) of interviews is inappropriate and unhelpful.<sup>4</sup>

There are also important questions to be raised about the nature of the answers provided by the researchers to the first question on the questionnaire, and to the interpretation of and conclusions drawn from the choices made by respondents. For example, what is one to make of the information supplied when a respondent indicates that he left school because he disliked his teachers? The question is, What exactly does the student not like about his teachers? This question could have probably been answered if the questionnaire had included an open-ended question such as, "What was your most serious complaint about your teachers"? Such a question would have probably supplied more specific information on which specific recommendations could have been based.

Even if respondents are honest in their choices, can we conclude that there are not factors, other than the choices made by them, which helped determine their dropping out of school? These factors may not be included in the questionnaire, and the respondents may be too reluctant to supply them. For example, Martin and Baksh (1985) found in their study that many students expressed dislike of both teachers and subjects, that they found them boring. But, Martin and Baksh conclude that even though many of them think of dropping out of school, they "do not follow through on their thoughts" (p. 2). What, then, is the difference between those who dislike teachers and subjects and drop out and those who also dislike teachers and subjects but stay? This is an important question, one that, again, indicates the importance of gathering information from teachers and parents, and, further, one that suggests the need to study a control group of students who did not drop out.

The fifth choice, "no particular reason," supplied in the first question of the questionnaire, is a peculiar one. The researchers confess that they do not know what it means (p. 62), and then go on to define it as "school phobia". Their analysis also shows the same confusion. For example, they expect respondents who chose "no particular reason" to make two other choices. I find this difficult to understand. How can they logically expect one who says that he left school for "no particular reason" to supply two particular reasons? The authors conclude:

A breakdown of the 90 young people who gave "no reason" as their first explanation for leaving showed that 20 of these same people listed "academic failure" as their second reason and 10 cited "academic failure" as third reason (p. 27).

From this they deduce that these figures "add even further to the significance of 'academic failure' as a reason for leaving" school (p. 27). I should have thought that a more appropriate inference would have been to call into question the validity of the

responses received. For, respondents who say that they left school for "no reason" and then supply them are clearly confused.

### Conclusion

This Report has generated useful debate about early school leaving, but it has too many flaws to be as useful to educators as it might have been. It is incomplete, has a faulty questionnaire, and lacks precise, insightful analysis and recommendations.

### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>See Martin W.B.W. and I.J. Baksh. "Contrasting Consequences of Students' Orientations to Schooling", for a discussion of this point.

<sup>2</sup>This information was gathered by simply including in the questionnaire a section on the family. One wonders why the writers of *Leaving Early* didn't do the same.

<sup>3</sup>See Lundy, Colleen and M. Campbell. "Social Work in the Schools - A Response to Leaving Early", for an elaboration of this point.

<sup>4</sup>See Martin, W.B.W. and I.J. Baksh. "Contrasting Consequences of Students' Orientations of Schooling", for some possibilities here.

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**'ONTARIO STUDY OF THE RELEVANCE OF EDUCATION AND  
THE ISSUE OF DROPOUTS:' A RESPONSE**

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Former editor of the Toronto Star, George Radwanski was commissioned by the Ontario Ministry of Education to study the issue of dropouts. As Radwanski proceeded in his study, he came to believe that the problem of dropouts is symptomatic of the problems of education generally in the province of Ontario. In his final submission **Ontario Study of the Relevance of Education and the Issue of Dropouts**, February 15, 1988, Radwanski's self-enlarged mandate describes not only the issue of dropouts but also problems in education generally as well as recommendations for resolving these problems. Radwanski's focus on 'outcomes' has precipitated varying responses from educational agencies in the province of Ontario to the Ministry of Education.

We may discern in Radwanski's critique some commonality with education in Newfoundland and Labrador. On the one hand his comments on dropouts may be considered in the light of a similar long-standing problem on the same issue in this province. Also the broader question which Radwanski asks, namely what outcomes may be expected from education, could also be addressed in the context of education in Newfoundland and Labrador.

**Part One: Rediscovering a Philosophy of Education**

In Part One, Radwanski argues that a relevant education has economic and social meaning. Such an education prepares students to participate in "an increasingly knowledge-intensive economy and in an increasingly complex society" (p. 22). Relevant education guarantees the knowledge, skills and attitudes which will prepare young people for both. Radwanski claims that education can be discussed meaningfully only "in terms of outcomes in terms, that is, of the actual knowledge and skills acquired by students during the time they spend in school" (p. 25). Education has become process-bound to the detriment of education as product which guarantees "common, clearly-defined and measurable intended outcomes" (p. 25). Thus graduation certificates are becoming meaningless in the eyes of students, employers and the public. Educational goals are clouded with high-sounding rhetoric of "developing feelings of self-worth" and similar platitudes which are neither measurable nor concise.

A more content-based education is not in conflict with child-centred education. If anything, the two are complimentary because teaching strategies would have to be found so that common content can be learned by each child irrespective of abilities:

Education should be child-centered, in the sense of recognizing that the development of each individual child each with his or her own predispositions, strengths and weaknesses, interests and learning styles is the whole object of existence.

But it should at the same time be content-oriented, in the sense of recognizing that the whole object of the exercise is to develop each individual child by bringing him or her into possession of the specific

knowledge and skills that every young adult coming into our society should have (p. 36).

Schools have become dumping grounds for any skills or attitudes that society wants children to acquire. This over-loaded curriculum must be streamlined so as to have done in schools what only schools can do. Schools will have "to pare down" (p. 39) the list of intended outcomes that can realistically be expected.

Radwanski calls for a common education, one that does not vary from community to community or board to board, but a program with province-wide goals and outcomes. Finally, Part One concludes that the education system must be accountable to its students, parents and public for guaranteeing these outcomes.

### **Part Two: Understanding the Issue of Dropouts**

In Part Two Radwanski claims that of the 31%-33% who drop out of high schools in Ontario before reaching grade 12, many are articulate and thoughtful young people, not "dummies" or "uneducable". Young people drop out because of a number of factors. These include: socioeconomic, family, streaming (which keeps at-risk students at the bottom), academic performance (constantly meeting with failure), part-time work, ethnic background, and psychological characteristics (concrete vs. abstract thinkers). Drop-outs interviewed showed their problems to be (1) school-related, (2) work-related, or (3) personal.

Radwanski concludes that "the best hope for addressing the dropout problem in a meaningful way, ..., lies not in focusing on potential dropouts but in focusing on our system of education and strengthening it in areas of current weakness" (p. 106). Short-term focused strategies are merely a "substitute for addressing the fundamental need for improvement in our education system" (p. 106). Three elements of an interim strategy are recommended: (1) communication media blitz on the importance of staying; (2) reduced alienation of students a mentoring or monitoring teacher to be assigned to every high school student so that at least one caring adult is responsible for each adolescent, an adult who will identify problems and indicate appropriate intervention, and (3) academic and personal help high quality remediation and tutoring as well as support services such as day-care and counselling where needed.

### **Part Three: Reaffirming Our Sense of Purpose**

Beyond the stop-gap measure for retaining students, the education system needs overhaul. Quality education must begin in early childhood. The study targets elementary school as decisive for students. If they do not master certain learning skills they will meet with failure in high school. The following is a synopsis of the recommendations for elementary education:

- a) All children, except those with insuperable handicaps, acquire common knowledge and skills.
- b) Homogeneous grouping be discontinued because of its negative effect on the disadvantaged.



- c) The spiral curriculum approach be abandoned in place of clear and sequential outcomes at each grade level.
- d) Province-wide standards be measured through testing, the results of which will be used for remediation.
- e) Social promotion be replaced by remediation.

Two major statements describe the recommendations for high school:

- a) One stream for all should replace basic, general and academic courses.
- b) The credit system should be replaced by required courses/content for all.

Briefly the rationale for all of the above is to guarantee outcomes in a common education for all students.

What is essential, . . . is that the necessary educational outcomes in terms of knowledge and skills for every student be clearly defined on a province-wide basis, and teachers be accountable for bringing those outcomes about through whatever diverse teaching processes they choose (p. 187).

Radwanski is correct. Process-bound education has failed. It is vague and confusing promising everything to everybody but guaranteeing nothing to anybody. I agree with Radwanski that outcomes must be set for all grade levels. To the critics who claim this will sound the death-knell for process education, we send a resounding counter-argument. Process will flow from sound educationally determined outcomes. This approach will ensure that classrooms will experience greater varieties of teaching strategies as teachers devise various methodologies to bring all students to specified outcomes. To those who protest that outcomes-oriented education will be test driven, we direct them to process oriented classrooms where testing often provides the only and a misused form of student evaluation. Testing, along with all forms of student evaluation, will be used to inform teachers of children's acquisition of skills and knowledge which if deficient will necessitate another teaching and evaluation approach. Outcomes oriented education is its own guarantee to students, parents and society by educators.

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**PART IV**  
**LANGUAGE STUDIES**

## LANGUAGE STUDY IN THE HIGH SCHOOL

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This article is an attempt to develop more fully some ideas that I expressed at a conference on "Language Across the Curriculum" sponsored by the supervisors' Special Interest Council of the N.T.A. For the benefit of those who did not attend that conference, some introductory comments may help provide the context. The main speaker was Dr. Bryant Fillion from the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. In making the case for a policy of language across the curriculum, Dr. Fillion argued that language is learned in use; that it is important in all school learning; and that language development is related to cognitive development. Here Dr. Fillion and I agree. I believe that these points need to be emphasized, and need, indeed, to be made more precisely and more concretely than Dr. Fillion made them. So, to emphasize, my quarrel with Dr. Fillion is not here. It is rather with his claim that the only reason for studying language is improved performance; and that therefore the study of language, say grammar, was not his concern because it made no contribution to improved use of language. Specifically to this point, he said that the language policy he was advocating was "not about content," that, for example, gerunds and other parts of speech were solely of interest to linguists.

Dr. Fillion is not alone among language arts specialists and researchers in making such a statement. Of late it has been trendy to emphasize process instead of content and to assert that a language program has no content. For example, Courtney Cazden, five years ago, made the same observation that Dr. Fillion made at the Supervisors' Conference:

Only linguists have language as their subject matter. For the rest of us ... language is the medium of interpersonal relationships, the medium of our mental life, the medium of learning about the world.<sup>1</sup>

Peter Doughty, in emphasizing language in use, also objects to language "taught as a subject content in the curriculum," and sees no grounds for giving students insights into the nature of language.<sup>2</sup> The **Bullock Report** is also explicit about the study of language as opposed to the use of it in the classroom. It objects to the study of linguistics in the school and provides the opinion of American teachers for support:

...the majority of American teachers to whom we talked felt that there was no useful place for this kind of work. Many had tried it and found it to be no more successful in improving students' English than the grammar teaching it had replaced.<sup>3</sup>

In the remainder of this paper I shall attempt to show why I disagree with this position, and why I think it is wrong; specify my own position and suggest implications of that position for teaching English in the high school.

First, the claim that the study of language makes no contribution to improved facility with language is not, as some educators think, incontestable; nor is it accepted by all who have thought about and studied the subject. It is true that since the early part of the twentieth century most studies on grammar instruction have shown no relationship between the study of grammar and improved composition. But it is difficult to determine

what exactly the results of these studies mean. We do not know, for example, whether the low correlations between the study of grammar and improved composition were due to the grammar content taught, the method of instruction, or whether, perhaps, the researchers looked for improvement where one would not reasonably expect any. For example, one would not expect to improve students' sentence structure by teaching them definitions of parts of speech. These are two different kinds of knowledge. To be a good writer one needs to know how to combine and order parts of speech into effective sentences. To label parts of speech merely requires one to know that such and such is the case. There is no necessary connection between "knowing that" and "knowing how."

A similar point can be made about analyzing sentences. Perhaps it would be more reasonable to look for a correlation between that activity and reading than between it and writing. After all, writing is primarily a matter of synthesizing, while reading more frequently requires analysis. Indeed, there is some evidence to support a strong relationship between sentence analysis and one's ability to comprehend sentences. As early as 1941, Gibbons found a correlation of .89 between the ability of third graders to see relationships between parts of a sentence and the ability to understand the sentence. Further, she found a correlation of .71 between the ability to see relationships between parts of a sentence and total reading achievement as measured on The Gates Standardized Reading Tests.<sup>4</sup> Allen supports Gibbons. He concludes, "To be able to read intelligently more complicated sentences, pupils need to be able to recognize the structure of such sentences."<sup>5</sup> Chomsky emphasizes the importance of a student's being able to look at language objectively, of being able to think about and analyze sentences and words, so that he may become aware of some of the properties of language. She concludes that this awareness of language will help students in reading when they have "to slow down and try to figure out what is meant." She summarizes:

This kind of awareness should increase their linguistic sensitivity and sophistication, as they become better able to talk about language, linguistic structure and meaning. Practice of this sort should contribute to better control of languages.

Other writers argue that there is a relationship between the study of syntax, the organization of words into meaningful utterances, and the development of style. Our style, they argue, is characterized by the choices we make among alternative patterns of expression. We write well by making effective choices. For example, we may choose to write: "Then she ignored his pained expression, refused his cry for help, scorned his weakness, and walked away." Or we may express the same idea thus: "Then she walked away, ignoring his pained expression, refusing his cry for help, scorning his weakness." The syntax of English will allow either of these. Both are grammatical, but the second has a greater active verbal force, given it by the present participles placed at the end of the sentence to give them emphasis. A study of syntax, then, helps us become aware of the linguistic possibilities available to us. Davies sums it up this way:

The possibility of variation in word order, then, is the single greatest contribution that grammar, as distinct from vocabulary, can make to solving the fundamental problems of written English.<sup>7</sup>

Ohmann makes a similar point:

One way or another a student should be made aware of the abundance of the syntactic structures available to him. If this happens, he will find it easy

to extricate himself from those impasses that occur when he has begun a sentence or paragraph infelicitously; and he may for the first time get a sense of stylistic choice.<sup>8</sup>

To instruct our students in the structure of English, then, (provided we make provision for practice and example) is to make them aware of the possibilities of language open to them, is to develop their awareness of its potential for beauty and power.

However, having made these points about the instrumental value of language study, I shall now argue that the study of language should be an important part of the high school English program even if there is no relationship between it and improved facility with language. In other words, my position is that the assumption that improvement in reading or composition is the only proper reason for studying language is untenable. It is like arguing that we study the French Revolution merely to find out how to start our own revolution, or that we study astronomy in order to become astronauts. It is an example of rampant instrumentalism, the view that only those phenomena which are immediately useful should be studied. From the viewpoint of a liberal, humane education this position is mistaken. Any educated person, as Gleason writes, "should be able to think rationally and incisively about his environment and about his human situation."<sup>9</sup> Language is a part of the "human situation," is central to human thought and experience, and, therefore, should be studied - studied because, like music, art, literature, and science, it is a part of the humanly created world, and the study of it helps us understand what we are. In spite of this, we do not seem to think that Gleason's idea holds true with regard to language. We allow students to graduate from our high schools who know little or nothing about their mother tongue, have no insight into it, are naive in their thinking about it. It is as if this most marvellous of human creations were unworthy of their attention.

Some of the results of this lack of knowledge of language are: rejection of the dialect of others just because it is different; lack of appreciation of one's own dialect; inability (because of ignorance of the vocabulary of language) to discuss language, or to understand a discussion about it; no understanding of its structure or its changing nature.

To say that high school students should study language is not to deny the importance of the skills of literacy; for to develop these skills is the single most important task of the school. They, after all, are the foundation of all learning in the school.<sup>10</sup> Nor is it to call for a return to filling in blanks, memorizing parts of speech, or learning rules of usage. What, then, is called for?

In order to help our students understand what language is, how it works, and its functions in society, we might begin by focusing on these three principles of language:

1. Language is systematic.
2. Language changes.
3. Language reflects the culture that produces it.

The purpose of language study with a focus on these three principles is not to force students to learn any one particular grammar or theory of language. It is rather to help them understand how language works, both internally in terms of its structure, and externally from the point of view of its function in human communication. Such language

study, making use of what linguists, grammarians and others have taught us, will help students to appreciate language as a creative instrument, developed with system and order to express a wide range of thought; will help them understand the centrality of language in human living; and will help them become keener observers of language, better evaluators of it when used by others; and will enable them to think more sophisticated, less naive thoughts about it.

Although space will not allow a complete description of these three principles of language, brief comments will be given to help clarify them. To be concerned with language as a system is to look for patterns, to recognize that language is not arbitrary, however much it may appear (for example, when we try to learn to spell unfamiliar words) to be at times. Students, for instance, need to be conscious of the fact that phonemes may not be strung together in random order to form words; that a certain string of phonemes may be permissible but another may not be. English, for instance, permits "chat" [cat] but not "chlit" [clit] because the rule states that if the initial sound of "chat" [c] begins a word, the next sound must be a vowel. Similarly, morphemes may not be joined arbitrarily. We may add "ish" to boy but not to "come," or "un" to "true" but not (Humpty Dumpty to the contrary) to "birthday."

The core of the study of language structure, however, should be syntax—the way words are organized into meaningful utterances such as phrases, clauses and sentences. The focus should be on syntax for at least three reasons:

1. It is less technical and abstract than phonology or morphology.
2. It can be more directly related to the development of style.<sup>9</sup>
3. Syntax in English is the very means of expressing meaning. That is to say that specific, particular meanings are expressed according to the word order we choose, rather than to variation in the forms of words we choose. For example, in Anglo-Saxon, an inflected language, the form of the definite article would change depending on whether it preceded the subject or object of a sentence. Its form, in other words, revealed whether a word was a doer or receiver of the action, thus making word order less crucial than it is in modern English. For example, the following two sentences mean "The man slew the king":

- (a) so man sloh thone kyning.
- (b) Thone kyning sloh so man.<sup>11</sup>

The change in word order does not change the meaning because "se" is a definite article used only with nouns as subjects and "thone" is a definite article used with nouns as objects. In modern English, however, such a change in word order changes the meaning of the sentence so that, "The man slew the king" becomes "The king slew the man."

In teaching the structure of language some terminology will have to be taught as a part of developing the students' general knowledge of the subject and in order for them and their teachers to be able to discuss the subject. This holds true in teaching any discipline of study. The word "renaissance" is not for historians only, nor is "triangle" just for mathematicians. Anyone who would know these subjects should know such key words, and to learn them is, to a degree, to learn the subjects. Similarly, (it is remarkable to have to point it out) to learn about language necessitates learning the important words used to describe it.

It is also important, in order to help students appreciate the system of language, to introduce them to the change in syntax from Anglo-Saxon (old English) to the present; to encourage them to discover order for themselves; to study how writers have used the flexibility in English syntax to develop their own style; and, further, to experiment in their own writing with syntax for specific purposes.

Students often regard language as a closed system, one described for all time by the rules of usage given in their grammar texts. It is, then, important for the school to help them to understand that change is a natural aspect of language. The study of change in language should focus on the following:

1. Language changes over time. It has changed in syntax, vocabulary, and pronunciation since old English, and it continues to change. For example, new words are continually being added to our language.
2. Language changes across geographic regions, creating dialects. These dialects differ in grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation; especially the latter two. No one dialect is linguistically inferior to the other. Some, regarded as standard, are given a high social status by the status people (teachers, radio announcers, politicians, writers) who use them.
3. Language changes according to occasion, purpose and audience. We (even teachers) don't speak or write the same way on all occasions. We may use either of the following sentences to express the same idea. Our choice will depend on occasion, purpose, audience:
  - (a) I have no money
  - (b) I am broke
  - (c) I ain't got no cent
  - (d) I'm financially embarrassed.

To teach about the changing nature of language is not a matter of getting students to master terminology, not just a matter of requiring them to accept the observations and rules of others. The emphasis should be on developing a questioning attitude, and on encouraging an exploratory approach to the study of language. Students should be required to conduct their own study, make their own comparisons, and draw their own conclusions. For example, they might examine how the language of their own age group differs from that of their parents or grandparents, or they might compare how the language of their region differs from that of another.

Language grows out of and reflects the community and the culture that produced it. In fact, it is sometimes claimed that language creates reality. Berger and Luckmann put it this way:

Everyday life is, above all, life with and by means of the language I share with my fellowman. An understanding of language is thus essential for any understanding of the reality of everyday life.<sup>12</sup>

For example, words define the relations between people and so give order to our world. In fact, as Gusdorf writes, "Human relations themselves appear as a vast system of words."<sup>13</sup> For example, our kinship system is reflected in our kinship vocabulary. In English the two words "uncle" and "father" reflect the importance that our society gives

to this distinction in kinship. However, the Njamal (an Australian aboriginal society) give no importance to such a distinction, using one word (mama) to signify both relationships.<sup>14</sup>

In addition to reflecting the social structure, language also reveals our values. For example, during the Watergate hearings an illegal act was not admitted to be wrong, immoral, or even illegal; it was instead "inappropriate." A story was not false or a lie; it was "inoperative." These are words that reflect the amorality of the speakers; words that eliminate any sense of responsibility, any notion of right and wrong. Such examples are numerous, and cut across all segments of society. Consider, for example, the abortion debate. The anti-abortionists label abortion, in order to call attention to its horror, "murder". The pro-abortionists describe it as "the termination of a pregnancy." The point is that the language used to describe a thing connotes the way we look at, think about, or value the thing. The rather scientific "terminate a pregnancy" makes abortion sound like a natural operation, like an appendectomy; "murder" emphasizes its unnaturalness, and categorizes it as a strike against the moral order. The different descriptions are not just verbal differences; they denote a different sensibility and different values.

Language also reflects the important ideas, the temperament, the occupations, and the history of the people who use the language. These are points that because of limited space cannot be developed here. However, the very fact that language can be so connected with such important aspects of culture, is to make a case for the study of it as a cultural phenomenon. To understand the way that language is used in a culture is to a large degree to understand that culture.

### Summary

This article has made the following points:

1. A good high school language program must be concerned with language in use. For teaching the skills of language use is the most important task of the school.
2. However, language is also a subject, a part of the "human situation" and any educated person should be able to think clearly and rationally about it.
3. The focus of language study in the high school should be on these three principles of language:
  - (1) Language is a system.
  - (2) Language changes.
  - (3) Language reflects the culture which produces it.
4. The study of some aspects of these principles may, depending on the methodology used, contribute to improved composition and comprehension. However, they should be taught in the high school even if no such relationship is established.
5. The study of the principles should be inductive, encouraging students to explore, to conduct their own studies, to make their own comparisons, and to construct their own generalizations about language.



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## BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN NEWFOUNDLAND

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### Historical Perspectives

At the present time, there is a total enrollment of approximately eight hundred pupils in bilingual education in the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador. Enrollment in these programs is not selective, but is open to any child whose parents wish to choose this educational option. The students involved in the programs come from a wide range of home backgrounds, and immersion French classrooms may be found in various centres across the Province from Cape St. George to St. John's, and in Labrador.

Bilingual education programs in Canada are unique in the North American context. Traditionally, bilingual education has been reserved for the non-anglophone, or the minority, child in order to develop competence in English. Often these programs have offered not so much "bilingual" education, as monolingual education in English for persons with a mother tongue other than English. Bilingual education for the majority child began in Canada in 1965 at St. Lambert, a community on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River immediately adjacent to Montreal. In St. Lambert, at that time, the majority language was English. The program was initiated through the efforts of a group of parents who desired more effective teaching of French for their children than had usually resulted from the regular French -as-a-second-language programs in the schools. The basic premise of the program was that of a "home-school language switch." While some educators were hesitant to accept such an innovation, based primarily on the unfortunate educational results which have occurred when this approach to schooling has been used for the minority child, indications were that very different effects would occur when the subject of the switch was the majority child. Bilingual education programs may be defined then, as:

schooling provided fully or partly in a second language with the object in view of making students proficient in the second language, while, at the same time, maintaining and developing their proficiency in the first language and fully guaranteeing their educational development (Stern, 1972).

The primary goal of bilingual education programs in Canada is to give persons competence in both of Canada's official languages. The basic approach is to provide an initial immersion period where the child is taught primarily in French. At a later stage in the program, instruction in English is introduced. From this time through to the end of the bilingual program, a balance in instruction in the two languages is maintained. After the bilingual education program concludes, a period of language "maintenance" is provided so that the students may receive instruction in both languages until the completion of their education at the high school level. The purpose of maintenance programs is to assist pupils to sustain the competencies

**Table 1**  
**Percentage instruction in French in Immersion Programs**

<b>Program</b>	<b>Grade</b>	<b>% Instruction in French</b>
Early	K	100
	I and II	90
	III	80
	IV to VI	60
	Maintenance	40 - 50
Late	VII	60 - 80
	VIII	60 - 80
	IX	40 - 60
	Maintenance	30 -40

they have developed in French during the course of the immersion program.

There are two types of bilingual education programs, early and late immersion. The early immersion program is conducted from Kindergarten through to Grade VI. Late immersion generally begins in the upper elementary or junior high school years and continues for a two to three year period. Table 1 shows the proportion of instruction in French which is generally provided in each type of program. It can be seen that the late immersion programs conduct less instruction in French, and that the total exposure to French is less than for the early immersion programs.

At the end of their school career, it is expected that bilingual education students, whether from an early or a late immersion program, will be able to cope successfully in both English and French. According to the goals of this type of program as set down by one Canadian province, at the conclusion , of the program the students should be able to do the following:

- i) take further education with French as the language of instruction,
- ii) accept employment using French as the working language,
- iii) participate easily in conversation,
- iv) understand and appreciate the emotional attitudes and values of the French-speaking community (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1977).

### **The Port-au-Port Project**

Bilingual education programs began in Newfoundland in 1975 at Cape St. George under the auspices of the Port-au-Port Roman Catholic School Board. The Port-au-Port Peninsula, situated on the west coast of the Island, is part of the area once designated as the "French Shore". The area around Bay St. George and the Port-au-Port Peninsula was originally populated by French settlers, some from France via the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon (generally those on the Peninsula) and a separate group from Acadia via the Magdalen Isles and St. Pierre (generally those at the bottom of Bay St. George). The area represents the only major concentration of francophones on the Island of Newfoundland, and was designated as a bilingual district in 1971. Francophones in the area presently comprise about 11% of the total population of 5,245 on the Peninsula.

While the people of the area are historically francophone, the pressure of an English milieu has reduced the use of French. In the past, schooling has been provided only in English, and parents have made an effort to speak English to their children in order to prepare them more adequately for school. French has survived only as an oral tradition, mainly among members of the "older" generation. In 1975 when the immersion program began in Cape St. George, all children entering the Kindergarten year were described as anglophones, as it was felt that all had been exposed to some English in the home. However, some children now come from homes where French is again the main language of communication.

The impetus for the establishment of the French immersion program came from a group of parents in the Cape St. George area, a rural community of about seven hundred at the extreme western end of the Port-au-Port Peninsula. It is possible that the relative isolation of "The Cape" contributed to the existence there of a stronger francophone tradition than in other communities on the Peninsula. Of the 580 reported francophones in the area, about one half or 265 live in Cape St. George and DeGrau. Our Lady of the Cape School serves the communities of Marches Point, Sheaves Cove, Red Brook, DeGrau and Cape St. George, and pupils from all these communities are represented in the immersion program. At present there are approximately 120 students in bilingual education at The Cape, extending from Kindergarten to Grade VII.

Certain particular characteristics of the Port-au-Port Peninsula make the bilingual program in that area unique in Newfoundland, and to a certain extent, in Canada. The project is one of the few in Canada to be situated in a rural area. It was also one of the first to be initiated in an area with a francophone cultural heritage.

### **Spread of Bilingual Education Programs in Newfoundland**

Other French immersion programs have been established in the Province, but these programs have followed the original mainland pattern of providing instruction in French for pupils who come from an English home background. The second program established in Newfoundland was at St. John's in 1977 under the Roman Catholic School Board. There are at present approximately 250 pupils enrolled in immersion education under this Board, spanning the years from Kindergarten to Grade V. In 1978, an early immersion program began in Gander under the Terra Nova Integrated School Board. This program currently has about 130 children enrolled from Kindergarten to Grade IV. In 1979, the Avalon Consolidated School Board in St. John's initiated a late immersion

program, beginning at Grade VII and in 1981 the same Board established an early immersion program. There are now approximately 200 students in the immersion options under the jurisdiction of this Board. In the same year, 1981, an early immersion program was established in Labrador City under the auspices of the Roman Catholic School Board for Labrador, and about 50 pupils are currently in Kindergarten and Grade I of this program. In September 1982, an early immersion program was introduced in Corner Brook under the Humber-St. Barbe Roman Catholic School Board, and there are approximately 30 Kindergarten children in this program.

### **Evaluation of the Programs**

Since the inception of the immersion program in Newfoundland, evaluation studies have been conducted on a yearly basis, mostly through the Institute for Educational Research and Development at Memorial University of Newfoundland. The evaluation of the programs has focussed on the concerns which have generally been expressed by those associated with immersion education in Canada. The questions investigated may be stated as follows:

1. Are the children in the immersion programs maintaining their English language skills at a level similar to that of their peers in the regular English program?
2. Is learning of content in the subject areas for the immersion pupils similar to that of their peers in the regular English programs?
3. Is progress in French language development greater than would be the case in a regular core French program, and similar to that which would be anticipated for children in French immersion programs elsewhere in Canada?

Answers to these questions have been sought through the administration at year-end of both normed and criterion-referenced measures of achievement and cognitive ability to the French immersion pupils and to comparison groups of pupils in the regular English stream. Comparisons are normally made with groups of pupils under each of the participating school boards exhibiting similar background characteristics to those in the immersion programs. The purposes of the comparisons have been to establish whether the children in the immersion programs are progressing similarly to English stream pupils in comparable educational environments.

With the exception of the development of French language skills, attempts to compare the results of Newfoundland programs with results achieved on the mainland have not been undertaken. The comparisons with respect to French language skills must necessarily be made with those in similar types of programs, or with native francophone children. The lack of comparison groups of this sort in Newfoundland dictates the utilization of mainland comparisons for this aspect of the programs.

Another purpose of the evaluation in Newfoundland has been to determine the extent to which the results of mainland studies can be expected to generalize to this Province. It may be possible that some characteristics of the educational setting in Newfoundland and Labrador could cause different effects for immersion programs in the Province. A major difference is in the nature of background support for the programs. The generally positive and supportive atmosphere in which they operate is seen to be one of the reasons for the success of "homeschool language switch" programs in

Canada as compared to the situation in the United States. Although there is a francophone community in Labrador, and an oral francophone tradition in the Port-au-Port Peninsula, there is considerable isolation from a viable French milieu for virtually all programs on the Island. The lack of a strong supportive milieu could have adverse effects on the outcomes of the programs. A second difference is that, with the exception of the programs in St. John's, immersion classes in Newfoundland are situated in more rural areas than is generally the case on the mainland. In addition, a major concern is that it has often been observed that problems in English language development, particularly in the area of reading skills, are widespread throughout the Province. While results of research conducted on the mainland have led to expectations with regard to immersion programs in Newfoundland, given all the above considerations, it was not certain that the effects of immersion education for pupils in Newfoundland would be the same as those established for pupils on the mainland.

The goals of the evaluation studies have been to determine the extent to which the programs will be successful in Newfoundland, and to establish "norms" for the operation of programs for the Newfoundland context. In addition, evaluation of the programs has also considered the question of how to make each project as effective as possible in the particular circumstances in which it operates. To this end, recommendations have been made to particular boards with regard to percentages of instruction in French, as well as some general instructional procedures. This information has enabled school boards to design their programs so as to ensure an acceptable level of achievement for pupils in immersion education in the Province. The results of the evaluation studies have also generated some conclusions of general interest regarding immersion, or bilingual, education.

### **Results of the Evaluation Studies**

The results of the evaluations to this point in Newfoundland have been reassuring and encouraging. In general, the effects of the programs in Newfoundland have been similar to those elsewhere in Canada. Pupils in the French immersion programs appear to develop French language skills similar to those of their mainland peers. Content learning is similar to that of the pupils in the regular English stream. English language skill development does show a lag which is most noticeable in the Grade II year. As is the case in mainland programs, for the average pupil, English language skill development appears to "catch up" once instruction in English has been introduced in Grade III. The "catch up" period varies in length, but for most pupils, it is similar to that of mainland programs, and pupils are reading in English at a level similar to their regular English peers by the end of Grade IV.

With regard to learning in the subject areas, French immersion pupils, when tested in French, score equally well in mathematics as do their regular English peers. However, on the average, they score less well when tested in English in the early stages of the immersion programs. This observation suggests that pupils in the immersion programs may not attain equal competence in both English and French for academic purposes until the later stages of the immersion experience. The actual grade level at which a balanced bilingual competence for academic purposes develops appears to vary considerably, and in general may occur earlier for children with urban backgrounds.

With regard to curriculum and instructional strategies, it has been found that certain aspects of the Kindergarten mathematics program may be developmentally

related. Therefore, in the case of mathematics at this level for pupils in Newfoundland, the immersion teacher may be permitted to emphasize French language development in the mathematics curriculum rather than concept learning, as most children in the immersion programs will, or already have, developed the concepts involved (Netten and Spain, 1981).

Some general hypotheses regarding immersion education have also emerged from the evaluation studies. These have implications for the ultimate success of immersion programs, and include such points as the following:

1. It appears that the range of differences between students in the immersion classroom increases with instruction in comparison with the regular English comparison classrooms. This information suggests that the effects of instruction in French are not the same as the effects of instruction in English for all pupils, and that instruction in French has a differential effect on children in immersion classrooms (Spain and Netten, 1978).
2. The learning of content in the subject matter areas is more related to language ability for the immersion student than for the pupil in the regular English stream. This finding suggests that pupils in the immersion program must develop good language skills in both English and French in order to maintain a high level of achievement in the later stages of the program (Netten and Spain, 1982b).
3. The development of English language reading skills appears to correlate highly with achievement in French language reading. It would appear that pupils who read well in French are able to transfer their reading skills to English more effectively, and in some cases more quickly, than pupils who have difficulties reading in French (Netten and Spain, 1981, 1982a, 1982b, 1982c).
4. Ability to read well in English in the initial stages of the program does not ensure the development of good reading skills in French. It may even be hypothesized that, to a certain extent, the development of competence in French is not directly related to competence in English at entry into the program. Other factors mediate the learning situation, such as motivational variables and instructional strategies, as well as skills associated with the learning of oral language, such as listening comprehension and sound discrimination (Netten and Spain, 1982b).
5. It would appear that content that is learned in one language is more easily retrieved in the language in which it is learned, when one of the two languages is weaker than the other. At the beginning stages of an immersion program, content learned in French is more easily assessable to the student in French. As the program progresses, and language development in the pupil becomes more complete, it appears that the pupil develops a more "balanced" control of the two languages for academic purposes. Once this stage has been reached, content that has been learned in either language seems to be equally accessible in both languages. The point at which the pupil reaches a "balanced" level of development appears to vary considerably. These variations may be related to the background characteristics of the pupils and the milieu in which the program operates. In any case, it is imperative that a balanced level of competence be developed in the pupils if they are to be able to continue with further education in either, or both, languages (Netten and Spain, 1980, 1981, 1982a, 1982b).

### Conclusions

In general, the results of instruction in French may be deemed to be successful for most pupils in immersion programs in Newfoundland. As a group, children in the French immersion programs achieve similarly to their peers in the regular English programs. There are, however, some cautions:

1. The effects of instruction in English are not the same as the effects of instruction in French for all pupils. A few pupils will achieve better than would be the case were they in the regular English stream; a few others will not achieve as well.
2. Of those who achieve less well, only a very few will achieve so poorly as to be at risk in the immersion program. Of the total number of pupils who may achieve poorly in the immersion program, it must be remembered that many would also achieve poorly in a regular English program.
3. It appears to be very difficult to isolate traits which will predict success in an immersion program as compared to the more general criterion of success in school.
4. Early achievement in the program appears to be related to the development of good French language skills.
5. Early success in French language skills development does not appear to be directly related to competence in English language at entry to the program.
6. Later competence in English appears to be related to achievement in French.
7. Achievement in the content areas in an immersion program appears to be closely related to the development of good language skills in both French and English.

In general, pupils enrolled in immersion programs in Newfoundland are able and well-motivated, with relatively supportive home backgrounds. Therefore, though some children achieve less well than others, they do not achieve sufficiently poorly to place them at risk in their educational environment. The effects of immersion education, while they may be different from those of instruction in the regular English program, do not appear to be so different as to be detrimental for the majority of pupils in the program. For some pupils, the immersion program provides an environment in which they do better than in the regular English stream. For most immersion pupils, this form of education provides an educational experience in which subject matter is learned and bilingual competence is achieved, while still retaining English language skills similar to those of their regular English peers.

### NOTE

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## REVIEW

### The Dictionary of Newfoundland English,

edited by G.M. Story, W.J. Kirwin and J.D.A. Widdowson,  
University of Toronto Press, 1982

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"When I feel inclined to read poetry", wrote Oliver Wendell Holmes in **The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table**, "I take down my Dictionary. The poetry of words is quite as beautiful as that of sentences. The author may arrange the gems effectively, but their shape and lustre have been given by the attrition of ages".<sup>1</sup> Few dictionaries exemplify Holmes' words as felicitously as the recently-published **Dictionary of Newfoundland English**; from suant to ballicatter, from flahoolach to calabogus, there is the ring of pure poetry in the words, in the associations they conjure up and in the peculiar interplay between sound and meaning which is one of the delights of a living language. But the D.N.E. (as surely it will be called) is more than a collection of poetic gems; it is a reflection of a way of life, of centuries of struggle for a livelihood with an unrelenting sea, a hard land and a culture of poverty. In this publication is an important cultural event, revealing not only the almost infinite resources of the English language but the consciousness and culture of a resourceful and humorous people in their centuries-long struggle to adapt to a harsh environment.

Newfoundland may not have produced many poets, philosophers or entrepreneurs, but it has given rise to a down-to-earth and idiosyncratic culture which is unique in Canada, and much of this is expressed in Newfoundland English. As the Dictionary shows, the word-stock falls into four main groups: survivals from the British Isles not now commonly in use over there - frore, suant, faddle, faggot; British words given a higher or more general degree of use - cod, haul, quintal; British words which have been given a new form or meaning - belay, room, tilt; and finally, words coined in Newfoundland - janny, duncher, sunker.

The great Italian humanist Giambattista Vico was the first to point out that language can reveal to us "the histories of the things signified by the words",<sup>2</sup> and that changes in the meaning of words can open windows on to the evolution of the social structure. The D.N.E. furnishes us with numerous examples (and as a bonus gives extensive quotations to show their use in context). The word twack - a shopper who looks over all the commodities but buys nothing - conjures up a whole segment of life of poor but self-respecting townspeople, unable to buy but equally unable to resist a look. Skully - a cotton sun-bonnet worn by women for outdoor work such as hay-making or fishmaking - was an article of apparel that was both useful and beautiful and which tells us somethings of the nature of women's work in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The numerous words denoting different foodstuffs - burgoo, brewis, flacoon, toutin, stogger, flummy - are a series of mirrors into dietary habits and the simple and perhaps stodgy foods upon which people were forced to live.

The heart of the Dictionary, however, lies in the great number of words connected with the sea and the fishery. There are ten pages of entries on fish and its derivatives and combinations over eighty entries following seal, forty following ice, twenty following

cod and haul, and so on. Quite small words can be invested with several meanings: jig, for instance, has five separate and distinct meanings, skipper no fewer than six.

The Russian psychologist Vygotsky drew attention to the importance of words in the formation of concepts<sup>3</sup>; but words can sometimes be concepts in themselves. Govern - in "How do times govern in St. John's?" (a question requiring information about the cost of goods and the price of fish) - suggests a conception of the importance of the capital as the seat of government and also a hint of the way it was understood that merchants' price fixing "governed" one's standard of living. Similarly lazy - as in "lazy man's load" - needs a whole paragraph to explain the complex and paradoxical concepts embedded in it.

The D.N.E. reveals the way in which language develops, changes and renews itself in response to life. In man's struggle to master nature and construct a meaningful mode of existence, in his efforts to make difficult conditions more bearable by clothing them in symbols of beauty or humour, are words created. In contrast to this process, however, there is another at work, in full spate today, by which the language is being changed for no valid or acceptable reason. This is epitomised, to take a glaring example, in the mis-use of "disinterested" for "uninterested", a change that marks regression rather than progress, and which reveals not only an insensibility to the subtleties of sound and sense, but also involves the loss of a good word without any gain in the range of meaning of the word which supplants its.

This process of grabbing at a word which sounds similar but has a slightly different spelling and a totally different meaning has gone furthest in North America. Hundreds of examples could be given, but a few will suffice to make the point: "mitigate against" (for "militate against"); "envision" (for "envisage"); "disconnected with" (for "unconnected with") which involves the sabotage of "disconnected from"; the sloppy and inaccurate "the 1800s" (for "the nineteenth century"), which leaves us without a description for the period 1800-1810. A slightly different phenomenon is the coining of ugly and unnecessary neologisms - "priorise", "securement", "disguisal", "persistency", and many more. The great Canadian game of mixing up one's prepositions ("different than" and scores of others) had perhaps better be left unexplored. All these changes are due to laziness or ignorance, or both; they are redolent of a society that has little knowledge of, and less respect for, the origin, development and possibilities of language, and the net result is a debasement and devaluation of the word stock.

To insist upon respect for the language is not to seek to embalm current usage, or to set up an abstract standard of right and wrong; nor is the maintenance of correct English a form of "linguistic imperialism", as the pseudo-libertarians would have it. Rather is it a question of maintaining the validity of a symbol which fits the object or action which gave it birth. By this means, and by this means only, can human communication by speech be maintained, and modifications in language follow on the need to transmit new ideas and concepts which arise from changes in society.

To compare the language of *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* with, for instance, that of the average North American Ph.D. of today is to see how much degeneration has taken place in the English language in little over a century. The Dictionary of Newfoundland English stands as a monument to the manner in which language can change, progress and extend itself in the natural process of living. Let us hope that the D.N.E.'s example will, in addition to interesting and enlightening us, also militate against the tendency of the educated illiterates to dilute the language, to

encourage them to take a disinterested look at grammar and syntax and to envisage something better than the ramlatch they are making of our heritage.

#### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>Oliver Wendell Holmes, **The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table** (Everyman Edition, London 1952), p. 2.

<sup>2</sup>**The New Science of Giambattista Vico** (Trans. T.G. Bergen and M.H. Fisch, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1948), 354.

<sup>3</sup>L.S. Vygotsky, **Thought and Language** (Trans. E. Hanfmann and G. Vakar, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, 1962), Ch. 6.

**PARADIGMATIC-SYNTAGMATIC ORAL  
LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT**

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Oral language responses to a stimulus cue in a free association format have been subjected to analyses for many years. In recent years oral language has been studied both theoretically and statistically by psycholinguists in an attempt to obtain a clearer understanding of the source of its meaning, its structure, its constraints and its use in academic achievement. A deficiency in developmental reading ability is of often due to a language deficiency, thus leading Stauffer (1969) to define reading as a "cognitive process" based on language.

Free verbal association is one of the widely employed techniques for oral language study. As young children progress in formal schooling, their verbal behaviour becomes more paradigmatic (Entwisle, Forsyth and Muuss, 1964). Paradigmatic responses are oral responses that have been processed by the intellect on the levels of overt production, as indicated by the model presented by Dinnan (1971).

**Dinnan Model**

<b>Intellect Product "Relations"</b>	<b>Stimulus</b>	<b>Response</b>
contrast "positions"	up high top on	down low bottom (or middle) off (or near)
contrast "volume"	Stimulus big none half	Response little all (or some) whole (or one half)
<b>Intellect Product "Classes"</b>	<b>Stimulus</b>	<b>Response</b>
co-ordinates	car arm dog tulip	truck head cat rose
<b>Intellect Product Systems"</b>	<b>Stimulus</b>	<b>Response</b>
superordinates	apple boy car	fruit human transportation

Syntagmatic responses are oral responses that have been processed by the intellect but produce "products" (i.e. responses) that fall outside of the requested convergence response. However, all of the responses being drawn from an individual's frame of reference are valid responses. Syntagmatic responses are ones which are not expected by the listener. The following classification of syntagmatic responses fall into two main categories, the first being one in which the intellect uses a personal closure, and the second, a response which has its base reference in some aspect of the code of oral communication (Dinnan, 1971).

0 Category (Not considered a response)

1. No response (i.e., no association evident via an oral response)

<b>Stimulus</b>	<b>Response</b>
dog	(no external response or act)

1 st. Category

1. Closure: A response from an experience-based association

<b>Stimulus</b>	<b>Response</b>
father	dead
open	window
poor	me
front	door

2. Chaining: A response with no reference to the stimulus

<b>Stimulus</b>	<b>Response</b>
happy	cat                      one
old	dog                      or      two
up	chicken                      three
in	horse                      four

2nd Category

1. Repeat: Responding with the identical word

<b>Stimulus</b>	<b>Response</b>
in	in
mother	mother

2. Sentences: Using the stimulus word in a sentence or phrase pattern

<b>Stimulus</b>	<b>Response</b>
work	mom goes to work
up	we go up

3. Synonym: Another similar unit response

<b>Stimulus</b>	<b>Response</b>
happy	glad
she	her

4. Letter and letter combinations:

<b>Stimulus</b>	<b>Response</b>
high	l
car	r
sheep	sh

5. Word/Letter substitutions:

<b>Stimulus</b>	<b>Response</b>
go	no
over	open
win	was

6. Letter Sequence:

<b>Stimulus</b>	<b>Response</b>
open	p
in	o
out	n
boy	a

7. Adding endings:

<b>Stimulus</b>	<b>Response</b>
smile	smiling
go	going
toy	toys

## 8. Phonological pairing:

<b>Stimulus</b>	<b>Response</b>
smile	gile
up	mup
day	way

The main objective of this study was to ascertain the relationship between performance on a standardized group survey test, as one measure of reading achievement, and performance on a free association paradigmatic-syntagmatic oral language test (Appendix A). To investigate the existing relationship, the mean number of paradigmatic responses were analyzed statistically between groups labeled "enrichment" (E) and "non-developmental" (ND). Selection for the enrichment group was based on a total achievement score of 1.0 years or more above expected grade level on the Gates- MacGinitie Reading Test - Canadian Edition (1981); selection for the non-developmental group was based on a total achievement score of 1.0 years or more below expected grade level on the Gates-MacGinitie Reading Test - Canadian Edition. The subjects (N = 549) ranged from grade one to grade six, and were selected randomly from a population of over 1100.

All subjects were individually tested with a Paradigmatic-Syntagmatic Oral Language Inventory (Dinnan, 1971). The basic directions, written on a card and read to each student, were as follows: "Give me the first word you think of when I say this word." Each subject was given the stimulus word orally, with the verbal response written down on a protocol sheet by the examiner. No other help, suggestions, signs of approval or disapproval were given.

In scoring the responses, the classification system established by Dinnan, Cowart and Bickley (1971) was used. In accordance with this procedure, paradigmatic responses fell into categories of contrasts, coordinates and superordinates. All other responses, as well as no response to the stimulus word, were placed into the syntagmatic category.

### **ANALYSIS OF THE DATA**

To test the major hypothesis of this study, as to whether or not a statistically significant difference existed in the paradigmatic and syntagmatic responses of subjects in the enrichment and non-developmental groups, a t-test analysis was utilized, with the number of paradigmatic responses being the criterion score. The .01 level of confidence was used to demonstrate significance.



Group			Mean Paradigmatic Responses	Unbiased Estimate of Variance	t-ratio
Grade 1	E	N = 40	18.13	15.74	7.90*
	ND	N = 48	11.41		
Grade 2	E	N = 42	20.31	16.83	9.48*
	ND	N = 55	12.35		
Grade 3	E	N = 41	21.22	18.83	7.47*
	ND	N = 52	14.87		
Grade 4	E	N = 44	23.44	19.77	9.04*
	ND	N = 52	15.21		
Grade 5	E	N = 47	24.28	20.2	8.81
	ND	N = 44	16.09		
Grade 6	E	N = 40	25.35	21.65	9.22*
	ND	N = 44	15.85		

\*P .01

The mean number of paradigmatic responses for the enrichment (E) and non-developmental (ND) groups, from grades one through six, are shown in the following table. A significant t-ratio (P .01) was found for each comparison of the E and ND group for each grade.

## DISCUSSION

The main hypothesis assumed that no significant difference existed between enrichment and non-developmental grades one through six students on the number of paradigmatic responses elicited from a free association oral language inventory. The statistical analysis proved this assumption to be untenable.

These findings concur with several previous studies of oral language responses (Bickley, Dinnan and Bickley, 1970; Dinnan, 1971; Shen and McNich, 1971; Weaver, Kingston and Dinnan, 1971).

Free association may be an overt parallel to the thinking process. If the products of mental operations are testable, then it may be assumed that via a variety of techniques they are teachable. Where then does the dichotomy lie between oral language and the ability or inability to achieve success in learning to read? The task, it seems, is to make both the teacher and the student aware of the expectations involved in basic oral communication and formal reading achievement. It would seem from this and other similar studies that while there is communication, using spoken or written language, for many school children there is a "failure" to understand the full extent of that which is communicated. A basic background of experiences is a necessity for all receptive language tasks (i.e., reading and listening), and due to the unique variety of

experiences each individual possesses, one's frame of reference will differ. However, there needs to be a conscious awareness on the part of both teacher and student of what oral and written language is attempting to communicate and how that communication is to be understood. Whereas a syntagmatic response is a valid response in that it shows the individual's intellect to be processing data, it no longer is a valid response when it is utilized as a personal closure, thus breaking down the chain of communication. Training, therefore, should proceed in terms of language readiness as a major component of the language arts program before formal introduction to the process of reading. In order to achieve some degree of success in formalized language arts instruction it is necessary to function from a paradigmatic base reference. When this frame of reference, the manipulation of relations in a paradigmatic manner, has been achieved, the non-developmental student may be presented with any new set of data and the teacher may expect a basic understanding of that which is being communicated. Therefore, unless we as teachers and educators in the area of language make a conscious effort to include these ideas into our language development programs, there will continue to be school children totally unprepared for the complex nature of our language program. How can a student ever hope to fully understand and appreciate the complexities of the love/hate relationships in Macbeth if my first reaction to the terms love and hate is "love-ice cream" and "hate-school"? The choice is now up to us to make or ignore.

## APPENDIX A

### PARADIGMATIC-SYNTAGMATIC ORAL LANGUAGE INVENTORY

- |     |        |       |     |        |       |
|-----|--------|-------|-----|--------|-------|
| 1.  | top    | _____ | 16. | poor   | _____ |
| 2.  | she    | _____ | 17. | last   | _____ |
| 3.  | go     | _____ | 18. | in     | _____ |
| 4.  | up     | _____ | 19. | front  | _____ |
| 5.  | old    | _____ | 20. | short  | _____ |
| 6.  | day    | _____ | 21. | cod    | _____ |
| 7.  | potato | _____ | 22. | happy  | _____ |
| 8.  | work   | _____ | 23. | on     | _____ |
| 9.  | hand   | _____ | 24. | hot    | _____ |
| 10. | high   | _____ | 25. | take   | _____ |
| 11. | city   | _____ | 26. | all    | _____ |
| 12. | half   | _____ | 27. | under  | _____ |
| 13. | open   | _____ | 28. | land   | _____ |
| 14. | man    | _____ | 29. | little | _____ |
| 15. | father | _____ | 30. | door   | _____ |

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## A LANGUAGE PERSPECTIVE FOR TEACHERS

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Most teachers today would agree that a worthy goal for the language arts program would be the development of communicative competency for all students. Achievement in communicative competency involves the facility for using oral and written language forms for a variety of purposes across a variety of audiences or social contexts.

In order to facilitate the achievement of communicative competency and develop the fullest linguistic potential of each child, it has been suggested by Doughty and Pearce (1972) that language teachers should acquire a perspective on two aspects of language

- (i) knowledge of language
- (ii) knowledge about language.

Gaining knowledge of language involves getting an understanding of the forms of language, its patterns and structures. Obtaining knowledge about language involves an exploration of the attitudes and beliefs about language held by persons in a particular speech community.

In the recent past the study of language, its phonology, morphology and syntax, has been the primary focus of linguists and educators alike. Only recently has the focus been shifted toward the importance of language use, its meanings and social aspects.

It is because of this imbalance, as well as of the inadequacy of this short paper to adequately address the two aspects of language, that the remainder of this paper will concentrate on an exploration of some of the issues involved in obtaining a perspective about language.

With an emphasis on the aspect of developing a perspective about language, efforts to understand the linguistic situation of children go beyond consideration of the formal properties of language to a consideration of such issues as:

- 1) the purposes for which language is used in different speech communities and different social contexts,
- 2) social attitudes toward language and,
- 3) rights of speakership within speech communities and across social contexts.

Sociolinguists in particular have contributed significantly to the development of concepts and research relevant to this aspect of language. In particular, Halliday (1975) has identified and labeled the functions or purposes of language universally used by people to communicate to others as including the following categories:

- 1) instrumental language - language for getting things, for satisfying one's needs,
- 2) regulatory language - language for controlling the behaviour of others,

- 3) interactional language - language for maintaining and establishing relationships with others,
- 4) personal language - language for expressing personality or individuality,
- 5) heuristic language - language for finding things out, for exploring the environment,
- 6) imaginative language - language as a means of creating a world of one's own,
- 7) representative language - language for conveying information formulating propositions about the world,
- 8) ritual language - language for showing others the speech community you are a part of.

For the development of fully communicating human beings, Halliday (1973, 1974, 1975), as well as Bernstein (1971) and Doughty, Pearce and Thornton (1973), emphasizes that the first seven purposes of language need full development, with each function receiving an equal emphasis. If these purposes were to be incorporated into a language arts program, consideration of the following issues would be necessary:

- 1) Is the full range of language purposes operative in the classroom and within a child's speech community?
- 2) Are some language functions restricted to particular speakers both in the school classroom context and within the speech community?
- 3) Does the school context value the full range of language functions?
- 4) Do teachers model a full range of language functions in their interactions with students?
- 5) What language functions are most critical to a child's ability to learn?

When teachers apply such questions to the linguistic situations of children, they can determine obstacles to the development of communicative competence and can adjust or modify the teaching context to facilitate language growth for individual students. In particular, teachers can modify many elements of a teaching context to remove such obstacles. The elements which can be modified include the physical classroom organization, materials, activities, participants in interaction, roles and attitudes. By systematically modifying the language context, teachers may direct children's language growth toward a full range of language purposes.

A second issue in obtaining a perspective about language is knowing about attitudes toward language. Of particular importance to children's language development is the attitude of teachers, parents and peers. At present, in the context of Newfoundland, there is little research on this aspect of language. Some research conducted by Hayes and Taylor (1978) with teachers in the United States has revealed that they feel negatively toward the syntax of nonstandard language varieties and rate the speech of their students as poor to fair and inappropriate for their classroom.

Since negative social judgements accompany observations about language variation the possibility exists that Newfoundland students, particularly in rural areas of the province, may experience negative attitudes toward their language. The presence of such attitudes may have serious educational consequences for students. Peter Trudgill (1975) has specifically stated that

...attitudes of resentment, alienation and linguistic insecurity will arise if the child's dialect and accent are belittled. (p. 64).

Such attitudes and behaviours negatively affect growth in language competence. Consequently, it is important for teachers to develop a sound perspective toward language variation.

A third issue relevant to this perspective about language is that of turn-taking. To provide an effective opportunity for language learning to occur, all students need access to turn-taking in conversational interaction. A model of the rules of turn-taking in conversation has been developed and operationalized by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1978). Application of this model to conversational interaction in one speech community of outport Newfoundland has revealed that females have restricted rights of speakership as indicated by the large number of their utterances that were interrupted by males (Matchim, 1980). To provide a context supportive of communicative competency for all students, teachers need to be cognizant of a speech community's norms for providing access to speaking, and where norms indicate restricted opportunities for certain speakers, additional encouragement should be provided so that all students participate in the classroom interaction.

### **Implications**

The issues involved in obtaining a perspective about language suggest that providing for student achievement of communicative competence is a complex task given the interaction of contextual elements that affect it. Some general suggestions that arise from the discussion of the issues presented here include:

- (i) Since language is learned through use, opportunities for oral language use must be provided for, and valued, by teachers. The context of the classroom can also be modified to facilitate all children developing a full range of language functions.
- (ii) The classroom climate should not arouse rejection, withdrawal, or hostility in students. Teachers need to develop a sound linguistic perspective toward language variation to ensure positive educational consequences for students whose language display geographical variation. The context of language learning in schools should not be isolated from the life experiences of students and their community but should move outward from the base in a gradual transition to students' use of language in wider social contexts with a variety of audiences. The objective of providing such a context is to allow children to develop a sense of pride in themselves and confidence in their abilities to use language to control their own lives relative to the larger society. Such an objective, if attained, would fulfil the goal of communicative competence for students.

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**PART V**  
**READING AND TEACHING STRATEGIES**



**READING, TEACHING STRATEGIES AND STUDENT LEARNING:  
THEIR DIFFERENT RELATIONSHIPS FOR STUDENTS  
OF DIFFERENT ACHIEVEMENT LEVELS**

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Many researchers have suggested that what a teacher does may be significantly more important than what a teacher is (see, for example, Boocock, 1972 and Dunkin and Riddle, 1972). At the same time, Boocock (1972) hypothesizes that certain teacher behaviours may be differentially effective for students of differing abilities. This research investigated the extent to which certain teacher behaviours are uniquely related to the achievement of either high or low achieving students.

### **Theoretical Framework**

This research is based on "theory of school learning put forward by Bloom (1976). The three interdependent variables which constitute this theory are as follows:

- (1) The extent to which the student has already learned the prerequisites for the learning tasks; i.e., a measure of prior learning;
- (2) The "quality of instruction", or the nature of the instructional activities;
- (3) A measure of student achievement.

This theory postulates that "where there is considerable variation among students in their entry characteristics and where the quality of instruction is not optimal for the different students, there should be great variation in learning outcomes" (Bloom, 1976, p. 12).

### **Data and Method**

The data upon which this research is based were collected during the 1978-79 school year, and involved a sample of 75 teachers in grade two, located in Eastern Newfoundland. The objective of the overall project (The Teaching Strategies Project) was to link the curriculum strategies of teachers with their teaching styles, and ultimately, with student outcomes (Spain and Brokenshire, 1980). The data collected in this project are described in a number of reports, see Boak (1980), Crocker and Brokenshire (1980), Fagan (1980) Kennedy (1980) and Spain and Brokenshire (1980).

A preliminary analysis of the data on which this research is based indicated that there are indeed considerable variations in students both in their "entry characteristics" - pretests - and their "learning outcomes" - post-tests. This seems to suggest, then, that the quality of instruction was not optimal for the different students.

There is a great variety of student characteristics which might be considered with a view to determining the appropriateness or the effectiveness of the instructional

process. One of the more important of these, however, might be the degree of prior learning, or the level of prior achievement of the students.

There have been some suggestions (e.g., Boocock, 1972) that teachers direct their teaching towards the average students in their classes. For the average student, then, many instructional strategies may be optimal. The exceedingly capable students will likely achieve regardless of the instructional strategy employed. For the slower learners, however, some strategies may be effective, while others may be quite ineffective.

The teaching strategies indicated in the results are categories of teacher behavior and classroom activity recorded by trained observers on either "Teacher Focus" or "Lesson Coding Form" which formed the basis of the classroom observation. (In the interests of parsimony the forms have been omitted but are available on request from the authors.)

## Results and Discussion

Scores on the Gates MacGinitie Reading Test, administered to 998 Grade II students in October 1979, were used to select the high- and low-achieving students. High achievers were defined as those in the top quartile, and low achievers as those in the bottom quartile. Scores on an alternate version of the Gates MacGinitie Reading Test administered to those same students in May, 1980 were used as measures of reading achievement.

Many of the classroom characteristics or activities recorded by this research are unrelated to the achievement of either high or low achievers; some are important for high achievers. Table 1 shows some of the things that go on in classrooms that are differentially related to the achievement of low-and high-achieving students.

Low-achieving students seem to achieve higher reading scores in classrooms where a greater proportion of time is devoted to reading activities, as opposed to spelling, grammar, etc. ( $r = .198$ ), and where the class, not individuals or groups, is the focus of communication ( $r = .237$ ). These factors are not significantly related to the achievement of higher-achieving students. The learning of both high and low achievers is favorably influenced by positive reactions or positive feedback from their teachers ( $r = .209$  and  $r = .207$  respectively).

Disruptive behavior by students and reprimands by the teacher are both negatively related to learning, especially for low achievers. Students reading aloud in the classroom is also negatively related to learning as measured by the Gates MacGinitie Reading Test ( $r = .204$  for low achievers). The learning of low achievers appears to be higher in classrooms where students tend to be on task ( $r = .210$ ), a task which has been chosen by the teacher ( $r = .216$ ), and where students tend to pay attention to their teacher ( $r = .233$ ).

Low-achieving students seem to react positively to teacher piloting, i.e., prompted or probed by teacher (individual student) ( $r = .309$ ), and to teacher presentations as opposed to discussions, correcting, etc., ( $r = .269$ ); no such relationships exist for the high achievers. Randomly selecting students for responses appears to lead to higher achievement for the low-achieving students ( $r = .336$ ). It seems to be important for low

achievers that a lesson be completed, even under pressure ( $r = .313$ ), but not so for high achievers ( $r = .083$ ).

The personal attributes of warmth, enthusiasm, clarity, and efficiency are all positively related to the learning of low-achieving students; while they are related to the learning of high-achieving students as well, they are particularly important for the low achievers.

To conclude, this research seems to suggest that certain teacher behaviours may be differentially effective for students of differing abilities. At the same time it must be recognized that the teaching of reading is a highly complex, multifaceted undertaking. Thus the appropriate "mix" of these behaviours is yet to be determined and awaits further research efforts.

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**Table 1**

		<b>LOW</b>	<b>HIGH</b>
A TEC 208	Reading Time	.198	.071
A TEC 222	Class as cast. focus	.237	.062
A TEC 234	Positive reactions	.207	.209
A TEC 238	Public disrupt. bah. (det. by tch.)	-.182	-.067
A TEC 240	Mild reprimand	-.198	-.151
ACL 203	On task	.210	.099
ACL 205	Tch. chosen took	.216	.132
ACL 208	Comm. group-class	.202	.072
ACL 214	Attending to tch.	.233	.137
ACL 217	Reading aloud	-.204	-.094
ACL 223	Teacher piloting	.309	.038
ALES 202	Drill or practise	-.189	-.1186
ALES 213	Teacher presentation	.269	.012
ALES 224	Random response selection	.336	.186
ALES 232	Lesson completed under pressure	.313	-.087
ALES 234	Warmth	.248	.168
ALES 235	Enthusiasm	.346	.228
ALES 236	Clarity	.298	.175
ALES 237	Efficiency	.222	.141

$R^2(\text{low}) - .306$

$R^2(\text{high}) - .101$

Correlations of Reading Scores with Classroom Characteristics

## TEACHING INFERENCE STRATEGIES IN READING COMPREHENSION

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Well-made inferences in reading comprehension perform at least two basic functions. In the first place, they allow the reader to extend and enrich the explicit meanings intended by the author. Second, they connect the explicit events with the events which are not explicitly treated by the author, but rather left as understood or implicit. The goal of this paper is to show that when children make inferences in reading comprehension they use a number of strategies to do so. Some of these strategies lead to well-made inferences and are productive of sound comprehension, and others to poorly-made inferences and are counterproductive. For the purposes of this article, I have chosen to distinguish each of the types of inference strategies as a separate category. Within each category I will discuss the strategies and offer teaching suggestions. In the conclusion, I recommend teaching students to become competent in the use of the productive strategies while helping them minimize their reliance on the use of those strategies that are counterproductive.

### Productive Strategies

The use of these strategies indicates students' ability to extract relevant information from both personal experiences, the text, and to relate the two. In so doing, the reader develops, absorbs, and incorporates the two in arriving at meaning.

**Shifting of Focus** allows the reader to avoid an impasse and affords the reader the freedom to approach the problem from another perspective. If an immediate question cannot be resolved in reading then the teacher can through questioning shift the reader's attention to address another question within the text. **Analyzing Alternatives** is a strategy used when a reader does not settle on any one interpretation of the data. Rather, the reader raises more than one possibility but withholds judgement until more information is available. As teachers, we can encourage the use of tentativeness while the reader is attempting to identify the overall story interpretation by discouraging the reader from answering too quickly. The teacher can explain the use of such words as "maybe", "probably", and "could be" which do not have a restricting impact on the reader's decision. Their use grants a degree of leeway for the reader until an interpretation can be made more definite.

**Confirming an Immediate Prior Interpretation** is a strategy which allows the reader to verify and consequently strengthen a previous interpretation of the text with the reader's activated interpretation. Only when the reader has identified the appropriate interpretation, possibly by being tentative, can the reader productively establish expectations about the topic which can be confirmed from the textual information. The teacher can explain that the interpretations must fit with the information presented in the text and background knowledge as well as additional knowledge gained through continued reading. The strategy, **Analyzing Alternatives**, sometimes transcended the confirming strategy as tentativeness is sometimes necessary in order for readers to construct an overall interpretation that fits. It seems that once readers have identified the

appropriate interpretation then it becomes a matter of integrating the information in the text into that interpretation.

**Empathizing from Experience** is a strategy used by those readers who are able to project their thoughts into the text situation, and consequently become more participative in the sharing of that situation. The reader may be encouraged by the teacher to relate personal experiences with the text story by having the reader first state the situation as described in the text and then suggest what could be done in those circumstances. If the reader has had similar experiences to those described maybe the reader could be encouraged to describe them.

### **Counterproductive strategies**

The use of these strategies indicates students' lack of ability to extract relevant information from both personal experiences, the text, and to relate the two. The use of these strategies prevents the reader from developing, absorbing and incorporating the text and background knowledge in arriving at meaning. The less proficient reader needs assistance in becoming conscious of what he or she already knows and of how to use this knowledge for maximum benefit, that is, the attainment of meaning in reading.

**Assigning an Alternate Case** is a strategy used when readers do not interpret new information within existing data. It seems that the reader temporarily dichotomizes an initial interpretation to account for new information. In other words, the reader goes off on a tangent and offers another interpretation which is then dropped and is never integrated into the overall story interpretation. This strategy suggests that the reader was working through the text in a piecemeal manner rather than taking all the information into account. When a reader dichotomizes the initial schema and "goes off track", teacher questions requiring the reader to consider how this recent information fits with what the reader has previously read may help the reader maintain a single interpretation.

**Assuming a Default Interpretation and Transforming Information** is a strategy used by those readers who tend to make assumptions based on incorrect knowledge. The readers are less selective of relevant information and tend to assign inappropriate associations to the textual information. This oftentimes results in the misconstruing of the information in their attempt to confirm a previous interpretation. A teacher-directed discussion concerning a particular topic prior to reading will activate relevant information for the reader, thereby setting up expectations about that topic. This prior discussion would minimize the chances of the reader making incorrect associations and interpretations, consequently reducing their use of such a counterproductive strategy.

**Neglecting to Respond or Reiterating Information** also further renders some readers unproductive. It seems that in the face of uncertainty some readers lack the confidence to chance an interpretation of the data. Consequently, a strategy they employ is to say nothing or to repeat an earlier interpretation that they feel comfortable with, without adding any new information. The use of this strategy would seem to decrease if the teacher asked supporting questions that provide clues to connections which the reader must make if the reader is to respond and constructively progress through the text. It seems that this and other counterproductive strategies are used by readers who do not have either the proficiency nor the tendency to exercise good judgement.

### **Conclusion**

The goal of this article was to emphasize that children can and do make inferences and use a number of strategies to do so. An important distinction, however, is that the inferences may be good or poor depending upon the strategies children use. While it is important to know what strategies are most productive, it is also important to know what strategies are counterproductive so that they may be used to illustrate and present examples of readers not making good judgements. Teaching students to become competent in the use of the most productive strategies while helping them minimize their reliance on the use of those strategies that are counterproductive would seem to be one positive route to go in teaching inference strategies in reading comprehension.

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## TEACHING AND RESOURCES: MORE THAN TALK AND CHALK PART 1: EXPECTATIONS

Jean Brown  
Division of Learning Resources

It is interesting to note that in the curriculum guides and course descriptions provided, and in instructions and guides for teachers contained in the authorized texts, the Newfoundland Department of Education makes a clear statement on what should be taught and how. Today this approach is often referred to as resource-based, and the Department is recommending it from kindergarten to level III courses in the senior high school program. Teachers are being asked to formulate objectives based on an understanding of the provincial curriculum and the learning needs and styles of individual students. The textbook is recognized as an important resource, but only one of many, for teachers are asked to provide a variety of experiences for learners of all ages, particularly when new concepts are being taught. Major understandings in the curriculum are developed as students move from the known to the unknown, from the home and local community to the provincial, national and then world community. Rather than learn about their community and culture, teachers are being asked to design learning experiences so that students will experience things directly whenever possible. The process skills involved in learning are emphasized, so that students learn how to learn. Realizing that similar concepts, skills and values are found in different subject areas, the provincial curriculum planners recommend integration across the curriculum when possible and the use of themes which help to organize the instructional content, motivate students, and also provide opportunities for an interdisciplinary approach. The first part of this article will support the claim that the Department of Education expects this type of teaching; the second part will discuss the implications this has for all those involved in curriculum implementation.

### EXPECTATIONS

#### Recognition of Individual Differences

At all grade levels teachers are expected to know their students well and design instruction to meet individual needs. **The Primary Curriculum Guide**, at present being revised, in its second draft expresses very well the emphasis to be given to individual differences:

The individual differences of children must be accepted by the primary teacher. To expect children to be the same or to make equal progress is unreasonable. Progress should be viewed in individual gains over time. Children should be motivated to perform at a level commensurate with their capabilities... (p. 6).

This emphasis runs throughout the curriculum. **The Master Guide for Social Studies, K-XII in Newfoundland and Labrador** provides detailed analysis of the learner at each grade level. All curriculum guides and course descriptions remind teachers of the importance of recognizing the needs of the individual and the importance of setting objectives based on the knowledge of the students's ability and background. Especially when teaching new concepts teachers are required to know the students well so that instruction can be made meaningful.



### Need for Concrete Experiences

Primary teachers have long recognized the need for the concrete in preparing their instructional experiences. **The Design for Social Studies K-VI in Newfoundland and Labrador**, in describing the grade two program, states:

Concrete and sensory experiences are necessary and valuable in concept attainment; however, to give meaning and depth to concepts, instruction must offer vicarious experiences (books, films, maps, discussion, etc.) to take children far beyond the objects and events they experience directly (p. 23).

Although elementary and high school teachers have tended not to place as much emphasis on the concrete, the provincial curriculum guides stress that concrete experiences are still very important for older students. **The Elementary Mathematics Curriculum Guidelines** (Draft), 1986, states: "All concepts in mathematics should be embedded in the concrete mode for meaningful learning" (p. 5). At present, the Junior High School Program is being studied by a Department of Education Committee. Their second interim report, released in September, 1985, notes that although the cognitive level of the junior high student will gradually move from concrete to formal operations, "all programs must provide for concrete examples and studies" (p. 28). As the report later expresses it, "The curriculum must be based in the concrete with expeditions into the abstract" (p. 33).

Senior high school students have ordinarily reached the stage of formal thought and, as **The Master Guide for Social Studies, K-XII in Newfoundland and Labrador** recognizes, these students can deal with abstractions; yet "even at this stage of intellectual development, concrete and nearly concrete experiences are needed more often than we recognize, particularly when the subject matter being learned is substantially different from previous [earnings]" (p. 39). Authorized texts for high school social studies recognize this need for the concrete or nearly concrete. **World History: Patterns of Civilization**, the text for World History 2206, in its teachers handbook recommends one hundred films and filmstrip sets and one hundred and thirty books which should be available to students and teachers. Newfoundland Culture 1200 is perhaps the best example of clearly expressed expectations for teachers. The text for this course is *Our Newfoundland and Labrador Cultural Heritage* by Keith Matthews, E. Rex Kearly and Paul J. Dwyer. The authors' expectations for the use of the text and the methodology to be used in teaching the course are clearly stated in the preface to the text:

We have thus assumed that this text will be used as a guide and a source book, and that the student and the teacher will go beyond the textual material, and try to involve the learner in experiencing some of the many rich and varied aspects of culture that is with us no matter where we live in Newfoundland and Labrador. While history has been used as the theme to bind the many elements together, we feel that this course taught simply as an historical overview of Newfoundland and Labrador will fail. The heritage that remains to us still lives and forms part of the dynamic of our culture: it is our Newfoundland and Labrador cultural heritage and it is what both teacher and student have to experience if this course is to succeed (p. vi).

The text is accompanied by a teacher's guide. In it the Newfoundland Department of Education inserted "A Rationale for Our Newfoundland and Labrador Cultural Heritage". Part of it reads:

To achieve the objectives of the program, the teacher will have to allow for time when the student can experience something of the cultural aspects of their society by listening to music, looking at art objects, examining life styles, etc. If these kinds of opportunities are not given, the students can never really say they are studying the culture of Newfoundland and Labrador. They may be learning about the culture of Newfoundland and Labrador as it has existed in the past, but that is not the intent of the course ( p. 5).

The guide expresses fears that teachers may find it difficult to arrange field trips or research activities that will actively involve students in the actual experiencing of the culture, and will therefore limit the course to "only those objectives met through the use of the textbook, thereby making the course cognitive and historical" (p. 15). To avoid this, some teaching strategies are suggested, the first being:

This course can make better use of visual presentations than any other social studies course. The Department of Education has made a large quantity of excellent V.T.R. material available.

Principals should make sure that V.T.R.s are always on hand for their Cultural Heritage classes. (An understanding of the environmental or economic forces in our province, past or present, cannot be taught by chalk and talk.) (p. 16)

The guide suggests that students work on projects that will require them to interview, photograph, make videos, collect artefacts. Involving students in finding information in different formats is seen as a meaningful learning experience. Books, however, are not forgotten. The guide suggests that a strong library collection be built up of Newfoundland materials. Needed also, it states, is a collection of artefacts about Newfoundland - everything from actual historical artefacts, to replicas, to photographs. In a note, the guide suggests: "One of the fascinating aspects of this culture course is that it can best be taught by making maximum use of the very technology that is shaping our culture today" (p. 17).

In discussing the senior high school program, examples from social studies have been used to illustrate the department's concern for more concrete experiences. The social studies curriculum guides perhaps say it best, but other subject areas stress this need also. For example, the Canadian Literature 2204 course description states:

Have students view films, listen to speeches, report orally, and write about relevant art work, photography, films, and music. Newspapers, magazines, radio and television material that the students encounter in their daily lives will provide interesting sidelights on the topic under discussion. Canadian literature lends itself particularly well to this method of teaching (p. 11).

**The High School Biology Curriculum Guide**, (1979) also stresses that students require more than the textbook:

The teacher should not be tied to the student text. He should use as many audiovisual aids as possible. There are available on most topics a variety of films, many texts and books on specific topics. Consistent, overt references to these aids by the teacher will encourage students to expand their reading beyond the text and thereby broaden their scope of learning and deepen their understanding of the discipline (p. 7).

If teachers are to provide concrete or nearly concrete experiences, then there will be less emphasis on the textbook. The objectives will determine the types of learning experiences designed and the resources needed. At all grade levels this has led to increased interest in the thematic approach.

### **Thematic approach**

The use of themes is widely recommended in provincial curriculum guides and in authorized texts. In primary education, teachers are encouraged to develop themes that are educationally worthwhile and allow them to incorporate objectives from various subject areas, thereby avoiding unnecessary repetition. By knowing their students, primary teachers select themes that they are fairly certain will create great interest. The result is that objectives are met while students engage in activities which they consider fun. However, what seems like fun to the student requires a great deal of long-range planning by the teacher. As The Kindergarten Curriculum Guide points out, after deciding on an educationally worthwhile theme, the teacher has to formulate the objectives; locate, select and obtain materials and resources; design, initiate, develop, and conclude activities; and determine evaluation methods.

The problem of finding appropriate resources to develop the themes is recognized by the Department of Education. The Teacher's Resource Book For Social Studies K-11 (1982) explains the importance of resources:

Teachers, principals, and program coordinators should discuss the resource list supplied for each grade. These resources include materials for the classroom library - books which build children's social studies background and promote information, value improvement, and skill development. These lists also include textbooks from many curriculum areas, selected for their relevance to the social studies program; audio-visual materials; pictures and study prints; kits, puzzles, games and other manipulative aids. Theme teaching is resource-based teaching. It opens the way, through the use of many resources, to an interdisciplinary approach to instruction (p. ii).

The thematic approach is used in the new language arts program, Networks, in grades four, five and six. Describing itself as "an integrated reading and language arts program", it states that the material is organized "within a thematic framework that allows children to bring much of their real world knowledge to reading and writing, and to extend themselves through a rich variety of integrated experiences" (Teacher's Resource Book, grade 4, p. 12). Themes, in this program, are used as a means to stimulate interest, motivate students, and through the use of many resources, create a "supportive language environment" (p. 14). To succeed, resources of all types must be available: books of fiction and nonfiction, reference books, films and filmstrips, newspapers and magazines, photographs and other visuals, real objects brought from home or collected,

and human resources - people who will share their experiences with students. Using this approach, major objectives in the language arts program are achieved as students pursue areas of interest.

The thematic approach is used at all levels and in all subject areas. The Master Guide for Social Studies, K-XII in Newfoundland and Labrador identifies the major understandings or central ideas of the social studies program and then provides themes and areas of emphasis for each grade level. In *The Design of the Social Studies*, it is recommended that the thematic approach be used "whenever possible and feasible" (p. viii). The use of themes will require more resources than a textbook, and if students are to find information using a variety of sources and formats, then they must be taught the skills necessary to do so effectively. This has led to an emphasis on process skills.

### **Process Skills**

The language arts program used in grades four, five and six, *Networks*, maintains: "The aim is to have children learn to talk by talking, to listen by listening, to read by reading, and to write by writing" (Teacher's Resource Book, grade 4, p. 14). This aim has long been recognized by language arts teachers, and books to encourage students to read are found in most schools. The course description for Thematic Literature 3201 expresses the expectations for every grade in teaching the process of reading: "Encourage extensive related reading and lead students away from intensive, teacher-directed study to extensive independent study and reading" (p. 12).

Other processes, involved with writing, listening, and talking, have not received as much attention but are seen as very important in the curriculum guides and texts. Many of the skills involved cut across subject areas, and are known by different names. *Networks* places emphasis on what it refers to as process skills and identifies them as: skimming materials to find main ideas, using Table of Contents and Indexes to locate information, etc.; interpreting graphic devices, such as charts and diagrams; distinguishing fact from opinion; use of the library; classifying and synthesizing information. To help students organize research, they promote use of the COPE system, a method of teaching students to Collect, Organize, Present and Evaluate their information. Many of these skills are referred to as thinking skills in the social studies program. In some schools, students are still taught library skills in total isolation from their classroom work, as a separate activity, in the library by the teacher-librarian. These "Library Skills" are often repetition of skills to be taught in other subject areas. To avoid this repetition and to make the teaching of these skills meaningful, systematic and effective, it is recommended that all learning skills be integrated into a learning skills continuum. Such a continuum will identify the process skills which cut across the curriculum, and will specify at which grade level the skills will be introduced, mastered, and maintained. Such a continuum can be a provincial model which the school can adapt. The Newfoundland Department of Education, for example, since 1977 has published and circulated to schools *The School Library/Media Centre Skills Continuum for Grades K-VIII*. This continuum identifies the skills necessary for the effective utilization of a resource centre and resources, and includes many of the skills identified as important in the language arts and social studies curriculum. It recommends that these skills be taught:

As a means to an end rather than as an end in themselves. For example, it ties in the study of biography with a science or history assignment, the

use of periodical indexes with a social studies project. Lessons are not taught in isolation but given in response to student needs as they work through their regular classroom assignments (p. 1).

In the senior high school program, Language 2101 is commonly known as the Research Paper course. This whole course emphasizes the process involved in writing a research paper. Students are expected to learn how to find information: searching and finding information in books, magazines, newspapers; using questionnaires and interviews; using the card catalog and periodical indexes; consulting bibliographies; using reference works; having discussions with resource people and peers. Once they find information, students are to be taught such skills as: note-taking, evaluation of information, paraphrasing, summarizing, outlining, selecting and organizing the information into a report, synthesizing, writing a first draft, editing, correct formatting (footnotes, bibliography). Presentation of the report emphasizes oral presentation and the use of appropriate media:

It is suggested that each student have an opportunity to give an oral presentation of a research paper, using appropriate media: e.g. transparencies, slides, photographs, maps, and charts. The skills of critical listening and critical analysis are also to be taught and used by students when they listen to oral presentations (Language 2102 Course Description, p. 9).

This course obviously requires a resource centre. The course description recognizes this, stating:

Teachers must work closely with the school librarian to assemble collections of the following materials that can help in research study: (a) magazines (b) current affairs articles (c) encyclopedias, reference books (d) vertical files (e) catalogues of films (Department of Education, National Film Board) (f) lists of materials available at school board office (g) addresses for free materials (h) addresses of resource people in the immediate area (i) information on what is available in the public library (p. 10-11).

## **Conclusions**

The Newfoundland Department of Education, through curriculum guides, course descriptions and authorized texts, has made it clear that textbook teaching alone is not enough, that teaching today requires more than talk and chalk. The type of teaching envisioned here can best be described as "resource-based". Instead of coverage of content in prescribed textbooks, teachers are being asked to plan educational experiences which actively involve students in the meaningful use of a wide range of appropriate print, non-print and human resources. Teachers are being asked to select from a wide range of learning activities - their students will write, listen, read, interview, take notes, draw, photograph, view, experiment, record or videotape. Where these activities will take place will vary - if Newfoundland Culture 1200 students are to be provided opportunities to experience the culture, they may often be found doing their research in the community; students involved in learning to write a research paper will obviously require time and assistance in resource centres and public libraries.

Perhaps most important of all, in resource-based programs students and teachers will require resources. A wide variety of print and non-print learning resources that have been carefully selected with the needs of the curriculum, the teachers and the students in mind are necessary if teachers are to implement the courses developed by the provincial department of education. The only efficient way for a school to manage these resources is to have a centralized learning resources collection that will allow the school's resources to serve different grade levels and be used in the teaching of various subjects. In order to ensure that the resources can be found when needed and be used to the maximum, the resource collection must be organized in a logical method with a centralized catalog and indexes available for the use of students and teachers.

Resource-based programs will also require that teachers be provided the support they need to make effective use of all forms of media. If teachers are to have students making use of production techniques in photography, video and audio media, then they will require the assistance of a learning resource teacher with competencies in these areas. If teachers are to select resources in order to develop themes, then they will need assistance in the proper selection of learning resources. Teachers and students must master the learning and research skills necessary to use materials effectively. A cooperatively developed, sequential program for teaching these skills can ensure that students learn these skills in the context of meaningful curriculum-related activities.

The provision of resources to meet the information needs of the instructional program as laid out by the Department of Education will require a qualified person at the school level. It requires a teacher-librarian who is not only a learning resource specialist, but also a qualified teacher who can work with the classroom teacher in the total curriculum process.

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## IS THE ANSWER SUFFICIENT INDICATION OF READING COMPREHENSION?

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During the last fifteen years significant strides have been made in unraveling the reading process. The assumption has been, and continues to be, that the more we understand how readers read and learn from text, the better able we will be to teach them to do so. One way to determine how well we have succeeded is through tests which can help us measure our students' reading ability as well as the effectiveness of the instruction they receive. Unfortunately, most tests of reading comprehension yield at best superficial and non-descriptive information about reading ability.

In an extensive review of the literature on testing reading (Farr and Carey, 1986), standardized tests of reading were found problematic because it was not easy to make any decision as to what the tests measure. To highlight some of the problems, I present the following three points:

1. Most tests of reading comprehension define reading comprehension broadly and vaguely, if at all, and simply test the component parts but ignore the integration of those parts;
2. Most tests of reading comprehension test general knowledge, not reading comprehension;
3. Most tests of reading comprehension are based on the assumption that when a reader selects the *right* answer (s)he has done so for the *right* reasons.

While all three points are very important and beg for elaboration, it is the third point that I wish to explore in this paper.

To begin, I pose two questions: "Can we assume that when a reader has given the right answer the reader understands?" and "Can we assume that when a reader has given the right answer the reader has given it for the right reasons?" While the two questions are intimately linked, they bear distinct lessons when treated separately.

To deal with the first question, I have written a model reading comprehension test for you. It is a mimic of readily-available standardized reading comprehension tests.

Read the following paragraph about "Quantum Damping" and then answer the questions.

We assumed that the atomic energy levels were infinitely sharp whereas we know from experiment that the observed emission and absorption lines have a finite width. There are many interactions which may broaden an atomic line, but the most fundamental one is the reaction of the radiation field on the atom. That is, when an atom decays spontaneously from an excited state radiatively, it emits a quantum of energy into the radiation field. This radiation may be reabsorbed by the atom. The reaction of the



field on the atom gives the atom a line width and causes the original level to be shifted. This is the source of the natural line width and the Lamb shift.

W.H. Loisel, Quantum Statistical Properties of Radiation, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973, p. 285.

1. The underlined word decays means.
  - A. splits apart
  - B. grows smaller
  - C. gives off energy
  - D. disappears
2. According to the paragraph, observed emission lines are
  - A. infinitely sharp
  - B. of different widths
  - C. of finite width
  - D. the same width as absorption lines
3. According to the paragraph, the most fundamental interaction which may broaden an atomic line is
  - A. the Lamb shift
  - B. the action of the atom on the radiation field
  - C. the emission of a quantum of energy
  - D. the reaction of the radiation field on the atom
4. It can be inferred that when an atom decays it may
  - A. return only to a state more excited than the original one
  - B. not return to its original excited state
  - C. return to its original excited state
  - D. return only to a state less excited than the original one
5. It can be concluded from the information in this paragraph that the assumption that atomic energy levels are infinitely sharp is
  - A. probably false
  - B. false
  - C. true
  - D. still under question

I predict that you got all five questions correct. For those who must have confirmation of their choices, the answers are C, C, D, C, and B for questions one to five respectively. The answer to the question posed prior to your reading comprehension test, "Can we assume that when a reader has given the right answer that the reader understands?", is negative because you more than likely did not understand even though you answered the questions correctly. We might further concur that while we have a superficial understanding of the paragraph, to comprehend means to grasp mentally, to understand fully. Understanding requires the structuring and organizing of information. Structured information guides comprehension when we can relate new text information

to that which we already know. Background knowledge, or that which we already know, is used to structure textual information for understanding. Structured information guides comprehension. It is this structuring of information and relating it to background knowledge that most of us are unable to do with the Quantum Damping passage.

What is some of the information that a reader would need to know in order to understand the model test paragraph? Asked another way, what background knowledge is needed to structure and organize the text information in the model test paragraph for comprehension? Sample responses might include at least the following points of information:

1. knowledge that electrons can occupy only allowable (fixed) energy levels;
2. knowledge that atoms can absorb or emit energy (light, heat) only in discrete amounts equal to the difference between the energy levels that electrons can occupy;
3. knowledge that atoms absorb energy by their electrons moving to higher energy levels (excited atoms);
4. knowledge that atoms emit energy (spontaneously decay) by their electrons moving to lower energy levels;
5. knowledge that absorption and emission occur by absorbing and giving off photons.

The model test of reading comprehension serves to demonstrate that while we have knowledge of language, can pronounce all the words, can work through the syntactic structures, can locate answers to specific questions, can make some word and sentence level inferences, and can acquire some level of semantic understanding, these are not sufficient for understanding. In addition, if we do not have the appropriate background knowledge, the ability and the disposition to integrate the information given in the text with our background knowledge, then we will not understand.

Even though we have delved into the answer to our first question, we have not arrived at the root of the problem of the assumed meaning of test performance if the right answers are selected. It is not within the province of this paper to address what the model test paragraph measures, or what many of the standardized reading tests measure; rather, it is to address what they do not measure. They do not measure reading comprehension when reading comprehension means to understand. That is not to say that all readers who correctly answer the questions do not understand. It is to say, however, that one does not have to understand in order to answer the questions correctly, thereby making the above test on Quantum Damping and similar tests of reading comprehension invalid measures of reading comprehension.

Current reading theory defines reading comprehension, more or less, as meaning constructed by a reader through strategic and principled integration of the textual information and background knowledge. The process of good inference making is the core of reading comprehension. If the ability to make inferences requires an integration of the text information and background knowledge, then we might be led to think that asking inference-type questions would get around the problem of readers' giving correct

answers by merely locating answers, or having a minimal understanding of the content. However, as we shall see, such is not the case.

We are now ready to raise the second question, "Can we assume that when a reader has given the right answer that the reader has given it for the right reasons?" If the questions in the model test were such that a reader had to make inferences in order to answer the questions, that is readers were unable merely to locate the answers, then could we assume that, if the reader correctly answered the inference questions, the reader comprehended?

In my recent work on the design and development of a test of inference ability in reading comprehension, I have learned that such an assumption is hazardous. Allow me to elaborate. The test is for grades six, seven and eight. It contains three stories, each consisting of an average of four paragraphs and twelve multiple-choice questions. To attempt to achieve content validity, the stories represent three of the traditional forms of writing at the intermediate grade level, descriptive, narrative, and expository.

Several pilot studies have been carried out to refine each stage of the test. The last pilot is of specific interest to this paper. It was conducted using a think aloud methodology where students were asked to verbalize their choice of answer and to tell why they chose that answer as the best. Such an approach is particularly useful in test development for revealing potential item ambiguities, vocabulary problems, and hidden cues as well as for providing a window into the processes readers are using to arrive at their answer.

The fourth paragraph of a story entitled "Money" accompanied by the test item are presented below to serve as the subject matter for the subsequent discussion. The story is a description of the everyday use of money, of how it works, as well as of its historical development.

Money systems are necessary and have changed over the years, from cows to whales' teeth to paper to plastic cards. A credit card may be used to pay for goods and services because people agree to pay the bill at a later date. Credit cards can be used almost as widely as money to buy such things as meals, clothes, records, gas, or bus passes. In the future perhaps we will look at money the way we now look at the time when people traded with cows. You might be using a credit card to buy a chocolate bar!

Question 11. Complete the following to show how money systems have changed over the years: cow is to money, as money is to

- A. cow and coffee
- B. medical card
- C. credit card
- D. cow and plastic

Pat, a grade seven student, chose (C), which happens to be the keyed answer. However, when Pat told why that answer was chosen there was no evidence of an understanding of the analogy but rather evidence of at least a misunderstanding of the question, the text, or both.

Pat said:

It's in the story, see (pointing) credit cards may be used for goods and services. Credit cards can be used almost as widely as money. So credit cards are money.

Upon questioning from the interviewer as to how the cow and money fit together, Pat replied, "It didn't say". It is clear that Pat did not reason from the relationship between cow and money to infer the relationship between money and credit card, and yet Pat circled the "correct" answer. This example brings us back to the second question, "Can we assume that when a reader has given the right answer that the reader has given it for the right reasons?" Clearly, the response is "no" as is illustrated by Pat's answer, which did not reflect an understanding of the content.

Up to this point, we have seen that readers may choose the "right" answer and at the same time not understand. Moreover, we have seen that even when inference questions are asked and the "right" answers are provided the answers may not be for the right reasons.

A second story on my test of inference ability in reading comprehension is entitled "UFOs." It is a story about unusual phenomena, telling of different UFO reports, offering plausible explanations for some of the reports and suggesting that with improved technology we may be able to explain UFOs. The first paragraph of the UFO story and the test item to be discussed follow.

### UFOs

Thousands of people around the world believe that they have seen weird, unidentified flying objects. Anything in the sky that people do not understand may be called a UFO. People sometimes call UFOs "flying saucers," "spaceships from other planets," and "extraterrestrial space mobiles". Stories have been told that UFOs light up an area with many coloured lights and that creatures of different sizes and colours have been seen in them. Another story was that UFOs drain power from any electrical sources in the area. UFO stories may be very different.

Question 2. Anything unidentified in the sky might be called a UFO because

- A. that is the term used when you do not know what it is.
- B. that is something which nobody has ever seen.
- C. that is what people call it when they jump to conclusions.
- D. that is the shape of whatever it is in the sky overhead.

Selection (A) was deemed to be the best answer. Stephenie, a grade six student, chose (B) as the best answer, which would normally suggest that she was incorrect. However, hearing her explanation as to why she chose (B), it would seem that Stephanie gave an incorrect answer for very good reasons. Stephenie took the clause "which nobody has ever seen" to mean we do not know what a UFO is and integrated that understanding with the text information to arrive at her choice (B). When asked why she chose (B), Stephenie replied:

Well, it says in the story that many people have seen weird things so they don't really know what they have seen. Not everyone has seen the same things, which makes me wonder what they have seen, or if they have seen anything at all.

The interviewer asked for clarification, "I'm not sure I follow you, can you tell me more about why you chose (B)?"

Stephanie, with a grin, replied:

I think that it's called a UFO because no one knows what it is, and maybe no one has ever seen anything like it before, so we don't know what it is or where it came from, it's unidentified, it's a UFO.

There are several comebacks to Stephanie's explanation. For example, if nobody has ever seen something then how do we know it is there? Such retorts are not the issue here. The vexing problem is that, given Stephanie's explanation, she understands why unidentified objects in the sky are called UFOs, yet she has selected what appears on the surface to be a wrong answer. This problem answers a question which has been implicit up to this point, "Can we assume that when a reader has given a wrong answer that a reader does not understand?" The answer is "no".

Questions such as those raised in this paper are important if tests in reading comprehension are going to be valid indicators of reading performance. In order to have construct validity in tests of reading comprehension we must seek out the causes of performance on our tests. Holding think aloud interviews with or seeking written explanations from students as to why they made their choices are ways to seek out causes of performance. In-depth qualitative analyses of student responses have afforded me a vision of what my test is measuring, which may not have been possible otherwise. Such a vision is what validity is all about.

Based on what has been discussed in this paper, I offer the following concluding remarks. Responses on measures of reading comprehension may be correct or incorrect for very different reasons. As we have seen, correct responses are not sufficient evidence of comprehension as sometimes they are a result of minimal reasoning. Conversely, incorrect responses are not sufficient evidence of a lack of comprehension, because sometimes they are a result of comprehension. Finally, I feel that we would do well to challenge and to reform, if necessary, our implicit assumptions in testing; to be cognizant of the purpose for which a test is being used and the context in which it is used; to exercise caution in the conclusions we draw from student performance; and to seek justification for claims which we make about an important process as reading comprehension.

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## **TEACHING AND RESOURCES: MORE THAN TALK AND CHALK PART II: REALITY AND CONCLUSIONS**

**Jean Brown**  
**Division of Learning Resources**

"Teaching and Resources: More than Talk and Chalk. Part 1 - Expectations" appeared in *The Morning Watch*, volume 14, nos. 1-2, Fall, 1986. The following is the second and concluding article on "Teaching and Resources: More than Talk and Chalk".

Teaching has changed. The curriculum guides and the authorized texts reflect this change and encourage teachers to use a large quantity of carefully selected educational resources and a variety of instructional techniques. It would appear from these documents that much has changed in Newfoundland schools. Unfortunately, studies on what is actually happening in Newfoundland classrooms show that this is not the case.

### **Some Aspects of Teaching Today in Newfoundland**

#### **Textbook teaching**

Crocker (1983), in an observational study of 105 classrooms in 35 Newfoundland schools, noted that, rather than a variety of instructional techniques and resources, the textbook and the chalkboard still dominate most classroom instruction:

From the point of view of materials used, it is clear that the textbook and the chalkboard are the primary instruments of instruction. These instruments appear all-pervasive, in the sense that they clearly dominate instruction in language arts and mathematics, and thus occupy a large proportion of all instructional time. Beyond this, the use of the textbook and chalkboard is equally common in most other subjects (p. 82).

Students identified excessive use of the textbook as a problem in studies by Baksh and Martin (1986) and Martin (1985). There appears little doubt but it is still widespread.

#### **Lack of resources**

Lockyer (1986) found that there was a great discrepancy between the materials actually available in classrooms and the materials recommended in course descriptions, outlines, guides, and texts. He surveyed two rural schools, an all-grade K-12 school with 237 students and a regional high school with 650 students, grades 9 - 12. Focusing on the five social studies courses taught in both schools, his study revealed that teachers had few of the recommended resources, as Table 1 shows.

With the exception of Cultural Heritage 1200, it is clear there are few resources available to teach these courses. Cultural Heritage 1200 is a special case, as the Department of Education, through a program designed to promote Newfoundland writers and resources, has provided free copies of some of recommended materials for this course. In addition, the Department's Instructional Materials Division provides many

Table 1

## Percentage of Recommended Materials Available in Lockyer's Study

Course	All Grade School	Regional High School
Canadian Economy 2103	3%	18%
Democracy 2101	7%	12%
Canadian Law 2104	12%	23%
World Geography 3202	17%	46%
Cultural Heritage 1200	67%	78%
Overall average	21.2%	35.4%

**Source:** Lockyer (1986), p. 29.

videotapes, either on loan or at little cost. Excluding that course, the overall average percentage of recommended materials available is reduced to 9.7% in the all-grade school and slightly less than 25% in the regional high school. With so few resources available it is obvious that a resource-based approach cannot possibly be adopted.

Lockyer's study was limited to two schools and just five high school social studies courses, so as he points out it is difficult to generalize from these findings. However, Lockyer's findings substantiate observations made by others involved in the provision of media services. In the fall of 1986, at the annual provincial conference of the Educational Media Council, a special interest council of the Newfoundland Teachers' Association, a group of individuals in leadership positions in educational media in the province, at the school, district and university level, met and discussed the needs of media services in the school system. At that meeting, where 13 different school districts were represented, it became apparent that many schools did not have the facilities or the resources to implement the current curriculum. In order to bring the current situation to the attention of the provincial Department of Education the group formed anew association, The Educational Media Leadership Group, which, as its first project, prepared a submission for the Small Schools Study Project. In an attempt to show something of the problems faced by small schools in the province, the following example which was drawn from the observations and experience of the group was used:

A K-6 school of 125 students has no centralised collection at all and the library consists of a "trolley" of books. There is no physical space where a resource centre can be developed. The principal has one period per day off for all administrative duties; in effect, no school personnel is available to manage school resources. At district office, library resources jurisdiction is handled by a "contact person" who has no training in that area and no time to devote to it since he/she is a full-time coordinator (K-12) in another curriculum area. There is no one to identify resource needs; to help teachers learn how to effectively use resources; to select, organize, circulate and maintain the resources; or to coordinate the use of resources.

There is no space to develop a central collection (Educational Media Leadership Group, 1986, pp. 9-10).

As these examples illustrate, many teachers do not have the resources or the facilities to implement the curriculum. Talk and chalk is obviously alive and well in many Newfoundland classrooms and for many teachers it is basically all that they have to rely upon.

### **Relationship Between Resource-Based Teaching and the School Library Resource Centre**

Fullan (1982), in tracing the sources of curriculum reform in Canada, noted that proposed changes in curriculum guides and programs were similar in all provinces. This is certainly true of the current movement toward resource-based teaching. Four provinces, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Ontario, have provincial documents that relate resource-based teaching to the goals and objectives for education in their respective provinces (1). All four of these documents see an increased role for the school library resource centre as the most efficient way to implement the current curriculum and support resource-based teaching methods in the classroom. The earliest and most influential document in clarifying the whole concept of resource-based teaching and the role of the school library resource centre was the Ontario Ministry of Education curriculum resource guide, *Partners in Action: The Library Resource Centre in the School Curriculum* (1982). A later document, *Focus on Learning: An Integrated Program Model for Alberta School Libraries*, by Alberta Education (1985) was influenced by the *Partners in Action* philosophy and adds a slightly different focus. These two models provide a vision and implementation plan for integrating the school library resource centre into resource-based classroom instruction.

### **The School Library Resource Centre**

At the centre of the models proposed in both Alberta and Ontario is the concept of cooperative planning and implementation, with the classroom teacher and the teacher-librarian working as partners in the instructional process. In these models, the teacher-librarian is the school's expert on learning resources, knowing what resources exist, how to acquire and organize them, how to use them effectively. In all but the smallest schools, the resources are centralized, allowing the collection to be used to the maximum, serving different grades and subjects, and being available to students and teachers. The school library resource centre is seen here as essential to the instructional program, offering the resources and processes needed in resource-based teaching.

Cooperative planning and implementation of the curriculum will require classroom teachers and teacher-librarians to work together in order to plan educational programs that actively involve students in the meaningful use of a wide range of appropriate print, non-print, and human resources. Recognizing that students have different learning needs and learning styles, the school library resource centre will provide students with alternative learning activities, a different workplace, where students, either individually or in small groups, can go beyond the textbook and the classroom experiences and be provided with concrete or nearly concrete experiential learning alternatives.



Resource-based programs require students to master the learning and research skills necessary if many resources are to be used effectively. The recommended approach in both the Atlantic and the Ontario models is that schools develop a sequential skills program that is cooperatively taught as an integral part of normal classroom work. Students who are expected to use many resources must know: where the school's resources are located (orientation skills); how to find specific information in different formats (all formats from books to films, from atlases to models); how to locate information using comprehension and study skills; how to be critical readers, viewers and listeners; how to present their findings in reports, research papers, or audiovisual presentations which might include slide-tape shows or videotaped interviews. If the resources for learning are centralized in the library resource centre, then the centre must be available to students and teachers when they need it. This will require constant staffing of the facility, and flexible scheduling which will permit teachers to schedule classes or individuals in the library resource centre based on their information needs.

If teachers are to use resource-based methods, many will need support in the instructional use of media. An important function of the school library resource centre is to provide the on-the-spot assistance that the teachers require. Inservice activities to help classroom teachers cope with new technology, new formats of media, new strategies for learning, should be an important part of the resource centre's program. The teachers should expect to find the support they need, when using new methodology and innovations, in their school library resource centre. In fact, effective professional development is crucial if the expectations of the curriculum planners are to be realized.

### **Effective Professional Development**

The approach to education which the curriculum guides and authorized texts advocate, and which is envisioned in such documents as *Partners in Action* and *Focus on Learning*, makes certain assumptions. It assumes that teachers will give up the textbook approach, and instead rely upon a variety of instructional strategies and many resources; that teaching is a rational activity, based upon teachers' attempting to meet clearly stated objectives; that classroom teachers will be willing to work with teacher-librarians in devising learning experiences that will help achieve these objectives; that classroom teachers and teacher-librarians can work together to teach the learning research skills as an integral part of classroom instruction. However, as pointed out earlier in this article, this is quite different from what is currently happening in most Newfoundland classrooms. To ask teachers who are used to self-contained classrooms and who rely on textbooks and workbooks to adopt this new approach is to make a major change in teaching practice.

In recent years there has been a considerable body of knowledge accumulated on how change occurs in a school system. Fullan (1982) has been in the forefront in this field, and his research supports the findings of others, such as Sarason (1982) and Berman and McLaughlin (1978). This research has implications for those involved in in-service for resource-based programs. It is important for those curriculum planners advocating this new approach to realize that if classroom teachers and school principals are content with textbook teaching, then there is little chance of change occurring. Moving away from textbook teaching will require that many teachers change the teaching materials they use, the teaching strategies employed, and their beliefs in what good teaching is. For professional teachers, this is a threatening situation, implying that their current practice, which probably reflects their best efforts, is not good enough. The

research on how educational change occurs provides insights into how complex such a change is, and how these teachers must be convinced that such a change is necessary for good teaching if there is to be any chance of successful implementation.

The literature on educational change and professional development emphasizes that people are involved in educational change, and that significant professional development may be painful. The teacher must be respected as a professional and given time to reflect and integrate new ideas into -his or her conceptual framework. Those planning to introduce resource-based methods into their schools must be willing to provide the support needed by the 3 classroom teachers, the ones expected to change. For example, primary teachers accustomed to traditional classrooms with seats in neat rows, who have taught for years using the basal readers and workbooks, need support if they are to change to working with individuals or small groups in learning centres and using the thematic, integrated approach requiring many resources.

Berman and McLaughlin (1978) identified strategies that promote the successful implementation of change in the school system. Some strategies that worked well in an overall implementation plan were: concrete, teacher-specific, and on-going training; classroom assistance when needed; encouragement to teachers to visit other classrooms where they can observe the change being successfully practiced by a colleague; scheduled staff meetings which focus on practical problems arising from the change; involvement of teachers in finding solutions for the practical problems caused by the introduction of the change; and involvement of the school principal. The active support of the principal was considered as vital by Berman and McLaughlin, for "it signaled to the staff that their efforts were supported and valued" (p. 30).

The school library resource centre has an important part to play in providing the support that classroom teachers need as they change to resource-based teaching. The qualified teacher-librarian is in a unique position to work as a partner with the classroom teacher, so that the expert in the content to be taught (the classroom teacher) can be assisted by the expert in learning resources (the teacher-librarian). The former brings specialized knowledge of the specific curriculum to be taught and the learning needs and learning styles of the students'; the latter brings specialized knowledge of resources and how best to use them.

### **What's Needed?**

#### **Provincial Leadership**

Although there has been increased emphasis on resource-based teaching, the provincial Department of Education has no official policy on the provision of resources, the creation of school library resource centres, or the hiring of teacher-librarians. Section 12(e) of The Schools Act states that every school board shall:

Wherever possible, provide and make regulations respecting the operation of a suitable library for each school under its control. . .(p. 4725).

Although this clause is written as one of the mandatory duties of school boards, the "wherever possible" phrase may be perceived as a loophole. The Department of Education interprets the act as delegating responsibility to school boards and gives this as a reason for not providing a provincial policy for school library resource centres.

Boards are not given any library policy guidelines specifying the resources they should provide or describing what a modern school library resource centre should be if it is to meet the needs of the curriculum. As a result, there is great variation in resource services provided by different school boards in the province. Some boards have district media centres, while others provide no support at all at the district level. Without a provincial policy, boards have no pressure placed upon them to provide resources, services or personnel.

Other provinces have also delegated the responsibility of providing school libraries to school boards; however, they have stated that school libraries are necessary and provide guidelines for school boards, administrators, and teachers describing what they expect school libraries to be. Alberta Education has a policy requiring school libraries in their schools:

Students in Alberta schools should have access to an effective school library program designed to support and enhance instructional programs and to provide improved opportunities for student achievement of the Goals of Basic Education for Alberta (Alberta Education, 1985, p. 59).

A policy similar to this one is needed in the province of Newfoundland.

### **District Leadership**

With this lack of leadership at the provincial level it is crucial that there be strong leadership at the district level. Yet, despite the increased emphasis on resources and resource-based methods, in 1986-87 only five school boards in the province have full-time coordinators for school library media services. Six other boards have coordinators with expertise in Learning Resources who have responsibility for other curriculum or administrative services. This means that only 11 school boards out of the 35 in the province have qualified personnel to provide leadership in this important area.

With the emphasis on resources in education today, every school district needs a coordinator for learning resources. Such a person must be able to provide effective leadership throughout the school district in the development of resource-based programs in all areas of the curriculum. This person must be the contact person for media services, provide leadership and direction in the selection and organization of resources, provide in-service for teachers and administrators, work with the curriculum coordinators at the district office, and be responsible for long-term planning for the district.

### **Teacher-Librarians in the Schools**

At the school level, teachers who wish to use a resource-based approach will need a strong support system. Resource-based teaching is time-consuming, as those who try it readily admit. Lockyer (1986) found in his study that although some recommended resources were free, less than 20% of those listed were being used. The main reason teachers gave for not using these resources was that they "did not have enough time, for various reasons, to make use of free resources that were not readily available in their school" (p. 33). That the teachers surveyed did not have time is certainly understandable. Classroom teachers, responsible for the content of their lessons, should not also be expected to take responsibility in locating, selecting,

acquiring, and maintaining the resources necessary to implement the school's program. This is the job of a qualified teacher-librarian and, as Branscombe and Newson (1977) point out in *Resource Services for Canadian Schools*, classroom teachers must be provided this kind of support within the school if they are expected to implement resource-based programs:

To expect a classroom teacher to implement an individualized curriculum on his own is to expect the impossible. Every teacher requires the help of a teaching associate, namely a learning resources teacher. The latter, an experienced and creative teacher with specialized knowledge of materials and expertise in their use, collaborates with the classroom teacher in the planning and implementation of learning experiences for students (p. 11).

In Newfoundland, few teachers have the services of a qualified teacher-librarian. Table 2 provides the allocations for school libraries.

In 1985-86 only 231 teachers were allocated to school libraries, and out of that number, 68% were allocated to the school library for less than half time. In fact, as Table 2 shows, 42% of these teachers were allocated to the library for only 10-24% of their teaching time, or, in other words, for approximately 3-9 periods a week. Since there were only 231 teacher-librarians in 1985-86, then approximately 62% of the schools in the province basically had nobody responsible for developing the resource collection or providing the services and support necessary to implement the current curriculum. In such cases, teachers and/or parent volunteers often work after school hours to select, organize and maintain the resources that the school has, but seldom does anybody have the necessary skills to make such efforts efficient.

**Table 2**

**Newfoundland Full and Part-time Elementary & Secondary Educators  
by Time (%) Allocated To School Libraries**

School Year	10-24%	25-49%	50-74%	75-100%	Total Allocated to Library	Number of schools in Newfoundland
1981-82	102 (53%)	38 (20%)	16 (8%)	38 (20%)	194	654
1982-83	103 (50%)	46 (22%)	19 (9%)	40 (19%)	208	639
1983-84	98 (48%)	40 (20%)	36 (18%)	30 (15%)	204	624
1984-85	92 (46%)	43 (22%)	32 (16%)	31 (16%)	198	618
1985-86	97 (42%)	69 (26%)	34 (15%)	40 (17%)	231	607

**Note:** Averages may add up to slightly more than 1008 due to rounding.

**Source:** Statistics Canada. Educational Staff Records (Unpublished). Obtained from the Statistian, Newfoundland Department of Education.

Few schools have anyone allocated to school libraries for more than half time. In 1985-86 there were only 74 teachers in this category, which is to say that only 74 schools (or 11%) could have offered this support.

Full-time allocations to the school library resource centre are rare indeed in this province. As Table 2 shows, in 1985-86, only 40 teachers in the entire province were allocated to school libraries for 75-100% of their time. This figure is even more astonishing when one realizes that 6 of these positions were filled by district coordinators and that one board, the Roman Catholic School Board of St. John's, accounted for 27 of the remaining positions. That means that for all the other schools in the province there are only 7 teachers employed 75-100% of their time in school libraries.

The Roman Catholic School Board for St. John's is outstanding in its emphasis on school libraries and the hiring of qualified teacher-librarians in the schools. They have a very comprehensive library policy, a section of which deals with staffing. Table 3 provides its minimum requirements for teacher-librarians in their system.

The implementation of this policy meant that in 1985-86 this board had 23 full-time teacher-librarians, 2 teacher-librarians allocated to school libraries for 75% of their time, 6 halftime positions, and 2 full-time positions that were shared by several small schools. In 1986-87 the number of full-time positions has been increased to 25 since 2 of the part-time positions have become full-time. It is interesting to compare these figures with those from another large board in the province, which has no policy on school library resource centres, the staffing of these centres, or the qualifications of teacher-librarians. This board, with close to as many students as the Roman Catholic School for St. John's, in 1986-87 has no full-time teacher-librarians in their system, and the majority of teachers allocated to the school library for part of the school day have no special training qualifying them for the position.

The provision of qualified teacher-librarians is too important a matter to be left to school boards. If the Department of Education is serious about implementing the current curriculum, then teacher-librarians must be allocated outside the current pupil-teacher ratio. A formula such as the one used by the Roman Catholic School Board, for St. John's, based on school size (Table 3), could be used, with small schools being served by either part-time people or a full-time unit shared between several small schools.

### **Qualifications for Teacher-Librarians**

Even if a teacher is fortunate enough to be in a school with a teacher allocated to the library, there is no guarantee that the person in the library will have the necessary training and skills to provide the support needed in resource-based teaching. The provincial Department of Education has not specified any qualifications for this specialized position, and many boards, in the past, have allocated to these positions teachers who have no training or often no interest in the job. The Educational Media Leadership Group addressed this problem in their Statement of Concern to the Small Schools Study Project:

It is not enough to merely have an interest in books as has been the criterion used in many cases to designate that area of responsibility. Worse still, it cannot be someone who has proven to be ineffective in the classroom. A teacher-librarian must be a highly-skilled teacher who has specific training in the organization and operation of effective library programs (Educational Media Leadership Group, 1986, p. 15).

Table 3

**Minimum Requirements for staffing in Library Policy of the  
R.C. School Board for St. John's**

Number of students	Library Units
200 - 300	.50
301 - 400	.75
401 - 600	1.00
601 - 800	1.50
801 +	2.00

**Source:** Library Policy of the Roman Catholic School Board for St. John's, p. 21.

The Roman Catholic School Board for St. John's has ensured that all teacher-librarians in their schools will have the necessary training and skills. Section N(b) of their library policy deals with qualifications of the resource specialist and stipulates that all teacher-librarians be qualified and experienced teachers and as well have additional training in learning resources.

There need be no confusion over the qualifications for teacher-librarians for they are well documented. Partners in Action and Focus on Learning clearly define the role and the skills required. In addition, the Canadian School Library Association (CSLA) has identified nine competencies seen as necessary for school librarianship. These include: Administration, Selection, Acquisition, Organization, and Circulation of Learning Resources; Reading, Listening, and Viewing Guidance; Information and Reference Services; Promotion of the Effective Use of Learning Resources and Services; Cooperative Program Planning and Teaching; Professionalism and Leadership (Canadian Library Association, 1982). There is a need for the provincial Department of Education to specify the qualifications required for this position, so that the positions that are created are filled by teacher-librarians who are able to provide the support teachers need.

### **Program funding**

A teacher wishing to use resources in many Newfoundland classrooms will certainly be discouraged by lack of funds. The main source of funding for resources is the Library Materials Grant provided to school boards by the Department of Education. This grant is \$8.00 per student and has not changed since 1974. When specific examples are considered, it becomes apparent how inadequate this grant is. For example, the all-grade school used in Lockyer's study had a student enrolment of 237. The school board allocated \$4.00 per pupil for resources to the school (the other \$4.00 per pupil is used to provide a district media centre.) The library grant would be \$948.00. The regional high school, with 650 students, would receive \$2600.00. The unfairness of this funding formula should be immediately apparent. The all-grade school which has programs from k-level III to support has less than half the grant that the regional high school has, even though the regional high school has only the programs in grades 9-12 to support. The all-grade school, unless additional funds are provided, will never develop

the collection recommended by the Department of Education guidelines. In fact, the regional high school will also require additional funding if it is to provide the resources recommended for the programs they offer.

The Library Materials Grant is, as the Department of Education would no doubt point out, meant only to supplement the money allocated by school boards for resources. Many schools do spend substantially more on resources, using money from their school budgets to do so. However, there is great inequality in the ability of school boards to provide extra money. Warren (1986) examined the revenue school boards received from local taxes. His findings show that in 1983-84 the revenue obtained by different school boards ranged from the highest, \$230.40 per pupil in Labrador West, to the lowest, \$0.00 in Burgeo and Ramea (p. 66). Not all school boards will have the funds to purchase the recommended resources. The Avalon Consolidated School Board, for example, with \$220.27 per pupil from local taxes in 1983-84, undoubtedly had more money to put into resources than did the St. Barbe South Board which, in the same year, received only \$50.95 (Figures from Warren, 1986, p. 66).

What is needed is funding on the basis of programs offered. New courses cannot be introduced and taught using the recommended approach if funds are not available to purchase the resources required. Funding must be on the basis of program needs. New schools require an initial grant to provide a basic core of resources necessary to teach the programs offered in the school, and new programs being introduced need special grants to provide the recommended core of resources. Funding formulas must be flexible enough to accommodate the new directions advocated in the curriculum guides.

### **A Common Vision - A Sense of Direction**

It is apparent that there is no clear sense of direction in the whole area of resource-based teaching. With no provincial leadership, and with 24 of the school boards having no qualified person in resource services at the district level, there is great inequality in the resource services provided in the province. School boards decide if this is a priority area or not, and a few boards have done so. Other boards have left the entire matter to schools, to deal with as they can. So it sometimes happens that within the same board, in two schools with comparable enrolments and budgets, one will have an adequate stock of resources, the other will have practically none. The difference in the two schools probably depends on the principal, and the priority that he or she places on resource-based teaching. Unfortunately, a change in principals can then mean a change in policy, with the library program being discontinued or given less priority. Without the support of the school board, especially the superintendent, the principal cannot count on support, and the loss of a teaching unit may mean that the teacher-librarian is put back into the classroom and the library program disappears. Without direction and support from the provincial Department of Education, and without leadership in this area at the district level, many boards are unable to provide the support, even if they are aware of the need.

If the Department of Education is serious in the approach that they advocate in their curriculum guides and authorized texts, then they cannot overlook the need for policy, guidelines, and support in the whole area of resources. The vision that the curriculum consultants have provided in the provincial curriculum makes resources, library resource centres, and qualified teacher-librarians an essential part of education.

Recently, the Report of the Commission of Employment and Unemployment condemned the present curriculum, accusing teachers and the schools of not meeting the needs of Newfoundland students. As this article has tried to point out, the current curriculum is not being implemented in most classrooms. Teachers cannot, in many classrooms, teach as they have been trained to teach and probably want to teach. What is needed is a serious attempt by all those involved in education to implement the curriculum that is already there. If the schools and the teachers are given the support they need, then teaching in this province can be more than talk and chalk, and students in the province may be provided with the quality of education which the curriculum planners envision.

<sup>1</sup>These documents are: Fuel for Change: Cooperative Program Planning and Teaching by the British Columbia Teachers' Federation; Focus on Learning: An Integrated Program Model for Alberta School Libraries by Alberta Education; The 4th R: Resource-Based Teaching by the Saskatchewan's Teacher's Federation; and Partners in Action: The Library Resource Centre in the School Curriculum by the Ontario Ministry of Education. The Educational Media Council, a special interest council of the Newfoundland Teachers' Association, has also published a pamphlet, Resource-Based Teaching, which they have distributed to all teachers in the province.

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**PART VI**  
**SPECIAL EDUCATION**

## THE ROLE OF THE BRITISH COUNCIL IN SUPPORTING CANADIAN EFFORTS IN SPECIAL EDUCATION

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British Council support to Canadian education is both unique and extremely valuable. Granted a Royal Charter of Incorporation in 1940, this agency has as its prime concern the cultivation of a better understanding between Britain and other countries in addition to representing British life and institutions abroad.

It was thought that these aims could best be accomplished by a body which was not a government department, even though it was and is still necessarily financed almost entirely by government grants. Over the years the British Council has realized its aims through direct cooperation with pertinent educational authorities. In Canada the Council works closely with the provincial departments of education, universities, school boards and other organizations directly concerned with education.<sup>1</sup>

The Council is directed by an Executive Committee of thirty members, eight of whom are representatives of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Ministry of Overseas Development, Department of Education and Science and the Department of Trade and Industry. The remaining members are elected by the Committee itself and include representatives from diverse aspects of British society. Prominent leaders in education, the arts, the sciences and the professions advise the Council through its various subject committees.

The Charter of Incorporation is flexible enough to permit changes in the direction of activities to facilitate the individual needs of both established and developing countries. Primarily, the Council now has a dual purpose: the fostering of cultural relations and the administration of educational aides. This purpose is accomplished through a staff of approximately two thousand active in Britain and seventy-six other countries throughout the world. In Britain the Council works with visitors, scholars and trainees from overseas. It is through the latter home-based activities that the educational ties with Canada are perhaps the strongest.

Council activities may be categorized as follows:

- English teaching - language officers overseas work with Ministries of Education in establishing national English language programmes. The Council also provides English teaching centres which have publishing and library support in London. Distance education is a relatively new field in which expert help is available.
- Educational aid - the Council administers the British educational aid programme for developing countries on behalf of the Overseas Development Administration (a branch of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office). Educational aid extends to all areas of education, though priority is given to grass-root developmental subjects such as agriculture, adult literacy programmes and so on.

- Science - professional scientific collaboration between Britain and developing countries is fostered through the outflow of scientific information from Britain as well as personal contacts between scientists from other countries. Literature in the field of science is published and distributed.
- Personal contacts - British educators, scientists, professionals and artists visit countries on short tours or advisory visits to meet with people having similar backgrounds and experiencing similar problems. It is the reverse process which involves the greatest number of Canadians with many visitors going to Britain to study, research, observe or train in a broad spectrum of endeavour. The British Council in many instances not only arranges programmes, but finances and arranges for accommodation and travel. Some services are for visitors financed by the British Council while others are for those financed at their own expense or through other agencies. The Council assists thousands of students who go to Britain every year to study.
- The Printed Word - the Council runs 126 libraries of its own and supplies books and periodicals to another 100 associated libraries. Exhibitions of a general and specialized nature are held every year in countries where the British Council is represented.
- The Arts - the Council in its endeavour to ensure that the best of the British Arts is presented to overseas audiences promotes and assists overseas tours by British drama, ballet and opera companies. British art is also sent to other countries for exhibition.
- Other activities - the Council also acts as the agent for the British Government in carrying out bilateral cultural agreements between Britain and other countries. Many Council centres in overseas countries are used for meetings, exhibitions and performances by local agencies. People with common pursuits are brought together.

The Department of Educational Psychology at Memorial University first became involved with the British Council in 1976. Since that time four members of the Department have been invited to take part in educational tours in Britain. Two tours concerned special education (Dr. Nesbit and Dr. Karagianis), one concerned counselling programs in Britain (Dr. N. Garlie) and the other concerned student advisory services in British schools and universities (Dr. T. Boak). Participants described the tours as extremely beneficial.

Dr. Karagianis was part of a group educational tour arranged for selected members of the Advisory Committee to the Newfoundland Minister of Education on Special Education. Dr. Nesbit's visit, which will be described, in some detail, was an individual tour involving professionals and services in the fields of mental retardation and learning disabilities.

#### **Dr. W. Nesbit**

Dr. Nesbit's individual tour of special education facilities in the United Kingdom, February 28 to March 14, 1977, was the first invitation extended to a member of the Department of Educational Psychology at Memorial University. Arrival in Britain was on

Sunday, February 27, and accommodation had been arranged at the Charing Cross Hotel within walking distance of the London office of the British Council.

On Monday morning Dr. Nesbit met with Miss Anne Constable of the British Council and an overview of special education in England and Wales was presented. Printed materials concerning the British education system as a whole and exceptionality in particular were provided as part of the briefing. A detailed plan of the two-week itinerary was provided.

The first two days of the tour were spent in London, first meeting with Mr. J.R. Fish, Staff Inspector, Department of Education and Science, and then visiting selected schools. Mr. Fish clearly explained the major problematic issues in British special education and provided details concerning the changes envisaged in the area of exceptionality with the upcoming Warnock Report (published 1978). According to Mr. Fish, the most perplexing question throughout Great Britain with regard to the retarded child is "What can be done to accommodate him once he has reached school leaving age?" A number of ideas were being explored at the time and have gained momentum during the interim period. In some areas Colleges of Further Education are providing one year courses which teach industrial skills to young adults; Braintree College of Further Education in Essex is one example.

In a positive vein, Fish noted a marked increase in "good" school leaving courses. These programs, developed from within the individual school systems, gauge their thinking toward employment. Usually, such programs are of a work-study variety and as such are excellent bridging techniques. As in Canada, such programs represent the first line of provisions for the mildly retarded child as he reaches school leaving age.

A particularly interesting aspect of the London segment of the tour was the Tuesday morning spent at the Lillian Bayliss Class, where Mrs. Preece, the teacher, worked intensively with eight perceptually handicapped children (6 to 11½ CA). Sometimes a theme is selected as the focal point in programming for a particular week, i.e., body midline, spatial awareness, eye-hand coordination. The programme aims at gradual integration with the educational mainstream. Tuesday afternoon was spent in travel from London to Kirkcaldy, Fife County, Scotland.

During a two-day visit in Kirkcaldy, Mr. A. Robertson, Deputy Principal Educational Psychologist with the Fife Department of Education introduced Dr. Nesbit to the regional Child Guidance Clinic, and accompanied him on visits to a number of schools for exceptional children. Accompanied by Mr. M. More, Deputy Director of Education, and Mr. Robertson, a visit was made to Lynebank Hospital School in Dunfermline. Lynebank is a new facility for the mentally retarded and epitomizes the new attitudes toward mental subnormality. Set close to the community, the emphasis is on education and training to the maximum potential. Mrs. H. Smith, Head teacher, provided a tour of the school facilities at Lynebank and facilitated interaction with a number of teachers and instructors. At the hospital Dr. W.I. Fraser, Consultant Psychiatrist, presented his research findings concerning topics ranging from self-injurious behavior to communication problems in the mentally handicapped.

Thursday evening the itinerary took the visitor to Edinburgh with meetings planned for the following day at Moray House College of Education. Mrs. Marion Blythman, Head of Special Education Department at Moray House, arranged a seminar with her students and an exchange of ideas centering upon a presentation by Dr. Nesbit concerning

Special Education in Newfoundland. Mrs. Blythman facilitated a visit to Lothian Regional Assessment Centre where, according to Mr. Thom, the Director, social work and education work closely with children having social and behavioral problems.

After a free day in Edinburgh on Saturday, March 5, the tour recommenced on Monday morning in Sheffield. After an initial meeting with Mr. C.L. Frost, Assistant Education Officer for Special Education in Sheffield, a visit was made to the Ryegate Centre where assessments of auditory, visual, motor and language problems are carried out. Dr. Trevor Wright explained the functioning of the centre.

In Sheffield, as in numerous other centres, various avenues of assistance have been made available to parents. In recent years courses have been set up to help parents understand the nature of mental deficiency and to offer direction concerning care, stimulation and programming for their child. B. Watson, Education Officer for Special Education in Sheffield, described the in-service activities for parents provided by the Department of Science and Education, Sheffield University and the Spastics Society as "intensive and extensive."

Volunteer societies such as the British Spastics Society are sensitive to parents' need for support and have provided crises centres which administer to the needs of parents and help uplift them during times of severe psychological stress.

Mrs. Watson kindly arranged visits to numerous schools in Sheffield. The Work Experience Unit for slow learning children on the Dr. John Worrall School campus is situated in the midst of Sheffield's steel and engineering industry. Boys and girls from six senior schools for the educationally handicapped attend the Unit for twelve weeks during their final year of full-time education. Mr. D. Walton, Teacher in-Charge, explained that work experience for the school leavers, both in the Unit and in selected "open" industries is designed to help the "at risk" pupil overcome the transition from school to work. The Unit manufactures wood and metal toys, garments, soft toys, and specialized educational equipment. The work is produced under simulated factory conditions, i.e., clocking for work, observing industrial disciplines. The visit to the Unit was of great interest in that work experience programmes are in the process of developing in Newfoundland.

Chantrey School and Oaks Park School for cerebral palsied, multiply handicapped and children with little or no speech or effective movement were part of the Sheffield itinerary. From visiting these schools it became apparent that throughout England it has been realized that parents of retarded children must be given both support and encouragement. As stated by R. Johnson, Headmaster of Oaks Park School in Sheffield, "Schools must support parents! We must consult. We must console. It is a sharing of stress."

Before leaving Sheffield, an evening meeting was arranged with Miss Ann O'Connor, Senior Lecturer in Special Education at Sheffield City Polytechnic. The meeting was most profitable, centering upon teacher-training programmes in Sheffield and Newfoundland and a discussion of problematic issues. Upon returning to London Dr. Nesbit met with Miss Anne Constable at the British Council and reported concerning his impressions of the tour.

In summary, the authors through their association with members of the British Council and their meetings with professional educators in the United Kingdom gained new insights concerning Britain, its people and educational system. The knowledge and

understanding derived from the experience generated a profound educational influence on the writers who in recent publications have shared their perceptions of British trends in special education. Also the authors were fortunate to be in Britain during the time the Warnock Report on Special Education was being drafted and published. This report gave rise to excellent discussion and comment on special education.

#### Footnote

<sup>11</sup>**What Is The British Council**, the British Council, 1977, p. 1.

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**EMPLOYABILITY AND THE MENTALLY HANDICAPPED ADOLESCENT**

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Traditionally, the mentally retarded child was shunned by his peers and elders and had little to look forward to in adulthood. However, during the past twenty years, societal attitude has undergone a positive change and current horizons for the retarded student show significant promise (Gunter and Levy, 1985).

A renewed interest in the plight of the mentally handicapped individual has fostered a recent trend toward integration with the mainstream of society. The philosophical impetus for the integration movement is embodied in the principle of normalization, first advocated by Wolfensberger (1972). According to Schultz and Rusch (1982), the normalization doctrine was accompanied by a growing awareness that productive work in competitive employment is a primary desirable goal for mentally handicapped adults.

The potential of the mentally handicapped adult has been greatly underestimated. Brolin (1976) noted that public opinion traditionally has been that mentally handicapped persons are capable of learning only the simplest and most routine of jobs, and that mental deficiency is synonymous with vocational deficiency. In response to such misinformed views, vocational education for mentally handicapped learners has escalated dramatically in recent years. Most programs have been established at the high school level, but more are becoming available at the junior high school level. Typical programs consist of vocational assessment activities, in-school and community-based work experiences, career awareness and vocational instruction.

Gearheart and Litton (1979) noted that two major influences have led to a positive modification in educators' views concerning vocational training for the handicapped student. Basic thinking has been strongly influenced by a more accurate understanding of the capacity and motivational potential of the handicapped individual to perform a wide variety of work-related tasks, to relate to the social requirements of employment and the actual desire of such persons to be employed. As a second related influence, research on the vocational skills of mentally retarded persons increasingly has stated that this population can participate effectively in many more vocational opportunities than are usually provided, can produce qualitatively and quantitatively at a higher level than is usually expected, and that they can earn significant wages through economically useful work.

Gunter and Levy (1985) pointed out that although many moderately and severely handicapped individuals are now being taught vocational skills, the majority are still not able to enter the work force due to social restrictions rather than to an inability to work in a productive manner. Lakin and Bruininks (1985) noted that many more vocational programs have been designed to serve the mildly retarded student because of the traditional widespread view that the moderately handicapped individual would never be 'ready' for adult work tasks. In Canada, many moderately retarded individuals are



provided a combination of basic vocational and life-skill training in the school system. However, once the handicapped youth leaves school, few employment opportunities exist (Hillier & Klas, 1984).

According to Brolin and Brolin (1979), every citizen has the right to become a productive member of society. As no society can afford to maintain a large number of unproductive citizens, alternatives to unemployment such as welfare or "make work" jobs should not be considered acceptable. Therefore, educators have no real alternative to effective vocational programs for mentally handicapped learners.

### **Educational Mandate**

Forness (1982) emphasized the importance of vocational preparation as the key to vocational success in adulthood. Since a relatively favourable outcome is within the grasp of most handicapped individuals, the task appears to be one of refining educational procedures. Pragmatically, this means the initiation of vocational education as early as possible in the school career so that by junior high it has become a major educational focus.

The existence of a vocational curriculum, posits Atkins (1986), has extended the range of educational opportunities and has enabled a higher number of young people to continue formal education. In addition, it has facilitated appropriate skill training in relation to various employment fields. Such courses enable society to pass on values essential to its maintenance, including the "work ethic", and the desirability and normality of waged employment.

Handicapped students, disillusioned with regular school programs, see no relevance of education to the world around them. According to Meer (1980), vocational education is the logical programming for these students. Through vocational education the handicapped student sees an immediate transference from the school setting to the world around him.

Brolin and Brolin (1982) noted the following concerning the benefits of vocational training for handicapped persons:

- They may have untapped potential for higher levels of personal, social and occupational functioning than they may be achieving.
- Research has indicated how little we really know about their abilities. Given the opportunity, and better training programs, they can reach a higher level of training than was earlier thought attainable.
- What has limited their performance is not intellectual ability but rather a lack of appropriate opportunities. Appropriate training techniques and the discovery of occupations they can perform are the keys to their being able to compete effectively in the labour market.
- There are thousands of potentially appropriate jobs in state and federal governments (pp. 60-61).

There are many reasons that as educators and citizens we should encourage the establishment of vocational programs for mentally handicapped students. Bruce Kappel (1983) summarized the situation as it exists in Canada for the mentally handicapped population, and in so doing provided further rationale for pre-vocational and vocational training.

- The vast majority of handicapped people are poor, under-employed and under-educated.
- Handicapped children do not routinely have access to the same career development opportunities as do non-handicapped children within the educational system.
- Increasingly, human rights legislation and government policies are recognizing the right of handicapped people to meaningful employment.
- It is still possible for people to find and retain jobs despite hard economic times.
- Technology is now available to meaningfully involve people with severe handicaps in the world of work, and the severity of a person's handicap is only a barrier to meaningful work when non-handicapped persons do not use all available resources.
- Meaningful work has proven to be an effective vehicle not only for earning money but also for teaching functional skills within the life of a community.

With regard to work adjustment, the school can do much to prepare the mentally handicapped child to take his place in employment. It is critical that curriculum planning start early to ensure that the acquisition of requisite skills is not left to chance or until the last two years of the senior program. Allen and Cross (1967), in an article entitled "Work Study for the Retarded - the Elementary School Years", made numerous worthwhile suggestions for both elementary and junior high school curriculum levels. These writers reason that the senior high school program has its best chance of success when students bring the following ideas with them from primary, intermediate, and junior high classes:

- All people work for money; some people work for other reasons too. All work is important to the employer and the employee.
- All work gets dull and tiresome at times.
- Even though work is not always fun, it is a good feeling to be a wage earner; so "I want to work."
- Our community has many jobs to be done. Among them are some I can do.
- The types of jobs people hold may depend upon their abilities, their desire to work, and the availability of certain kinds of jobs in the community (p. 7).

Allen and Cross outlined curriculum content for the early school years which would establish in the handicapped child an expectation to work and contribute to society.

Primary, intermediate and junior high school curricula must dovetail with the senior program.

### **Employability**

With the proliferation of improved work-study and vocational preparation programs, mentally delayed adults, in ever-increasing numbers, are achieving competitive employment and filling employee roles with poise and confidence. Phelps and Lutz (1977) stated that educators cannot necessarily assume that the employability of the handicapped learner is below that of regular learner. Some would suggest that handicapped individuals tend to perform at the level of expectation held by those around them. This is commonly referred to as the "self-fulfilling prophecy".

Even in times of economic restraint the handicapped need not be the first to suffer as the result of staff reductions if they have received high quality vocational training. In fact, according to Ebert, Bevan and Dennis (1983), a carefully structured vocational training program aimed at local employment markets results in a significant number of competitive placements regardless of the rate of unemployment. This is indeed a good reason for emphasis on early prevocational and vocational training for the handicapped.

Although some writers such as Farber (1968) have described the mildly handicapped employee as among the first to suffer during times of underemployment, others have claimed that a high rate of community unemployment does not always adversely influence job opportunities. Presenting data from two Oregon-based studies, Halpern (1973) suggested that mentally handicapped people do not automatically lose in times of economic depression. Questioning the widespread belief that a favorable labor market dictates employment possibilities, Halpern presented the following propositions:

- When community economic conditions deteriorate, mentally retarded workers are not necessarily in jeopardy of losing their jobs.
- Mentally retarded persons who are assisted by well-structured vocational training programs have a good chance of finding jobs, regardless of the level of general community unemployment.

According to Halpern, many mentally handicapped individuals are extremely good workers when properly placed. And, as a consequence, they are not the first to be dismissed when jobs become scarce.

The President's Committee on Mental Retardation (1969) reported the results of a three-year training project which placed mentally retarded individuals in American laundries. Although 36 percent of the 615 individuals selected for the program dropped out during the initial ten-week training period, 93 percent of those remaining had satisfactory production records. Along a similar line, Brodin (1976) noted that mentally retarded individuals have done well in a variety of work situations and "many appear to be so happy to obtain a regular paying job that they become excellent workers and learn to think on their own" (p. 32).

Brickey and Campbell (1981) reported on the successful part-time employment of mildly and moderately mentally retarded adults in McDonald's restaurants. The

"McDonald's Project" involved seventeen young adults trained and placed in the chain's franchised units. The group had a lower than average turnover rate and were generally successful in the competitive employment market. Commencing upon the demonstrated employability of the group, Brickey and Campbell concluded that:

Feelings of accomplishment, being normal, independence, and accompanying changes in self-concepts apparently were important motivating factors in the employees choosing to stay with the job rather than return to the workshop (p. 116).

Several studies indicate that mentally retarded individuals make a relatively good vocational adjustment if provided with occupationally-oriented training. Kelly and Simon (1969) drew the following conclusions:

When properly placed, the majority of retarded persons perform tasks assigned to them as efficiently and rapidly as normal employees; in fact, they perform routine, repetitive tasks better than their nonhandicapped coworkers and tire less quickly.

The use of retarded individuals in repetitive kinds of jobs will reduce labour costs caused by tardiness, absenteeism and high turnover.

The fact that mentally retarded workers have a high degree of job satisfaction on routine jobs, do not actively seek promotions, and are motivated better than their counterparts also tends to reduce turnover; therefore, costs of training, retraining, and personnel procedures of the employment process are reduced. (pp. 31-32).

Although the fact that mentally retarded employees "do not actively seek promotion" and "perform routine and repetitive tasks" might cause one to consider the possibility of exploitation of all-too-willing employees, the basic points presented by Kelley and Simon characterize the mentally retarded employee as a productive worker.

According to Baroff (1974) there is no uncertainty concerning the occupational possibilities of mentally handicapped people: "that retarded persons can work is incontrovertible" (p. 321). The basic problem with employability is that each employer's vision of the reality is shaped by his own experience. Baroff has posited that most people can readily understand how others like themselves are employable, but question whether people who appear to be different can also work. Wong (1969) reported that most employers do not distinguish degrees of retardation or recognize the potential value of such individuals to society.

It must be noted that the employability of mentally handicapped individuals is not universally agreed upon. Feldman (1979) stated that "to date, the work record of the mildly retarded has not been good" (p. 149). He contended that the main reason for failure in the workplace is the lack of vocational preparation. According to Feldman many school systems do not possess curricula which meet the needs of the mildly retarded student; as a consequence, they graduate without the skills necessary for survival. Fortunately, during the last decade many of Feldman's educational concerns have been addressed.

Commenting upon the difficulty in integrating the developmentally disabled in job situations, Gold (1973) expressed belief in their work potential:

Whatever the reasons for the present status of the retarded, a wide discrepancy exists between what the retarded do, vocationally, and what they are potentially capable of doing both qualitatively and quantitatively (p. 41).

Without doubt, the major factor in a handicapped individual's success or lack of success in the work community is the quality of preparation provided by the school rather than the degree of mental retardation. Schalock and Harper (1978) studying job placement success of 52 mildly and moderately retarded adults after completion of a competitive employment training program found that successful placement did not relate directly to intelligence. Duration of training and the acquisition of essential sensorimotor, visual and auditory processing skills were identified as highly related to competitive placement success.

Sigler and Kokaska (1971) cited underdeveloped job placement procedures as a major reason for mentally retarded individuals not achieving employment. The "do me a favor" approach which has been utilized to convince potential employers to hire the retarded person has been a deterrent to placement. In past attempts at placement we acted as if handicapped persons should be grateful for any kind of work awarded them without any consideration of their interests or skills. It is essential to emphasize that the mentally handicapped person should be hired because he is a conscientious worker. It is to the employers advantage to hire productive workers.

According to Morgenstern and Michael-Smith (1973) mentally retarded people are only now beginning to reap the benefits of identification, social acceptance, self-esteem and economic gain that productive work brings them. To deprive handicapped adults of these benefits would be an unnecessary and unjust act on the part of society.

Clearly, the greater part of the responsibility for the employability of the mentally retarded adult rests with the school and its ability to focus effectively on vocational training. Social views concerning the mentally handicapped individual have moved light years ahead during the past decade. Hopefully the new and positive image increasingly will find its way into the world of employment.

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**PART VII**  
**OTHER ISSUES**



## DECIDING WHOM TO BELIEVE

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The following letter to the editor appeared in the May 1983 issue of *Motor Trend*, a magazine which deals with new automobiles and automobile products as they appear on the market:

In the February 1983 *Motor Trend* [Car of the Year] article, the Alliance DL 0-60 mph acceleration is rated at 14.57 [seconds] and the 60-0 braking is rated at 144 [feet]. The January 1983 *Consumer Reports* test of the Alliance DL rated 0-60 mph at 18 [seconds] and 60-0 braking at 165 [feet], and the January 1983 *Popular Science* rated the same tests 18.9 [seconds] and 173 [feet]. Why is there such a large discrepancy?

Kirk Frazee  
Chelmsford, Mass.

The Alliance DL is a new car manufactured by American Motors and Renault and directly competes with many other brands of similar size. A person trying to decide which of these several models to buy might be interested in comparing their relative acceleration and braking abilities before making a final decision. In this context Mr. Frazee's question, which seeks an explanation of the discrepant reports in the three magazines, is extremely relevant. We can imagine Mr. Frazee throwing his arms up and asking, "Whom am I to believe?". The following, offered by the editor of *Motor Trend* in answer to his question, is not likely to help much: "We know which pedals to step on."

In a context in which the automobile testers employed by *Motor Trend* were the only dependable sources of information on the specifications of automobile performance, the editor's reply might be reasonable. It would properly discredit other testers for their lack of knowledge about testing procedures. However, we know that the testers employed by *Popular Science* and *Consumer Reports* are not likely so uninformed that they do not know the brake pedal from the accelerator, and in that context the editor's reply must be treated as irrelevant to Mr. Frazee's genuine concern. Indeed, one might wish to be harsher and accuse the editor of failing to treat seriously an issue which could affect the safety of other people, if those people were to choose an automobile thinking it had better brakes than it actually did have.

We often find ourselves in situations in which we must decide whom or what to believe, and often there seem no obvious ways of correctly making a decision. During election campaigns we try to decide which political candidate to believe or which to believe more. We attempt to decide between brands of detergent, all of which promise the whitest wash at the lowest cost. If we are required to be a juror in a court of law we must judge the believability of what witnesses say. Making such decisions as these is often incredibly complex, and in fact it is known that people do not perform these tasks very well. It is known, for example, that when assessing the testimony of eyewitnesses jurors often use criteria which are unsound. Jurors often rate testimony on the basis of witnesses' agreeableness on the witness stand, their dress and physical bearing, their having cultured speech, and their expressing confidence in the truth of what they testified (Loftus, 1979; Yarmey, 1979). Such factors have no relationship to the truth of testimony, and are illegitimate grounds for decision. In addition, in a recent article (King and Norris,

1983) we showed that high school students have much difficulty in properly appraising reports of observations.

What, then, are the proper sorts of procedures to follow in deciding what and whom to believe? We know that we can sometimes rely on our past experience. Our experience with the high quality of a camera might justifiably lead us to believe an advertisement's claim about the superior quality of a new model of the same brand. On other occasions we know that it is sound practice to rely on the judgement of an expert in an area. For example, it would often be proper to rely upon the word of your doctor that you have an infection that requires treating. It is likely, however, that neither our experience nor expert judgement will be helpful in the present situation in deciding among the various reports on the braking and acceleration of the Alliance DL. We must turn to other things.

### **GUIDELINES FOR SOUND CHOICE**

There is available considerable guidance for deciding on the believability of what people say. These guidelines have evolved through many years of practice in the judiciary, in science, and in other fields. They receive their support through their proven success in those fields, through certain psychological research such as that into the factors influencing the dependability of eyewitness testimony, and through the plausible way in which they match our common sense notions of how people come to believe things. Working in the area of critical thinking, Robert Ennis was one of the first to attempt to codify these guidelines comprehensively. He developed a set of principles upon which decisions of believability could be made (1962). These principles have since been modified by Ennis (1980), and Table 1 contains a related set of principles further modified and designed to suit the specific task of appraising observations. These principles are relevant to the task at hand since the reports of the accelerations and braking ability of the Alliance DL are the results of observations made, presumably, with technical apparatus.

Before dealing directly with appraising the conflicting statements describing the performance of the Alliance, let us examine the set of principles. Notice that there are four main categories. The first category contains one principle dealing with the relative believability of observation statements and inferences based upon them. The other main categories deal with factors affecting believability which arise from the nature of the person doing the observing, the nature of the observation conditions, and the nature of the observation report itself. Each of these latter categories contains a number of sub-principles dealing with specific aspects of each category.

Applying the principles in any appraisal situation requires a competence over and above knowledge of the principles themselves. For this reason care must be taken in the use of the principles and in teaching them to students, lest they think that the principles provide some straightforward formulae for making sound appraisals. It is misleading to think of the principles this way. In fact there are no procedures to follow automatically for applying the principles in a particular context. There is no easy means for weighing principles in a situation where different principles push our decision in different directions. There is no way in which a proper decision can be made on the basis of one principle, as if meeting its condition could be necessary or sufficient for judging the believability of an observation report. Thus, for example, if in making a particular assessment we discover that the observer was in a conflict of interest, but at the same time find that the

observer used precise observing techniques and was expert in their use, then there is no simple way to judge the relative impact of these competing factors on the overall believability of what was reported. Likewise, taking into account the observer's conflict of interest or expertise alone is not a sound method for making a decision. Other factors might have played a role in determining what was reported and should be considered. Thus, in any situation more than knowledge of the principles themselves is required for making sound decisions. One must have knowledge of the subject matter at hand so that possible influences on believability can be recognized, and one must have knowledge and experience in similar situations to resolve competing information and to decide how much weight to attribute to principles which push our decision in different directions.

A closer examination of the principles reveals something of their origin and at the same time of the source of their support. Many of the principles have formed a part of judicial practice for many years and have proven usefulness and validity in that field. These principles deal with such things as the observer's conflict of interest, expertise, and extent of preconceived notions about how an observation will turn out; with whether or not the observation conditions were conducive to making good observations; and with whether the report was given in response to a leading question and was based upon reliable records. Other principles originate in philosophical work on the justification of statements people make and derive their support from the high degree of plausibility of these doctrines. These principles deal with such things as whether the observation statement commits the speaker to holding a large or small number of things to be true, with whether the precision of an observation report is appropriate given the precision of the observation techniques used, and with whether the statement fits in with other statements which are reasonable to believe. Finally, several principles originate in the psychological research on the quality of eyewitness testimony. Such principles as those dealing with whether the observation report is about an emotionally-loaded event, whether the speaker is reporting on something previously forgotten, and whether the report is about salient or just commonplace features of an event, are supported by this psychological research.

There is thus a network of substantiated practice, theoretical thought, and experimental research which, when brought together, leads to the set of principles as given. The support for the principles is thereby increased by information coming from a number of different directions and leading to common conclusions. We can never be certain that the list is complete or that future discoveries will not lead to modification or elimination of some principles. It is at present, however, a set that is well supported by the evidence and the most complete set of which we are aware.

## PRINCIPLES FOR APPRAISING OBSERVATIONS

<p>I. Observation statements tend to be more believable than inferences based upon them.</p> <p>II. An observation statement tends to be believable to the extent that the observer:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. is functioning at a moderate level of emotional arousal;</li> <li>2. is alert to the situation and gives his or her statement careful consideration;</li> <li>3. has no conflict of interest;</li> <li>4. is skilled at observing the sort of thing observed;</li> <li>5. has a theoretical understanding of the thing observed;</li> <li>6. has senses that function normally;</li> <li>7. has a reputation for being honest and correct;</li> <li>8. uses as precise a technique as is appropriate;</li> <li>9. is skilled in the technique being used;</li> <li>10. has no preconceived notions about the way the observation will turn out;</li> <li>11. was not exposed, after the event, to further information relevant to describing it; (if the observer was exposed to such information, the statement is believable to the extent that the exposure took place close to the time of the event described.)</li> <li>12. is mature.</li> </ol>	<p>III. An observation statement tends to be believable to the extent that the observation conditions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. provide a satisfactory medium of observation;</li> <li>2. provide sufficient time for observation;</li> <li>3. provide more than one opportunity to observe;</li> <li>4. provide adequate instrumentation, if instrumentation is used. (If instrumentation is used in gaining access, then the statement tends to be believable to the extent that the instrumentation: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. has suitable precision;</li> <li>b. has a suitable range of application;</li> <li>c. is of good quality;</li> <li>d. works in a way that is well understood;</li> <li>e. is in good working condition.)</li> </ol> </li> </ol>	<p>IV. An observation statement tends to be believable to the extent that the observation statement:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. commits the speaker to holding a small number of things to be true;</li> <li>2. is corroborated;</li> <li>3. is no more precise than can be justified by the observation technique being used;</li> <li>4. is made close to the time of observing;</li> <li>5. is made by the person who did the observing;</li> <li>6. is strongly believed to be corroboratable by the person making it;</li> <li>7. does not conflict with other statements for which good reasons can be given;</li> <li>8. is made in the same environment as the one in which the observation was made;</li> <li>9. is not about an emotionally-loaded event;</li> <li>10. is the first report of the event provided by the speaker;</li> <li>11. is not given in response to a leading question;</li> <li>12. does not report a recollection of something previously forgotten;</li> <li>13. reports on salient features of an event; (features of an event are salient to the extent that they are extraordinary, colourful, novel unusual, and interesting, and not salient to the extent that they are routine, commonplace and insignificant.)</li> <li>14. is based upon a reliable record, if it is based upon a record. (If an observation statement is based upon a record, then the statement tends to be believable to the extent that the record: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. was made close to the time of observing;</li> <li>b. was made by the person who did the observing;</li> <li>c. comes from a source having a good reputation for making correct records.)</li> </ol> </li> </ol>
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## THE ALLIANCE DL QUESTION

The principles can be used to help arrive at a tentative conclusion about what to believe in the Alliance DL situation. Unfortunately, there are many crucial unknowns in this situation, making it difficult for one to reach a final decision with certainty. The first stage in reaching a conclusion is deciding which principles seem to be the most relevant to the present case. There are no clear rules for how to do this. It is part of the art that develops through experience with using the principles in various contexts. It is probably not likely that someone who has such experience does anything like scan the entire set of principles searching for the most applicable ones. Rather, it is more reasonable to believe that the relevant principles merely "come to mind" as the experienced person analyzes the situation. For our purposes here, however, we might just scan the list of principles looking for those that seem to be pertinent in this context.

The first principle, the one comparing the believability of observation statements to inferences, is not relevant to this case since all three sets of statements about the Alliance are reports of observations of braking distances and acceleration rates. The first principle thus does not enable us to make a comparison among the statements.

The second principle, really a set of subprinciples dealing with the observers, does suggest a few things. First of all, for most of the factors mentioned we have no reason to suspect that the observers used by one magazine differed from those used by another. For example, we are given no reason to think that one group was more alert than the other, was more skilled, had better senses, or used more precise techniques. There might indeed have been differences in these respects, but we know of none and it would be extremely difficult to discover for sure whether there were any.

However, there is reason to believe that there is a difference in the level of conflict of interest possessed by each group of observers, and in the degree to which the observers had preconceived notions about the way in which the observations of the Alliance would turn out. Motor Trend had named the Alliance DL "car of the year". If this had been done before the braking and acceleration ratings had been made (and we are not sure that this is not so), then this might have exerted an unwarranted influence on the observers to reach results which would please the editors of Motor Trend. In addition, the decision by the editors of Motor Trend might have led the observers to expect good results from the Alliance, and this preconception could have affected their judgement. However, even if the observation reports were made before a decision on car of the year had been reached, then the editors would have been in conflict of interest in reporting on the observations. The better the results, the more they would seem justified in their choice. Making a well-justified choice of car of the year is important to Motor Trend, since they pride themselves in making wise and popular choices.

Those who did the acceleration and braking tests for Consumer Reports and Popular Science would likely be influenced less by considerations such as those above. Neither of these magazines set out to name a car of the year, or a jalopy of the year for that matter. It seemed they wished to give straightforward reports on the performance of the cars, allowing the results to fall where they may. There is no reason that we can see to suspect that there was any pressure to have the results turn out in one way rather than another. For this reason, in regard to these principles concerning conflict of interest and preconceptions of observational results, the evidence weighs against the figures reported in Motor Trend.

Regarding the relevance of the second principle, which deals with the quality of the observation conditions, it seems we can say little. It might have been the case that the automobile tests for each magazine were performed under different conditions, and that this made a difference to the result. However, without extensive effort we have no way of knowing whether such differences exist, and if we can reach a reasonable decision using other grounds, practicality dictates that we assume no differences on this score. We know this assumption could lead to an incorrect choice. However, we are trying to show how the principles can be used in a practical situation in which not all of the information which one would like to have available is at hand.

The third principle, which deals with the observation statement itself, again presents possibilities for factors which need to be considered. Examining the list we see that many of the principles do not focus on any difference among the reports of which we are aware. These include whether the statement was made close to the time of observing, whether it was made by the person who did the observing, whether it is about an emotionally-loaded event, and whether it was given in response to a leading question. Two factors are particularly relevant, however, and we will examine each in turn.

The first relevant factor concerns the degree to which the statements are corroborated. Upon inspection it can be seen that the reported results in Popular Science and Consumer Reports agree with each other within a tolerance of about 5%. The Motor Trend braking results are, however, about 15% shorter than the others and the acceleration results close to 20% faster. Given their relative closeness the Popular Science and Consumer Reports results support one another and shed some suspicion on the Motor Trend results. The difference is also in the direction that would be predicted, better braking and acceleration results in Motor Trend, if indeed the Motor Trend results had been influenced by a conflict of interest or preconceived notions of the results. Thus, there is a certain accord among the assessments of all these factors.

Another factor which is relevant is the reputation of the source of the information. Do the three magazines have comparable reputations for reporting correct results? This is a difficult question to answer, but it seems to us that Consumer Reports has the best reputation for impartiality and accuracy among the three magazines. They have a well-established record of product evaluation and this is their sole business, making them, we believe, the most reputable source of information among the three. We are uncertain of the comparative reputations of the other two magazines. We do think that they are directed toward largely different audiences from the audience of Consumer Reports, and that their audience would likely be less demanding. We do know, as well, that Popular Science tends to give only overall positive assessments of automobiles. It seems that if in their judgement an automobile is not of high quality then they will not report on it. If this is true, then one might think that the Popular Science figures on the Alliance are, if anything, biased toward the favourable end of the spectrum. Even given this assumption, the Popular Science results are less favourable than the Consumer Report results. When all of these considerations are taken into account we conclude that they diminish the credibility of the Motor Trend results by an additional amount.

### REACHING A CONCLUSION

Whom are we to believe, then, about the acceleration and braking performance of the Alliance DL? First of all, we realize that any decision which we make is subject to modification in the light of further information. In situations in which something less than

all of the possible information is available, conclusions must always be tentative, though they can be made with varying degrees of confidence. In the present situation, we conclude with a substantial degree of confidence that the Motor Trend reports are less worthy of belief than the others. It is plausible to believe that Motor Trend – was influenced by a conflict of interest to produce highly favourable figures since they had staked their reputation on their choice of the Alliance DL as 1983 car of the year. In addition, the reports of the other two magazines are so close to one another that they offer considerable mutual support. When it is recognized that Consumer Reports also has an excellent record of impartiality and accuracy, then the case against believing Motor Trend becomes quite strong.

The question of whether or not to believe either Consumer Reports or Popular Science more than the other still remains. However, because of the closeness of the results and the lack of information this would be a difficult choice to make. It is also a decision which is of little practical difference in the world of buying and driving cars. Another principle of sound thinking is not to expend effort when there is no conceivable payoff. This is a principle we will follow here.

Note that the conclusion does not state that one of the magazine reports is incorrect and that the reports of the others are correct or more correct. The conclusion is also not about the intentions of any of the magazine editors. There is no suggestion that there was any intent to deceive, or to do anything at all underhanded. The conclusion is about the relative credibility of the reports. In this regard Motor Trend's results may be correct, and that further evidence could demonstrate this. One must always be careful to distinguish among worthiness of belief, and honesty. This paper judges the first of these.

## **CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY**

Sound thinking is often required in conducting the everyday affairs of our lives. As an example, buying an automobile usually requires the ability to make proper appraisals of the information which is available on competing models. Often this information is itself competing, making wise choices difficult for the consumer, and impossible for the ones who are not knowledgeable of sound evaluative techniques.

In this paper we have presented a set of principles for appraising observations. Which observation report to accept is often a crucial question. In the example discussed, depending upon the results of one's choice, the Alliance DL would be judged to have either excellent braking and acceleration ability or only just average or a little less than average score on these characteristics. These differences are large enough to make a real difference to one's choice of which automobile to buy. The principles which we have presented, when they are judiciously used, taking into account the peculiarities of the context and our experience in the area, assist us in deciding which results to believe more strongly.

It is our contention that principles of sound thinking such as these and the method of their application could be taught in school consciously and systematically. We believe such instruction would assist in reaching one of the central goals of our educational system, that of producing children who are critical thinkers. As we have indicated previously (King and Norris, 1983), this goal is not being adequately achieved in at least one aspect of critical thinking, that of properly appraising observations.

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## THE CHILD CENTRED GROUP

Pat Wright<sup>1</sup>

Play has recently become a major focus in many kindergarten programmes. For teachers and administrators and also often for parents there often is concern as to what might be the outcomes of such often seemingly free and unstructured programmes. The fundamental question of whether or not the child is actually learning anything is also very much to the forefront. While it is the belief of many educators that play is an excellent means of learning it is often difficult to accept this based on our strong feelings about work and our long tradition of offering highly structured learning experiences. Below is a very rich and accurate, experience-based description of early child-centered learning. What is offered is the text of a talk delivered in November 1983 by Ms. Pat Wright, a long-time advocate of child\_ centered education, to the Annual Fall Workshop of the Newfoundland and Labrador Early Childhood Development Association. The talk focuses on the child-centered group, its leaders and the environment in which it takes place. It clearly and concretely illustrates much about learning and much about the place of 'play' in any setting. While the presentation was originally made to persons working in early childhood education, the message is equally appropriate for all persons interested and involved in kindergarten and primary education.

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A favourite quote of mine is that the best preparation for life is to live fully as a child. This morning we are thinking specifically about living fully as a three and four year old in a group situation. This thinking should also prove to be of relevance to those of you who are parents, foster parents or would be parents or caretakers, because the consideration of what makes a group child centered is also relevant to what makes a home child centred.

The qualities of an adult in a group situation are qualities desirable in a parent or babysitter or anyone else in regular contact with a child. Many learning materials appropriate to a child centred environment can be provided in the home as well as in the group.

What is a child centred group? We might say it is a group where the child's needs are met on an individual basis, and we might further define these needs as physical, social, emotional and intellectual. This should hold true for all children, even for those with special needs.

How might we recognize it? In considering this question I want to talk first about the qualities needed in the adult in a child centred group, and the role he or she plays in relation to the child, then take a look at the environment - the physical set up and the materials appropriate to the three and four year old, and finally to describe a few incidents typical of the daily life of a teacher in a child centred group.

The adult in a child centred group, or home for that matter, will be a warm and caring person who has the ability to relate warmly to other people. She will be open to

new ideas and to change. She will see each child as a person whom it will be interesting to get to know, each child as an individual who brings his own unique background of interests and experiences to the group, and whose needs are going to vary according to that background. She sees the child as a co-operator in the business of daily living, not as an entity to be managed. She sees the child as a capable individual and trusts in his ability to investigate and explore, and make his own decisions. She understands that a child does not need to be taught in order to learn.

But the adult also knows how important her own role will be. She must, first and foremost, provide that atmosphere of stability and security without which no child can function to the limit of his potential, to hold herself ready at all times to ensure the peace of mind of any child. She must help those who need it to form good relationships with other children and adults. She must preserve that spontaneity and self confidence and openness to new experiences that most children bring with them, and find ways to foster these qualities in those children in whom they are lacking.

She recognizes the child as part of a family unit, and understands that the positive involvement of the parents will lead to a fuller understanding of the child, and result in greater security as these two important parts of his life are in close contact. She must provide as rich and varied an environment as possible to meet the needs of children with varying interests and at different levels of development. She will provide knowledgeable supervision of these activities, not direction or control. This knowledgeable supervision will be the result of much time spent in observation of each individual child, and of much planning of individual experiences.

### **A Look at a Child Centred Environment**

This particular room is fairly large, the space more than adequate to allow for the physical flow of movement so important to children of this age. The various activity centres are positioned along the two side walls, with some in the centre of this room.

Tucked away in the brightest area is the book corner, with comfortable cushions on the floor, plants on the windowsill and books at child level on the book cases, a few displayed invitingly to catch a child's eye. The books are renewed regularly at the library, and are often chosen with individual children in mind - Jason's interest in undersea creatures, or Diane's beginning involvement in dance classes. A few books will probably relate to a theme appropriate to the time of year. Most will be picture books with stories which the teachers know the children will identify with, and which are visually well designed.

Next to the book corner - separated by a divider is the painting and gluing area, with a gluing table and compartmented trolley for the scrap materials, two double easels and a table for paint supplies, brushes, etc. Today, the gluing table is set up with dried moss and other materials that the children had gathered on a recent field trip, but other materials are close at hand for them to select if they so desire. Close by, but in more central position, is the drawing table, with space for six children, where paper and crayons have already been set out, with scissors and tape nearby for those who might want them. On the far side of the painting area live the guinea pigs and gerbils, and here there is also space for displays of special interest, at present relating to an autumn theme, leaves and horse chestnuts and books about the fall.

On the other side of the room, the block corner, housekeeping area and dress up area flow into each other with no barriers in between. These encourage rich imaginative play and social language. The blocks are stored on low shelving, sorted away according to size and shape by the children the previous day. The housekeeping area contains table and chairs, stove and sink, pots, pans and dishes, a doll cradle with dolls and doll clothes. The dress up corner has an assortment of dresses, jackets, hats, shoes, handbags and a full length mirror.

The last activity centre holds all the materials for manipulative play. Here is the equipment with a definite framework, equipment that will do the same thing over and over again with such satisfying results - the puzzles, the barrels to screw and unscrew, materials for threading, for sorting according to properties of shape, or colour or size, matching games, peg boards. Today, three puzzles to suit different developmental levels have been set out on one table, while the other table contains a matching frame and some shapes for sorting. Children will choose other materials from the shelves during the day.

All these areas, book corner, gluing, painting and drawing, block corner, housekeeping, dress up and manipulative centres are permanently set up in the room, although their position might vary if teachers see the need. Either sand play or water play, and frequently both, are always available. Today there is also a sturdy looking table covered with a rug but otherwise bare, which will be the source of much speculation when the children arrive. Because it has been possible to spend a lot of time outdoors recently, the climbing frame was not set up. It will be much appreciated when it returns.

The consistent use of space will help the child to feel secure in the environment. The room arrangement is planned to reflect a balance between encouraging interaction and minimizing distraction. The walls look pleasing. They are covered with the children's work but also give evidence of previous activities. A cookie recipe, with the amounts of ingredients visually represented; pictures of autumn activities, soon to be replaced by snow and winter related pictures; chart of the heights of different children, which must have given rise to much discussion about taller than and smaller than; full size tracings of the children bodies, which must have led to deepening awareness of individual physical shapes; stories in the children's own words-about a recent trip to the farm. This room looks inviting, it speaks of interesting activities, interesting choices to be made. It speaks of many opportunities.

What are some of these opportunities available to the child during the day?

Opportunities for many different sensory experiences, with paint or clay, or cloth or animals.

Opportunities to symbolize experiences, to try out roles, through imaginative play.

Opportunities for self selected activities providing for manipulation.

Opportunities to group and classify objects.

Opportunities for discovering new concepts that include both similarities and differences in objects and people.

Opportunities to acquire new language for experiences they encounter.

Opportunities to use the language they possess to describe their experiences.

A note of caution here is in order. An inviting looking room with a variety of activity areas does not necessarily result in a child centred program. One has to look further. Is the child really free to choose according to his own interests and needs of that particular day, or is he rotated from activity according to some previously drawn up adult schedule? Can he really use the materials in his own unique creative way, or is he locked into some previously adult prepared activity?

Perhaps his initiative is being undermined in a more subtle way. In this instance I can't do better than quote from Brenda Crowe's excellent book "The Playgroup Movement".

"At first glance a group may be most impressive; in a calm and peaceful atmosphere children are all busy, and the adult in charge may be delightful. Only slowly does one begin to register what is happening as one listens to the pleasant voice saying, 'Now, who hasn't made an ashtray for Daddy yet? Peter! Come on, there's a chair free now. Are you going to make a round one, or a square one?' 'John! You've had a long turn on that see-saw, what about Jane having a turn?' Sarah! What are you going to do? Would you like to play with the sand? No? Well what about the water? No? Well, we must do something mustn't we? Come on, you come with me and we'll look at a book.' In the nicest possible way she is organizing everyone, until in the end they sit or stand passively, waiting to be told what to do?

On the other hand, neither is it a child centred group if the atmosphere is one of chaos; if there seems to be an absence of community rules; if equipment is abused and children made exhausted by noise and confusion. A well run child centred group is far from being an undisciplined group as the difficult task of self discipline rather than unquestioning obedience is constantly being fostered.

### **A Few Incidents in the Teacher's Day**

The room is already set up by the time the children start arriving and as there is a volunteer that day to complete preparations, both teachers are free to greet the children and parents as they arrive. While a few leave their parents quickly and barely exchange a greeting with the teacher before heading for a favourite activity, most want to take the time for conversation, about the snow, or their new boots, or some other topic of vital importance that has happened since yesterday. One parent has a word with the teacher about her child's sleepless night. One or two children still need to bridge the leave taking by involving a parent in an activity for a few minutes. One shows a father the guinea pigs while at the puzzle table both parents watch while their children complete a puzzle. Another child discusses with her mother and the teacher the snack they will bring in tomorrow. Three children bring in plastic bags full of egg cartons, cardboard boxes, toilet paper rolls, which are sorted and added to the gluing trolley.

Most of the children head directly for an activity. Two children claim the block corner and the sand table and drawing table are likewise quickly occupied. One child,

who may have had a rather hectic start to his day, asks to hold the guinea pig and sits quietly stroking it for fifteen minutes. One child asks to have a story and one teacher heads for the book corner with him, knowing that this may attract one or two other children who prefer to start their day with the warm attention of the adult.

Teacher No. 2 observes for a few moments to see where her presence is going to be needed. This turns out to be the sand box where a group of the younger three year olds, who entered in a rather exuberant mood, seem to be getting more interested in dumping the sand on the floor and in each others' hair. Since they already do know quite well the community rules relating to sand play, a gentle reminder that sand stays in the sand box, and an interest comment about a roadway half under construction is enough to settle things down.

The teacher stays nearby, but is able to give attention to the puzzle table, where a child has just completed a puzzle and is looking for another one to do. The teacher makes a mental note that it is time to bring out some of the more challenging puzzles that were not needed at the beginning of the year. She also recalls the frustration that this particular child experienced two months ago when faced with any task requiring manipulative skill. In this instance she can already see the positive results of the patient encouragement and boosting of self confidence.

Teacher No. 1 emerges from the book corner, and for the next thirty minutes finds herself heavily engaged in the painting and gluing area. During this time twelve children pass through. She spends her time largely in management concerns; removing paper, replenishing paint and glue; doing what sorting and tidying she can in order to keep the area attractive for the next children who might come. She responds to comments or questions from individual children but does not otherwise disturb their creative involvement with these materials. She does note in passing that the supply of egg cartons is growing beyond all reason, but that other interesting junk is getting rather low. She reminds herself to put up a list of desirable items, ribbons, foil, cloth scraps etc. that parents might bring in.

Meanwhile Teacher No. 2 has joined a child in the interest corner where a special display has been set up relevant to the time of year. There are horse chestnuts for the children to split open, and a simple balance for weighing. Through the discussion that accompanies this kind of activity the concepts of "heavier than" and "lighter than" are introduced in a concrete way.

Meanwhile an altercation has arisen between two children playing with the train set. The teacher glances over, notes that these two older boys are normally able to settle their differences and leaves them alone to do so. However, two minutes later a younger child, who obviously also wants to join in, is causing trouble. He has kicked over the tunnel. This child is not used to the company of other children and needs much help with appropriate means of social interchange. The teacher suggests he ask one of the older children if he may join in, and the answer is "yes" as the teacher suspected it would be from this co-operative older child. Later, in the morning, when difficulties again arise around this particular piece of equipment with another group of children, she makes a mental note to discuss this with her fellow teacher.

Is it time to put it away for a while; is the set not large enough to accommodate the capabilities of the children; what else could it be teamed with to extend its possibilities?

Finally the purpose of that solid table with the rug on top is revealed, and soft wood, large nails, hammers and sandpaper are produced. Eight children converge like bees around the honeypot. Because of the difficulty of getting wood, and the demands it makes on teacher involvement, this activity is not offered frequently. But today there is a volunteer.

Four hammers into eight children do not go. "I want a hammer," says one child. "It will be your turn when David is finished," says the teacher, "I want my turn now" says the child. "I know you do" says the teacher sympathetically, and the child relaxes somewhat on at least having feelings acknowledged.

Shortly it will be time for snack, small group session and outdoor play.

### **Some Key Features**

To sum up, what are the outstanding features an observer notices!

There was a welcoming atmosphere for parents, at both ends of the morning.

Discipline was rarely a problem, because teachers noticed trouble brewing, and because children could be diverted to other interesting occupations.

It was considered natural to give physical support to those who needed it. Children sat on adult laps, or were given a hug in passing.

The teacher did initiate activities, by bringing out a special piece of equipment like a game, and inviting children to join her, but children were free to refuse.

The teacher preferred to join a child already at work, and by her joining attracted others to join them.

The interested presence, even without participation, of an adult, was a crucial factor in deepening the involvement of a child in an activity.

The development of language is highly valued; there was great emphasis on helping a child develop his ideas orally, and solve his problems by defining them.

It is considered all right for a child to spend much time in watching. After all, the teacher spends much of her own time in observation, and she knows how much she is learning by so doing.

All in all, it seems to be an environment where the qualities of self-esteem, self discipline, self motivation and self confidence are valued, and the needs of the child are indeed being met.

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## OUTDOOR AND ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR

G. Flynn

Educators have learned through the years the importance of teaching in natural situations and it is generally accepted that one of the most effective ways of learning is to be exposed to the things we seek to know and understand. As our society becomes more complex it is increasingly more difficult to bring the whole world into the classroom. Encourage the students into the environments - both natural and man-made, only then can the student visually discover, explore and fully experience the realities around him/her. Beyond the classroom we have the natural environment consisting of forests, rivers, seashore, lakes, oceans, weather conditions, animals and insects. Beyond the school lies the community - government, law and order, business and industry. Our young adults deserve to have first hand experience with these things.

Outdoor and environmental education in Newfoundland should link closely with the resource base we depend on so much, for example forestry and fishery. We need to begin at the early years of schooling to teach the children not only to appreciate the environment, but to understand it and as future citizens to be capable of making rational decisions about our natural resources - the life blood of the province. Outdoor/environmental education is also providing programs in our schools that educate our children to manage and respect the resources around us in a manner conducive to the life style of the province. Whenever possible this should be accomplished through first hand experience. Through this exposure children realize that they are not passive observers but active participants within our system. For example, if a student is studying salt dried fish why not directly involve him/her in the entire process. It is an inexpensive process and cod fish are available in most parts of the province. Students could only gain from such guided exposure and involvement.

The primary objectives of any outdoor/environmental education program should be to: influence, strengthen and satisfy the existing curriculum, fulfill that part of the curriculum that cannot be fulfilled in the classroom alone, and again to prepare the citizens of tomorrow to make accurate decisions about the planning and management of the natural and urban environments.

It is equally important that when leaders take students into the outdoors, they be careful not to destroy the aesthetic value of such activities. In a society which appears to be becoming increasingly urban, it may be difficult to develop an appreciation of the natural world and man's place in it.

Children have always loved to explore and the outdoors provides us with a wonderful opportunity to experience exploration in its true form. New experiences in outdoor pursuits play an important role. For many students the main attractions of outdoor/environmental education are those in which they find challenge, risk and excitement.

How can we as educators, go about achieving these objectives?

In the future outdoor/environmental educators should introduce programs into the schools and society at all age levels and for all groups. The importance of developing leadership is of paramount concern in this regard. The educational benefits, safety and



enjoyment of outdoor/environmental education are directly proportional to the quality of the leadership provided.

A recently compiled directory in outdoor education (Laurentian University) reveals that 36 of the 44 Canadian Universities offer credit courses and/or degree programs in outdoor and environmental education. People directly involved with outdoor/environmental education programs need access to such courses. It is not inconceivable that in the near future such courses will be made available at Memorial University.

## HIERARCHIES REVISITED

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The present review is an introduction to a second article proposing a hierarchy in empirical investigation. The central theme identified in the present paper will be followed through in the second, which will appear in a later issue of *The Morning Watch*.

In reviewing and analysing many of the hierarchies that have emerged in the literature during the past 20 years or so, a central pattern can be seen in each hierarchy. This pattern is the progressive use of an individual's thought processes; at the upper end of the hierarchy the individual is using his/her thought processes to maximum effort and efficiency.

Gagné's hierarchy of seven steps of learning has signal learning as the lowest step, which requires a minimum of thought. The response is automatic, maybe even instinctive, such as a child smiling at the approach of a parent or teenagers becoming weak-kneed before their favourite idol. The second step, stimulus-response learning, requires a slightly greater use of thought, such as a child repeating the word "papa" after the parent has spoken the word several times. The child has to think and concentrate on how to move muscles and make a sound approaching that spoken by the parent. Many attempts may be made before the child is satisfied and encouraged by feedback from the parent. Another example would be learning how to sharpen a knife or a chisel, where the individual again has to concentrate on fairly precise muscle movements. The individual has to think about which muscle movements gets the job done satisfactorily. The third step, chaining, consists of learning to assemble a number of previously learned stimulus-response steps to arrive at a certain goal, such as a child putting together a simple sentence from a number of previously learned words. In this case the child has not only to think about what words to use but also to assemble them together in a logical fashion to make a meaningful sentence. The fourth step, verbal association learning, may be considered a more advanced form of chaining, such as composing a paragraph or short essay using a number of sentences. The individual has to think about not only words, but phrases and sentences and assemble these to form a simple story. Other examples here would be translating simple words and sentences into a foreign language or translating, technical jargon into common everyday language. In the fifth step, discrimination learning, the individual begins to recognize simple patterns and has the ability to distinguish one pattern from another, such as differentiating between flowers and trees by size and colour, or between different types of vehicles by size and function, or to tell organic matter from inorganic matter by the ability to burn or not. The amount of data and the analysis of the data in such examples necessarily requires the individual to think at a more sophisticated level. Discrimination learning may take on a more advanced form, for example, in distinguishing a spruce tree from a chestnut tree; it is simpler to distinguish a flower from a tree than to differentiate between trees. More data and more careful analysis are required. Size or colour will not usually differentiate one tree from another; the learner has to resort to overall shape, shape of the leaves, shape of the seeds, does it shed its leaves in autumn?, etc. The sixth step, concept learning, begins to take the learner away from concrete thinking into abstract thinking. It takes the learner into classifications and taxonomies, some of which may be quite detailed. Many concepts begin by using a word or short phrase rather than a description; for example, rather than using the phrase "that piece of land surrounded by water" the word or concept "island"

is used or "that strong fishy smelling substance containing the elements nitrogen, hydrogen and carbon" the word "amine" is used. Taxonomies and classifications are built out of concepts. Out of the concept of the atom the learner can think about and begin to understand the metals, the non-metals, the inert gases, the periodic table, etc. Out of the concept of the cell the learner can begin to understand the different types of living organisms - bacteria, fungi, amoeba, planktons, etc. In the seventh step, rule learning, the learner is able to think in abstract terms and to understand and apply cause and effect situations. For example, when a fire starts the learner can think and reason without going near the fire that there must be fuel present as well as an oxidizer and a heat source and if the fire is to be extinguished at least one of these three things must be excluded. In another example, after learning about gravitation the student can understand that when something falls it must necessarily be denser than air and has to come down and not up; the learner can also understand that it is not a matter of bad luck to walk under a ladder but simply to exercise prudence.

In Piaget's hierarchy there are many similarities to Gagné's. Piaget's sensorimotor stage and Gagné's signal learning step are both very sense oriented; responses are immediate and simple. Piaget's preoperational stage may be compared to Gagné's stimulus response learning and chaining. The learner is developing a language, learning words, assembling words, and is using trial and error to become familiar with reality, for example, holding a cup full of water upright - any other way the water spills. Piaget's intuitive stage overlaps with Gagné's verbal association and discrimination learning steps, where the learner is developing more complex thoughts and is beginning to pick out simple patterns and relationships. The basis of logic is also beginning to form, in that the learner is not satisfied that something happens and desires to know why it happened. The learner is able to understand simple arguments. In Piaget's concrete operational stage the learner is able to think through simple cause and effect situations without actually performing the acts and is able to cope with many classification systems and to use simple concepts meaningfully (compare Gagné's concept learning). Finally, in Piaget's formal operational stage the learner is able to think logically with abstract ideas and follow detailed arguments; the learner is able to think scientifically and artistically in the fullest sense of these words. One point of major difference between the hierarchies of Piaget and Gagné is that Piaget assigned his stages to physical development in the learner as Piaget based his hierarchy on intense observation of the behaviour of adolescents and children of all ages; he correlated the learner's age with specific thought processes. Gagné's hierarchy can be applied to the development of thought processes not only in children but also in adults.

Ausubel, in his hierarchy, places emphasis on concept development, and like Gagné, Ausubel does not necessarily relate his hierarchy to age of the learner. The important question Ausubel asks is "What does the learner already know?" For example, in learning about calorie balance in nutrition, the learner would need to think about and understand many essential pre-requisite concepts such as energy, chemical bonding, chemical structures, properties of specific food chemicals (fats, proteins and carbohydrates), digestion, etc. It would be the task of the teacher or writer to arrange these concepts from the more basic to the more advanced. The learner must be able to think about each new concept and understand each thoroughly before progressing to the next. In working through the concept sequence the learner is progressively using his/her thought processes as each stage becomes more sophisticated.

Bruner's hierarchy is a simple three stage one. The basic stage, the enactive stage, is where the senses play the primary role, for example, learning how to ride a

bicycle or sharpen a knife. Simple thought processes are used (compare the first stages of Gagne's and Piaget's hierarchies). Bruner's second stage, the iconic stage, is where the learner makes use of images, concepts and memory in the development of thought processes (compare Piaget's preoperational and concept stages). In Bruner's third stage, the symbolic stage, the learner intensively uses symbols as a means of understanding and thought advancement. Symbols have the advantage of compacting information into a small unit such as a fable or an equation (compare Piaget's formal operation stage).

In Bloom's cognitive domain hierarchy, the lowest level, factual knowledge, requires the least amount of thought. Rote memory and drill teaching require little imagination and little training on the part of both learner and teacher; this is a very basic type of education and perhaps some would even argue that this is not education at all. Teaching and learning for comprehension add a new dimension by supplying reasoning and understanding. Thought processes develop in the learner. The teacher has also to think more. Lines of argument develop in order to explain phenomena and experiences. Having learned a body of knowledge and understood it, the learner can develop his/her thought processes a stage further and apply and use what has been learned. For example, having learned the basic principles of simple geometry an individual can apply and use these principles to metal working, to wood working, to engineering designs, to model building, etc. Alternatively, in the field of organic chemistry, having learned and understood the chemistry of the functional groups, the learner can progress to biochemistry, to oil refining, to the manufacture of pharmaceuticals, or to the paint industry. At this point there would seem to be a close analogy between Bloom's and Ausubel's hierarchies where Bloom's understanding stage may be considered a prerequisite concept for his application stage; for example, an individual cannot learn biochemistry satisfactorily without first learning organic functional group chemistry; at the same time many aspects of biochemistry are applications of organic functional group chemistry. In Bloom's analysis stage, the learner must not only know, understand and apply a body of knowledge but also be able to analyze new situations and experiences in terms of that knowledge. For example, in the field of business a learner should be able to read an article from a current financial paper and pick out the main issues or a food technology student may be given a meat sample and be able to analyze it for moisture, protein and fat content. In Bloom's Synthesis stage, the learner should be able to develop something new, to be creative, and to do a little research in a specific area of knowledge. For example, after analyzing the sonatas of well known composers, the learner should be able to compose a short sonata of his/her own. Alternatively, after studying computer programming in some depth the learner should be able to develop a program of his/her own, such as enabling blind people to communicate better. The evaluation stage of Bloom's hierarchy firstly requires the learner to be very familiar with the branch of discipline under study and then be able to critically assess the merits and value of what has been learned. For example, after composing a poem, the learner should be able to constructively criticize this poem in terms of other poems, which, say, the rest of the class have composed, and maybe offer a presentation before the public for feedback on this criticism. In another example, the learner has proposed a laboratory synthesis for a naturally occurring organic chemical and proceeds to evaluate this synthesis by attempting to make the natural product and finally to compare both synthetic and natural compounds after the synthesis is complete.

In Krathwohl's hierarchy of the affective domain, the learner receives stimuli and knows how to differentiate between different stimuli. This may simply be using the raw senses directly, or indirectly, such as reading an instrument (compare Gagne's signal learning or Piaget's sensorimotor stage). In the response stage the learner has not only

thought about what stimuli have been received but also what to do about these receptions, in other words, how to react or respond to the stimuli (compare Gagne's stimulus-response stage). In new situations there is a time lapse between receiving and responding as thought processes are time dependent. On further reflection the learner begins to value his/her responses. Responses are compared, preferences emerge and choices are made. On further reflection and discussion with others and review of experiences of others the learner's values become organized. For instance, in dealing with fire hazards and general safety, students in a fire school not only have to learn to respond to fires but also to value the use of different pieces of fire-fighting equipment and to organize values; for example, a first priority may be to save lives and get people out of danger, a second priority may be to contain the situation, and a third priority may be to do as little property damage as possible. In the highest stage of Krathwohl's hierarchy the learner integrates what (s)he has learned into a total philosophy of living. This philosophy may influence the learner's learning or the learning may influence the learner's philosophy or both.

In Kibler's hierarchy of the psychomotor domain a pattern of increasing use of thought and concentration emerges as a learner progresses from gross body movements through finely coordinated movements and non-verbal communication to speech behaviour. The pattern in this hierarchy, however, is not as clearly defined as in the previous ones.

A hierarchy of human needs was developed originally by Maslow. In this hierarchy the primary need for any individual is survival; one has to provide for food, clothing and shelter. The thought processes required at this level are minimal. Security needs, planning for the future and taking care of one's family require more intellectual effort. Planning for the future implies a knowledge of past events with some analysis of these events in order to anticipate the future. The social needs of belonging and esteem require a greater degree of social interaction, empathy and special abilities than physical and organizational needs. More thought is required to develop special talents and interests. The achievement and intellectual needs, the needs for knowledge and understanding, overlap with Bloom's hierarchy and are internal needs which grow stronger and expand when they are fulfilled. They require much study, thought and mental effort. Maslow's aesthetic needs and self-actualization may be compared with Krathwohl's characterization by a value complex or total philosophy of life, the highest form of thought development which patterns the individual's true self. In a modern and technical society Maslow's hierarchy may become delineated in that an individual's survival and security needs may indeed require an intense amount of thinking, for example, the computer programmer, the lawyer, the architect, and the engineer. Also in a modern society, farming and fishing are no longer simple matters of planting seeds and letting them grow and of catching fish; financial strategies have to be considered as well as management of hired hands, machinery, supplies, etc.

In the field of consulting, Turner suggests a hierarchy of goals or purposes. The lowest level in this hierarchy is for the consultant to simply provide information to the client, the very minimum a consultant can do (compare Bloom's knowledge step). At the next level the consultant not only defines the client's problem(s) but also finds solution(s) to the problem(s). In medical jargon this would be treating the symptoms. At the third level the consultant makes a complete diagnosis and at the fourth level makes recommendations based on the diagnosis. At the fifth level the consultant can take part by assisting the client in implementing the recommended changes and solutions. Very often the client may have fixed ways of doing things and have certain prejudices and the

consultant may have to argue and convince the client that a commitment must be made to a corrective course of action. At the seventh level the consultant takes on the full role of teacher and instructs the client on how to resolve similar problems in the future. At the highest level of the hierarchy the consultant assesses the overall organizational effectiveness of the client's operation (compare Bloom's evaluation step).

In the business field, structural hierarchies are well known. In a typical manufacturing or production company, one might find four distinct levels. At the lowest level the operating employees simply do the work. Other than that required to get a satisfactory job done, thinking is not necessary. At the next level are the supervisors, who are not only capable of doing the employee's work, but also ensure that the work is up to a specific standard, that a minimum quantity of work is done, and be able to cope in emergencies (for example, machine breakdown) and be responsible to middle managers. In many instances supervisors may also have to train and instruct new employees. At the third level, middle managers usually direct the efforts of supervisors and implement the broad operating policies of the company. Middle managers not only have to understand the intent behind the operating policies but be able to explain these policies to supervisors (if necessary), for example, to raise or lower production, to change the type of production, or to change the quality of production. At the highest level of the hierarchy top managers (chief executive officers, presidents, vice-presidents) provide overall direction and generate policies. A major cause of many business failures has been attributed to a lack of good management, in other words, not enough thought had gone into the organization, especially at the top management level.

The decision making process may be conceived of a five step hierarchy. The assumption being made here initially is that there must have been a problem to solve. Therefore, the lowest step in the hierarchy is to recognize and define that problem. Some knowledge and comprehension about the situation are required before one can recognize and define the existing problem (compare Bloom's hierarchy). The next step in attempting to deal with the situation is to analyze the problem, to generate a number of possible solutions or courses of action. This may take the form of reflecting on the situation or meetings can be arranged to discuss the situation with others (group reflections) or some other method of generating relevant ideas and thoughts. The third step is to evaluate these possible solutions or courses of action, that is, to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of each. In the fourth step, a choice has to be made, which may take the form of prioritizing the alternatives and selecting the choice with the most advantages and the least disadvantages. The highest step in the hierarchy is to implement the decision, to put the decision into action and make it work, which may involve working with others, convincing others of the need to make the decision and to find the best way(s) of putting the decision into action. Sexty suggests the decision making process is a difficult one and sometimes a lonely one, implying that a great deal of thought must go into the process. Many everyday decisions may be quite simple and even automatic but instinctively these five steps are used. For example, at dusk I turn the light switch on. The assumed problem is "how can I read my book without the light from the sun?" A number of courses of action could be taken; for example, I could finish the book the next day after sunrise or I could light a candle or I could switch on the electric light or I could use a flashlight. Alternative One is given the least priority as I want to read the book immediately. Alternative Two is not given a high priority as I dislike the odour from burning candles and besides I would have to go and look for a candle and match. Alternative Three seems simple. Alternative Four is not given a high priority as the battery in the flashlight will only last about thirty minutes and, besides, batteries are expensive. Hence I arise and turn on the light switch. Normally in such simple situations

one immediately goes from the problem to the best solution, unless that solution does not work, for example, in a case of electric power failure.

In conclusion, teachers should consider the full implications and applications of hierarchies in education in each of the various disciplines. It is vitally important that learners develop their intellect to the fullest and widest extent possible and have ample practice and pleasure in so doing. Perhaps in Newfoundland more than in most other provinces the decision making process in the classroom may be more crucial on account of scarce resources including the teachers' time, as thought processes are time dependent not only for the learner but also for the teacher.

\* I hesitate to include in this article the thoughts of Lawrence Peter concerning hierarchies, as I am not sure whether to take his writings seriously or in jest. However, if one does take the Peter Principle seriously, what Peter is essentially reporting is that an individual advances in life to the extent that (s)he uses his/her thought processes. A person cannot advance past his/her level of thinking. If a person attempts or appears to advance past his/her level of thinking (s)he has entered the realm of incompetency.

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296

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## THE CONCEPT OF MULTICULTURALISM AMONG STUDENTS IN ST. JOHN'S

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### Introduction and Purpose

Multiculturalism was declared a government policy on October 8, 1971, in the House of Commons. It was unanimously approved by all political parties. "The concept of Multiculturalism is to give the right to maintain, with pride, our cultural roots and to share these roots with other Canadians within the bilingual framework of Canada."<sup>1</sup> 'Multiculturalism means that no Canadian will be relegated to the status of a second class citizen, and that the goals of Multiculturalism are the achievement of equality, justice and freedom for every citizen irrespective of race, colour or creed.'<sup>2</sup> The overall response from the provinces was generally positive. Indeed some provinces, such as the Prairies, had already preceded the federal initiative in carrying out programs in keeping with the objectives of the Policy of Multiculturalism. The public response to the policy indicated a growing appreciation for the vision of Canada as a multicultural entity. "It is now commonplace to speak of Canada as a multicultural nation, as a mosaic of ethnocultural communities, as a society not only tolerant but also proud of its diversity."<sup>3</sup>

Education plays an important role in communicating the proper concept of multiculturalism to the public and the young. Schools are in particular socializing agents to prepare students to truly accept cultural and ethnic diversity as normative and evaluative to our society. Recent education programs such as learning English as a second language, heritage language learning and ethnic studies reflected concern and recognition of the importance of a multicultural approach to education.

A search of the Canadian literature has revealed that studies of school children and multiculturalism have been exceedingly rare, the two being found are Aboud's (1980) test of ethnocentrism with young children and Kalin's (1979) ethnic and multicultural attitudes in children. In order to comprehend the concept of multiculturalism in students a pilot study was conducted early in 1983. The purpose of the study was twofold: to explore the familiarity, the understanding, and the interest of students in multiculturalism, and to assess the readiness for a multicultural approach to education in Newfoundland.

### Method

The two schools selected for the study were under the management of the same school board and are located in St. John's. The total sample of subjects was 133 students. Of this number, 59 were in grade nine, and 74 were in grade eleven. The age of subjects ranged from twelve to seventeen, with a mean age of fifteen. A two-paged questionnaire entitled "Multiculturalism in Canada" constructed by the Directorate of Multiculturalism, and consisting of boxed answers and open-ended questions, was distributed to the subjects in the social studies class.

Since the information desired was basically descriptive in nature, the data of the questionnaire were analyzed by using the SPSS cross tabulation procedure to provide responses from the point of view of the students.

## Results

The first question asked whether or not students were familiar with the term Multiculturalism. Almost 73% of the grade nine students and 78% of the grade eleven students responded 'Yes'. This means 75.2% of the total student population were familiar with the term Multiculturalism while 24.8% were not (see Table 1, Q. 1). Of those who responded positively, 1.8% admitted knowing a great deal about the term; 26.4% knew a moderate amount; 45.5% knew a little amount; and 26.4% knew very little about the term (see Table 1, Q. 2).

Approximately 49% (48.8%) of the students responded that most people in Canada have heard of Multiculturalism; and 46.5% stated that only a small number of people have heard of it. About 5% responded that only ethnic groups were aware of it or nobody knew about it (see Table 1, Q. 3).

Various reasons were mentioned in response to why they thought that that was the case. The main reasons given were that most people were familiar with the term but ignorant of its meaning (14.5%); that ignorance was caused by insufficient teaching in textbooks (13.7%) and by insufficiency in publicity (12.9%). Some (12.2%) admitted that they had never heard of the term Multiculturalism and that it was an unfamiliar concept (8.1%). Other reasons were that familiarity of the term was due to the fact that Multiculturalism was a reality (4.1 %) all over Canada (7.2%); Multiculturalism enriched Canadian culture, strengthened Canadian identity (4.1 %), and increased cultural learning and communication (3.2%). Some (2.4%) said that they were made aware of Multiculturalism by viewing a government advertisement on television. If people were not familiar with the term it was due to provincialism (1.6%), life problems (2.4%), indifference (6.4%), or major group superiority (0.8%). It was also believed that only minority groups were aware of it for the purpose of preserving their cultural heritage (0.8%). Those who felt that Multiculturalism existed in metropolitan cities (1.6%) and that it should be learned (0.8%) suggested that travel (0.8%), advertisement (0.8%), the press (0.8%), and the government program (0.8%) would help (see Table 2).

In response to the question of which group in Canada benefited from Multiculturalism, 46 students (24.5%) mentioned the ethnic groups; 41 (21 %) mentioned the visible minorities; 21 (11.1 %) stated that people who travelled extensively would get the benefit. Twenty-eight students (14.9%) thought that people living in large cities benefited, while 52 (27.7%) thought that all the above groups benefited. Few mentioned that those who learned from other cultures would make everyone benefit in the long run (see Table 1, Q. 4).

Table 1

Question	Junior High		Senior High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Are you familiar with the term multiculturalism?						
yes	43	72.9	57	77.9	100	75.2
no	16	27.1	17	23.0	33	24.8
2. If yes, how would you describe your level of familiarity?						
know a great deal	1	2.1	1	1.6	2	1.8
know a moderate amount	6	12.8	23	36.5	29	26.4
know a little	28	59.6	22	34.9	50	45.5
know very little	12	25.5	17	27.0	29	26.4
3. Which of the following statements best describes the average Canadian's level of awareness of multiculturalism?						
most people know	26	46.4	36	50.7	62	48.8
a small number	27	48.2	32	45.1	59	46.5
only ethnic groups	1	1.8	2	2.8	3	2.4
nobody	2	3.6	1	3.6	3	2.4
4. Which of the following groups do you feel would benefit from multiculturalism in Canada?						
ethnic groups	18	23.4	28	25.2	46	24.5
visible minority groups	15	19.5	26	23.4	41	21.8
people who travel extensively	9	11.7	12	10.8	21	11.1
people living in large cities	14	18.2	14	12.6	28	14.9
all of the above	21	27.2	31	28.0	52	27.7
5. In your school experience, did you learn about the multicultural nature of Canada and the groups that make up the country?						
yes	53	91.4	45	60.8	98	74.2
no	5	8.6	29	39.2	34	25.8
6. If yes, in what subject areas did you learn about it?						
religious studies as a learning source	15	19.5	20	26.3	35	22.9
social studies	54	70.0	43	56.6	97	63.4
language	4	5.2	5	6.7	9	5.9
literature	3	3.9	6	7.9	9	5.9
family life education	1	1.3	2	2.6	3	1.9
7. Would you have liked to learn more about multiculturalism?						
yes	45	78.9	55	77.5	100	78.1
no	12	21.1	16	22.5	28	21.9
8. If yes, in what areas?						
history/social studies	31	48.4	34	38.6	65	42.8
race relations	9	14.1	29	33.0	38	25.0
language (heritage)	13	20.3	17	19.3	30	19.7
literature	11	17.2	8	9.1	19	12.5
9. Do you feel that the existing educational materials and teaching methods adequately reflect the multiculturalism nature of Canadian society?						
yes	12	23.1	9	13.8	21	17.9
no	40	76.9	56	86.2	96	82.1

**Table 2****Reasons Explaining Own Thinking on Multiculturalism**

<b>Reasons</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Familiar with the term but ignorant of it	18	14.5
Insufficient teaching in textbooks	17	13.7
Insufficiency in publicity	16	12.9
Never heard of it	15	12.2
An unfamiliar concept	10	8.1
All over Canada	9	7.2
Multiculturalism is a reality	5	4.1
Indifference	8	6.4
Enriched Canadian culture and identity	5	4.1
Increased cultural learning and communication	4	3.2
Viewed TV government advertisement	3	2.4
Life problems	3	2.4
Provincialism	2	1.6
Mainly in big cities	2	1.6
Major group superiority	1	0.8
Only minority groups are aware of it to preserve their culture	1	0.8
Should learn about it	1	0.8
Travel helps	1	0.8
Have more advertisement	1	0.8
Press should do something about it	1	0.8
Government should develop program on it	1	0.8
TOTAL	124	100.0

When asked what were some of the benefits, 58 students (43.6%) responded. The most popular answer was that Multiculturalism enriched the culture of Canada, reinforced Canadian identity and promoted world view and relations. The second most popular answer was that Multicultural activities such as crafts and festivals would create national income and new trade ideas. The third most popular answer was that it eliminated racial prejudice, provided equal opportunity for jobs, education and housing, while yet permitting cultural heritage to be maintained. Some individuals thought that people living in big cities got more benefit because they could learn more about Multiculturalism and speak their ancestral language with members of their own ethnic group (see Table 3).

When responding to the question about whether in their school experience they had learned about the Multicultural nature of Canada and the groups that make up our country, 98 students (74.2%) said 'Yes' whereas 34 students (25.8%) answered 'No' (see Table 1, Q. 5). Those whose answer was positive further responded that they learned about Multiculturalism from the following subject areas: Religion (22.9%), Social Studies (63.4%); Language (5.9%); Literature (5.9%); and Family Life Education (1.9%) (see Table 1, Q. 6). One or two students suggested that field trips or discussion in school and at home would help learning about Multiculturalism in Canada.

**Table 3**  
**What are the Benefits?**

<b>Benefits</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Enriches Canadian culture and identity	33	56.9
Broadens our world view and promotes international relations	8	13.8
Crafts and festivals can create trade and income	6	10.4
Eliminates prejudice	3	5.3
Equality in jobs, education and housing	3	5.3
Preserves and maintains one's own cultural heritage	3	5.3
Living in big cities can learn more about multiculturalism and speak ancestral language	2	3.4
TOTAL	58	100.0

When asked whether they would have liked to learn more about Multiculturalism, students responded overwhelmingly in favour of learning more. More than 78% (78.1 %) of the students said 'Yes' while 21.9% replied 'No' (see Table 1, Q. 7).

Those who responded positively said that they would like to learn more about Multiculturalism in the following subject areas: History or Social Studies (42.8%); Race

Relations (25.0%); Heritage Language (19.7%), and Literature (12.5%) (see Table 1, Q. 8). In addition three students also mentioned other sources such as Religion, field trips, Sociology, customs and festivals.

In response to whether the existing educational materials and teaching methods adequately reflected the Multicultural nature of Canadian society or not, 96 students (82.1 %) answered 'No', while only 21 students (17.9%) said 'Yes' (see Table 1, Q. 9).

Only 10 of 21 students who responded 'Yes' to this question gave the following reasons: that they were made aware of the term Multiculturalism by a grade nine Geography course and a grade ten French course, and that students should learn more about it in Social Studies. One student mentioned that minorities were mistreated and misrepresented and that we should learn more about ethnic groups.

Seventy-two of the 96 students who thought that the existing educational materials and teaching methods did not adequately reflect the Multicultural nature of Canadian society presented the following reasons: exactly half of the students believed that there was very little about Multiculturalism in textbooks; that even in Social Studies the material was very brief; that they never learned about it; that they learned only French and English, Inuit and Indian; that they should also learn about other groups and their problems. Some suggestions were that the mass media should provide more information on multiculturalism, that there should be more educational books of this kind in schools, and that guest speakers should be invited to talk on Multiculturalism. Contrarily, one student expressed the view that there were so many ethnic groups in Canada that whether one belonged to the majority group or minority group would make no difference, because we are all the same and equal. Another student expressed the opinion that since English language was used everywhere, learning English language was enough (see Table 4).

Nearly one-third of the students (32.3%) did not respond to the question "What is your cultural heritage?" It seemed that they did not fully know its exact meaning. Some said it included our customs, traditions, language, and festivals, etc. instead of interpreting the question as referring to one's ancestral roots. Of those who responded (67.68%), 31 students mentioned English; 9 proudly wrote "Newfie;" 7 responded English Scottish; 5 Pakistani; 4 Irish; 3 English and Irish; 2 Scottish, Welsh, German, Chinese, and English and French respectively; and one English and Chinese, English and Bohemian, Polish, Canadian and West Indian (Trinidad), Bulgarian, American Chinese, East Indian, Hungarian, and American. One student mentioned more than five countries, and eleven frankly admitted that they did not know their cultural heritage (see Table 5).

**Table 4**  
**Reasons for Adequate or Inadequate**  
**Learning Materials in School**

Reasons	N	%
<b>POSITIVE REASONS</b>		
Social Studies helped us learn about it	3	30.0
Students were made aware of multiculturalism	2	20.0
Learned from French	1	10.0
Learned from Religion	1	10.0
Learned from Geography	1	10.0
Knew minorities were mistreated and misrepresented	1	10.0
Learned about it in grades 9 and 10	1	10.0
<b>NEGATIVE REASONS</b>		
Very little in texts	36	50.0
Never learned about multiculturalism	9	12.4
Should know more about it	6	8.2
Few know about multiculturalism	4	5.6
Should learn about other groups and their problems	3	4.2
Very brief in Social Studies	3	4.2
Learned French and English only	3	4.2
Have more books and speakers on multiculturalism	3	4.2
Learned Inuit and Indian	1	1.4
Mass media should provide information	1	1.4
Too many groups to learn	1	1.4
Being in majority group or minority group is the same	1	1.4
Learning English language is good enough	1	1.4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The last question was about the students' first language. It is interesting to note that 127 students (95.5%) responded English. Two said Chinese, one said English and French, another one said Hungarian, and the last one said German.

**Table 5**  
**What is Your Cultural Heritage?**

<b>Cultural Heritage</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
English	31	34.5
Newfie	9	10.0
English and Scottish	7	7.8
Pakistani	5	5.6
Irish	4	4.5
English and Irish	3	3.4
English and French	2	2.2
Scottish	2	2.2
Chinese	2	2.2
Welsh	2	2.2
English and Chinese	1	1.1
Polish	1	1.1
Canadian and West Indian (Trinidad)	1	1.1
Bulgarian	1	1.1
English, Inuit and Iris	1	1.1
American Chinese	1	1.1
East Indian	1	1.1
Hungarian	1	1.1
American	1	1.1
German	2	2.2
Mentioned more than five	1	1.1
Don't know	11	12.2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>100</b>

### **Discussion**

The first thing to note in connection with the data from this sample is the high degree of interest in multiculturalism, although students' awareness and knowledge of it varied from a rudimentary to a more sophisticated level. The significance of the findings is that the current generation of students, in spite of chronic concerns over unemployment and off-shore oil development in the province, still holds the belief that multiculturalism is important and the pursuit of knowledge about it is needed. Various subject areas were suggested as vehicles of learning. In communicating the concept of multiculturalism it is now necessary to go beyond the stage reached in the first decade of government multicultural policy when song and dance were emphasized and encouraged. If multiculturalism is regarded as a permeating quality of Canadian life it should be reflected throughout the curriculum. Should it be studied in the Social Studies program or be a unit that can be inserted into all other subject areas pending the



development of curriculum guides and handbooks that will provide concrete evidence of multicultural experience in classrooms?

Multiculturalism is not an aberrant or a sudden movement. It developed from our historical evolution. First it has been the European and the native people, then the political and religious asylum made Canada a multi-ethnic, polycultural and polyglot country. "Immigrants today are a different breed from the cheap Oriental labourers, pacifist refugees, illiterate homesteaders, displaced Irish and 'men in sheepskin coats' of the past. Many are skilled labourers, professionals, intellectuals, artists, etc. from the middle and upper levels of European and Asian society. In other words, the public is beginning to reflect more elevated and sophisticated social and cultural views and habits than are sometimes espoused by the common public schools, or the educational bureaucracies which administer and direct them." Curriculum development is therefore crucial in teaching multiculturalism in schools.

In studying the psychological bases of ethnocentrism and multiculturalism with young children Aboud (1980) speculated that ethnocentrism might be a necessary first step in the acquisition of ingroup affiliation - it is an affective type of differentiation. Our subjects who proudly identified themselves as "Newfie" are good examples of such. Aboud also found that outgroup attitudes held by minorities were positively related to perceived dissimilarity, thus supporting the multiculturalism ideology. Kalin et al. (1977), from the result of a national survey, revealed a generally favourable attitudinal climate and ideological support for multiculturalism. Kalin's study (1979) of ethnic and multicultural attitudes among children from grades 5 to 13 in a Canadian city revealed that this youth sample was somewhat less ethnocentric and had a more positive multicultural ideology than the national adult sample. In concluding his study, Kalin gave the following statement:

By having studied the children of today, we have an indication of the attitudes of tomorrow's adults. Prospects in this regard are again reasonably optimistic. Children as a group were somewhat less ethnocentric than adults and of the children, the oldest ones were the least ethnocentric. If adolescents maintain their relatively low level of prejudice into adulthood, the next generation of adults would show more tolerance and less prejudice than the current. The climate for the acceptance of multiculturalism should therefore become more favourable.<sup>5</sup>

To foster a complete awareness and understanding of the concept of multiculturalism and to achieve its goals, students have to be informed of our society's multicultural reality, to engage in interaction and interchange between cultural groups, and to take pride in Canada being a beautiful mosaic of a multi-ethnic, polycultural and polyglot character. The majority of our sample is ready for it all.

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## **MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: NATURAL' PARTNER FOR SOCIAL STUDIES**

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Social Studies and Multicultural Education have a very close link in their concerns although they have separate histories and identities. There are factors that provide them with an opportunity for partnership. These factors are the gradually shrinking and yet increasingly interdependent world and the constant quest for human understanding and equity. As a separate discipline in school subject areas Social Studies has a history of more than half a century, though its curriculum has focussed on Social Sciences and civic education. Periodically new approaches in teaching and new emphasis in material are necessary to meet the needs and challenges of social change. Often, national and international issues demand the modification or expansion of curriculum materials that will contribute to the education of the young.

### **The Involvement of Multicultural Education in Social Studies**

From as early as 1945, when the American National Council for Social Studies published its yearbook, involvement of multicultural education in Social Studies was evident, although the starting point was to encourage international education: "The Yearbook presented not only theoretical discussions of intercultural and intergroup education but described exemplary social studies programs" (Isham and Mehaffy, 1985, p. 572). Based on the value of cultural pluralism and the improvement of intercultural relations, projects on multicultural and ethnic studies flourished. When the focus on international studies shifted to intercultural and multicultural concerns, social studies extended into the area of global education. The primary goal of this extension was to promote further understanding of other peoples, other cultures, and the relationships and interdependency among them and other nations. The most renowned and acclaimed of such projects in Social Studies is the Glens Falls Global Education Project (NCSS Bulletin, No. 35, 1964), which sought to provide students with a better understanding of the complexity of the world in which they live; to help them realize the cultural diversities and the many dimensions of world problems; to provoke them to think clearly and constructively on the role of a nation in world affairs; and to provide them with opportunities to practice methods of inquiry into global issues and problems (Isham and Mehaffy, 1985).

The Associated Schools Program issued by UNESCO in Paris, 1971, echoes the advocacy of social scientists and educators in international education. The objective of the program was to increase knowledge of world affairs, to give pupils a sound comprehension of other peoples and cultures, and to develop attitudes favourable to international understanding. As a result, many concerned groups and international organizations have contributed programs, materials and perspectives to this area of education, particularly civics as it relates to world unification, peace, human rights, and fundamental freedom (Buergethal and Torney, 1976). Social studies, an amalgam of social sciences and civics, have been proposed as vehicles of international understanding. With the increased support of all nations, progress in social studies has led to greater culture awareness. This is evident in the structure as well as the content of curriculum in pre-service and inservice teacher training, and in the more active participation in world affairs by individuals and groups.

### **The Movement of Multiculturalism and the Federal Initiatives**

In the 1960's, multiculturalism, as a movement, pervaded the Western countries. The causes for the movement were many, but the central issue was similar. The end of the British empire, the post Second World War immigration of non-whites to Australia, the Black civil rights movement in the United States, and the changing ethnic composition of the Canadian population all contributed to the multiculturalism movement. The Canadian government, in response to the recommendations of Book 4 of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, which dealt with the contribution made by the minority ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment in Canada, declared in the House of Commons, on October 8, 1971 "a policy of Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework." The concept of the policy was to give the right to maintain, with pride, ethnic cultural heritage and to share it with other Canadians, as well as to break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies. The overall response from the provinces was positive. Indeed, some provinces had already preceded the federal initiative by implementing programs in keeping with the objectives of the Policy of Multiculturalism. In 1972 a Federal Minister was appointed to be responsible for the implementation of the multicultural policy. Educators were then challenged to increase the awareness and knowledge of cultural diversity in Canadian society via the curriculum and educational activities. The federal government directed activities in five areas to promote multicultural education. These areas were material development, information exchange and dissemination, personnel training and development, community liaison, and applied research. Publications and resources in the form of books, pamphlets and films were prolifically developed. Recent priorities of multiculturalism since 1984 have been race relations, multiculturalism in the economy, multicultural education, immigrant and visible minority women, and multiculturalism in broadcasting (Multiculturalism in Canada, 1986). All these areas can fit very appropriately into the curriculum of Social Studies. Some textbooks, reference books and journal articles have focused on such topics as human heritage, government policy, immigration and refugees, quality and equality of education, economy and world trade, minority women, the visible minority, and their visibility in public services and in broadcasting.

### **Provincial Initiatives in Multicultural Education**

Provincially, the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union established a policy in multicultural education in 1979 and organized a Multiculturalism InService Workshop, in cooperation with the Ethnic Services Division of the Department of Education (McCreath, 1981; Nova Scotia Teachers' Union, 1980). The Multiculturalism In-Service Workshops have presently trained more than seventy per cent of the teachers in Nova Scotia. The Ontario Ministry of Education (1) developed guidelines for publishers and authors to promote bias-free texts and curriculum materials, (2) disseminated documents to schools outlining a cultural and intercultural basis for education in the early elementary grades, (3) adopted a special certificate for teachers who secure additional training or qualification in multicultural education, and (4) implemented a history course for secondary education entitled "Canada's Multicultural Heritage" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1979). The Manitoba Department of education undertook major responsibilities in the celebration of the Multicultural Week, the operation of the Multicultural Education Resource Centre, provincial conferences on Multiculturalism in education and heritage languages, professional development seminars for teachers, and multicultural anthologies (Manitoba Education, 1984). The Winnipeg School Division No. 1 has initiated in-service training in multicultural education for all personnel, and has been involved in the development of

multicultural education resource materials. The Vancouver School Board developed a board policy on race relations in 1982, and encouraged multicultural action plans and activities in Schools. The 1982-1983 analysis of school multicultural action outlined five areas of activities: (1) infusion of multicultural perspectives in curriculum; (2) encouragement of multicultural awareness and understanding through co-curricular activities, (3) inservice education for teachers, (4) support for E.S.L. students, and (5) provision of audio-visual and print materials with a multicultural theme.

### **Mutual Objectives of Multicultural Education and Social Studies**

Ideally, promotion of Multicultural Education would be best done by integrating multicultural elements into all subject areas at all educational levels. However, Social Studies concerns humanity and is interdisciplinary. It "draws subject matters from the social sciences: history, geography, sociology, political science, social psychology, philosophy, anthropology and economics" (Jarolinek, 1971) as the framework to provide multicultural instruction. Both Social Studies and Multicultural Education share common objectives. They seek: 1) to improve interpersonal and intergroup relations; 2) to increase awareness in cultural diversity as an attribute of dynamic cultural enrichment; 3) to sensitize the public to national and international conflicts as well as their interdependency and co-operation and their impact on our human society; 4) to promote racial, ethnic, and religious understanding in order to diminish prejudice and discrimination; 5) to help develop cognitive, affective and psychomotor skills for effective living in a society of diversity. Based on these common grounds it is reasonable to consider Multicultural Education as a natural partner for Social Studies.

### **The Baker Model of Multicultural Education**

Baker (1983) developed a threedimensional model for Multicultural Education. The model broadens and clarifies the content of Social Studies in promoting Multicultural Education. The three dimensional perspectives of the model focus on the multiethnic, the multicultural, and the international. The Multiethnic includes groups of diverse ethnic background in the country, such as the British, the Black, the German, the Native, the Asian, the Southeast Asian, and so forth. The multicultural refers to groups of the aged, the youth, the lifestyle, the gender, the language, the religious beliefs, the socioeconomic status, and the special needs. The international denotes other countries in the world. This model provides a wider horizon in recognizing the racial, cultural, language, and various human diversities from a global perspective. With such a broad scope and varied areas in the curriculum, social studies will provide students with multicultural experiences in breadth and depth.

### **Organizing Instructional Materials**

Meaningful learning and the interest of students are the primary criteria in organizing classroom instructional materials, but the age and background of students are also important. Since the family is the foremost socialization institution, instructional materials for the primary level could focus on the self, parents and siblings, other significant members in the family, and their relationships with the child and vice versa. Individual identity, ethnic identity and cultural identity could be explored, developed, and shared among students. Thus, commonalities could be viewed as human and universal,

while differences could be viewed as unique and special. Once a positive identity of the self developed and a positive attitude towards cultural diversity formed, objectivity and interest in further learning will be aroused. The higher level could focus on the community, the city, and the province. Subsequently an expansion to the nation and the world would be natural and logical. The basic needs and perceived needs of each level should be taken in consideration when organizing instructional materials. Instructional materials are important because they provide actual experiences in the classroom, enhance structural and proper use of academic time, and develop cognitive, affective, and psychomotor potentiality.

### **The Cognitive and Affective Process in Multicultural Education**

Any humanistic topic such as multiculturalism is subject to debate. It is also more affective-oriented than some other enquiries because our feelings will be aroused, and our attitude and values will be influenced. It is necessary then that the learning process allow for inquiry, critical thinking, evaluation, and judgement. In other words, instructional materials for multicultural education should be both descriptive and interpretive. Descriptive information and cognitive interpretation increase the effectiveness of learning. Inquiry is a necessary and logical process which includes intellectual analysis and critical thinking. Development of empathy, the capacity to see oneself in other's situations, is also essential for cultural learning. It is then that our understanding, appreciation, and respect of cultural diversity will emerge.

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## EDUCATION: A VALUABLE COMMODITY

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Never before in our civilization has the voice of "Education as a valuable commodity" been heard with such resounding fervor and indeed hope. Fervor because it is or has become a thing to be worshipped and hope because rightly or wrongly we have been led to believe that without it there is no hope. Because of this drive or mania for "education" it has been put into the category of what befits a thing of value. A precious commodity devoutly to be acquired at all costs.

The Aims of Public Education In Newfoundland defines education as the process by which human beings are enabled to achieve their fullest and best development both as private individuals and as members of human society. The Oxford dictionary defines education as "bringing up of the young": "the development of character or mental powers". As a derivative from the Latin "educere", education means to level or bring out: to develop from latent or potential existence.

A "value" is something that does one some good. It is of use.

Non-value is something that does one no good or has no impact on a person. A value has worth, desirability, utility. Non-value connotes worthlessness.

I give the above definition by way of introduction, however, I do not wish, in this paper, to dwell on definitions. The term education immediately inspires one to sit and write a book. Such titles as "What is Education?" "Education! Means to an End" or "Education or Death! Your Choice." On the other hand, the first thing that springs to mind when one mentions a value is the notion of morals which, of course, imply concepts of right and wrong, sin or no sin, good and bad, religion, etc. What a tangled web we would weave if one were to engage in this kind of jargonistic wrangling. However, I will try to link the above definitions throughout the course of this paper.

The question is not whether education per se is a value but rather if the methodologies employed in the process of education are valuable. There is little doubt that society perceives education as a value in terms of the above definitions, i.e., something worthwhile or worthy. If something is of value it must be selected, appreciated, and we must use it i.e., exercise it. Education would fit into all three. Society selects education as the sine qua non of our existence. We have taken it, put it on a pedestal and now we worship it. We have given it the highest priority. The world is undergoing the most extensive economic shift since the industrial revolution and the shift clearly favors knowledge-intensive industries. Human knowledge and skill have never been so important to the nation, and education never such a life and death issue.

Education is used for many reasons. The churches use it among other things as a vehicle to promote their specific belief in philosophy. It is used as a status symbol. It puts one a cut above the rest, so to speak. We use it as a means to an end. No doubt, when one presents oneself as having a high school education or a college degree one has a world of advantages over the one who presents with less. We use education as a ticket to acceptance into the various status strata of life. Those of us who teach are part of this great, highly prized entity called education. We do not have to sell our product. Everybody wants it.



This conviction that education is a thing of value, leads to the inevitable question "Are educators giving to young people valuable education?" Education and schools are not synonymous. The mere fact that one goes to school is no guarantee that one becomes educated." Margaret Meade once wrote, "My grandmother wanted me to have an education so she kept me out of school." We learn from many sources and we must distinguish between schooling and education.

Anyone who is concerned today about our secondary/elementary schools has to be both encouraged and discouraged. On the one hand, schools are trying to offer a wide variety of subjects to meet the wide variety of academic needs of students. On the other hand, this heavy emphasis on programming, i.e., content in subject matter, makes it very easy to forget the process of teaching and this often results in rote memorization and neglect of the other needs of students and teachers such as emotional and social development.

Teachers and the students live in a world of dichotomies. The teacher is asked to teach the values of kindness, generosity, good will towards fellow human beings. When, however, the team loses, these values change to rough and tough and, get them at any cost, or "to win is to live". The teacher in our school system knows that up means out. Advancement is restricted to those who do not make teaching the centre of their lives. The only way to become a recognized success is to give up teaching. In this instance, we give a conflicting message to the teacher: be a good, effective teacher, but to be recognized you have to move out of the classroom.

The student operates under opposing sets of messages, coming from school and society and also different messages coming from within the school itself. There is the split between what they are expected to believe and what they are rewarded for believing. For example, society exploits youth to sell a world of sex and drugs. Movies emphasize this as a worthwhile pursuit. The student knows which movies to attend because they have the heading of "for adults only." On the political scene, students see the image makers or handlers putting forth cosmetic facsimiles of potential political leaders, posing as real people. In these two instances, and there are many more, reality is replaced by fantasy, yet somehow students have to break through this screen and bring reality back into their minds and life styles.

What then are the conflicting messages students get within our schools? The school system as an institution ought not to contradict what it purports to represent. Our school system cannot say that it is necessary for students to develop an inquiring, critical mind and at the same time encourage and dictate practices that blatantly disregard student interaction and opinion. We have, for the most part, and there are exceptions, become a secondary school system devoid of the oxygen needed for the development of thinking people. There cannot be critical and analytical development in a classroom or school system that is choking to death on rote memorization of a single textbook. One of the hallmarks of effective teaching is to stimulate new interests and new ideas and not simply to rely on existing ones. Alfred North Whitehead wrote, "Schools are overloaded with in = ideas, mere pedantry and routine." This lack of stimulation leads to dull, uninteresting activities and indeed students, i.e., students who are virtually brain dead except for their short-term memory. This reliance on mere textbook learning alone, granted some is necessary, eventually leads to mental dry rot, i.e., an insidious, slow, yet quiet destruction of the mind. It puts students into a robotic state lacking in thought and indeed in many cases purpose. Students cannot be expected to value opinions of others if they are constantly forbidden to express their own.

Another conflicting message students and teachers receive in our schools deals with responsibility. On the one hand, students and teachers are given the message that they must be responsible for their behavior. On the other hand, they are given a clear message that the school system dictates policy to the teachers and that they must dictate this policy to the students. If we expect people to act responsibly then we must empower them with responsibility. Students say that on the one hand you want one to be responsible and the other you take away all responsibility. This removing of responsibility has a two-fold effect, both in students and teachers, it robs the individual of the opportunity to express his/her opinion and by virtue of this, it lowers their feeling of self-worth and dignity.

If valuable education is that which produces free reasoning people who can make up their own minds, who will understand their cultural traditions and who will value themselves and others as important human beings, there must be allowances made for the development of the "educated mind". A mind that not only receives but gives; a mind that is a producer as well as a consumer of knowledge. This is a mind that is not trained to respond like a Pavlovian dog or Skinnerian rat, but a mind which is a cultivated and nurtured source of knowledge and imagery, built on a true understanding of the arts and sciences, not memorization of them.

Our secondary, and elementary schools, to some extent, need fresh air. The windows need to be opened as it were, and learning allowed to flow through. Maybe we are stuck on the belief, coming from America and which I believe originated in Japan, that education is only a procedure to produce a product that will have some utilitarian value in society, i.e., operate a computer, etc. This "education only for the job" is reflected in John Hersey's book The Child Buyer in which he intimates that in some ways we are more interested in using our children than in educating them. Often, because of this, students lose their self-esteem because they see us as valuing them solely on external attributes, i.e., what they can physically produce. When asked to share their inner needs, desires or beliefs, their responses often reflect a low self concept or an empty sense of self, which makes it appear as though they "deserve" to be ignored. It is a "Cinderella Complex" of not wanting to grow up, to remain passive and unindividuated.

Students and teachers must feel a greater sense of self-worth. It is an anomaly that we rarely, if ever, have meaningful discussions in our classrooms but then when we do, because the students do not immediately give resounding responses, we say, well I tried that and it doesn't work. It would appear that we are obsessed with finding out what the students do not know. Winston Churchill once said that his teachers were always trying to find out what he didn't know, instead of what he did know. Many students today know a lot about the world but never get a chance to say so.

More and more well informed minds are entering the teaching profession, but more and more it can be said that to be called "well informed" is not enough. A well informed person laden with facts can be the most boring person on earth. Information is necessary, but not sufficient. The well informed may not necessarily be the effective teacher. We have to look at teaching from the point of view of content and process. If we only want content, i.e., learn the facts, then in actual fact we may not need the so well informed. Do we need a well informed historian or biologist to put notes on the blackboard, from a textbook for sixteen and seventeen-year-olds to copy, memorize, and give back in an exam? However, we do need the well informed mind if we are to foster in our students the educated mind. For one reason or another, we have been forced into

a mode of teaching suitable maybe for the industrial Age but not for the information age, i.e., dry, straight from the book teaching of facts. Discovery, analysis, critical thinking, etc., have been shelved and replaced by the note taking lecture.

Many of our teachers today have a lot to say about curriculum content and methodologies i.e., content and process. These professionals are rarely, if ever, meaningfully consulted. Teachers must be seen as real actors in the process. It is a little ironic that, on the one hand, we demand very high standards of teachers in terms of academic and professional training and, on the other hand, we refuse to trust them or to empower them with the responsibility to teach in ways other than in the traditional prescriptive modality, set out in textbook style. It reminds one of the old travel adage, "if it's Monday it must be Rome." in applying this to the school year it would read, "if it's May it must be Chapter 14, page 141." Life is not like that. Sixteen-year-olds don't think like that. Knowledge is not neatly packaged in this way either for consumption or production. At a recent conference on School Retention (affectionately known until recently as "Drop Outs") the question was asked "What can we do with these kids to keep them In school?" This question should have been stated, "What can we do with our schools to make them a more palatable place for our students to work?" The solution to this can only be found at the school level. Teachers must be empowered to make curriculum decisions and to be more responsible for what actually takes place in their own classroom.

Teachers must be included in decision making. They should have a voice in what happens curriculum wise, as well as in management. Teachers must be seen to be more than empty cylinders merely receiving dictates from a highly bureaucratized industry. This exclusion of teachers from the decision making process leads often to feelings of lack of appreciation and recognition of role importance, hence, to routine and burn out. Teachers are intellectuals and thinkers who convey knowledge through relationships. In order for them to do this effectively, we need to get back to an emphasis on learning and away from the structuring and propagation of the system. If schools are expected to produce students who are literate, and who are able to reason and think analytically, then teachers must be given the opportunity to do this.

Educators today are faced with a different dilemma than preceding generations. They were concerned about the future and work. We, however, are faced with the question "What kind of Earth. If any, will our children have to inhabit in the future?" We cannot afford to "train" our children to be passive observers of the world of reality.

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## KINDERGARTEN READINESS

**Paula J. Dawe**  
**North Star Elementary School Happy Valley**

In the spring of 1977, Public Health nurses in Happy Valley-Goose Bay expressed concern over the results of the Denver Development Test which is administered to all children in the area when they register for kindergarten. Serious delays were being found in the areas of Language Development, Fine Motor Skills, Gross Motor Skills and Social Development. After conference with local kindergarten teachers it was noted that children showing delays of more than six months on the Denver Development in past years were the same children who had difficulty with their kindergarten year, with many of them becoming the "unready five year olds" at the end of that first school year. These unready fives in turn pose a problem for schools as to their placement the following year since many when promoted to grade 1 are not able to catch up and since retention in kindergarten does not always provide them with the stimulation they need.

It was against this background that Public Health nurses then met with the Early Childhood Development Association of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador, hereafter known as E.C.D.A. E.C.D.A. has been active in the Happy Valley-Goose Bay Area since 1974 and is concerned with services for young children. Its basic aims are:

- 1) to promote and conduct quality child care programs
- 2) to encourage further education of parents and the general public in the needs of young children
- 3) to provide opportunities for young children to use and enjoy materials and media of all kinds and to develop their own ideas
- 4) to promote young children's growth in the areas of language development, fine and gross motor development and social development.

In 1977 ECDA was actively engaged in promoting these aims. It operated Mother Goose Nursery (housed in the former United States Airforce nursery on the Goose Bay base) which provides full-time and part-time daycare, drop-in service and a five-morning-a-week preschool. In Happy Valley ECDA was operating Pumpkin House Nursery which was a three-morning-per-week preschool.

Although these excellent services for the growth and development of young children were available in the community they were not reaching the children that Public Health was concerned about for two main reasons, the first being inability of many of the parents to pay for the service and the second and perhaps main reason being the inability of the parents to recognize the importance of such programs.

It then evolved that in the Spring of 1978 [E.C.D.A. organized](#) and funded a Kindergarten Readiness Program. The program was designed for those children registering for kindergarten whom Public Health Nurses had identified as having delayed developmental problems, hyperactivity and shyness.

The objectives of these program were (ECDA Brief to Cabinet, June 1980):

- 1) To encourage socialization and integration with other children and independence in socially deprived children and thereby prepare the child for the often traumatic separation from mother
- 2) To prepare the child for the school experience, to put them on an equal footing with children who have received sufficient stimulation
- 3) To provide an enrichment setting.

A very successful eight-week (five half days a week) program was held in 1978 and 1979. ECDA paid the staff salaries and cost of materials with space for the program provided through the generosity and co-operation of both local school boards. The Labrador East Integrated School Board provided space in the Goose Bay Area and the Roman Catholic School Board provided space in the Happy Valley area.

Kindergarten teachers were able to see a marked improvement in the readiness level of these children as compared with children in previous years who had been identified with similar difficulties. This was indeed evidenced when in 1980 E. C.D.A. was unable to finance the Kindergarten Readiness and their appeal for funding of three thousand dollars (\$3,000) from the Department of Education was unsuccessful. Another disadvantage was that in the fall of 1979 Pumpkin House Nursery in Happy Valley was unable to open its doors as the building it had been using was condemned and due for demolition. Therefore, children entering kindergarten in September 1980 had the double disadvantage of the unavailability of both preschool and Kindergarten Readiness. Although we have no scientific data to back us up, many local teachers feel that this disadvantage is still apparent even as these children finished their Grade 1 years.

In September of 1981 the Roman Catholic School Board found they had an extra classroom in their Happy Valley school. This space was offered to ECDA for use as Pumpkin House Nursery and for two years has been used as such. Pumpkin House now offers a three-morning-per week preschool, a three-afternoon per-week preschool and a two morning-per-week toddler playgroup.

In 1981 and 1982 the Early Childhood Education Committee of Happy Valley-Goose Bay was able to obtain grants from the Federal government (Community Service Grant) and in conjunction with ECDA were able to run successful ten (10) week Readiness Programs each spring. Although we know that these programs have been successful we feel that eight to ten weeks is too short a period and that the minimum length of such a program should be twelve weeks with the hope that these children could participate in a more ongoing program after the age of three years.

Public Health nurses are now administering Denver Development Tests to children in this area who have reached their third birthday, and it is now possible for children of social services families to be sponsored by social services in an existing preschool program such as Pumpkin House or Mother Goose.

In recent years we are being made more aware of the needs of young children and the importance of the first five years of life. The children who have had the benefit of enriched preschool years are the ones who begin their formal school years with a positive, self-image and in turn are more likely to be successful.

Kindergarten Readiness programs such as the ones offered in this area provide the disadvantaged child with an enriched stimulating environment which encourages language, socialization and creativity and opens the door to the delight of books and stories. Not all children who require a readiness program come from disadvantaged homes. Some may be referred because of extreme shyness and an inability to leave the mother. These children require gentle, understanding assistance so that they can relax in a different environment and make an easy adjustment to separation from the mother for short periods. This opportunity means that these children adjust quickly to kindergarten and are not prone to the September-October tears that have upset both child and kindergarten teacher in past years.

The Kindergarten Readiness programs have had a positive impact on parents in this community. The cost to the parents has been kept to a minimum one-time fee of \$25 and this has been waived where real need is shown.

Although this program has been effective it must be noted that while one of the aims of ECDA has been to put the disadvantaged child on an equal footing with children who have an enriched preschool environment, it is difficult to squeeze five years into a mere eight to ten week program. For this reason, as well as observation of the difficulties experienced by children in kindergarten, one local school decided to try a slightly new approach to kindergarten. North Star School in Happy Valley which is operated by the Labrador East Integrated School Board began its new program in September 1981.

The school has two and one-half kindergarten units and an enrollment of 75 kindergarten children. In previous years these children would have been divided into five groups of 15 with the children attending school for mornings in one month and afternoons the next month. Instead, the children were divided into three groups of 25 each so that each child would attend morning sessions for the entire school year. During the month of September the three teachers were available to bring the children back two at a time for one afternoon session each. This time was used to do an individual assessment of each child. The children were tested for readiness skills in the areas of math, language development, social skills and self-help skills. Based on this assessment the afternoon groups were determined. The two full-time teachers were responsible for their own children in the afternoon plus half of the children from the half-time teacher's class.

The afternoon groups were set up under the following categories:

- Monday - Co-ordination, fine and gross motor
- Tuesday - Language development - emphasis on listening skills
- Wednesday - Senior enrichment - for mature children with good background in readiness skills
- Thursday - Numbers and letters - for children who have some readiness skills but who have not had the opportunity to learn letters and numbers
- Friday - Junior enrichment - children who are immature and/or come from unstimulating environments.

Approximately 50% of the children returned to school for one afternoon per week with another 38% returning for two afternoons per week and the remaining 12% returning for three afternoons. Concern was expressed as to how these four and five-year-olds would react to a full day of school. However, this concern was unfounded since, as one of the full-time kindergarten teachers in this school, I can honestly say that the majority of children would have come back five afternoons per week. It has been estimated that under this system the children gain in time an additional 75 regular kindergarten days (this is based on an average 2 1/2 hr. day under the old system).

The kindergarten teachers at North Star were astounded at the progress made by the children under this system. It was felt that the advantages of this system were:

- 1) the children are in school every morning, which is their prime learning time
- 2) the extra hours gained means that the teacher is better able to know each child as an individual
- 3) there is more time for art, music and drama
- 4) there is more time for relaxed constructive and stimulating playtimes. It is during these playtimes that children not only develop socially but also expand their vocabulary and imagination.
- 5) the children have had more time and opportunity to build readiness skills in all areas.

The one disadvantage at this time is the fact that the pupil-teacher ratio of 25:1 in the morning is high. However, the advantages outweigh this and hopefully future advances in this area would permit a ratio of 18:1. North Star School has an effective parent volunteer program which helps in this area.

I personally feel that kindergarten readiness begins at conception since proper nutrition and health care are of such importance to the developing fetus. In this area we are seeing an alarming growth in the number of teenage pregnancies and a lowering of the age of these young mothers, so that we now have thirteen-sixteen year olds who are keeping their babies. For this reason ECDA has again joined forces with the Public Health Nurses for the purpose of providing parent education programs for these young mothers, so that their children will have a chance in life.

ECDA is a non-profit volunteer organization and is to be commended on the contribution it is making in the area of early childhood education in the community of Happy Valley-Goose Bay. As well, the school boards and Public health are to be commended for their co-operation and support of such programs. Each child must be ensured the best possible start in life.



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## NEWFOUNDLAND CHILD DAY CARE PROGRAM

### Day Care Division Department of Social Services

The Department of Social Services, under the Hon. T.V. Hickey, Minister, is responsible for the supervision of day care services in this province. The Day Care and Homemaker Services Act, 1975, empowered the provincial Department of Social Services to establish a Licensing Board to regulate services where care was provided for five or more children, age 2 to 12 years, during the full day time period.

The Licensing Board is composed of seven members including representatives of the Department of Social Services, Education and Health, as well as three members from the general public. The Early Childhood Development association and day care operators are represented on the current membership of the Board. The Board has full powers to accept or reject a license application or to cancel an existing license. The Board is chaired by the Director of Day Care and Homemaker Services.

Applicants for new licenses and renewal of licenses must submit the following documentation prior to their applications being presented to the Licensing Board:

1. Municipal Approval
2. Fire Inspection Approval
3. Public Health Inspection Approval
4. Social Worker's Assessment
5. General Comprehensive Liability Insurance
6. Scaled Drawing of Proposed Accommodations
7. Outline of Daily Program of Activities
8. Sample Menu for one week
9. License Fee (1.00)
10. Application and Medical

Licenses must be renewed on a yearly basis. Repeat inspections by Social Workers, Health and Fire Inspectors are required for purposes of renewal of license.

The distribution of licensed centres since the proclamation of the Act is as follows:

	<b>Number of Licensed Centers</b>	<b>Number of Licensed Spaces</b>
March 31 1977	8	129
1978	25	477
1979	35	731
1980	36	816
1981	31	812
1982	36	874

Included in the above totals are part-time as well as full day care programs. Therefore these statistics are not representative of day care spaces for working parents. The breakdown of spaces in full day care programs vs. part-time for 1981-82 is as follows:

	March 1981	March 1982
Day Care Centres (Full-time programs)	16	20
Preschools (Part-time programs)	15	16
	31	36
Licensed Spaces	March 1981	March 1982
Day Care	493	533
Preschools	319	341
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>812</b>	<b>874</b>

### Funding

Until very recently funding has been limited for day care services. One centre, providing an enrichment program for socially deprived and developmentally delayed children, did receive parental fee subsidy. For the past three fiscal years the Department of Social Services has committed itself to extending parental fee subsidization to all centres for eligible families through an income tested program.

The specifics of this program are:

- (1) Only licensed centres are eligible.
- (2) Parents must meet a social needs criteria:
  - single parent
  - handicapped child
  - socially disadvantaged child (referral)
  - two parent family, where one parent is disabled or in training or upgrading
- (3) Only 50% of the spaces in any licensed center may be subsidized
- (4) Services will be purchased from proprietary as well as non-proprietary centres.

The purchase of subsidized spaces at the end of the fiscal years 1981-82 in day care and preschool centres is as follows:

	1981	1982
Subsidized Spaces (Day Care)	69	118
(Preschools)	7	37
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>155</b>

In addition to the subsidy program, during 1979-80 a start-up grant of \$500.00 became available to each centre meeting licensing standards. While seemingly a minor contribution, this grant was greeted by the day care community as representing tangible evidence of government support for the development of this service. These grants are available to centers becoming licensed for the first time.

#### **Program Development and Support**

The Department of Social Services has been cognizant of the need to provide the support systems to licensed centres, required to maintain appropriate child care standards. In a province where post secondary education in the field of early childhood education is not available with the exception of some course work in the Faculty of Education of Memorial University, there is a tremendous need for a comprehensive approach to training for those who are currently working with young children. However, several developments have occurred which are indicative of government's interest and commitment to improving and maintaining quality child care programs.

During 1979-80 a committee was formed to advise the provincial College of Trades and Technology regarding a suitable program of studies in this field. A two-year certificate program in Early Childhood Education at the College in St. John's with audio-visual hook-ups to other major centers in the province was proposed, whenever funds can be made available.

During the Winter of 1980, the Department of Social Services sponsored an on site visit by a consultant with expertise in early childhood to each licensed centre. Within the context of these visits which focused on program development, some operators organized public meetings, parents' nights and staff meetings, in order to derive maximum benefit from the consultant service.

In March 1981, a week-long training event, coordinated by the Early Childhood Development Association and funded by the Department of Social Services was held at St. Bride's College, Litledale, for operators or delegate representatives from their centers. The aim of the sessions was to introduce the participants, some of whom had limited or no access to training, to a variety of program ideas. Many of the resource persons utilized were local practitioners and/or teaching in related fields.

In the past fiscal year, 1981-82, several significant training events have been again funded by the Department of Social Services, but co-ordinated by other agencies.

A three-day Teacher Exchange Program, co-ordinated by the Early Childhood Development Association, allowed for the operators or support staff to work in another

centre in the Province. While many of the exchanges were in St. John's, a total of 10 out of town exchanges were made.

A two-day workshop for Directors of Day Care Centres was coordinated by Daybreak Parent-Child Centre. The emphasis was on program development - setting goals and determining how best to achieve them utilizing the cognitive model developed by the High Scope Educational Research Foundation of Ypsilanti, Michigan. A resource person from the Foundation was present.

A weekend workshop for interested persons co-ordinated by the Early Childhood Development Association was well attended by licensed operators and staff. The theme was "Language is Living". Two workshop levels were presented, one for those with considerable training and the other for those persons with limited training.

The attendance record for the various training events was excellent and was indicative of the commitment to training by those working in the field of day care/preschool.

### **Licensing Standards**

Since the passing of the Day Care Act, 1975, and the enforcement of the Regulations, 1976, a complete review of the Regulations was made in order to accommodate difficulties that have been encountered when applying the Regulations. While quality child care programs can be developed through training and upgrading, it is also crucial that the child's health and safety needs are met at all times. Over the past several years, the Health and Fire Prevention Regulations have been clarified and guidelines developed by the appropriate departmental staff. Simultaneously, an emphasis on more social work involvement, has resulted in greater liaison between operators and the Department of Social Services.

During the past years, with the appointment of an Early Childhood Education Advisory Committee to the Minister of Education and the hiring of a Consultant by that Department, a closer working relationship with that Department has evolved.

A number of proposed revisions have been made in the Regulations to reflect the emphasis on health and safety and also to reflect the role of the-Department of Education and the Department of Health in the development of quality child care programs.

In addition to these changes, the following has been proposed:

- that jurisdiction over part-time programs be ensured, since the Act refers specifically to full-time programs.
- that the Board have the power to make exemptions regarding licensed part-time programs when deemed appropriate.

### **Future Issues**

There are several issues to be addressed, one of which is that of family day care. This involves care for less than five children in private homes. Presently, there is no

system for monitoring or supporting these homes. The other issue is that of group care for children under two years and after-school care. In March 1982, less than 50 children, age 2 years (out of a total of available 874 spaces) were received for care, and less than 25 children age 6 and over attended day care centres after school. A comprehensive approach to encouraging the development of services for these two groups of children is required.

Persons wishing to obtain more detailed information on day care services in this province may write:

Division of Day Care & Homemaker Services  
Department of Social Services  
Confederation Building  
St. John's, NL  
A1C 5T7  
(Telephone 737-2576)

## IN SEARCH OF A CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

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Student Teaching Division

This paper is an attempt to indicate the contribution Critical Theory can make to Education. The need for a critical pedagogy will be stated and Critical Theory will be introduced as forming a basis for developing such a critical pedagogy.

In recent years major studies have been presented on the need for encouraging, if not demanding, excellence in teaching and therefore in teacher education. The most noteworthy of these studies are *Tomorrows Teachers* (1986) from the Holmes Group; *A Nation Prepared* (1986) by the Carnegie Task Force; and *Teacher Education In Ontario: Current Practice and Options for the Future* (1987). These documents, along with many educational research publications, speak to the need for teachers who are reflective, critical and inquiring. Teachers need be able to stand back from their teaching and move beyond the mere execution of classroom skills and the delivery of discipline content. Much of the literature on "critical pedagogy" claims that the goals of teacher education programs are often at variance with the goals of schools that want teachers who can integrate theory and practice, who have the ability to analyze critically, and who have the vision and skills to implement change. (Hopkins, 1980) Furthermore teachers need to have a critical insight into their role and function as teachers in schools. Teachers need also to critically examine the value of the knowledge they teach as well as the role of schooling in society. David Kirk (1986) claims that teachers, in general, are ill-equipped to face these issues. How can teacher educators help prospective teachers indicate and embrace such basic concerns? Henry Giroux (1981) states that the normative interests behind educational practice must be illuminated through the use of a critical theoretical perspective. In this way teachers will be better able to question the source, meaning and, rationality behind all pedagogical practice.

If teachers are to manage the complex social system of the classroom and diagnose the needs of individual students, situated in their various homes and schools, a critical pedagogy is needed. As the position paper *Teacher Education in Ontario* (1987) proposes society needs "teachers for whom the transmission of knowledge and culture is the foundation on which they build, not the end to which they strive". How can teachers be helped to move beyond technical mastery in the classroom towards an awareness of the deeper dimensions of schooling? How can teachers be encouraged to critically examine the taken-for-granted assumptions of education?

A critical pedagogy is one in which teachers act as intelligent practitioners capable of reflective thought and who take responsibility for their own professional development. (Friere, 1973). A critical pedagogy realizes that the educational process is not neutral and teaching methods can not be denuded of the social, human, and historical elements that make up schooling. This is not easy. Schools are expected to correct social inequalities and also reproduce the given society. This very often leaves the teacher caught in the middle of conflicting demands. Furthermore a teacher has little chance of remedying a situation that is often related to complex issues of social class, cultural background, and the institutional biases of schooling. (Popkewitz, 1985) Where do educators find a model for developing teachers who are critically aware of the complexities of the educational process, and help them contribute to such a process while seeing the potential for change?

The development of such a critical pedagogy would seem to be able to benefit from the work of the Frankfurt School and its Critical Theory. What is Critical Theory and where are its origins? To answer these questions it is necessary to examine the rise of the Frankfurt School as well as the development of Critical Theory.

At the outset it seems prudent to be aware of three terms of reference associated with this topic: Critical Theory, the Frankfurt School, and the Institute of Social Research. These three reference terms are not interchangeable and their particular relationship to each other will emerge in the following section.

In 1923, with a large endowment from Felix Weil, the Institute of Social Research was formed in Frankfurt, Germany. David Held (1980) makes a useful distinction between the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research. Held reserves the term Frankfurt School for an "inner circle" composed of Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Leo Lowenthal, and Fredrick Pollock. The Institute of Social Research extends to encompass many others who cannot be viewed as comprising a school of thought. It is with the Frankfurt School, the limited edition of the Institute of Social Research, that this paper is concerned.

The first director of the Institute was Carl Grundberg and in his inaugural address he emphasised the fact that he did not agree with the current emphasis on university teaching at the expense of research. This early orientation was to mark the work of the larger group through the decades. However, it was with Max Horkheimer that the typical ideas of the Frankfurt School began to emerge. As director of the Institute Horkheimer gathered around him a diverse group of talented thinkers and writers. Horkheimer sought to set up a group that represented varied disciplines, notably economics, psychology, history, and philosophy. For ten years the group worked out of the Institute in Frankfurt but with the Nazi assumption to power in 1933 it was forced to disperse only to regroup in Geneva. In 1934 a formal offer was made by Columbia University to Max Horkheimer to reestablish the Institute in New York. Despite a serious reevaluation of goals and structural modifications the Institute's work continued in America. In 1953 the Institute returned to Frankfurt. (Giroux, 1983)

The label preferred by the Frankfurt School for their views was Critical Theory. The name Critical Theory gives a strong indication to the intent of the Frankfurt School. Critical Theory defies rigid definition and aspect by aspect analysis. In the same way Critical Theory does not purport to establish rigid philosophical structures. (Jay, 1973) The members of the Frankfurt School sought a process that was essentially open-ended, probing, and having an on-going quality which leaves room for the social and historical moment. Critical Theory does not form a unity and it does not mean the same thing to all its proponents. This is in keeping with the diverse background of its members and the subject matter with which they dealt. However, it is Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, and Herbert Marcuse who are best able to meet the critical needs of education since their works form the core of Critical Theory. This being so it is wise to remember Horkheimer's warning that there can be no formula which lays down a "once and for all relationship between the individual, society, and nature".

Critical Theory can help educators formulate and ask salient questions about schooling. If teachers are to be "reflective, critical, and inquiring" then the tools of critical analysis need be developed. Critical Theory has left a legacy of concepts, assertions, and questions that can inform the educator. The following section hints at some of these concepts, assertions, and questions.



The critical thinking of the Frankfurt School creates a base for realizing the interaction of the social and the personal as well as of history and private experience. (Giroux, 1983) The importance of this notion becomes stronger when, within the context of schooling, we ask "whose notion of society and individuality are we to accept?" (Popkewitz, 1985)

Critical Theory claims that Culture can be seen to have its own Capital. (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1970) Yet schools take the cultural capital (language, knowledge, taste, and aesthetical awareness) of the middle class as natural and proceed as if all children have, or should have, equal access to it. (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) It is important for educators to remember that the notion of culture is most complex. This complexity of culture is found not only in various traditions, institutions, and formations but in the dynamic interrelations that formed them as well as in the ongoing process of each formulation. Culture is not "free-floating" but is the expression of human consciousness which is shaped by social living. This view of culture allows for the possibility of human agency in the meaning-making of that culture. As far as the Frankfurt School members were concerned culture could not be understood in terms of itself. Culture could not be seen as independent from society. This notion should be a crucial one for education for it has such wide application across the curriculum. In spite of this education continues to offer to prospective teachers and students a world that is one of ready-made customs, traditions, and order. Critical theory would point out that this does not speak to the place of human agency and the possibility of change. (Marcuse, 1968)

Critical Theory lays a foundation for a dialectical mode of thinking about schooling that stresses the historical as well as the personal. (Giroux, 1983) The process of personal, social, and political emancipation must lie at the heart of any proposed critical pedagogy. The prospective teacher should be able to relate the historical knowledge gained through the teacher education process to his or her own personal history. In this way a teacher can hope to operate as an intelligent practitioner, capable of reflective self-development with some real understanding of the complexities of schooling.

Critical Theory can aid education in better understanding how schools function as agents of social and cultural production. In this manner educators can better ask whose mores are affirmed, what values are embraced, and which culture is being reproduced. Paul Willis (1981) claims it is necessary to investigate the form of living collective cultural productions that occur on the grounds of what is inherited as well as imposed. These productions still remain creative and active. Willis states further that these cultural productions are experienced as new by each individual and group. In short this means that teachers and students can be a positive part of the schooling process. This further means that teachers should act in a reflective, critical, and inquiring manner towards the knowledge they are given and teach, as well as towards the methodologies they are given and use. These are not frozen. These are not once-and-for-all givens.

In general Critical Theory seeks to understand all forms of social practice and the factors that hinder self-consciousness and free development. It further seeks to show that the structure of society contains unrealized potentialities. In attempting to do this Critical Theory has contributed much to contemporary social and political thought. This is not to claim that Critical Theory and the work of the Frankfurt School should be accepted in an acritical fashion but that the worth of this extensive and penetrating effort should not only be recognized but be seen as an aid to forming a critical pedagogy.

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## A FOUNDATION FOR CRITICAL AESTHETIC EDUCATION

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In order to contribute to any educational discourse it is necessary to understand and appreciate the social and cultural settings of that education. Education, no matter what its form, does not happen in a vacuum. In an attempt to understand the social and cultural settings of aesthetic education in general and drama education in particular this paper draws on writers collected under the term of "Frankfurt School".

For the group of thinkers comprising the Frankfurt School, especially Horkheimer, Adorno and Marcuse, sociology and critique are inseparable. In order to critique art, or a particular cultural artefact, it is necessary to understand that work in its social origins and be aware of its form, content and function in terms of the total society. Art does not exist out of context and possibly should not exist in isolation. Society expresses itself through its cultural life and these expressions contain references to the social totality. As far as Horkheimer was concerned a "theory of culture" must have reference to the process of production, reproduction, distribution, exchange and consumption.

If a notion of culture is to prove positive to this study some questions need be asked. First of all is culture to be understood as the arts, as a system of meanings, attitudes and values or as a way of life? Secondly, how is culture related to society in general? The notion of culture is very complex. Our everyday use of the term indicates this complexity. We speak of "going to a new culture", "having a very cultural evening" and "that is part of our culture".

As far as the Frankfurt School members were concerned culture could not be understood in terms of itself. Culture could not be seen as independent from society. For these critical theorists culture stems from the organizational basis of society and is represented in the form of ideas, norms and artistic expressions. In short culture is the offspring of intelligence and art. Marcuse makes a distinction between *material* culture and *intellectual* culture. By material culture Marcuse means the daily patterns of behaviour, operational values as well as the social, psychological and moral dimensions of family, leisure, education and work. By intellectual culture he means the values of science, humanities, art and religion. This distinction will serve useful in any critical discussion of drama practices. For now it will help keep in focus the many elements of culture as found in the writings of the Frankfurt School members and others.

For Adorno and Horkheimer (1972) culture was seen as a crucial "moment" in the development of historical experience and everyday life. As Adorno (1967) wrote, the substance of culture resides in the "material life-process" and not in and of itself. Through the institutions of family, school, church as well as the workplace, culture can become objectified. It is easy to see how notions of culture as an open, living, changing, growing, freeing process could be lost in a frozen fashion.

Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno first used the term "culture industry" in *Dialectics of Enlightenment*. They chose this term over "mass culture" because they wished to examine that process which fused the old and the familiar into a new quality. Within the culture industry they referred to products which were tailored for consumption by the masses. In this Horkheimer and Adorno realized that the masses are objects of calculation. This is not to claim that the producers of cultural objects do not consider the

people for whom they produce but that the people are integrated into the total process. In this scenario the consumer is not ruler but the object of the cultural industry.

It seems prudent at this stage to state that the expression "cultural industry" is not to be taken literally. Adorno and Horkheimer are referring to the standardization of the thing itself and the process of distribution not the actual production process. However, the "formulas" that are utilized for the mass production of songs, books and plays would seem to indicate that the "industry" in fact reaches the production process.

It is Adorno's claim that the culture industry needs to be taken seriously, not in the way it takes itself seriously but in the fact that the culture industry calls for serious critique. The success of the culture industry calls for mass conformity: conform without knowing why or even thinking about it. In this way conformity has replaced consciousness. The products of the culture industry are taken to represent given and eternal truths. The real interests of the culture consumer are not taken into account. The culture industry solves conflicts only on the surface, only in appearance. More often than not this solving of conflicts cannot be used in real life. This notion will be important in a critique of existing models of educational drama.

The culture industry is part of the progressive technical domination of nature insofar as it impedes the development of autonomous, independent individuals. The culture industry, and its products, asks the consumers not to judge and decide for themselves but to willingly echo and live the values and attitudes of the status quo. How is such sublimation possible?

For some Frankfurt members, the culprit is style. For others style represents a promise in every work of art. However, style can subsume the message and the content. In this way art cannot fulfill any promise of emancipation, only escape from the immediate now. We are captivated by style and in the face of it often remain acritical. Style allows culture to be administered. It is at this juncture that it can be seen how the arts' critic becomes the mouthpiece of the status quo. It is the art critic who condemns any deviation from the accepted style and artistic norms and in so doing draws tight the rope of conformity. Those artists who do not conform do not find success.

In this fashion conformity is its own reward. This is not to say that visual and performing artists do not break with the mold of a given style, and therefore with the normalization process. It is with such breaks that art can be seen as emancipatory. Such breaking with the dominant expectations often calls for the price of isolation and lack of "success". If drama is to offer a critical form of pedagogy such "breakings" will need to be considered.

If this paper is to speak to the real life possibility of drama's critical pedagogy the concepts of cultural production and reproduction, and how they mesh with social reproduction, need to be accepted. Once again the purpose here is not to critique the concepts of production and reproduction but to give further context for reconsidering and rethinking drama as a critical form of pedagogy.

The challenge here is to appreciate the processes which allow Cultural Reproduction from Cultural Production and link these with Social Reproduction. To do this Paul Willis (1981) claims it is necessary to investigate the form of living collective cultural productions that occur on the grounds of what is inherited as well as imposed.

These productions still remain creative and active. Willis states further that these cultural productions are experienced as new by each individual and group.

The relevance of the concept of Cultural Production for this paper can be seen when it is realized that educational institutions make "official" a culture which is actually the property of the dominant classes. As Willis points out the higher one goes up the educational system the more this culture is pre-supposed. In fact it is required for success. This culture is proclaimed as the legitimate and objective one. If one does not have the appropriate language and manner skills for the official culture then one is excluded. In this sense we can think in terms of Culture Capital. If we are to understand, in some measure, why the powerless accept their/our fate, then this notion of cultural capital will be needed. If drama is a "carrier" indicator or means of social and cultural status then the notion of cultural capital is paramount for this study. Part of this study is to examine the possibility of drama functioning in a problematic fashion within the contradictions and cultures of schooling. It would seem that drama education would be an appropriate place to play out these contradictions and to examine varied cultural capital skills.

If David McLellan is correct then the most impressive achievement of the Frankfurt School lay in the field of aesthetics. For the Frankfurt School art, in its negative aspect, is a protest against prevailing conditions and transcends society insofar as it hints at more humane values. The meaning and function of art changes with time and circumstances. Great art, what Adorno called autonomous art, has the capacity to transform a particular, individual experience. Such art is able to represent the particular in such a way as to illuminate its meaning. Art through its form can create images of beauty and order or contradiction and dissonance. Art has the capacity to transcend its class origin and point out the doubtful unity of concept and object, idea and material world, between the subjective and the objective, the part and the whole.

For Marcuse art, through illusion, opens the established reality to alternative visions and possibilities. For art to do this it must remain alienated from society. Once art becomes part of or represents society then this possibility is lost. In short, art must maintain its own freedom. This element of the Frankfurt School's Critical Theory proves helpful in critiquing traditional models of drama education.

In the process of liberation Marcuse sees a new role for art. For him art would become an integral factor in shaping the quality and the appearance of things and in shaping the reality of the lived life. Marcuse further calls for an end to the "commercial unification" of business and beauty, exploitation and pleasure. Possibly art can best do this by its otherness, its transcendence, by preserving truth in hope and in the refusal of the actual. This is the negative power of art. It is in its negative power that the aesthetic is most positive. It is this negative aspect of art that resists conformity and resignation.

As far as the Frankfurt School members, notably Adorno and Horkheimer, were concerned art can make the familiar unfamiliar and cast a new light upon it. For the Frankfurt School art needs to shock and provoke and in a real way shake the foundations of an unequal society. For Adorno, and Horkheimer, the culture industry impeded the development of autonomous, independent men and women who judge and act for themselves. The culture industry, because of its nexus to the wider oppressive society, reinforces a state of dependence, diversion and distraction. The industry offers cultural depressants for the people and the assembly-lines grind on. However, much of the "art" offered by the cultural industry calls for the cessation or suppression of reason,

sensuality as well as spontaneity. The individual is tolerated only so long as his or her identification with the social totality is unquestioned. The ideology behind the culture industry is one that calls for a planned construct which duplicates and enforces the status quo.

When Marcuse writes of the "aesthetic form" he is referring to the transformation of a given content into a self-contained whole. This self-contained whole can be a novel, a poem, a sculpture or a play. In this way the work of art is taken out of reality and assumes a significance and truth of its own. In this way a work of art, a play for example, can represent reality while accusing it.

For Marcuse, the aesthetic form, autonomy and truth are interrelated for each transcends the sociohistorical reality. The truth of art lies in its power to break the monopoly of that reality, to break the monopoly of those who "establish" such reality. In this way the art form can point to the true reality, the possible reality. Now, the aesthetic form becomes a vehicle not only of recognition but of indictment. It seems obvious to see how this latter concept can be applied to the critical dimensions of drama education.

Art as ideology opposes the given society and puts forth the categorical imperative that "things must change". The question is, as far as this study is concerned, can drama help in that change. Can drama in its pedagogical form, help break the bond of destruction, suppression and hegemonic control? Can drama help educators and students see the suave manipulation of dominant cultures in its use of the culture industry?

Art forms in their very elements of word, colour and tone, depend on cultural material. Art shares in this material with the existing society. This is true even when art speaks its own language. This limitation of aesthetic autonomy is the condition for art being a liberating factor in that it remains part of that which is to change.

In artistic mimesis, drama for example, the experience of the world is demystified. In drama, as in other forms of art, the given reality can be distorted so as to speak the unspeakable. By the aesthetic form the invisible can be seen. In a real sense this is the power of the aesthetic. In this way the art form can be indictment as well as celebration, depending on what emancipation calls for at the given moment.

It is only the whole which gives the various elements their aesthetic meaning and function. It would seem that drama is a perfect medium for such aesthetic meaning and function. This critical mimesis can be applied to dramatic scripts that may be used in the schooling process. Maxine Greene (1980) claims that learners ought to be free to perceive things in their complexity. To see the possible within the everyday things and be free to interpret these possibilities that are embedded in the cultural tradition.

The search in this paper has been for elements of Critical Theory that could help lay the foundation for the rethinking of drama as a critical form of pedagogy. These elements can now be listed in a fashion that can be directly applied to drama education. As indicated above Critical Theory has a strong legacy for aesthetic education. This study has selected only those elements from aesthetic Critical Theory that have direct application to drama pedagogy. The following capsule comments on the elements extracted from Critical Theory, elaborated on above, can now be used to underpin questions that can be asked of drama education.

- A. *Critical Theory seeks to understand all forms of social practice and the factors that hinder self-consciousness and free development.*  
It is a further goal of Critical Theory to show that the structure of society contains unrealized potentialities.
- How does drama, as a form of pedagogy, fit the forms of social practices that hinder self-consciousness and free development?
  - How can drama serve in realizing human potentialities?
- B. *Culture, in part, is the expression of human consciousness which is shaped by social living. Culture has also to do with the daily patterns of living, the various dimensions of leisure, education and work as well as the values of science, humanities, art and religion.*
- How does drama fit into the social shaping of human consciousness?
  - In the distinction between *Material Culture* and *Intellectual Culture* where does drama belong?
  - What part does drama play in the objectivization of culture?
- C. *Culture can be seen to have its own Capital. Within much of western society possession of the "correct" Cultural Capital is necessary for participation in the dominant culture.*
- In what way is drama an indicator or transmitter of Cultural Capital?
  - Whose Cultural Capital does drama indicate and transmit?
- D. *Cultural Production occur on the grounds of what is collectively lived and inherited as well as imposed. These Cultural Productions are experienced as new by each individual and group.*
- How does drama, within an educational institution, help make "official" a culture which is actually the property of the dominant classes?
- E. *The emancipatory effects of art are generated by the rejection of dominant forms of world order and by showing how powerful interests realize themselves through cultural phenomena.*
- How does drama become a vehicle not only of recognition but of celebration as well as indictment?
  - How can drama help break the monopoly of socio-historical reality yet point to the possibilities that are embedded in the cultural tradition?
- F. *The Culture Industry, as part of the progressive technical domination of nature, attempts to fuse the old and the familiar into a new quality. The Culture Industry is built on the standardization of the thing itself (reification) and calls for the consumer to be acritical and to echo and live the values and attitudes of the status quo. The products of the Culture Industry are taken to represent given and eternal truths.*
- How is drama used by the Culture Industry to replace consciousness with conformity?
  - How can drama help, rather than impede, the development of autonomous, independent critical individuals?



- G. One of the main tools of the Culture Industry is Style. Style captivates and in the face of it we often remain acritical and this allows culture to be administered.
- (a) How does drama allow itself to fall victim to Style and how is this manifested in drama's pedagogical forms?
- H. Within Critical Theory there is a manifest distrust of claims to the *reconciliation* of contradictions. Art has the capacity to transcend the doubtful unity of concept and object; idea and material world; subject and object; part and the whole.
- (a) Does the particular drama form resist the temptation to simply resolve contradictions in a spurious harmony?
- (b) Does the drama form show the contradictions of social reality in its own structure?
- (c) Does drama bear witness to the dialectical truth and maintain the forever gap between subject and object; individual and society; and individual and individual?
- I. *Art becomes false* if it *promises* Utopia through its images or suggests that such a state can be realized in the aesthetic realm. (a) Can drama help fulfill the promise of emancipation?
- J. Affirmative Art sees the entire sphere of material production as tainted by poverty, severity and injustice and refuses any demands to protest that sphere. *Autonomous Art* protests the given sphere and offers hope.
- (a) Can drama help subvert the dominant consciousness and the ordinary experience and protest the given social relations?
- (b) Can drama provide liberating images of the subordination of death and destruction to the will to live?
- (c) Can drama provide a viable example of Negative Culture?
- K. *Art must intervene actively in consciousness in a formative way.* Art should be an integral factor in shaping the quality and the appearance of things and life. Art can recognize the evil and point to the promise; yet it must be human agency that actually transforms the given society.
- (a) How can drama point to a change in consciousness in people who can change the face of lived experience?
- (b) Can drama, in its pedagogical forms, help break the bond of destruction suppression and hegemonic control?

The task of this study has now been fulfilled. The elements of Critical Theory have been extracted in a fashion that can be used in a critique of traditional models of drama education. These elements of Critical Theory can further be used to point to a foundation for reconsidering and rethinking a theory of critical drama.

## FOOTNOTES

1. David Held, **Introduction to Critical Theory** (Los Angeles, 1980), p. 78.
2. Henry Giroux, **Culture and Rationality in Frankfurt School Thought: Theory and Research in Social Education** (Winter, 1982), p. 34.
3. Theodor W. Adorno, "Culture Industry Reconsidered", **New German Critique** (Fall, 1975), p. 2.
4. Paul Willis, "Cultural Production Is Different from Cultural Reproduction Is Different from Social Reproduction Is Different from Reproduction", **Interchange**, Vol. 12, 1981, p. 49.
5. Paul Willis in **Learning to Labour** (1977) shows one form of an articulation, penetration, development and final reproduction in use to resist and expose the meritocraeideology of the school.
6. Held, **op. cit.**, p. 82.
7. Martin Jay, **The Dialectical Imagination** (Boston, 1973), pp. 41ff.
8. Herbert Marcuse. **An Essay on Liberation** (Boston, 1969), p. 27.
9. Held, **op. cit.**, pp. 104-106.
10. Herbert Marcuse, **The Aesthetic Dimension** (Boston, 1978), p. 6.
11. **Ibid.**, p. 13.
12. **Ibid.**, p. 40.
13. Maxine Greene, "Breaking through the Ordinary: the Arts and Future Possibility", **Journal of Education** (Summer, 1980), p. 19.

## DRAMA EDUCATION - REHEARSING FOR THE FUTURE

**Fred Hawksley**  
**Curriculum and Instruction**

Drama education is still seen as a frill, as cake, as only extra-curricula activity in the form of plays or skits. It has been a source of agony to some of those responsible for planning the curriculum and is noticeably absent from curriculum documents and reports. It is seen as a 'round peg in a square hole' (my reconstruction), and is dogged by many of the decision makers who influence what teachers do and how they do it, through lack of knowledge and understanding of the medium. Teachers have cited "an already overcrowded curriculum" as the reason for not doing it, whereas drama as education is a vehicle for curriculum implementation. The argument that writing about the medium is scarce no longer holds water, as the growing volumes of literature testify. I will write about drama education in the school context as a means of providing opportunities to learn, considering some of the implications for teachers and participants, and suggest a psychological framework through which to view drama education work.

The following example explores an area of drama experience enabling participants to perceive new ways of being, in a context in which participants are engaged in the exploration of a period of history. It is taken from my own experience as an Actor/Teacher in the Belgrade Theatre in Education company, Coventry. A Theatre in Education company,

- is a group of actors/teachers who usually have experience in both professions. They devise, or write, "programmes" for very specific age groups, and take these out to schools. The use of the word "programme" avoids the limiting description of the work as a play or lesson; in fact it is often both, using a complex mixture of theatrical forms and educational techniques". (Redington, 1983, p. 1)

The programme explored the beginnings of the coal mining industry in Warwickshire in which the participating elementary pupils, working in role as Warwickshire miners, come face to face with tragedy. George Pearson, the miners' leader is killed in a roof fall. The miners (pupils in role) are at the pit-head searching for a way to make sense of what has happened. Recently, the Newcomen steam engine has been introduced to the pit to clear underground water and a new baliff has been employed to keep the fire going in the engine. The miners look about the baliff who they suspect has let the fire go out, leading to the collapse of the mine and killing George. I was playing the role of Lord Richard Newdigate, the coal owner, and during a heated discussion between the miners and Newdigate I delivered this line, "For the life of this miner, I am sorry. But what is the life of one miner compared to 50,000 pounds (his investment in the mining operation) and this estate?" A nine year old girl stepped forward and with great resolve and accompanying vocal power said into my face, "You can buy another mansion, but you

can't buy another George!" This contribution stopped me and everyone else with its truth and intensity of feeling. It was one of those moments in drama when the intensity of the action combined with the involvement of the participant in role gives rise to the lines which writers can never hope to write. She had not only confronted the meaning in the drama for her role, but had also confronted Lord Richard Newdigate, Earl of Warwickshire, Knight of the Realm, and Coal owner of Arbury Estate, a physically imposing and high status role to confront. Later, the teacher of the class related the difficulty this particular participant had in finding her 'public' voice. How many times those of us who use drama education have heard this or experienced it ourselves. In the drama, she had also discovered new possibilities for herself, unimaginable in real life.

The drama provides for exploration at the frontiers of what we know, in the search for knowledge and understanding, for drama can do the thing which in life we cannot: stop the world but not get off, and by looking from another angle, disturb the slice we are exploring with time to think and feel, bring our influence to bear upon it, take responsibility for it, make choices and decisions about it and follow through the courses of action we determine, finding new ways of viewing problems and ways of coping with them and through reflecting upon the experience, central to learning in drama, develop the layers of understanding that are the potential of drama. Layers of understanding because in drama we work through processes which involve both feeling and cognition in active learning. Developing abilities in drama must involve the participant as 'meaning maker' and 'meaning sharer' in the active discovery of new experience, bringing what we 'know' to bear upon it. Drama is a meaning-making, meaning-sharing medium whether as 'drama as experience' in group drama, in forms such as improvisation or role play, or as 'theatre as performance' for a public audience, or a play made with a specific audience in mind. But, it must place the pupils as meaning makers, at the centre of their own learning. Children learn best what they care about most, and if we do not manage to facilitate previous understanding and knowledge to be brought to the new experience in the drama, the stimulus to new learning and mental re-ordering will not take place.

Getting what pupils 'know' active onto what they don't know demands that teachers who use drama education finds styles and approaches which enable this to happen. Being invited to be a meaning maker and meaning sharer is fine but becomes difficult if it is perceived that there is someone present who 'really has all the answers'. It may be the case that the 'right answer' will divert us from the meaning we want to make. Our instinct as teachers is to correct, but we need to work to perceive what is really being made. In the film 'Three Looms Waiting', Dorothy Heathcote is working with a group of boys in a drama about prison camps in the last war. The Germans want to put a stool pigeon in the prison to spy on the English soldiers. In preparation, the spy and his fellow Germans prepare him for this task. Dorothy Heathcote works as teacher-in-role as a higher ranking German soldier:

D.H. (questioning the would be spy) "Where do you come from?"

Spy: "London"

D.H. Whereabouts in London?"

Spy: "In Coventry".

Dorothy Heathcote knows that Coventry is not in London but ninety miles away. Identifying that the meaning that is being made exists on a "level of intensity of feeling, and that's what matters", she does not correct. In a recent drama session, Memorial students were planning a journey to 'a distant land'. Engaged in classifying the areas of planning to be considered, it was suggested by a participant that medical needs should be written on the board along with food and shelter. The group was asked what heading could be used and another participant, who had not spoken much up until now, suggested Welfare. This drew laughter from the group and the teacher moved to the support of the participant in a 'wondering' role; "I wonder if it is possible, though, that people on such a journey may indeed suffer from the kind of fatigue which is not just physical? It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that people may require some kinds of help other than physical, is it"? Some discussion continued around the area of how to help when people suffer in this kind of way requiring help of a counselling kind. The teacher wanted to defend the participant, supporting and valuing his contribution which at this stage his peers were not able to do. Dorothy Heathcote reminds us, in the film referred to earlier, that "recognising what is irrelevant" is important. What was being made in the second example was perhaps a new way of 'being' for this participant for himself, that of speaking out in class. Now I don't know this group very well yet but I recognise that we should not judge what is being made too quickly, lest we shut down the participant's contribution for a very long time.

Viewing pupils as meaning makers in drama has a number of implications for teaching approach and style. We must seek to develop open approaches to using drama involving real negotiation, open questioning strategies, valuing the ideas and contributions of all pupils, group decision making and genuine pupil choice in content and approach. We must seek ways to enable the pupil to take responsibility for his/her own learning and recognise the role of the pupil in evaluating drama experience. We must seek to demystify theatre and drama and remove the nineteenth century idea of the artist as someone in a garret, slightly odd and removed from the world in which we all live. Recognising that the drama we do in school is the drama of the people we work with is a useful step towards developing an approach to drama that the above values imply.

The traditional teacher-pupil relationship is a barrier to this type of work. At the Provincial Educational Drama and Spoken English Council Conference (March 1986) teachers involved in an exploration of drama stated that in drama classes "the normal classroom teacher-pupil relationships should be relaxed for this work". The teachers pointed to the need to relate differently in drama education, because the nature of the medium demands it, and because we know that we cannot establish the appropriate

working relationships if we don't. The thoughts of the teachers at the conference point to the need to present a different perception of teacher to pupils. The context in which drama takes place is dependent on many factors; the ethos of the school, the status of the drama and the teacher, but in the classroom it matters what kind of teacher the pupils perceive you to be. Developing a sense of freedom in the classroom may be for some the last thing to do, (in some areas it is not necessary) but if we are to create opportunities for pupils to really become makers and sharers of meaning in drama then it is essential. But I want to be clear that in facilitating negotiation, I do not abdicate from the responsibility to teach, set educational objectives or make learning opportunities, for that is "the 'play' for the teacher". In not intervening in the pupils' drama I do not give up the demand for quality, but recognise that my intervention may stem the pupils' struggle for their own meaning making. In choosing to intervene I have no desire to make the drama mine but seek to promote richer new experiences through questioning, focusing and enabling role play of the type which takes the pupil into new experience rather than ending up where we began. In encouraging group decision making on content, form, or direction, I do not abdicate from my teaching/leading role or deny pupils my experience, but encourage the group to take responsibility for its own work and facilitate learning in making choices and handling the responsibility that freedom brings.

The conflicts are apparent. When do we intervene and when do we stay out? Working in this way may best be illustrated by imagining a continuum from closed end modes of operation to open. At one end of this continuum we work in direct transmissive, autocratic modes, at the other in open, facilitating/enabling modes characterised by "what would you like to do today"? To work at either end exclusively is of no benefit. We move between the two points, often rapidly, doing both to varying degrees. The first indicators to the kind of teacher we are and might need to be for the drama medium would come from further investigation of how and why we move on this continuum.

What strategies are we to use that will frame the kind of teaching approach and working relationship we want in the classroom? The following examples may serve to illustrate two of the drama teachers' approaches. Perhaps the most innovative area of Dorothy Heathcote's and Gavin Bolton's work has been the teacher-in-role. Bolton and Heathcote brought them into the classroom. Bolton describes the teacher in role as 'using one's own person to bring an absent context into the here and now, in order to create a metaphor' (Bolton, 1979). Dorothy Heathcote points to 'another set of values, and ways of perceiving the world being brought into the classroom, when the person is the challenge! (Heathcote, 1984). The teacher-in-role creates other ways of relating together in drama, in which it is acceptable, indeed sometimes vital, that the teacher does not know the answer, expresses another point of view, or effects a different language system with pupils. In shifting the relationship through this technique we afford ourselves and our pupils the freedom to explore and interact in ways it is not possible to do wearing the 'teacher-pupil' labels. In drama we recognise that pupils' new experience

is dependent on 'breaking role set barriers'. Teacher in role is an excellent strategy enabling the teacher to do the same.

In drama as theatre Augusto Boal (1979) provides ways of working which disturb the traditional view of actor-audience relationships through forms which place the spectator in the driving seat of the drama, controlling the outcomes and developing action through direct intervention, opening up the theatre form and demystifying it, placing the spectator as active meaning maker. A group of performers are working through an improvisation and the spectators are invited to stop the action and suggest what the characters should say, comment upon what they have said, redirect the work, provide attitudes for the actors. Spectators eventually take the stage and play the roles themselves 'as they see it should be done', placing the spectator of the theatre on the 'stage' where he/she can speak for her/himself becoming meaning maker and meaning sharer, the place where after all, we once began.

Dorothy Heathcote states, 'Drama is not stories retold in action. Drama is human beings confronted by situations which challenge them because of what they must face in dealing with those challenges' (Heathcote 1984). This is crucial in understanding the nature of the experience for the participant in drama education. The role playing within the drama situation provides the pretend present, facilitating a sense of freedom to choose without the fear of consequences for real life in the participants present. A further example may open the way to a psychological perspective provided by Vygotsky.

In a drama session based on a Brechtian parable, students are engaged in taking a great journey in search of medicine to cure an ailing boy. The travellers plan for every eventuality and set off for the cold lands of the North. There they meet a King (the teacher-in-role). The students immediately raise the matter of the medicine only to discover that King changes the subject and encourages the telling of jokes, singing songs and playing games. Again the travellers raise the subject and again the King changes the subject and as the pressure mounts from the travellers, the King leaves, to return telling a joke, talking about the weather or the wonderful landscapes the travellers must have seen on their journey. (The teacher changes the subject or leaves the room depending on how clearly he needs to 'sign' unwillingness to discuss these matters). The travellers try all they know to get him to talk, from direct confrontation and outright challenging to suggestions of hypnosis or tying him to the chair. The teacher 'works' the group to the point at which they begin to perceive the problem; how do you get someone to talk about something they don't want to talk about? The travellers begin to seek solutions to the problem, test information: "Did you notice what he did when you said. . .", "Perhaps he's frightened about something", "Maybe we should just talk about the things he wants to talk about then try to bring it round to the medicine somehow". During the King's absence (decided by the teacher to facilitate the group's interaction and negotiation), the travellers test out strategies and approaches that might work. one occasion the participants decided to make a play which would entertain the King while

explaining their case. Sounds familiar? The teacher in role as King may challenge, focus thinking, question, motivate, facilitating deeper exploration at the frontiers of what the participants know. The teacher-in-role is able to facilitate experience which in their real present lives they would not be able to face, but in the agreed pretend present in the drama they can:

King: "I find it too difficult to talk about these things, even to think about them. It brings back too many memories."

Traveller: "Don't you think it might help to talk to someone about it?"

King: "I don't know."

Travellers: "We'll listen and try to help you. We won't tell you you're right or wrong, we'll just listen".

King: "How will that help"?

Travellers: "Because you'll know someone else cares too. It helps to talk to people if you're in a problem."

The travellers encourage the King to talk about what happened to his son, becoming councillors, listeners, and expert helpers of the King, a role which they would not yet have to play in real life but one which later in life they will. They are in this drama working beyond themselves within a drama context which provides the demands on their 'expertise', and with a teacher (in role) who functions as questioner, challenger and motivator, focussing, directing, facilitating and enabling.

James Brittain (1970) points out that, since it is the situation that is being explored, its demands will not be for histrionics, not for audience response, but for greater penetration of each of his roles, and by all of the developing action as a whole - in fact, for a more sensitive and energetic exercise of insights.

It is in this area of 'potential development level as determined by 'independent problem solving' and 'potential development' as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers' that Vygotsky provides a useful way of understanding drama education as a learning medium. Vygotsky states that it is just as important to be concerned with potential development as with actual development because this area of investigation concerns what the pupil is in the process of 'becoming'. Vygotsky's thinking is illustrated in Vygotsky and the Social Formation of Mind (Wertsch 1985) and it is useful to quote two sections.



Imagine that we have examined two children and have determined that the mental age of both is seven years. This means that both children solve tasks accessible to seven-year-olds. However, when we attempt to push these children further in carrying out the tests, there turns out to be an essential difference between them.

With the help of leading questions, examples, and demonstrations, one of them easily solves test items taken from two years above the child's level of [actual] development. The other solves test items that are only half-year above, his or her level of [actual] development. (1956, pp. 446-447).

Later, he argues that the level of mental development of the two pupils is not the same.

From the point of view of their independent activity they are equivalent, but from the point of view of their immediate potential development they are sharply different. That which the child turns out to be able to do with the help of an adult points us toward the zone of the child's proximal development. This means that with the help of this method, we can take stock not only of today's completed processes of development, not only the process of maturation that are completed; we can also take stock of processes that are now in the state of coming into being, that are only ripening, or only developing. (Ibid., pp. 447-448)

Vygotsky called the distance between the 'actual' and 'potential' development the 'zone of proximal development' and goes on to say that working in this zone" . . . awakens and puts in motion an entire series of internal processes of development. These processes are at the time only possible in the sphere of interaction with those surrounding the child and in collaboration with companions, but in the internal course of development they eventually become the property of the child." This fits very well with drama and theatre, a medium which pushes into the unknown and promotes the re-ordering of 'old knowledge' and past experience. The future may be explored through the making of a pretend present which is 'real' because we agree it to be enabling participants in drama to explore their own future possibilities for 'being' and the teacher to facilitate those processes which are at the stage of the very point of development. Drama may be seen in this way as 'rehearsal' for the future.

In the article by Jean Brown (Morning Watch, Fall 1986) there are sources of encouragement for drama education. 'The textbook is recognised as an important resource, but only one of many, for teachers are asked to provide a variety of experiences for learners of all ages, particularly when new concepts are being taught. Major understandings in the curriculum are developed as students move from the known to the unknown. . .', and, in the preface to the course text 'Our Newfoundland and

Labrador Cultural Heritage', 'we feel that this course taught simply as an historical overview of Newfoundland and Labrador will fail'. There are many examples in the article of the search for other types of understanding, of 'knowing beyond the literal', of recognizing that learning 'about' from the position of an observer of facts is not enough, of the search for teaching strategies that enable learning through experience and of the importance of experiences which 'take children beyond the objects and events they experience directly in order to give meaning and depth to concepts'. If the search for strategies is on, then drama education shines a very bright light across the curriculum, whether for the purpose of personal development or in the implementation of other curriculum areas.

Recently upon returning home after work, I was confronted in the garden by a voice which I could not avoid. A small boy was standing at the door of my neighbour's house, his finger 'fixed' in place on the doorbell. "Mr., Mr.," the boy said with great determination. "What can I do for you"? I replied. "There's going to be a thunderstorm!" he repeated. The message was delivered with great authority and knowledge. I thanked him for forewarning me of the storm. "And I'm going to all the houses on the street and warning everybody!" he continued, "and that's my cousin and he's helping me". He pointed with his available hand to a second smaller boy riding his bicycle in rapid circles around the driveway of the house. I became concerned for both of them as the roads in the area are dangerous and put my parent hat on saying, "Well, perhaps if there's going to be a storm we should all get indoors". "I can't", he said, "cos I'm warning everybody". He continued with his mission, to places where no man has gone before. I felt that I had experienced again what the early pioneers of drama education must have done; that if I could harness that power of play in the service of education through drama what potential there would be, because this action in imaginary situations enables the child to explore and express in a world which is in advance of his present, in which he is not called upon to carry the kind of responsibility he had taken for himself in his play. What is important here is that through the 'play' he was engaged in he was able to experience 'for real' what that responsibility felt like, and subsequent development in this area will stand on the shoulders of the knowledge gained through that play. Learning to take responsibility, learning to learn, is truly a rehearsal for the future.

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**STORYTELLING AND THE RELIGIOUS IMAGINATION  
AN APPROACH TO RELIGIOUS EDUCATION**

**Alice Collins  
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There has been in recent years a renewed interest in the art of storytelling. The tradition of the raconteur has again come to prominence in Canada and there exists in the United States The National Association for the Preservation and Perpetuation of Storytelling. The impact of storytelling is currently being experienced in religious education where it is being applied as a valid and valuable methodology.

The process and liberation theology movements of the 1960's paved the way for a new age in religious education. The 'death-of-God' process theology and the 'freedom-from oppression' liberation theology focused on God and life here-and-now, over against a God-out-there and life after death. Religious education, rooted in these theologies, also became concerned with life as it is lived. The religious education teacher of the new age, no longer required to be a systematic theologian, became an enabler, a facilitator involved in a process of witnessing to a .. -+ faith. One of the ways in which this process is realized is by sharing one's story and inviting students to share their stories of faith.

What is this story to which we refer and what is its application to religious education?

We have alluded above to the new age in religious education. In truth, it is a new age which witnesses to the old. In the great world religions storytelling was that which originally captured the imagination of the first adherents. It was not the theological and dogmatic treatises which inspired the earliest and succeeding believers. The creeds, the systematic theologies, are the secondary documents of the faith arising out of, inspired by and having their source in the original story. William James states "I do believe that feeling is the deeper source of religion, and that philosophical and theological formulas are secondary products, like translations of a text into another tongue" (*Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 337). In a similar vein, Andrew Greeley has referred to the tension between story and creed, but goes on to say:

A belief system without a story may lack human vitality. Both story and creed are simple. The former is a direct result of the experience. Story is nothing more than an attempt to resonate and represent that experience, while creed, far removed from experience, is a result of philosophical refinement and purification and distillation of the experience. (*Religion, A Secular Theory*, p. 103).

With reference to the original story we need only look to any of the great religions. Hindu scriptures abound with mythical stories of the deities transmitted in epic poem and song form. Buddhists have been stirred for over 2,500 years on hearing the story of the young Prince Gautma, whose enlightenment under the bodhi tree inaugurated his immediate rejection of worldly goods and the commencement of a way of life along the noble eightfold path. Judaism is of itself a story, that of the Exodus being a pivotal one in the faith life of the individual and the Jewish nation. With the advent of Christianity, the Jewish story continued and changed. Jesus continued in the Rabbinic tradition of telling stories, and the Gospel writers preserved the parables, miracles and narrative stories which are normative to Christianity. So too, the stories of Mohammed's revelations in the cave have been the source of inspiration for the millions who embrace the Five Pillars of Islam. The recent story of Mona, the sixteen year old Bah'ai woman, executed for her faith, has been re-told numerous times throughout North America through the modern technology of rock video.

The works of Mircea Eliade and Thomas Groome provide a conceptual framework for our understanding of the use of story in religious education. Eliade, a renowned phenomenologist of religion, has explored in primitive cultures the meaning of myth and symbol. His work has exploded the myth that myth is fable, invention, fiction. (*Myth and Reality*, p. 1).

According to Eliade,

'myth means a 'true story' and beyond that, a story that is a most precious possession because it is sacred, exemplary, significant. (Myth) has ... the sense of 'sacred tradition, primordial revelation, exemplary model'. (*Myth and Reality*, p. 1).

Eliade goes on to state that myth is a living reality which "supplies models for human behavior and, by that very fact, gives meaning and value to life". (*Myth and Reality*, p. 1).

This understanding is evident in the Pawnee Indians. John Westerhoff describes myth as it is understood by this American Indian tribe:

The Pawnee, an American Indian tribe, differentiated between true and false stories. True stories were about the sacred; false stories about the profane. True stories are myths: they are stories because they recount events that did take place. That is they are not fiction or fable, but history; however, their truth lies in the recounting of sacred history. Profane stories only explain historical events. Sacred stories - myths - point beyond their historical roots to the dimension of depth, of the Transcendent in history. They are true not in the sense of logic or intellectual analysis but in terms

of mystery and intuition. Myth unites history with the sacred, giving it particular symbolic significance in the lives of people. The story of the life, death and resurrection of Jesus is on the one hand a profane, historical account but it is also much more. It is a sacred story- myth - because it points beyond its historicity to the cosmic action of God in the salvation of the world. To demythologize the story is to lose its dimension of depth and significance. (John H. Westerhoff, "Contemporary Spirituality", p. 22 in *Aesthetic Dimensions of Religious Education*, ed. by Gloria Durka and Joanmarie Smith)

Thomas Groome's *Christian Religious Education: Sharing Our Story and Vision (1980)*, provided an approach to religious education which embraces and centres on story. The approach involves a process which invites teacher and student to recall and share experiences (secular or otherwise) on a given topic (eg. peace), a telling of the appropriate religious normative story, and a sharing of the life vision this implies. According to Groome, this approach is applicable to other expressions of religious education beside the Christian. (xiii). Groome's own model is based on the Emmaus story as recounted in Luke 24.

Groome's thesis provided the springboard for pioneering work in modern storytelling in religious education by William Bausch, John Shea, and others.

What is it that is contained in storytelling that is of value in religious education?

1. Storytelling provokes curiosity.
2. Storytelling provides contact with our roots (social, nationalistic, religious, and personal).
3. We learn through story because in a sense, every story - every good story - is our story.
4. Storytelling engages and captures our imagination, which according to Eliade, "is to see the world in its totality" (*Images and Symbols*, p. 23).

But more than these, it is mystery, which story contains and is of inestimable value in religious education. In the recounting of the story, the mysteries of the sacred, of the religious, are revealed. Thus a good story, with a beginning, a middle and an end, allows one to preserve the pedagogically sound principle of closure, yet it defies another kind of closure - that of giving definitive answers to those areas which defy finality, such as spirituality and personal response. Story, while satisfying in itself, preserves mystery and beckons teacher and student to enter into a process which is meaningful to the extent that one's experiences allow.

Thus, story delights, engages the imagination and invites one to enter into the mystery. It is for these reasons that storytelling has become important in religious education.

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**GUIDANCE, COUNSELING AND PSYCHOTHERAPY:  
THE SAME OR DIFFERENT?**

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One of the problems we encounter in our daily task of social intercourse is that of definition of terms. This difficulty is manifested in the context of this paper and the task at hand is to attempt to make a distinction between three concepts, namely counseling, guidance and psychotherapy. Perry (1955) writes that "thus far, at least, no one has succeeded in defining psychotherapy in a way satisfactory to anyone else. Nor do we know of any definition of counseling" (p. 397). This statement was made some thirty years ago, and the many and varied opinions of authors emphasize that we are not much further ahead now than we were then. Since the three terms - guidance, counseling and psychotherapy - deal generally with the helping profession. This paper will give some brief historical account leading to the present development of this profession. I shall attempt to deal with the three topics in terms of their definitions and further attempt to compare and contrast these definitions and formulate some conclusion.

Historically, the notion of persons as being capable of being helped in terms of their emotional and psychic development had its roots back in the days of the Greek philosophers. Indeed Fine, cited in Corsini (1972), states:

In general the humanistic background of western thought has been continued and preserved in psychoanalysis. This can be traced back as far as the Greek philosophers. Two of the wise sayings of the Greek and Roman philosophers "All things in moderation" and "Know thyself" have become almost verbatim precepts of psychoanalysis. (p.1)

Although fine is referring here to psychoanalysis, it is fair to say the same can hold true for all branches of psychology dealing with human development. During the age of enlightenment there was a great upsurge of interest in human development in terms of inner growth and development. This is brought out in the writings of Herbert Spencer (1860) whose writings, although very much tied into the economics and politics of the time, present a clear picture of the growing interest in humanity and its development in light of its "expanding" and "free" nature.

One of the outcomes of the desire to know and help persons to cope with their inner struggles was the culmination of the ideas and practices of the times by Wundt and the opening of his psychological laboratory at the University of Leipzig in 1879. Another interesting development in the history of psychic probing is the tying of the system of human values to the theory of how this aspect of human beings should be dealt with. Fromm (1947) states:



The value judgements we make determine our actions, and upon their validity rests our mental health and happiness. Neurosis itself is, in the last analysis, a symptom of moral failure (although "adjustment" is by no means a symptom of moral achievement). (p. VIII)

Szasz (1960) wrote:

My argument was limited to the proposition that mental illness is a myth, whose function is to disguise and thus render more palatable the bitter pill of moral conflicts in human relations. (p. 116)

Mowrer (1960) suggests that:

Mental symptoms are the reflection of unacknowledged, unavowed and unexpiated sin and resultant guilt. (p. 303)

These writers indeed strongly propose that our efforts to help people achieve their happiness and fulfilment will indeed be based on what the helper, be he psychotherapist, guidance worker or counsellor, believes as a philosophy of human values. In this sense the roots of our contemporary movement of the helping professions are found in our search for life's meaning and for economic opportunity and security, in our concern for the uniqueness of persons, and in our mental health and optimal development, as well as in the survival of democracy. The latter two goals can best be accomplished through a free, democratic educational system.

The fundamental concern of people has been to find meaning in life. The literature abounds with this thread of human continuity. With changes in basic premises and form, this search is highlighted in the latter half of the twentieth century by logotherapy and existential philosophy.

The concern for economic opportunity emerged, with dominant guidance implications, out of the Industrial Revolution. In 1907 Frank Parsons initiated plans for a vocational bureau in Boston. In 1908 the vocational bureau was opened with Frank Parsons as Director and Vocational Counselor. Because vocational guidance was the central focus of guidance for many years, it is usually stated that the present guidance movement originated at this time.

Some of the trends in the area of humanistic developments have had an impact on the growth of guidance over the past years. The testing movement and the emphasis on child and adolescent psychology of the 1900's spurred on the further development of the notion of the uniqueness of the individual.

The notion that a person should have the opportunity to reach optimal personal growth potential came about with the coming of an affluent society. In the event of less time needed for the fulfilment of basic needs, eg., food and shelter, people were able to spend time searching for higher needs fulfilment such as individuality and self-fulfilment both emotionally and intellectually.

Stress on individual development is highlighted today and indeed is seen as a high priority, as our world is caught up in the various ideological wars related to communism, democracy, dictatorships and religious fanaticism. In the midst of all this a person must be able to disentangle self from the barrage of propaganda and make rational and free choices.

This brief introduction shows that the process of helping others is not new. What is new and confusing are the titles we have attached to the process. It is also true to say that no matter what we call ourselves, the values we hold influence these processes and actually determine for us just what we will count as essential or non-essential in dealing with our struggle for a fuller existence.

## DEFINITIONS

### Psychotherapy

Psychotherapy is therapy based on the notion that psychological and sociological as well as biological factors play a role in reasons for or causation of mental disorders. It is primarily directed at the psychological factors. It holds the assumption that even in cases where physical pathology is present, the individual's perceptions, evaluations, expectations, and coping strategies have also played a role in the development of the disorder and will probably need to be changed if recovery is to take place. The belief that individuals with psychological problems can change- can learn more adaptive ways of perceiving, evaluating, and behaving - is the central belief underlying all psychotherapy.

Most of us have experienced a time or situation when we were dramatically helped by a bit of advice from a relative or friend. Or perhaps we made a drastic change in our life-style after a particular experience that had led to a new insight. As Alexander (1963) has pointed out, psychotherapy is not far removed from such common experience:

"...Everyone who tries to console a despondent friend [or] calm down a panicky child in a sense practices psychotherapy. He tries by psychological means to restore the disturbed emotional equilibrium of another person. Even these commonsense, everyday methods are based on the understanding of the nature of the disturbance, although on an intuitive and not a scientific understanding... Methodological psychotherapy to a large

degree is nothing but a systematic, conscious application of methods by which we influence our fellow men in our daily life."

In general, psychotherapy aims toward (a) changing maladaptive behavior patterns, (b) minimizing or eliminating environmental conditions that may be causing and/or maintaining such behavior, (c) improving interpersonal and other competencies, (d) resolving handicapping or disabling inner conflicts and alleviating personal distress, (e) modifying individuals' inaccurate assumptions about themselves and their world, and (f) fostering a clear-cut sense of self-identity. All these are ways of opening pathways to a more meaningful and fulfilling existence.

Singer (1965) defines psychotherapy as a process of making people comprehensible to themselves to help them fearlessly see themselves and to help them learn that this process of self recognition, far from producing contempt, implies and brings about the achievement of dignity and self-fulfilment. (p. 52)

Fine, cited in Corsini (1975), defines the process of psychotherapy as:

Making the unconscious conscious ...it is hoped that through psychotherapy the person can reach a sense of personal freedom leading to the maximum of self actualization possible in our society. (p. 19)

Brammer and Shostrom (1968) suggest:

Re-education of the individual at both the conscious and unconscious level, the basic aim being to assist the client to gain perceptual reorganization, to integrate the consequent insights into his/her personality structure, and to work out methods of handling feelings originating deep within his/her personality. (p. 17)

This definition places emphasis on depth of involvement and is concerned mainly with alleviating pathological conditions. Garner (1970) sees psychotherapy as follows:

When a person seeks out a helper because he/she feels that sick, physically or mentally, or when such help is sought for the person by others, and the helper is a physician with special skills in mental treatment, the process becomes psychotherapeutic. (p. 5)

Again, Reisman (1971) defines psychotherapy as: "the communication of person-related understanding, respect and a wish to be of help." (p. 123)

These definitions of psychotherapy range all the way from assisting people to reach their maximum level of achievement to treatment of some pathological condition.

Garner (1970) is on the latter end of the definitions. He speaks of "mentally sick" and of the helper as a "physician." Only then does he call the process psychotherapeutic. This, he says, puts psychotherapy into the realm of illness not unlike other forms of physical disabilities.

The range of activity included in these definitions shows that the psychotherapist is not only interested in the ill patient, but also in helping so-called troubled people who are not ill but are somewhat incapacitated for a variety of reasons.

### **Counseling**

Like definitions of psychotherapy, counseling definitions are similar and indeed do, in many cases, overlap. Gibb, writing in Parker (1968) says:

Counseling is the process of restoration and acceleration of growth. Growth by definition is directional movement. For me the direction is (1) towards trust and personal relationships and away from fear and impersonal relationships, (2) towards open and away from closed behaviour, (3) towards self realization and away from impositional behaviour, (4) towards independence and away from dependence. (p. 19)

Gustad (1957) defines counseling as:

A learning oriented process, carried on in a simple one to one social environment, in which a counselor, professionally competent in relevant psychological skills and knowledge, seeks to assist the client by methods appropriate to the latter's needs and within the context of the total personnel program, to learn more about himself, to learn how to put such understanding into effect in relation to more clearly defined goals to the end that the client may become a happier and more productive member of society. (p. 243)

The American Psychological Association (1956) defines counseling as a process which:

Helps individuals towards overcoming obstacles to their personal growth wherever they may be encountered, and towards achieving optimum of their personal resources. (p. 282)

Again, Patterson (1959) refers to counseling as "the process of giving professional or expert help to persons suffering from full-conscious conflicts which are accompanied by so-called normal anxiety." (p. 58)

These definitions are indeed descriptive of a process of dealing with people who are non-pathological but who are suffering from some lesser setback. No mention is made of any pathological condition or mental illness. There seems to be a definite pattern in these definitions, namely that of being concerned with the more or less ordinary social-emotional difficulties that disrupt peoples self-fulfilment from the more common set backs in our society. It would therefore appear that counseling is an attempt by a person to meet with and help another person in order that he (she) may become better equipped to handle daily or common social-emotional problems.

Glanz (1974) defined counseling as an applied social science with an interdisciplinary base composed of psychology, sociology, cultural anthropology, education, economics, and philosophy. Each of these disciplines has made and continues to make its own unique contribution to counseling. From psychology we learn about human growth and development; sociology provides insight into social structure and institutions; anthropology helps us understand the importance of culture; and from economics we learn about the dynamics involved in the world of work. For readers who wish to investigate how each of these disciplines has affected the base of knowledge on which counseling rests, Hansen's *Explorations in Sociology and Counseling* (1969) is an excellent source.

The purpose of counseling makes clear why such varied disciplines have influenced the profession. The purpose of counseling is to provide for the individual's optimum development and well-being, but the individual functions in a social context, not in isolation. If counselors are to enhance the wellbeing of the individual, they must understand as many as possible of the factors that affect people; they must adopt an interdisciplinary approach. Such an approach is a product both of our past and of the current demands made by the people we serve.

There has also been strong pressure on the profession to recommit itself to career counseling. This pressure emanates from the career education movement. Few concepts introduced into the policy circles of education have ever been met with such acclaim as career education. This movement is largely a response to the problems created by a rapidly changing, complex society. As societies become developed (industrial) the concomitant magnitude of opportunities poses a 'burden of decision' for the young and displaced.

During the 1970s and early 1980s, counselors, as a distinct professional group, have become an important element within the broad field of mental health. Counselors are now providing a variety of therapeutic services to a wide range of clients, including those with alcohol and drug problems, those with marital and family problems, adolescents, the handicapped, and the occupationally displaced. Counselor training programs responding to these new demands on the professional counselor have also

changed drastically over this period. Counselors now being trained represent a radical departure from the traditional educational counselor.

This broad examination of the major influences on the development of counseling implies the existence of rather simplistic, separate models. Helping someone select an occupation or the appropriate educational courses might appear to be a relatively easy task. If, however, counseling is defined as a process concerned with an individual's optimum development and well-being, both personally and in relation to the larger society, the task involves a complex model that comes close to encompassing all the emphases that have been discussed. The evolution of the definition of counseling has involved additions rather than substitutions. Far more important, the growth of counseling has involved growth not simply in the number of emphases but also in the scope of training required and services provided.

### **Guidance**

The guidance movement has reflected and continues to reflect the tempo of the times. Although 1908 is often given as the beginning of the guidance movement, it really evolved from a prior series of events. Some of the key historical antecedents are worth noting below (See Figure 1). Guidance is based on an idealism that is implemented by pragmatic action. Contradictory or paradoxical as this may be, the guidance function is based on (1) the invaluable worth of each individual and his/her optimal development and (2) the demands of changing times. Thus, the guidance function has a fluidity which could be its undoing, if more attention is paid to the pressures of the times than to all youth in their transactions with the times.

### **FIGURE I KEY EVENTS IN THE GUIDANCE MOVEMENT**

1870's-1880's

Francis Gallon's studies and reports on the nature and nurture of men of science.

1880's-1890's

Work of G. Stanley Hall (1883) with children, Alfred Binet's (1896) work on tests and Lightner Witmer's (1896) psychological clinic. Jesse B. Davis (1898) in counseling at Central High School, Detroit.

1906

Eli W. Weaver, a principal at Boys' High School, Brooklyn, New York, published the booklet "Choosing a Career".

1908

Frank Parsons, Director and Vocational Counselor, The Vocational Bureau of Boston (often given as the beginning year of the guidance movement). In 1909 Parson's book Choosing a Vocation was published posthumously.

1910

Boston - site of the first national vocational guidance conference.

1912

Grand Rapids, Michigan, became the first city with a city-wide department of vocational guidance.

1913

The National Vocational Guidance Association, Inc. (NVGA) was founded at Grand Rapids, Michigan, with Professor Frank M. Davitt of the University of Chicago as first president.

1917

The Smith-Hughes Act was passed. Under subsequent acts (about 20 year later) funds were made available for vocational guidance work and have continued to the present time.

1934

A loose federation of six organizations called the American Council of Guidance Personnel Association.

1938

The Occupational Information and Guidance Service under Harry A. Jager organized in the U.S. Office of Education. Dissolved in 1952 and reorganized in 1953.

1951

The American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA) was founded with the journal, "The Personnel and Guidance Journal." The journal was an outgrowth through a series of changes from "The Vocational Guidance Newsletter in 1911."

1952

The American School Counselor Association with organized and, in January, 1953, became a division of the American Personnel and Guidance Association.

1957

The American Board on Professional Standards in Vocational Counselling was created by the American Personnel and Guidance Association.

1958

The National Defense Education Act (NDEA) was passed by congress with specific aid to states for guidance testing and programming and to qualified institutions of higher education for counselor preparation programs specifically aimed at guidance for able and outstanding secondary youth.

360

1963

Manpower Development and Training Act.

1963

Vocational Education Act.

1964

The NDEA Act was extended for several years and in addition to previous commitments included authorization for counselor preparation for elementary school counselors and designated college counselors.

1965

Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Higher Education Act.

Based on Henry Borow, "Milestones: A Chronology of Notable Events in the History of Vocational Guidance," in *Man in a World of Work*, Henry Borow, ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964), pp. 45-64.

The uniqueness of individuals was emphasized through the testing and child and adolescent psychology texts that came with the child guidance movement in the early 1900's. The group testing movement was initiated in the second decade of the twentieth century.

Guidance had its beginning in the area of Vocational Guidance now referred to as Career Education. Parsons (1909) claims the aims of guidance have changed and extended, as will be obvious from the definitions that follow. It has now come to embrace, in the educational setting, a whole range of activities which deal with all aspects of the individuals life. Cook (1971) looks upon guidance as "...a helping profession operating mainly in the context of education" (p. 31). Cook (1971) further states:

One of the curses of the guidance literature over the past years has been the almost pathological concern for definitions, coupled with arguments, as to whether guidance or counseling or some other term is more preferable. I have chosen to focus on the term guidance for the simple reason that it is the most comprehensive of the available terms. By the same token, the person who performs any of the many tasks associated with providing guidance or guidance services is most often referred to by the role title of counselor. The addition of the modifiers "school" or "guidance" to the generic designation "counselor" simply serves to delimit somewhat the functions of that particular counselor. (p. 32)

McCully (1962) argues:

The term guidance should be abandoned because it really referred to a point of view that was not the special province of the school counselor. To tag one person with guidance would seem to make that person indistinguishable from other professionals in the school who could lay equal claim to exposing the guidance point of view. (p. 681).

Hoyt (1962) uses a version of what McCully says to argue for the necessity of retaining the term guidance. According to Hoyt: "This term allows for the necessary perspective to place the school counselor in his proper key role in the guidance program.



In other words, it is the term that actually helps to differentiate the counselor from other school professionals"

(p. 693). Hoyt emphasizes that guidance services are school wide services to which many different persons make contributions, of which the school counselor's is the most critical. Blocher, Dustin and Dugan (1971) define the aim of guidance as "...to insure a comprehensive program of integrated educational experiences which promote the individual's total mental, social and physical effectiveness. In practice, guidance has concerned itself increasingly with the development of the whole person in the total educational setting" (p. 5). The same author refers to the guidance worker and describes him as a person "sensitive to the realities of counseling with various kinds of clients". (p. 8)

Jones (1963) summarizes the broad meaning of guidance as follows:

Guidance is the assistance given to individuals in making intelligent choices and adjustments and to develop the ability to make choices and adjust. It is an integral part of education and is centered directly upon this function. Guidance does not make choices for people but it helps them make their own choices in such away as to promote or stimulate the gradual development of the ability to make decisions independently without assistance from others ... the help given by one person to another in making adjustments, choices and in solving problems. Guidance aims at aiding the recipient to grow in his independence and ability to be responsible for himself. (p.10)

These definitions put guidance in the broad general category of the helping profession, but within a specific area, namely educational. Like counseling and psychotherapy, guidance is interested in the personal and social development of the individual but only in so far as it is related to their educational setting.

There are a number of differences and similarities in the three concepts I have just defined. The most striking difference however, is between guidance on the one hand and counseling and psychotherapy on the other. Guidance is education oriented and spoken of in relation to students and helping them make the most of the educative process. Psychotherapy, on the other hand, makes no mention of this and is seen more in the clinical environment. Guidance is carried out entirely in the school setting. This was not so in its origin but its present practice is identified almost totally within that setting. An interesting point, and one which is obvious to the educator, is the place of counseling as it relates to guidance. In actual fact, guidance is seen as the overall function of the counselor with counseling fulfilling only part of that function.

The definitions of guidance point out that it is a "helping" profession and hence give it that much similarity to counseling and psychotherapy. Guidance differs, however, in so far as its aim is to help students in their day to day educational struggles wherever they may happen to be. Again this can be misleading, for the definitions also include such phrases as making adjustments, choices, problem-solving and gaining independence. The issue of counseling vs psychotherapy is not as clear cut as guidance and psychotherapy. I have made the distinction here between these two and guidance because the literature can be more precisely interpreted to support such a differentiation.

In looking at the definition of counseling we see such phrases as self realization, independence, realistically defined goals, and overcoming obstacles to personal growth. When we peruse the definitions of psychotherapy we see similar phrases. However, appearing in the definitions of psychotherapy are terms like unconscious and mentally ill, and the helper is often referred to as a physician.

Regarding the dilemma of whether psychotherapy and counseling are one and the same or different, it would be helpful to summarize what the authorities have to say regarding the issue. There are two camps. One consists of those who say that they are the same and the other that they are different. Among the former are Blum and Bolinsky (1962):

If therapy is to be considered a process fostering an individual's growth, so that he can now handle problems that he formerly could not, then counseling might be considered as synonymous with therapy. (p. 15)

Rogers (1942) states:

While there may be some reasons for this distinction, it is also plain that the most intensive and successful counseling is indistinguishable from intensive and successful psychotherapy. (p. 4)

Arbuckle (1965) states:

The competent professionally educated school counselor ... is going to become involved in practically all of the human relationships that have been described by various individuals as either counseling or psychotherapy. (p. 206)

Hahn and McLean (1955) agree with the oneness of counseling and psychotherapy with one reservation, namely the setting:

There are no deep seated conflicts of interest between the psychotherapist and the counselor. Although they share in common a rich background of training, they tend to operate in quite different settings with different groups of clients. However, when dealing with many clients under emergency conditions, each should be competent to handle difficulties not usually encountered in his daily practice. (p. 232)

Patterson (1968) is quite definite in his opinion when he writes:

There is no essential difference between counselling and psychotherapy in the nature of the relationships, in the process, in the methods or techniques, in goals or outcomes, or even in the kinds of clients involved. (p. 1)

The views expressed by these authors seems to leave little doubt as to the positive relationship of the two functions. However, let's look at the other side of the coin. Brammer and Shostrom (1968) see counseling and psychotherapy as being different yet somewhat related. They place the two on a continuum. Figure II illustrates the point.

Counseling	Psychotherapy
Educative Supportive Situational Problem Solving Conscious Awareness Emphasis on "Normals"	Supportive (more focused) Reconstructive Depth Emphasis Analytic Focus on Unconscious Emphasis on Neurotics or other severe emotional problem

Figure II. Relationship of Counseling and Psychotherapy from Bramer and Shostrom, 1968, p. 7.

The main difference illustrated in Figure II is the degree of sickness or illness. The counselor is shown as dealing with the normal whereas the psychotherapist is concerned with the so called mentally ill. The problem with this model is determining where normal ends and illness or abnormal begins. Vance and Volsky (1962) see a dichotomy of pathological and nonpathological. They state that:

In actual practice, these applied arts of counseling and psychotherapy cannot be predicted accurately by their speciality designation alone. Counselors engage in psychotherapy and psychotherapists engage in counseling. We can best understand the terms by studying the process. In psychotherapy these processes deal with the pathological and seek to cure. In counseling, the process deals with many factors not necessarily pathological. (p. 568)

Blocher (1966) says: "It is better to deal with goals than with methodologies in so far as trying to distinguish between counseling and psychotherapy". (p. 798) He divides the goals of psychotherapy and counseling in this way:

Psychotherapy	1) Remediating 2) Adjustive 3) Therapeutic
Counseling	1) Developmental 2) Educative 3) Preventive

This division into goals as opposed to methodologies is similar to the pathological - non pathological dichotomy of Brammer and Shostrum as illustrated in Figure II.

From the above, it is obvious that the three concepts, guidance, counseling and psychotherapy, are definitely related but are not the same. As was stated earlier, guidance is the most unrelated, this being due to both process and setting. Counseling and psychotherapy on the other hand, have more in common. To illustrate this point we could place the three concepts on a continuum as shown in Figure III.

Figure III. Relationship of Guidance, Counseling and Psychotherapy.

The reasons for suggesting this position are that throughout the literature, there is a definite tendency towards similarities rather than differences, but at the same time one can see some striking differences. The major ones are those dealing with length and place of training, and setting. Psychotherapists are usually trained within the medical model whereas counselors tend to have an educational psychology background. For the most part, counselors have a one to two year training program, whereas psychotherapists have at least two. Another difference, although a debatable one, is the process of the three activities. Guidance again can be easily distinguished as we can place it in "educational" counseling and we can easily see the pattern it takes there. Counseling and psychotherapy are not so easily separated. It is clear from both literature and practice that psychotherapy deals in depth with long term ill patients, e.g., psychotics, whereas counseling, although not excluded from working in this area of mental illness, nevertheless tends to restrict itself to short term, less severe neurosis. The conclusion to place the three concepts on a continuum is really one way to settle facilitating arguments related to difference and similarities. It is important to remember that the conclusion is not final. The labels we have surrounded ourselves with will always be a source of controversy. It is a fact of life that all the helping professions do overlap in some ways. It is difficult, for example, to state when a client should leave the social worker and see a counselor or psychotherapist or vice versa. Those of us who dabble in the art of helping others do many things that are similar. Each area has certain kinds of expertise and it is here that any difference that does exist has its base. It is useful and practical for those who work within the helping professions to know their capabilities and limits. It is within the milieu of operation that the distinction must be made. It is most essential both for the person helping and the person being helped that both know just how far the helper can go with a particular type of problem. We must be alert to the fact that a mere surface exchange of ideas can often lead to a simple exchange of ignorances unless some depth of understanding of "human psychology" follows. In reality then it is ultimately up to the guidance worker, counselor and psychotherapist to define for themselves just where one process ends and the other begins.

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## BOOK REVIEW

**W.P. McCann**  
**Educational Foundations**

Peter Neary and Patrick O'Flaherty,  
**Part of the Main: An Illustrated  
History of Newfoundland and  
Labrador** (Breakwater Books,  
St. John's) 1983

This is a beautifully-produced volume of over two-hundred pages with a striking dust-jacket and elegant end-papers, and containing over 500 illustrations. It is large (12<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>" x 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>" ), well-designed, well-printed and a pleasure to handle and read. As an attractive introduction to the history of Newfoundland and Labrador it could hardly be bettered.

The strength of the book is the illustrations, which cover an astonishingly wide range. The authors draw not only upon portraits of individuals and groups and views of scenery, on drawings and photographs of striking events and incidents, but also on maps, diagrams, cartoons, extracts from newspapers and books, handbills, flags and medals. These are mainly from local sources, but libraries and collections in mainland Canada, Great Britain, U.S.A. and elsewhere have also been consulted. Some of the illustrations are familiar, but most are rare, interesting and informative, and demonstrate how history can be made to live by the ingenious use of relevant illustration.

The authors show that Labrador was inhabited by the Indians of the Maritime Archaic peoples as early as 7,000 B.C., and that these had migrated to the island by 3,000 B.C. A thousand years later the Dorset Eskimos (originally from Asia) had appeared in Labrador, followed several millenia later by the Inuit and the Naskapi-Montagnais Indians, and finally by the Beothucks, who adapted their lives to the Newfoundland environment. These people were, and are, the original Newfoundlanders and Labradorians. The Norse explorers and the British, Spanish, Portugese, French and Italian adventurers who explored the coast in later ages represented a later intrusion, the beginning of the inclusion of the West into the European based world market of modern times. The lure of the abundant codfish attracted an international fishery, later to be dominated by Britain, Newfoundland's nearest Eastern neighbour, which also attempted colonisation and settlement and who became, until 1949, the Mother Country of modern Newfoundland. From the early seventeenth century the island had become, as the authors term it, "more than a fishery, less than a colony", and the West Country transient fishery continued until the beginning of the nineteenth century. From this point on, with the beginnings of large-scale English and Irish immigration and permanent settlement, the modern political history of Newfoundland begins, and this occupies the greater part of the book.

Newfoundland, because of its strategic position, the international importance of the fisheries and its peculiar destiny as Britain's oldest (and arguably most neglected) colony, has had a more colourful and eventful history than neighbouring provinces on the Canadian mainland, and this gives the authors a wide field of operations. But as this is an illustrated history, the emphasis tends to fall on those periods in which illustrations can be found in greatest abundance. Thus only some 40 pages are devoted to pre-history, the early discoveries, settlement and the transient fishery, while the nineteenth

century receives about 45% of the space and the nineteenth and twentieth centuries together occupy eight tenths of the book. Paradoxically the twentieth-century photographs give the reader a less vivid impression of the texture of life than the earlier illustrations; relying solely on the ubiquitous camera, the authors have neglected a more varied iconography which could have added range and depth to their vision.

The text is very much the lesser part of this volume and occupies only a third or less of most pages. The chronological narrative is broken into themes and sub-topics and in this way a blend of the political and social is achieved, with the emphasis somewhat more on the former. The general standpoint is liberal, most of the controversial issues are either played down or dealt with evenhandedly, and denominationalism is not regarded as the most important aspect of Newfoundland's development. Though this makes a welcome change from some earlier histories, it results in a certain blandness of tone which tends to make Newfoundland's past appear somewhat less colourful than it actually was. A spirited account of the social and religious policies of the more arrogant and bigoted naval governors of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries would have thrown the difficult transition to colonial status in a clearer light. The bitter denominational and class struggles of the 1830s and 1840s, fuelled by the international Protestant anti-Catholic campaign, deserve more than the neutral sentence: "After ten years of representative government, sectarian and political strife in the colony was so intense that the constitution of 1832 was suspended, and a new amalgamated legislature created, combining Upper and Lower Houses into one chamber". And surely room could have been found for a detailed description of life in a fishing outport in, say, the late nineteenth century, with some account of social effects of that peculiar form of economic exploitation, the credit system.

But all readers will have their own views as to what might have been included, and a history that aims to satisfy everybody will end up satisfying nobody. This is an excellent pioneering work which will introduce a new generation to the history of their own country in a fascinating and highly readable manner. It should end forever the old belief that history is a dull and boring subject.



## ABILITY GROUPING: SOME RECENT LITERATURE

Ishmael J. Baksh  
Educational Foundations

### Introduction

In this paper, I shall attempt to provide an overview of some of the recent literature relating to homogeneous ability grouping. The present article might be regarded as a supplement to those previously published on the same subject in the *Morning Watch* (Singh, 1974; Baksh, 1976, 1979; Martin, 1980). The material presented below will be organized under four headings: (1) the Selection Process, (2) Effects on Students, (3) Effects on Teachers, and (4) Effects on Pupil-Teacher Interaction.

### The Selection Process

It has been found repeatedly that children from middle and upper socioeconomic backgrounds are over represented in academic or high-ability streams while those of lower socio-economic status are found disproportionately in general/vocational or lower-ability tracks. Many have concluded that ability grouping unfairly discriminates against children of lower socioeconomic status, excluding them to a substantial degree from an important means of social mobility. Davis and Haller (1981) attempt to discover how biased the selection process actually is at the high school level.

Comparing students' initial choice with their actual placement, Davis and Haller (1981: 289-91) observe that 56% of the students in their sample were placed according to their initial choices. Thus, preference is an important determinant of track placement though not the only one. The researchers note that the majority of students who were not placed in tracks of their choice were actually assigned to tracks higher than the ones they had chosen. Davis and Haller (1981) report, also, that student aspiration was the single most important factor influencing initial student choice of track and that aspirations are determined by pupils' own school performance. In other words, students tend to base their track choice on a realistic appraisal of their academic achievement. Furthermore, there is little evidence that the high school is engaged in "cooling out" students deemed to have "inappropriately" high aspirations. Discrepancies between students' initial track choice and actual track placement by the school tends to be related much more to students' academic achievement than to their socioeconomic status. On the other hand, a study of Woods (1979: 5162) reports considerable evidence of the occurrence of a "cooling-out" process in a British secondary school. Clearly, the issue of how discriminatory the school is in selecting students for tracks or ability groups remains unresolved.

### Effects on Students

Research has examined the connection between homogeneous ability grouping and various dimensions of student performance or behaviour. The studies summarized below investigate the relationship between homogeneous ability grouping and (1) student achievement, (2) student behaviour, and (3) student absenteeism and dropping out.

Beckerman and Good (1981) examine the effect of ability grouping on mathematics achievement in a school district serving a basically middle-class population. A "more favourable teaching situation" is defined as a classroom with over one-third of the students having high aptitude and less than one-third having low aptitude in mathematics. Conversely, a "less favourable teaching situation" is defined as a classroom with over one-third of the students having low aptitude and less than one-third having high aptitude in that subject. Beckerman and Good report that both high aptitude and low-aptitude students in the more favourable teaching situations (that is, the classrooms which contained a higher percentage of "good" students) showed greater gains in mathematics achievement than similar students in "less favourable" teaching situations.

The researchers offer different possible explanations for their findings, including the following:

1. Students probably adopt the behaviour of the largest group in the classroom.
2. Teachers teach to a norm related to the perceived aptitude level of the classroom.
3. There is variation in the time spent on management as opposed to instructional matters. For example, keeping all students actively involved in lessons is more difficult in low aptitude classrooms and more time is therefore spent in trying to maintain control.

Schwartz (1981) investigates the degree to which homogeneous ability grouping is associated with differences in student behaviour and attitude. She utilises systematic observation of students' and teachers' behaviour and on structured student interviews, her research being conducted in four schools (three elementary and one junior high) in which students are tracked on the basis of standardized test scores. Observation was conducted several times a week for six months altogether. Supplementary research procedures include interviews with parents to determine their knowledge of and involvement in children's education and examination of students' permanent school record files.

Schwartz (1981) analyses student interaction in two types of situations: (1) formal class-time, in which the teacher dominates the class and requires the attention of all students for an academic lesson and (2) informal class-time, in which the pupils work independently and are permitted to interact with peers. She finds that in formal class-time top-track students appear to accept school goals and to accept the teachers' behavioural standards but in reality engage in a certain amount of secretive activity (e.g., exchanging notes or foodstuffs and reading comics), while low-track pupils tend to engage in challenging and teasing the teacher, obstructing academic activity, and misusing educational resources. In informal classtime, when there is less pressure for public performance and less need for academic evaluation, top-track pupils work cooperatively with peers in academic classes but experiment with antischool behaviour with nonacademic teachers. However, low-track pupils react less wildly and destructively than in formal classtime though they continue to undermine one another's academic efforts.

Schwartz (1981) argues that the ranking of students in the form of ability groups tends to generate informal social norms among students and that different groups of students tend to have differing school experiences which lead them to develop contrasting priorities and strategies for coping with the educational setting. In informal

classtime, for example, low-track pupils persist in undermining one another's academic efforts as if to ensure that no one is successful at an activity in which most see themselves as facing the possibility of failure.

The classroom message conveyed to the low class could be summarized as, "It doesn't matter what you do. Nothing counts ..... Classroom organization discourages students from either taking themselves, their work, or their teachers seriously. Little work is adequately explained or demanded from them. They learn that, despite repeated threats, misbehaviour is not likely to be punished, and effort is not likely to be rewarded. There is an inverse relationship between student motivation and teacher recognition. If one behaves correctly, one is ignored academically. When one volunteers, one is not often called on, and when one tries to do seatwork, one is often unclear about directions. Further, when the student is finally called on, she or he often gets confusing feedback about the accuracy of the answer. Unlike top tracks, these students have little sense of the teacher as a person who is interested in them as individuals .... Thus, these students have little to lose academically and run little risk of punishment for wild behaviour (Schwartz, 1981: 177).

With regard to absenteeism and dropping out, Crespo and Michelena (1981) review a number of studies of the relationship between these two variables and streaming (ability grouping or "tracking"). In their own investigation, the authors find that streaming has a small effect on absenteeism and dropping out even when allowance is made for variations in intelligence, age, school type and academic performance.

### **Effects on Teachers**

Sweeney (1981) alerts us to possible effects of grouping practices on teachers' job satisfaction. He notes that the characteristics of the students might affect teachers' happiness with their jobs. Many teachers need the stimulation and satisfaction derived from working with more able students. Some working with students who would rather not be in school are exhausted by the strain of constantly trying to maintain control of the classroom. Sweeney suggests that team teaching and similar approaches are partial solutions which might not always be appropriate or desirable and that some attempt might be made to spread student ability across the staff, which would require some degree of heterogeneous grouping.

### **Effects on Pupil-Teacher Interaction**

Recent research suggests that grouping practice might affect pupil teacher interaction. Gumperz (1981) reports that in a classroom with high achieving and low-achieving reading groups the teacher defines the lower group as requiring more explicit and consistent direction, with the result that much of the teacher's time with that group is spent in looking around that group to ward off possible interruptions and other kinds of discipline problems. Consequently, these particular pupils receive less

In another study, Eder (1981) examines the extent to which homogeneous ability grouping results in the exposure of pupils to differing learning environments. Arguing that the effects of learning context are likely to be greater for younger children, the researcher

investigates the nature of such contexts in different ability groups at the primary-school level. Furthermore, she studies ability-based reading groups within a first-grade classroom.

After a period of intensive observation (three hours for an average of three days per week during an entire school year) complemented by an analysis of video-taped instruction (eight sessions for each of the four ability groups), Eder (1981) reports as follows:

1. The lower ability groups tend to display more inattentive behaviour at least partly because pupils who are perceived as immature and inattentive are often assigned to lower groups. Inattentive behaviour of pupils is likely to generate further inattentiveness, with the result that more of the teacher's time with lower-ability groups is spent in management activities and less in actual instruction.
2. Pupils' turns at reading are disrupted more frequently in low-ability than in high-ability groups as the teacher tries to cope with classroom management problems. Also, in low-ability groups pupils show a greater tendency to interrupt classmate's reading turns by reading out aloud various words and phrases when the current reader hesitates, actions which are often condoned-or even encouraged -by the teacher perhaps because they indicate that pupils are concentrating on the lesson. Such interruptions are likely to affect the opportunity of individual students to learn to read since figuring difficult words on his own is one way a pupil learns to read.

Eder (1981) concludes that homogeneous grouping compounds initial learning problems by placing those children who have learning problems in the same groups. Useful alternatives would be some form of heterogeneous grouping or one-to-one instruction, since these would benefit slower students by reducing the amount of inattention, management, and turn disruptions during their lessons.

While it is frequently claimed that homogeneous ability grouping influences teachers' expectations of their students and consequently the quality of teachers' interaction with the latter, there are in fact two different versions of the teacher expectation model. In one version, teachers are portrayed as consistently interacting differently with differing ability groups while in the other they are seen as frequently modifying their behaviour in response to that of students as interaction progresses. Thus, teachers might not act in the same way with specific types of ability groups: some teachers may adopt a "remedial" pattern, attempting to assist students deemed to be lower in ability.

Wilkinson (1981) tries to ascertain whether teachers differentiate between "above-average" and "below-average" students with respect to verbal interaction (eliciting exchanges with students) and positive evaluation of student responses. She reports some but not overall support for the version of the teacher-expectation model which predicts that teachers will interact with the "above-average" students in a manner supportive of high achievement. Teachers, she cautions, are not similar or consistent in their pattern of interaction with students of specific ability levels.

## Conclusion

The studies reviewed above tend to confirm or elaborate upon the findings of previous research relating to homogeneous ability grouping. It is shown, for example, that a greater infusion of high-ability students into a class has a positive effect on academic achievement. Also, homogeneous ability grouping is associated with differential student and teacher behaviour. Increasingly, research uncovers ways in which this type of grouping is likely to generate differential academic performance among students. However, we are warned against over-generalizing with regard to teacher behaviour. Furthermore, the extent to which schools discriminate against children of lower socioeconomic status in the process of selection for ability groups remains a contentious matter.

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**REGIONAL VARIATION IN OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE:  
THE CASE OF NEWFOUNDLAND**

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**Theoretical Perspective**

All sorts of transformations have been taking place in Canadian society and these changes have been occurring at an accentuated pace in recent years (Breton, 1978). However, not all groups within Canadian Society are changing at the same rate. There are great regional differences in such things as rate of economic development, industrialization, urbanization, immigration, and perhaps, as well, in other areas which are more difficult to assess, such as social mobility or the concentration of economic and political power.

In this respect, Blishen (1970) says:

As provincial differences in income distribution and educational attainment will be reflected in provincial differences in the rank order of occupations based on these variables, a class scale based on ranking of occupations at the national level may introduce some inaccuracy in the measurement of provincial differences in class distribution. (p. 112)

Brym (1978) used variations in social organization and class structure in different regions of Canada to explain regional variations in Canadian populism.

An important reason for paying attention to variations in social structures, for attempting to understand the ways in which different groups within Canadian society are structurally differentiated from one another, is that these variations have consequences for the degree and character of societal integration. Much of the research involving social organization and class structure in Canada requires some standardized ways of measuring social class. Social scientists in Canada have responded to this requirement and produced Canadian scales for the social ranking of occupations (e.g., The Blishen Scale, The Pineo-Porter Scale).

However, because of the rapid transformation of Canadian society in recent years, and because these changes have not occurred at a uniform rate in all regions of Canada, there may be today sufficient regional variation to render these scales ineffective for the ranking of occupations in some parts of Canada. Despite the evidence of Hodge et al. (1964), who report a correlation of .99 between occupational prestige scores in 1947 and the prestige scores in 1963 (in the U.S.A.), Breton (1978) suggests that all sorts of changes have been taking place in Canadian society, especially in recent years, and that these changes have implications for the structural differentiation of different groups within Canada.

### **Relationship to Existing Research and Literature**

There has been in the past, and continues to be, a great interest in the measurement of the social status of occupations. The importance of social status as a variable is evidenced by its pervasiveness in the literature. The 1977 Current Index to Journals in Education (CIJE) lists 66 articles in Education published during 1977 that deal explicitly with social status; the Educational Resources Information Centre Index (ERIC) for 1977 lists 147 articles.

Interest in the social ranking of occupations originated with studies of social stratification and the need for standardized ways of measuring social class. In Canada, there have been a few major attempts at determining the social standing of occupations. In 1958, Blishen described a system whereby occupations listed in census publications could be ranked in terms of social status; the system used information on the education and income level associated with the occupations listed in the 1951 census (Blishen, 1958). In 1965, Pineo and Porter interviewed 793 individuals and obtained "prestige" ratings for 204 occupational titles (Pineo and Porter, 1967). Starting with the prestige ratings of 88 occupational titles from the Pineo-Porter study, Blishen (1967) reconstructed his "socioeconomic index" for the 320 occupations listed in the 1961 census. Using the income and education levels reported in the 1971 Census Data, Blishen and McRoberts (1976) constructed a "revised socioeconomic index for occupations in Canada." This revised scale was also based on the prestige from the Pineo Porter study which was conducted in 1965.

Pineo et al. (1977) cite some deficiencies in the Blishen scale and propose a scheme for the socioeconomic classification of occupations based on the new coding system used in the 1971 census. Guppy and Siltanen (1977) found sufficient differences in the prestige or esteem allocated to male and female workers in the same occupation to warrant, in their opinion, the use of separate scales for male or female occupational prestige. Blishen and Carroll (1978) also looked at the sex differences in occupational prestige and found "a general pattern of occupational differentiation" between male and female workers in the same occupation.

### **Practical Considerations**

Hodge et al. (1966) present evidence that for white-collar occupations, prestige evaluation is uniformly high across countries regardless of level of economic developments. For blue-collar occupations, however, the higher the nation's economic development, the greater is the similarity between its prestige evaluations of blue-collar occupations and the prestige structures of other nations.

There has been traditionally a concentration of the Newfoundland work force in low-status occupations, and this pattern has not changed much in recent years. In 1961, 18.2 percent of the male labour force in Newfoundland were fishermen, loggers, or miners; this compares with the Canadian average of 3.8 percent (Breton & McDonald, 1967, p. 124). In 1971, the figure for Newfoundland was 21.5 percent (Matthews, 1976, p. 23). Blishen (1967) reported that 31 percent of the workers across Canada had Socioeconomic Index Scores less than 30; the corresponding figure for Newfoundland was 47 percent. Given the larger proportion of Newfoundlanders in low-status occupations, and given the low level of economic development in that Province, it might be reasonable to expect differences in the ranking of blue-collar occupations.



It has been suggested that differences between the occupational prestige structures of groups maybe, to some extent, a function of prior cultural differences (Haller et al., 1972; Nosenchuk, 1972), although there has been little progress in the development of a theory of cultural differences that would permit predictions about actual prestige evaluation based on cultural differences. Newfoundland, more so than any other part of Canada, seems to be holding on to the more conservative values, and preserving a culture historically rooted in the preindustrial societies of Ireland and the West of England. This is encouraged by natural insularity, the absence of substantial immigration, and by the characteristics of the Island's economic life. Gushue (1973, p. 2) points out that:

It's a nation (Newfoundland) in the sense that Quebec is a nation, not politically or economically, but culturally. We are a separate, homogeneous entity ... We don't belong to the Third World Model either... Neither are we like rural New Brunswick or Northern Maine.

If there are, indeed, regional differences in occupational prestige, these differences are perhaps more likely to be evidenced in Newfoundland than in any other part of English-speaking Canada, given the particular sociocultural and economic characteristics of that province.

### **Data and Method**

Sampling procedure involved the random selection of 140 polls from the total of 1,713 polling divisions in the Province of Newfoundland for the 1979 provincial election. For each of the polls selected, five names were randomly chosen, producing a sample of 700. A total of 556 completed returns were received, yielding a return of 79.5 percent.

Eighty of the most prevalent occupations in the Province of Newfoundland, according to the 1976 Census of Canada were selected. In order to obtain the prestige ranking, i.e., social standing of those 80 occupations, respondents were presented with a series of cards; each had the Census occupation number and title printed upon it. Respondents were then given the following instructions for sorting the cards:

Enclosed is a package of nine (9) sets of cards. Each set is a different color. Each card has a number heading and a job title. Also enclosed is one answer sheet. The procedure will take less than an hour to complete.

**Step No. 1.** Please check to see that you have nine sets of cards as follows:

- |    |        |   |          |
|----|--------|---|----------|
| 1. | Green  | - | 9 cards  |
| 2. | Pink   | - | 4 cards  |
| 3. | Blue   | - | 6 cards  |
| 4. | Brown  | - | 11 cards |
| 5. | White  | - | 6 cards  |
| 6. | Grey   | - | 12 cards |
| 7. | Orange | - | 7 cards  |
| 8. | Yellow | - | 14 cards |
| 9. | Red    | - | 11 cards |

**Step No. 2.** Take each set of coloured cards in turn. **For each set, sort the** cards according to what you consider to be the "social standing" of each occupation, putting the card with the highest social standing on top, and the lowest social standing on the bottom. Any card containing a job title that you don't understand may be put aside and placed in a "DON'T KNOW" pile. When each set is sorted, place a rubber band around it and set it aside.

**Step No. 3.** Place all nine sets of sorted cards in front of you so you can conveniently read the top card of each set. The order of placement of colors is not important.

**Step No. 4.** Select the occupation from among all nine sets of coloured cards which has the very highest social standing of all the cards showing on top. The card selected must be one of the cards on top.

**Step No. 5.** Write the number of the card selected in space 1 of the Answer Sheet. Put that card aside, face down. Do not consider it again.

**Step No. 6.** Again consider the nine cards on top of each pile of coloured cards. Pick the occupation showing on the top cards that has the highest social standing, and write its number in space 2 of the Answer Sheet. You may pick the same colour card as last time or you may pick a different one. Put that card aside, face down.

**Step No. 7.** Continue this process until all the cards have been picked and the numbers written on the Answer Sheet.

**Step No. 8.** Take the cards that were set aside as "DON'T KNOW" and write their numbers in the "DON'T KNOW" column of the Answer Sheet.

No attempt was made by the interviewer to explain what "social standing" meant, but these words might be repeated in various ways, as in "Well, you probably think some jobs have higher standing than others. If you think this is one of those, then place it...", and so on. Furthermore, the interviewer did not explain the nature of any job the respondent was not familiar with since a "Don't Know" category was provided for.

Following data collection, mean rankings were computed for each of the occupations according to the Newfoundland sample, males and females within that sample, urban and rural respondents, and for white-collar and blue-collar occupations. Once these were completed, Spearman rho correlations were determined for the eighty occupations between the ranking reported by Blishen and McRoberts (1976) and the total Newfoundland sample, between male and female respondents and between urban and rural respondents; correlations between white-collar workers and between blue-collar workers in each of the two samples were also computed.

## **Results and Discussion**

The overall results are reported in Table 1. Although the correlation between the Blishen rankings and the ranks obtained by this research ( $r_s = .78$ ) are not as high as some of the previous research (e.g., Hodge et al., 1964) might suggest, it still indicated considerable agreement between the Newfoundland sample and the national sample used by Blishen and McRoberts (1976). The similarities between the two rankings are

especially evident in the higher social class occupations. For example, physicians and surgeons ranked number 1 and university teachers ranked number 2 in both studies.\*

The substantial correlation of .98 (Table 2) between the ranking accorded the various occupations by males and females suggests that men and women in that Province share essentially the same views with respect to the social ranking of occupations. A similar degree of agreement ( $r_s = .98$ ) exists between the urban and rural respondents.

**TABLE 1**

**Correlations Between Occupational Rankings  
– Blishen and Newfoundland Sample**

	<b>TOTAL (80 occupations)</b>	<b>BLUE COLLAR (42 occupations)</b>	<b>WHITE COLLAR (38 occupations)</b>
Nfld./Blishen	$r_s = .78$	$r_s = .61$	$r_s = .81$
n = 556			

\*Details of the rankings are available upon request from the authors.

**TABLE 2**

**Correlations Between Occupational Rankings in the Newfoundland  
Sample: Male/Female and Urban/Rural**

<b>Correlation</b>	
Male (N = 270)	$r = .98$
Female (N = 291)	
Urban (N = 365)	$r = .98$
Rural (N = 190)	
Number of occupations = 80	

However, within blue-collar occupations, especially those in the basic resource industries, there were substantial differences between the Blishen rankings and those obtained by this research: forestry/ logging ranked No. 35 compared with Blishen's No. 78; fishermen ranked No. 40 to Blishen's No. 79; farm workers ranked No. 52 to Blishen's No. 76; timber cutting and related occupations ranked No. 54 to Blishen's No. 77. The correlation of .61 between the blue-collar workers in the Blishen sample and the Newfoundland study (Table 1) supports the notion put forward by Hodge et al. (1966) that populations with low levels of economic development tend to rank blue-collar occupations differently from populations with higher levels of economic development.

A correlation of .61 between the rankings of blue-collar occupations by the Blishen scale and the ranking obtained by this research means that using the Blishen scale to predict the rankings actually held by people in the Province of Newfoundland would yield correct rankings 37 percent of the time ( $.61^2 = .37$ ). It seems that the proper conduct of social research would demand greater accuracy than this, and that the Blishen scale is not appropriate for the ranking of blue collar occupations in Newfoundland.

The correlation between the Blishen rankings and the rankings obtained by this study for white collar occupations ( $r_s = .81$ ) indicates that for occupations in this category, the Blishen scale is indeed appropriate. However, the poor fit between the two rankings for blue-collar occupations suggests that the accuracy of a standardized measure of social class (such as the Blishen scale) may vary significantly for different categories of occupations in different parts of the country.

Much of the research in Canada involving social organization and social structure utilizes the Blishen scale. Given the findings of this research, however, the generalizability of such studies maybe in some doubt.

Quite aside from the doubts raised concerning the scales themselves, the findings raise some interesting issues for education in Newfoundland. First, the somewhat higher rankings afforded certain blue-collar occupations (e.g., forestry/logging, fishermen, farm workers), offer a possible explanation for high dropout rates in certain areas of the Province. That is, if these occupations are seen as relatively prestigious, present an opportunity for employment, and require a substantially lower level of education for entry, then what incentive is there for students to remain in school?

Secondly, it suggests that guidance personnel may have to shift their emphasis in their efforts to convince students to remain in school. Perhaps highlighting the increasing technological complexity of each of these occupations (e.g., the implications of the restructured fishing industry), might produce useful results. Finally, the government might do well to reassess its training facilities and opportunities related to some of these blue-collar occupations.

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## **PERCEPTIONS OF THE NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR HIGH SCHOOL REORGANIZATION**

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Newfoundland and Labrador high schools are currently in the midst of the second year of modifying the high school system in the Province. The change consists fundamentally of two things: (i) the addition of an extra, or twelfth, year of schooling resulting in a three-year rather than two-year high school programme; and (ii) the switch from a graded system of advancement to a credit system. In the spring of 1982, near the end of the first year of this reorganization, Robert Crocker, Phil Nagy, and I conducted an interview and questionnaire study of the views of those most directly affected by the innovation. We interviewed Department of Education officials, district office personnel, school principals, and teachers. In addition, questionnaires were sent to a further sample of teachers to supplement the interview data, and an analysis of Department documents concerning the innovation was done. Views were sought on the foundations of the innovation, its goals, evaluation, and problem areas. One aim was to spread some understanding from one educational group to another about the feelings and beliefs of those in each group. Another was to collect some information fairly early in the reorganization which could be used in any future evaluation of the programme.

First, the Department of Education documents on the reorganization were analyzed to ascertain the official Department of Education view. The purpose was to produce a detailed account of the official view so that the views of others could be compared with it in search of differences. Such differences, depending upon their nature, might indicate places where attention should be directed in order to avoid possible problems. Thereafter, the interviews were conducted and the notes which were made during them were analyzed for their most salient features, including their degree of match with the Department documents and with each other.

Interviews were conducted with each of the highest ranking personnel at the Department who were involved in one way or another with the reorganization. Others interviewed were from twenty-five randomly chosen school districts throughout the Province, and from twenty-five schools chosen randomly, one from each district. The only restriction on the choice of schools was that they be accessible either by commercial airline or automobile. From this sample we were able to meet with and interview each of the superintendents and twenty-three of the school principals. Other district office personnel and teachers were interviewed depending upon their involvement with the reorganization, their availability, and upon the time available. The views which these people expressed were recorded by us first hand as they were offered.

As is apparent, interview and document analysis techniques were used in this study, and a discussion of them is in order. These techniques present some advantages over others, such as using written questionnaires, but there are also limitations. In an interview, one is able to gauge the tone and emphasis of the questioning to suit the individual being interviewed. Different individuals have different areas of interest and expertise. An interviewer can capitalize upon these areas. There is some sacrifice made to gain this advantage, though. The main sacrifice is that one does not get information from each subject on all the issues of concern, and on some issues information from hardly anyone is obtained. This occurs because the progress of interviews cannot be too

tightly controlled, else it would be as well to use questionnaires. For example, time quotas cannot be strictly kept because some subjects will wish to speak on a particular topic more than others. Thus, an interviewer must always adjust plans, trying to deal with the issues which are judged most important.

Typically, written questionnaires do not suffer as much from this lack of completeness, but they usually do not provide the depth in particular areas that interviews can give. In addition, questionnaires need to be somewhat more leading than interviews in order to keep subjects on the topic. In an interview one can begin with a very open question and thereafter lead subjects only as required. Information obtained from such a free response format tends to be more trustworthy than information obtained in response to leading questions or directions. In the end, as our main source of data, we opted in favour of the comparative depth and quality of information received in interviews over the comparative completeness of information using questionnaires. With teachers, because of the problem of interviewing a large enough sample to be representative, we also used a questionnaire to supplement our interview data.

In total our sample was as follows:

Department of Education Officials.....	8
Superintendents .....	25
Assistant Superintendents and Coordinators .....	18
Principals .....	23
Teachers (Interviewed) .....	26
Teachers (Questionnaires) .....	129

The Department of Education Documents analyzed were the following:

1. Report of Minister's Advisory Committee on Grade XII, December, 1978;
2. The Report of the Sub-Committee on Curriculum Reorganization, August, 1979;
3. Handbook for Senior High Schools of Newfoundland and Labrador, October 1, 1980;
4. A Reorganized High School for Students of Newfoundland and Labrador: Information for Parents, no date.

We learned much about the new high school reorganization in these travels throughout the Province and in the analysis of the Department documents. The following major conclusions highlight what was found:

1. In Department documents the reorganization is characterized by three goals.

However, the notion that this innovation was designed solely to meet these three goals, and by implication was designed in response to three needs, is only a simplified and somewhat misleading view of the picture as perceived by those interviewed.

2. Many of the effects of the innovation which people envisaged were difficult to reconcile with what one might reasonably expect the reorganization to achieve.



3. Much was learned from some individuals' comments, regardless of the prevalence of their occurrence among the whole sample comments which we gathered.
4. A significant number of those we interviewed attributed ulterior motives to those who were in other sectors of the educational community.
5. The members of each group tended to focus on two or three concerns unique to their own particular group.

### **The Three Goals**

The following three are the most clearly and explicitly stated goals of the high school reorganization found in the Department documents. They appear prominently in the documents on the reorganized high school and formed part of the basis of the interviews we conducted.

1. To allow students to obtain a broader high school education;
2. To provide for a more mature high school graduate;
3. To bring high school programmes in this Province in line with those in the majority of Canadian provinces.

Knowing the intended meaning of the key terms in these statements of goals ought to be important in any attempt to evaluate whether or not the goals have been achieved. A fair degree of emphasis was placed on this in the documents analyzed. For example, according to the Department, maturity involves many loosely defined things including: being able to get along on one's own, being able to accept responsibility, having a sound self-concept, having the mental development to tackle life's problems, and knowing how to and desiring to care for one's health. Broadening the curriculum was defined in terms of diversifying the curriculum by moving somewhat away from an academically-emphasized programme towards a programme with more emphasis on vocational, technical, business, and fine arts education. Emphasis was placed on the fact that the new programme would meet students' interests better, and would involve no additional academic rigour or depth. The nature of the envisaged alignment with programmes in the rest of Canada was somewhat more difficult to grasp. One is not sure whether alignment is sought on school leaving age, number of grades in high school, on programme offerings, on level of matriculation, or on any combination of these.

In any case, the three Departmental goals did not dominate our discussions with people. The latter of them, the goal to align our schools with those in the rest of Canada, was hardly mentioned at all and never given priority. Of the other two goals, the goal to broaden the curriculum was given much attention and a majority thought that it was an important thing to achieve. The goal of increasing student maturity tended to receive somewhat less attention than the broadening goal but was thought important by many. Its importance is emphasized by the great deal of attention given to its elaboration in the Departmental documents on the innovation.

However, the story of goals did not end here. From people in every group we heard of goals, expected effects, and criteria of assessment other than the three suggested by the official Department of Education position. The goal to decrease the

dropout rate was given as much or more attention by those in each group as any other goal. At times in our interviews one might have thought that decreasing the dropout rate was the prime reason for the existence of the innovation. Other things, such as easing the ordeal of selecting a career, making students more suitable for post-secondary institutions and increasing participation therein, and giving students more individual control over the selection of their programmes, came up over and over again. All of this led us to conclude that this innovation cannot properly be characterized as an attempt to meet three rather specific goals. Rather it is seen by those of the educational community as a means of meeting many desires, maybe ones which the old high school system appeared not to be able to satisfy.

### **Expectations**

Many people have hopes for the changed high school beyond the three Department goals, and even beyond such goals as decreasing the dropout rate, or making career selection easier. Indeed, many seemed to believe the reorganization would be a cure for many of the ills of the Province in general. For example, some said that it would "further the development of our society", "break the cycle of employment", "produce better citizens", and "promote lifelong interests". Many of these sound like the hopes people have for universal liberal education, but in any case they reach far beyond the specifics for which the innovation was designed. It appears that people are placing a good deal of hope in this reorganization as a means of reaching many of the long desired goals of education. It is not clear whether this hope is justified, although it is reasonable to expect that the innovation will have influences beyond the three goals set out by the Department.

### **Individual Perspectives**

In an interview study such as this, one obtains a wealth of unanticipated comments from individuals. Such comments can be important despite their prevalence. For example, a remark, even if given by only one or a very small number of individuals, can be important if it contains a useful insight. In addition, comments of single individuals holding positions of authority are often important because such people have much influence on what others do.

Many such comments were obtained in this study. There were offers of solutions to problems and proposals of alternative modes of operating. They were valuable in their own right and many could form the basis for policy decisions. The following are some brief sketches of the diverse points of view which were given:

- a. One teacher argued that one credit courses should be semesterized. As it currently stands, the teacher said, seeing students only three days out of six means that continuity is lost and much time is spent on review that would not be needed if students were seen more frequently.
- b. One NTA official suggested that schools might retard rather than promote maturation, meaning that an extra year of schooling would delay rather than accelerate the achievement of one of the goals of the reorganization.

- c. One Department of Education official thought that the implementation of the reorganization would be brought off most effectively if it were done expeditiously. Spreading the implementation over a long time frame might erode the will to change, this person reasoned.
- d. A superintendent remarked that it should be made clear that the idea for the innovation did not come from the educational grassroots, and that the innovation was not a response to any perceived need at that level. The innovation was the result of thinking by the politicians.
- e. Another superintendent argued that there have been some misconceptions about the nature of those students who leave school before finishing high school. This person thought that for some students this might be the best thing to do. People should not be labelled 'dropouts' until it is known why they leave school early.
- f. Still another superintendent was concerned that some of the basic assumptions (about, say, grading and streaming) which teachers carry over from the old high school system would be detrimental to the success of the new.
- g. Finally, there was much concern on the part of many that in the reorganized high school there would still be an intolerable gap between the offerings in large and small high schools. One principal viewed this differently, however. As long as small schools are better off under the reorganized high school, this person claimed, a difference in offerings between large and small schools would not be a problem.

Each of these comments could be valuable to those who set policy for our schools. Each provides an insight upon which a search for improved ways of doing things could be based. Equally important, each is in the nature of a hypothesis that deserves further study.

### **Hidden Motives**

Many we interviewed spoke as if those in other educational sectors were adversaries, as if each group had to protect its own interest. Others spoke as if those in the other groups were conspiring to create trouble for the system. For example, some Department and district office personnel spoke as though the NTA would unjustifiably find fault with the system, just for the sake of complaining. Some teachers felt that the change had been forced on them against their will by the Department, probably to reach some political ends. We do not have the information to say whether or not there is any truth to these allegations. What is certain, though, is that regardless of whether or not some in the system have ulterior motives, just the thought that there are could be harmful. One might wonder whether this type of thinking and the atmosphere it creates is conducive to efforts to improve education in our Province. This is not to say that there is no cooperation or that special interest groups dominate the system. It merely suggests that views of this sort should not be ignored.

### Unique Concerns

One of the most important findings of this study is probably the one which was easiest to predict. Those in each group tended to focus upon a few concerns unique to their educational group. Thus, the Department of Education personnel stood out in their choice of increased individualization of student choice and decreased academic emphasis of programme as criteria for judging the programme, and in their belief that lack of sufficient inservice was the greatest problem facing the reorganization. District office people, on the other hand, thought more than any other group that closing the gap between large and small school offerings was not a criterion of success. They also thought to the largest degree that shortages of funds and of teachers, and finding teachers with the appropriate pattern of qualifications and with the appropriate frame of mind for the new programme were the greatest problems. Principals thought more than those in other groups that lack of sufficient guidance was a problem, that students would tend to opt for the easiest routes, and that record keeping and time tabling would be troublesome. Finally, more teachers than others thought that the innovation was implemented prematurely, and that it was motivated politically in one way or another. In addition, they pointed to the shortage of materials and their increased workload as the greatest problems.

The following chart displays the main differences found:

Educational Group	Major Focus of Concern
Department of Education officials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- individualization of student choice</li> <li>- decreased academic emphasis in the curriculum problems due to insufficient inservice</li> </ul>
District Office officials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- shortage of teachers</li> <li>- shortage of funds</li> <li>- finding suitably qualified teachers</li> <li>- finding teachers with proper mindsets</li> </ul>
Principals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- shortage of guidance counsellors</li> <li>- time tabling</li> <li>- record keeping</li> </ul>
Teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- innovation implemented prematurely</li> <li>- political motivation of innovation</li> <li>- shortage of materials</li> <li>- increased workload</li> </ul>

Presumably, these unique focuses reflect the concerns which most closely touch those in each group in the role they play in the educational system. The differences are perhaps not surprising. One readily expects that those with different roles to play in any organization will tend to see things somewhat differently. Everyone sees things from his or her perspective. However, since those in each educational role are working towards a common end, there might be some benefit if those in each group would attempt to see

things to some extent from the perspective of those in the other groups. Accomplishing this would allow each to base his or her actions upon trying to do those things which assist those in other roles to perform their functions most effectively.

It seems that this innovation was launched without reference to current research on the process of educational change. Knowing this research, one could have predicted that people in different educational sectors would have viewed the innovation differently. One would also have realized that much is at stake, personally, in any innovation. Profound questions concerning people's very concept of education, and concerning their own roles and competencies, are raised. The success of an innovation depends heavily upon each group beginning to see things in a fundamentally different way, and this is not done easily. In addition, there is often no particular incentive for many of those who must carry out the implementation. The idea of an innovation, as was the case here, often arises at a high bureaucratic level in the educational system, and is designed to meet needs perceived by people at that level. Those at the district and school levels often do not perceive these same needs. If the innovation does not meet some need they perceive, there is little incentive for them to make the changes necessary to implement the innovation faithfully.

### **Conclusion**

As a final word it can be said that this innovation is at little risk of failure, in the sense that a grade 12 and a credit system will virtually inevitably be installed in our high schools. However, evaluation cannot focus on these aspects alone, nor on these plus the three official Departmental goals. Evaluation will have to focus on a broad range of areas in which this innovation will possibly affect high school education. It should take into account the unique insights of individuals, and must look at the success of the innovation from the perspectives of those in each sector of the educational community.

### **REFERENCE**

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