

**SOCIETY,
CULTURE and
SCHOOLING
ISSUES and ANALYSIS**

edited by
AMARJIT SINGH • ISHMAEL J. BAKSH

**SOCIETY, CULTURE AND SCHOOLING:
ISSUES AND ANALYSIS**

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1977**

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If there is any merit in this book, the credit is due to all these people and not to a few individuals. Needless to say, the editors bear sole responsibility for any shortcomings which this book might have.

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October, 1977

THE MORNING WATCH: EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL ANALYSIS

The Morning Watch commenced in 1973 and, I think, if it had not started then, somebody would have had to invent it.

Some sense may be made out of that first sentence if one realizes what happened in this province the following year, that is, 1974. It will be recalled that 1974 marked the 25th Anniversary of Confederation, but what was celebrated in fact that year was not so much that historical event, but rather the uniqueness of the Newfoundland culture. (Readers who doubt the truth of that statement might check with the Co-ordinator of the Confederation Celebration Committee, Mr. Robert Nutbeem.)

In any case, 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. In the early issues, therefore, it was the culture of this province that was emphasized.

Very quickly, however, it was realized that the journal should be concerned with the Newfoundland society as well as with its culture. Accordingly, there appeared rather quickly a number of articles from several disciplines in the social sciences and humanities. At the same time contributions from members of departments in the Faculty of Education, other than Educational Foundations, began to appear; eventually, articles were published from members of other Faculties of this institution, and, indeed, from writers outside the University community.

We keep emphasizing the point that **The Morning Watch** exists in the main for the teachers of Newfoundland and Labrador. In that respect, and to the best of my knowledge, it has no peer in Canada; there are several first-rate journals of Education in Canada but their audience is almost solely that of the University community.

It is very difficult to keep a journal alive because, among other things, it requires a prodigious amount of work. The record should be set straight that while the undersigned has served in a consulting capacity for **The Morning Watch** and while he was instrumental in helping with the launching of the journal, almost all the work that was required for the whole five-year period was done by Drs. Baksh and Singh.

I am pleased to note that the publication of this anthology was made possible by different sectors of the University and I am still more pleased that the work will be used in courses in a number of different departments in this institution.

W.J. Gushue
Associate Dean of Graduate Studies

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FOREWORD

The school is an important social system operating in a complex society. As agents of that system, teachers should understand the fundamental social issues and concepts that characterize modern society and the effects of these on the educational progress of children. Such understandings are essential if teachers are to become productive and competent professionals.

In this volume, Dr. Singh and Dr. Baksh, in collaboration with other faculty members at Memorial University, have produced a set of readings that will help teachers and prospective teachers develop these understandings. Based on their experience as professors and research workers, they have selected materials that both deal with the broader perspective and relate to the Newfoundland system. It is this latter characteristic that makes the volume uniquely appropriate and particularly important at this stage of our educational development.

Professors Singh and Baksh are to be congratulated on their work. They have made a significant contribution to our knowledge of the Newfoundland educational system and provided an important reference for those concerned with its future growth and development.

P.J. Warren, Professor

INTRODUCTION

Most of the articles in this book originally appeared in various issues of **The Morning Watch** over a period of four years (1973-77) and were written by faculty members in various departments in the Faculty of Education. A few other articles by faculty members were published elsewhere but are included in this book. Some of the articles were written for publication in **The Morning Watch** by faculty members in the Department of Linguistics and in the Center for Community Initiatives.

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** urged contributors to write with as much simplicity and clarity as was possible without forgoing the "respectable" level of sophistication required for social and cultural analysis. The editors 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 analysis of social, cultural, political, and educational problems and in formulating of policies pertaining to such problems. How well each contributor met such objectives is evident in the articles included in this book. Also, by exposing his/her ideas each individual writer has taken the risk of being critically evaluated by others. Hopefully, some of the ideas presented in the various 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 larger problems associated with the survival of mankind in today's interdependent world and the relationship of such problems to individuals' everyday life-styles in the province and other parts of the globe.

There are eight sections in this book. Articles are grouped in each section under a suitable heading. Most of the articles are short and the contributors have presented their ideas in compressed form because of the limitation of space in **The Morning Watch**. However, for the purpose of further reading most articles include at the end lists of suggested readings on the major concepts and themes discussed in them.

The readings in section 1 provide some understanding of social change in the province and elsewhere that prompted re-evaluation of some of the leading ideas associated with schooling. Similarly, readings in section II focus on Newfoundland culture, change in it and the need to re-evaluate some of the taken-for-granted notions underlying school practices. Readings in section III deal with the place of educational and social science research and policies in changing societies such as Newfoundland. Readings in section IV analyse certain elements of a changing social order (articles by Singh and Baksh) and show how a perspective can be developed in order to explain specific interaction between educational processes and a social system (articles by John Stapleton). The readings in section V provide some understanding of the process of social selection in the province through the school as an institution of larger society. Readings in section VI focus on socializing processes in certain areas of school activities in the province. Readings in section VII look at the school as a complex organization and analyze some of the specific school related problems such as decentralization, teacher evaluation and alienation. Finally, in section VIII, the readings are devoted to the discussion of various issues in education in the province.

Amarjit Singh
Ishmael J. Baksh

Section I Social change and re-evaluation of schooling

THE CRITICS OF THE SCHOOL AND THE EDUCATION PROFESSION: SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE EDUCATIONAL SCENE IN NEWFOUNDLAND — Part I

Dr. Amarjit Singh

I would like to invite you in this two-part article to share an effort to understand what our critics are saying about us and our work.

I will review some of the studies which are critical of educators, the education profession and the ways schools are organized.

The time has come that we seriously understand the nature of the criticisms and their roots. If our critics are constructive in their intentions, and if our perception of their criticisms is sound, we may gain some insights which have implications for the re-organization of our activities and practices as educators.

Each social organization (society) produces its own critics. Newfoundland has its own critic: Ray Guy. You are missing a lot of good things if you have not been reading his columns recently. The roots of social criticism are present in the social organization in which different groups have definite and hierarchically arranged positions. In this sense, most societies of today are highly stratified. The concept of social stratification is discussed in the second part of this article. This concept is of great significance in understanding the nature of criticisms of schools and society.

In a stratified society people holding different positions also hold different ideologies regarding educational policies. Ideology as a concept is also important in understanding the interaction between school and society.

The word ideology has been used in different ways. Roughly speaking it includes a set of values, a belief system, a theory, a mode of inquiry, a system of rationalization and justification which different groups holding different positions use in order to guide their actions in everyday life. An ideology makes people commit themselves to this or that goal in society.

Let me give two examples: (1) in the area of the selection of content of curricula, and (2) in the area of social inequalities.

In the first area, four distinct sets of educational ideologies (sometimes ideologies are equated with philosophies) have been suggested by Raymond Williams (1961). These are:

	Ideology	Social Position	Educational Policies
1.	Liberal/conservative	Aristocracy/gentry	Non-vocational – the 'educated man', an emphasis on character
2.	Bourgeois	Merchant and professional classes	Higher vocational classes and professional courses. Education as access to desired positions
3.	Populist/Proletarian	Working classes subordinate groups	Student relevance, choice, participation

In the area of **social inequalities** Stanislaw Ossowski **isolated** two major perspectives (ideologies or philosophies). He reached these two major perspectives after analyzing materials written on social inequalities spanning several thousand years. His two perspectives on social inequalities are summarized by Celia Heller in the following way:

1. **Those who approve of the existing social order: they see social inequality as basically just**, for it consists of everyone getting his due. In this view, social inequality is a natural scheme of things in which one gets what he deserves. Approval of the existing order, says Ossowski, has somehow always developed into **apologetics** for it.
2. **Those who question the existing social order: they see inequality as unjust**, measuring it against the ideal of equality: ‘..an ideal which over the centuries has been extinguished and reborn, aroused people to action, taken the form of unrealized dreams or glimmered in the mists of an afterworld, **but which has always managed to emerge** from the recesses of the social consciousness to disturb the existing state of affairs’. (Ossowski, 1963.)" (Heller, 1969, p. 2. Emphasis added are mine.)

The first perspective on social inequality constitutes the conservative ideology, and the second perspective constitutes the democratic ideology.

But a **third perspective** is emerging which calls for **synthesis** of the above two ideologies. The third orientation holds that it is necessary for everyone to do different jobs in society (i.e., doctor, mechanic, miner, logger, etc.), but it is not necessary that there be a great gap between the rewards each person gets for doing his/her job in society.

For example, this group of people will argue that it is **unjust** that a medical doctor should make over \$50,000 a year and a logger should make less than \$8,000 a year.

Thus, the synthesis perspective, it seems to me, is a mixture of bourgeois, democratic and populist ideologies. It includes professionals, radical reformers and working class people.

The important point is that it is not enough for us to hold one of these perspectives. Holding a particular perspective implies that we are deciding for, or inclining toward a certain type of practical policy. That is, our perspective is supposed to lead us to act in certain ways; or it indicates to other people what they can expect of us and from us. This is another important point to remember.

I may point out here that some of the critics whose work I am going to review, hold the synthesis perspective on social inequality.

Now, before I review some of the studies let me say that I find myself in a dilemma.

The Dilemma

Most of the critical studies on schools and the teaching profession are conducted in other countries, especially in the United States and England.

Now, we can say that we do not want American or English studies in our schools. But the fact is, if I may say, that if we have specialized in anything in Newfoundland, it is a specialization in borrowing outmoded educational concepts and theories which are functional only in a highly industrialized society, such as the United States and England.

I am not alone in realizing this. Dr. Warren, Dr. Kitchen, Dr. Gushue, Dr. G.L. Parsons, Dr. Murphy, Dr. Cuff, Dr. Cooper, and many others in our Faculty have made this observation. Our students, NTA and Department of Education officials, the teaching profession in general and the general public are also aware of this.

There is no critical work in education in Canada and in Newfoundland as far as I know. Porter's (1969) book gives us some insights into the organization of schools in Canadian society and relates the schools to the stratification system. And some insights into Newfoundland's educational system can be gained from Noel's (1971) book. Rowe's (1964) book is also important for understanding education in Newfoundland.

The nature of the dilemma is this: on the one hand we as educators do not like to use foreign material in our educational system. At least this is what we say to each other and to our students. On the other hand we seem to be reluctant to critically understand Newfoundland society from the social stratification or ideological point of view.

For example we have gone ahead and used such educational practices as intelligence testing (I.Q. testing), classroom grouping, opportunity classes, special educational classes and so on. We graded students in the past, and still keep on grading our students on a "normal" curve. And recently we have been talking more about vocational schools and community colleges. Also, we want to introduce competency-based instruction.

All of us pride ourselves (at least this is the impression I get) for doing this. We consider these as educational innovations. We believe we are involved in the well being of a large number of children in Newfoundland. We believe that we are treating everyone fairly and equally in the province. We believe everybody has a great opportunity in the province to fulfill his/her desires, ambitions and potentialities. All this may be true.

But, as I see it, we do not have much evidence on which to base our belief. That is, we have not seriously evaluated the impact of various practices: grouping, intelligence testing, grading on the curve, opportunity classes, special education classes, etc., on students' life chances or on their futures.

For example, do grouping practices in Newfoundland schools discriminate against lower socio-economic children? Do opportunity classes constitute one of the ways of discriminating against certain groups of people in the province? To what extent does I.Q. testing discriminate against Newfoundland children, especially children in out-ports? What implication does the concept of the lower class child have for children in Newfoundland? Is this concept applicable to the Newfoundland situation? Many other researchable questions can be raised. What will be the impact of community colleges or vocational education on the life chances of children in Newfoundland, etc.?

Now, we really do not know the answers to the above questions. All I can say to myself and to my students is that there are several studies done in these areas in other countries, especially in the United States. Results of these studies indicate that the practices of grouping, I.Q. testing, etc. are basically discriminatory against the lower socioeconomic, racial, ethnic groups.

The lack of the above type of information in Newfoundland makes educators at all levels lean heavily on foreign materials. The point is that we keep on talking about what is happening in other societies but do not understand what is happening in our own.

For example, we and our students know more about the so-called lower class or culturally deprived child in the United States and United Kingdom than we know about our own children. We know about the interaction patterns within the American family, but we do not know much about interaction

patterns in a typical Newfoundland family. Similarly, we know more about the plights of minority groups in other societies than we know of our own. (At least not much is published in these areas in Newfoundland.) We know more about political socialization among children in other countries but know very little in our own province. Several other examples can be added here.

Now, we seem to have only a few choices.

First, we can say that our family patterns are not much different from the rest of North America, and therefore, American and Canadian studies in this area are applicable to Newfoundland's situation. Well, this begs the argument that Newfoundland's culture is unique (See Dr. Gushue's article. Also see installation address by President M.O. Morgan in the **M.U.N. Gazette**, Vol. 6, special issue, April, 1974. Under his discussion on "Newfoundland Studies and Problems", p. 6, he also talks about the unique character of Newfoundland).

The **second** choice we have is to identify areas in which we think Newfoundland's situation is similar to the situations in other countries. Once this has been done, we can use findings from other countries in these areas with some confidence. This will facilitate the policy making process on a rational basis.

The **third** choice is that we conduct our own research in Newfoundland in strategic areas. To me this seems to be the logical and sensible posture to take. There is so much going on in our educational system that the time has come that we should systematically record and evaluate our activities.

Perhaps the **combination** of all the above choices will free us of our dilemma and will help us make education more directly related to the needs of our province. This will also help us to evaluate the criticisms of our critics in a more meaningful way.

But in order to conduct our own research in Newfoundland we need to develop knowledge-producing capabilities through research in our Faculty and at the provincial level.

The Need for Developing Knowledge-Producing Capabilities Through Research

If we want to get out of the dilemma described above, we need to move away from a knowledge-consuming orientation to a knowledge-producing orientation.

It seems to me that we, the educators working at different levels: Education Faculty at Memorial, Department of Education, School Boards, schools — have to start defining our roles within this new framework.

In my opinion, and I have been here for four years now, we have defined our roles too narrowly. May I say that in the Faculty of Education most of our teaching is based upon the "banking concept" in education. (See the review of Paulo Freire's book in this issue).

Now it may take some time to get some structure set up for strategic research in education in Newfoundland. It may also take some time to obtain substantial amounts of money which will be needed for long term research in this Faculty. (I believe that some efforts are being made in this direction at the present time. But much can be done right now.)

What Can Be Done Now?

I would suggest that you as teachers, principals, supervisors, superintendents, school board members, and others — at whatever level you are working in the educational system in Newfoundland —

start keeping a diary in which you may record your own observations about education in Newfoundland. You might have been doing this already.

You can organize your observations systematically around a sound theory. Your perceptive observations will be a very valuable source for generating testable theories, research questions and hypotheses.

Your observations could focus on various activities which take place in schools: classroom interaction, student culture, administrative styles of principals, interaction between teachers and principals, between teacher and teacher and among teachers, students and parents.

You can also focus your observations on: community and school interaction, interaction among school boards and principals, community expectations, climate and expectations of your schools, etc.

Or you can focus your observations on such practices as: classroom grouping, 1.0. testing, admission policies, treatment of lower socioeconomic students in schools, busing, extra-curricular activities, etc.

You may decide to make some observation on the community structure: i.e., Who makes decisions in your community? How many different occupations are available in your community? What is the minimum and maximum levels of wages people earn in your community? What is the age structure of your community? What is the mobility rate in your community?

These are merely suggestions. There are many other areas on which you can focus.

It seems to me that so many things are happening in Newfoundland in the area of education at the policy level, at the school board level, at the school level, that there is no limit to what educators can effectively do in the area of research.

The school and the social scene are becoming more and more complex every day. The situation is changing rapidly and the problems emerging out of this rapid change cannot be understood with the aid of conventional wisdom, i.e., by using out-moded concepts and theories.

Joe Gedge, one of the school supervisors, told me that new problems in Newfoundland education need to be dealt with at the **conceptual level**. Teachers, principals, university professors and school board members have to think and imagine things in new ways. They have to learn to conceptualize the unique social and educational problems in Newfoundland in an imaginative way. What Joe Gedge said to me makes a lot of sense.

Treating problems at the conceptual and theoretical levels does not mean that we ignore practical problems. In fact, what needs to be done is to bring theory and practice together. And this is a big task; you and I both know it. Much research has to be done in this area.

Now imagine how much knowledge could be produced if all of us start working towards this goal. When you have arranged your observations in some systematic manner, then your analysis of the situation may be published in some form which will be available to all other educators. Your research observations may also be recorded on video-tapes, etc.

The published or the recorded material will become a major source from which various hypotheses can be drawn for further needed research.

Also, several insights can be gained from such materials which will help professors and teachers to give their students concrete local examples. Otherwise, we will not get out of the vicious circle of using imported materials, e.g., the "ghetto books" (Herndon, Kozol, Kohl, Decker).

The Morning Watch invites you to use it for this purpose. It is your medium for communication with others in the province.

In the second part of my article, which will be published in the next issue of **The Morning Watch**, I will talk about the criticisms of educational systems and the activities of educators by our critics.

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THE CRITICS OF THE SCHOOL AND THE 'EDUCATION PROFESSION: SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE EDUCATIONAL SCENE IN NEWFOUNDLAND — PART II

Dr. Amarjit Singh

In the first part of this article I made some observations on the educational scene in Newfoundland. In this part I will talk about some of the studies which are critical of the educational profession not only in the United States, but also in other countries, including Canada.

During the 1960's both the schools and the teaching profession came under severe criticism in most countries of the world.

The radicals, the liberals, the conservatives, the democrats, the bourgeois, and the populists — all ideological groups — responded to the crisis situation in their own ways.

It seems to me that the major thrust of the charges and criticisms against our profession is that schools and educators have betrayed the promises they made to the larger public in the area of social equality. I will discuss what our critics think that we promised to the larger public. But first, let me put the responses of various groups of people to the crisis situation in a perspective.

Responses of Various Groups to the Crisis Situation in Education During the 1960's

The reaction to the crisis situation in education in the 1960's by educators, social scientists, politicians, and philosophers, in terms of strategies of change, may be summarized in the following four categories:

1. There are social scientists and educators who argue that schools alone cannot improve the economic, social and political status of "have-not" groups in society and that political action at the societal level is necessary to bring about an equitable distribution of income. This action will bring about the desired income equality and free formal schooling from its alleged relation to income. (e.g., Christopher Jencks)
2. There are others who advocate deschooling society. They argue that schools are so deeply involved in perpetuating the existing system of social inequalities that no piecemeal change in their structure will affect the prevailing situation. Therefore, a radical change — deschooling society — is necessary to bring about the desired equality and justice in contemporary societies. (e.g., Ivan Illich)
3. There are those who advocate that social inequalities are natural because all men are not endowed with superior talents. Those who find themselves behind in a competitive society should realize that they are innately inferior to those who are ahead of them. They argue that no social policy which is directed towards intervention in this natural phenomenon will do any good. Their recommendation is that people must be properly socialized to accent the legitimacy of the natural social order. Society in turn, considering its available resources and priorities, will do its best to look after the laggards and the unfortunates. (e.g., Arthur Jenson, Edward Banfield, Richard Herrnstein, Nathan Glazer, and others. These people are "at the spearhead of what S.M. Miller calls the 'Assault on Equality', (and) are providing the intellectual rationale for attacking equality in America" (i.e., the United States). See **Social Policy, May/June, 1972**, p. 2).
4. There are those who insist, from the strategic Point of view, that if properly organized, formal schooling remains one of the most effective instruments for social change. This viewpoint is succinctly stated by Bowles in this way: "It should be clear... that educational equality cannot be

achieved through changes in the school system alone. Nonetheless, attempts at educational reforms may move us closer to that objective if, in their failure, they lay bare the unequal nature of our school system and destroy the illusion of unimpeded mobility through education. Successful educational reform — reducing racial or class disparities in schooling, for example — may also serve the cause of equality of education, for it seems likely that equalizing access to schooling will challenge the system either to make good its promise of rewarding educational attainment or to find ways of coping with a mass disillusionment with the great panacea." Furthermore, it is not equalizing access to schooling **per se** which is considered crucial. What is emphasized is the consequences of schooling. This implies that schools must be the place where children of "have-not" groups **experience success** as against failure. This can be achieved, the critics argue provided that the traditional concepts, based upon conventional wisdom, around which schools are organized — e.g., concepts of intelligence testing, ability grouping, etc., are dropped and replaced by new concepts which are more sensitive to the needs of contemporary societies arising out of the demand for social equality and justice (see **Interchange**. Also see **Phi Delta Kappan**, Lill (January, 1972: 319-321).

A limitation of space does not permit me to discuss the response to the crisis situation as grouped in the above four categories, in detail. Interested readers may like to read the books and articles listed in the bibliography at the end.

So, let me now discuss what our critics and the larger public think we promised to them.

The Promise Made by Educators and What the Larger Public Expects From Us Now

What was the promise?

What was promised and still is being promised by educators and leaders all over the world is this: that formal schooling will bring about prosperity, freedom, and happiness for everyone in society. That is, besides other advantages, individuals with the "right" kind and level of formal schooling will make more money, consume more goods and services, will have more choice in finding the occupation which fits a person's temperament, and will be consciously contributing to the progress of society. In a nut-shell, individuals will have greater social mobility, i.e., they will have greater chances to become better than their parents.

What do the larger publics all over the world now expect from schooling? Precisely the above things: better jobs, more money, more consumer goods and services, more choices in finding the job of one's liking, and more conscious involvement in the affairs of society. Once they get good jobs, they argue, they can do other things which will enrich their lives and the condition of society in which they happen to live.

Several studies have been conducted in different countries (see a study recently conducted by Dr. G.L. Parsons and his associates at Memorial University, "Career Decisions of Newfoundland Youth", Memorial University) to find out what exactly most individuals expect from schools. The results of many studies, including the one conducted by Dr. Parsons, support the above observations.

But the expectations of many individuals in society and the promises made by educators, political and local leaders did not come true, according to our critics.

The Social Context of the Promise

In the beginning of this century formal schools, as we see them today, came to have a special place in the contemporary social organization (society) in almost all the countries in the world. This was

the period when more and more goods and services were being produced by utilizing scientific and technological knowledge. In some countries this knowledge was being used at a much faster rate than others.

Moreover, mass immigration to North America, the decolonization in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the two World Wars and the Great Depression gave impetus to the development of formal schooling.

The introduction of science and technology in the production of goods and services, among other factors, revolutionized the thinking of many perceptive educators, politicians, and local leaders. Most of these men believed in social progress. They carefully watched the fruits of science and technology and developed great faith in them. They believed that scientific and technological knowledge had great potential for the progress of society. And the sure progress of the democratic way of living became linked with the belief in progress.

Their logic was very simple. If more and more individuals in society acquire a scientific outlook and technical skills, then they will be efficient workers. Their efficiency at work will raise production. And if more goods and services are produced there will be more of these to be shared. Abundance of goods and services will bring about prosperity, freedom, happiness — i.e., progress — for everyone regardless of their religious, social-class, racial, national and ethnic background.

The next question was: where can a large number of individuals acquire a scientific outlook and technological knowledge? The answer was, of course, the schools. To be sure, this was not the only reason to emphasize schooling. Schools were also established for other purposes: religion, social control, etc.

It was within this social context that the leading educators, politicians, and local leaders in Newfoundland, as in most contemporary societies, promised to the larger public the value of formal schooling.

The Awareness of Betrayal

The awareness that there had been betrayal of the promise in the past, and that the promise is still being broken, has been expressed by an increasingly large number of individuals in many countries.

Recently, the last decade has witnessed the manner (student protest, racial riots, etc.) in which this feeling of betrayal has been most dramatically expressed by a considerably large number of concerned and perceptive people of varied pursuits (student leaders, intellectuals, politicians and members of other groups) all over the world.

Let me briefly summarize the nature and content of some of the critiques of schools and educators. I will also briefly comment on the social conditions which made the critics of schools so vocal.

Awareness of Social Stratification and Criticism of Schools and the Education Profession

Educators and their schools have been criticized in the past. Generally speaking, it may be said that schools come under attack whenever significant social changes take place in a particular country, or many countries, in the world at a particular time in history. The changes may occur in the economic, political, and social spheres, and in the consciousness of people.

The 1960's was such a period. I will focus my discussion on the changes which occurred at the consciousness level of thousands (millions?) of people all over the world.

During the 1960's a growing number of people in North America, Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America became aware of the fact of how powerless they had been in their respective societies, to what extent they had been excluded from the mainstream of their societies, to what extent they had been exploited, and to what extent they had been oppressed.

In other words this new awareness among people all over the world made them think critically about the nature of social stratification in their own society and in other societies. Awareness of the nature of social inequalities assumes awareness of egalitarian principles in the social organization (or society).

The Concept of Social Stratification

Social stratification is an important concept in the study of society.

It "involves the study of how the good things of life are distributed in society — good things such as wealth, power, prestige, information and skills, legal immunities and privileges, and informal social advantages such as contacts with important people. It also involves the study of who has access to these things, and why. Finally, it includes the study of how the differential distribution of status and rewards affects people's attitudes, behaviour, patterns of interaction, and group membership".

Those people who have become aware of the need to understand the nature of social stratification in their own society and in other societies are likely to ask the following kinds of questions:

"How great are inequalities in wealth, power, prestige, and the rest of the good things of life, in different historical periods and in different parts of the world? Are different kinds of inequality matched or mismatched in any given society — that is to say, are the rich at the same time powerful and prestigious, or are there discrepancies in the distribution of these several rewards?...What determines where an individual becomes situated on the various status scales — his own motivation, attitudes and behaviour; his family, community, or ethnic background; or the structure of social opportunities and other obstacles? What factors determine whether a person is able to move from one status position to another in his lifetime? What is the impact of social status on family structure, child-rearing, political behaviour, and consumer behaviour? Are some types of stratification systems more conducive to democratic political structures than others? To what degree do stratification systems engender social conflict and social change." (Smelser and David, 1969, p. 56)

In a nut-shell, social stratification may be defined as graded or ranked positions, with each of these positions, having differential prestige, status, power and reward attached to them. (Meyer and Buckley, 1955, p. 4). Within this frame of reference an important question which may be asked is: who gets what position, and how, in a society?

Perhaps the most appropriate definitions from the viewpoint of the discussion being presented in this article is one which is provided by Pease, Form and Rytina (1970). They define social stratification "as the institutionalization of power arrangements that perpetuate intergenerational (i.e., from father to son) economic, political, and social inequalities among collectivities (i.e., different groups of people in a society)". Heller (1969) further discusses this concept which provides a similar definition as provided by Pease, et al.

Many people confuse the concept of social stratification with the concept of social differentiation. These are two related but different concepts. Let me make a few points regarding the notion of social differentiation.

Social Differentiation

Heller points out that:

"Social differentiation is a universal phenomenon: In all societies we have a separation of positions and roles, some division of functions and labour. But social differentiation alone does not constitute stratification. First of all, social differentiation does not always involve differential evaluation or ranking of positions, whereas stratification does. Positions may be differential from one another and yet not **ranked** relative to each other". (Heller, **Ibid.**, p. 31)

Let me give an example. Many people have said to me that if everyone is allowed or expected to become doctor, then who is going to dig the ditches or clean streets. What they are saying here is that different people have to perform different roles in a complex society. This is an example of social differentiation.

But one should note that they are also implicitly assuming or taking it for granted that the doctor should make more money than the ditch digger or the si cleaner. As soon as we attach different rewards to different roles, we are talking about social stratification.

The point is that social differentiation is necessary the functioning of complex society, but the extent to which a society is stratified indicates values, attitudes, ideologies and consciousness of people living in a society at a particular time in history. Social stratification in power relationship among various groups of people.

For example, it is possible to make a political decision, i.e., pass legislation (and this would depend on the value orientation of the politicians and general public) regulating the wages of doctors and the secretaries in Newfoundland or in any other society with the purpose of reducing the apparently fantastic gap between their salaries. Both roles are obviously important. But one could argue that doctor's role is more important than that of secretaries or garbage collectors. This is a value judgment, especially in the light of the fact that strikes by any group of workers, e.g., by garbage collectors in New York, England, St. John's, and the strikes by the postal workers and the air line radio operators in Canada, by the miners in England, etc., in today's contemporary and interdependent societies can virtually stop all daily activities and can create crisis situations.

As I pointed out somewhere else, labour, i.e., work done by all groups of people, is of **critical importance for the** functioning of today's complex societies. The main issue is how to effect the equitable distribution of those resources which are produced by social and collective efforts of millions of individuals all over the world. The increasing gap between the income (besides other concerns of rich and poor is at the root of social alienation and social disenchantment.

The Roots of Criticism

Schools are embedded in larger social context. Education process in today's societies and the process of social stratification are intricately interwoven. Thus, the roots of the criticism of schools and the education process, I believe, lie in the social context which made large numbers of people aware of social stratification. In the 1960's people discovered that schools are involved in an institutionalized power arrangement which perpetuates intergenerational inequalities among collectivities. (See discussion on the synthesis perspective on social inequalities in Part I of this article.)

This kind of awareness reached its high point in the consciousness of many minority, racial, poor and oppressed groups of people. Many intellectuals, politicians, student leaders, and educators also got

deeply involved. (See Illich, 1971; Goodman, 1962; Freire, 1973; Holt, 1964; Kohl, 1967; Kozol, 1967; Friedenberg, 1963; Herndon, 1965; Roszak, 1969, 1973; Reich, 1970, etc.) These critics may be grouped in the following five categories according to their perspectives on school and society: (1) radical reformers (e.g., Illich, Goodman, Holt, Kohl, Kozol, Friedenberg, Herndon, and others), (2) the 'new consciousness' writers (e.g., Reich, Roszak, and others — see Harry Wagshal's review article), (3) liberal social scientists, (4) critical social scientists, and (5) conservative social scientists. For the discussion on the last three groups, see Kenneth Kenniston's (1971) article.

There emerged another group of social scientists and educators who went back and studied the development of educational systems in North America, especially the "educational system" of the United States. Others got involved in the critical studies of colonial educational systems in Asia, Africa and Latin America — the so-called Third World countries. And others started re-evaluating; the educational system in Europe.

The Major Thrust of the Critical Writings

The major thrust of the critical writings on schools, as I understand them, is that schools have continuously perpetuated social inequalities. The critics point out that schools have not fundamentally changed in their structure and function since the time they came into existence. Schools have always been associated with the stratification system. Schools have always discriminated against large number of minority status groups (i.e., powerless people) and have served only the powerful groups in society. Schools from the very beginning were designed to reinforce the existing status quo.

Some Selected Critical Studies

Let me cite some specific studies which you may like to read in your free time. In their recent socio-historical studies of educational systems in North America, Greer (1972) and Katz (1971) concluded that schools were never organized for the purpose of educating all youngsters. Herriott (1963) pointed out that the practice of sorting and selecting children by using tests characterized elitist educational systems, which do not show much regard for the potentialities of the majority of learners. Hunt (1961) pointed out that although there is a serious question about the validity of the fixed notion of intelligence (i.e., some people are both with fixed intelligence and that they can learn only so much), any explanation which does not fit the intelligence testing model and the current testing and classifying practices is rejected. Milton Schwebel (1969) noted that educators and others continue to hold the belief in intelligence testing because of the commitment to a belief system (ideology), which dictates that success by a large proportion of youngsters in schools may not be functional for our stratified society. Karier (1972) and Simon (1971) came up with similar conclusions in their studies.

The critics pointed out that educators preach equality, but in fact they are scared to do things which will bring about equality. They equate equality with sameness. In order to protect themselves with this kind of fear, they go on labelling, sorting, and selecting children in schools. This also protects their position in a social structure (society) as a privileged member.

One of the results of the critical inquiry into educational systems during the 1960's has been that the powerless and excluded social groups, along with other concerned perceptive people, began to view academics, professional educators and their activities "politically, to criticize their relation to, and responsibility for, existing economic, social and ideological arrangements. In Latin America, as well as Europe and North America, debates raged on the political commitments of social science. Calls arose for ..(a new) sociology and new political sciences, histories and anthropologies that would identify with the interests of oppressed classes and groups." (Blaumer and Wellman, 1973).

The activities of scholars who committed themselves to the interests of oppressed groups precipitated a "new" kind of scientific knowledge which did not fit the dominant theories and concepts used by so-called conventional or "establishment" educators.

Criticism of Some of the Dominant Concepts in Education

Thus, for example, during the 1960's not only was the concept of intelligence seriously examined (parents and general publics sued some schools in the courts on the grounds that schools administered I.Q. tests to their children) but other dominant concepts in education were also challenged: e.g., "culture of poverty", "non-verbal child", "deficit theory", "ability grouping", "ghetto family", "equal educational opportunities", "lower class culture", "achievement motivation", and many others.

More specifically, Valentine (1968, 1970), and Roach and Gurslin (1967) took issue with the "culture of poverty" concept, Labov (1969) criticized the notion of the "non-verbal child", Baratz and Baratz (1970) exposed the biases inherent in the so-called deficiency theory, Lauter and Howe (1970) critically looked into grouping practices in the classroom and how these practices have historically discriminated against lower-socioeconomic and other minority status groups. Willhem (1973) took issue with the liberal reformers on the concept of (equality) and criticized them for using this concept as their ideology to discriminate against already victimized Blacks and other minority groups in the United States. Billingsley (1973), in his recently reviewed articles criticizes the Moynihan (1965) and Coleman (1966) reports for misguiding the policy-makers and misinterpreting the Black families. He then cites several studies which give more balanced views of black families in the United States.

Ryan (1971) critically discussed the concepts of cultural deprivation, the Negro family, poverty, lower-class child rearing practices and candidly showed the biases inherent in the popular and dominant views held on these concepts by educators and social scientists.

Similarly, in England, Douglas (1967), Hudson (1966), Bernstein (1970), Yates and Pidegon (1959), and Halsey (1961), criticized the idea "that high intellectual ability was a rare commodity and that only a very small proportion of the population were capable of benefitting from higher education" (Evetts, 1973, p. 56). In the United States Brookover (1959), Brookover and Erickson (1969), Faris (1961), Boyer and Walsh (1968) and others critically analyzed the notion of limited "pool and ability".

Those people who believe in the idea of limited "pool of ability" advocate stringent admission and selection policies for higher education. They are worried about lowering of academic standards and they get alarmed if they find large numbers of students passing high school examinations. They believe that both these factors will be detrimental for any society.

The school system organized around the above ideas have been labeled 'elitist', and in such schools the major focus is on I.Q. testing, grouping, streaming, sorting, and on the other selection criteria for membership in the pool.

Brookover draws our attention to the well cherished practices of I.Q. testing and other related aptitude measures. He argues that these practices are not geared to "produce the kind of citizens needed in a highly technical and literate society". He points out that:

"In spite of...scientifically based knowledge demonstrating that intelligence test scores vary with experiences and change under certain circumstances, many persons have continued to believe that intelligence is a constant and fixed quantity largely predetermined in the organism. Over the years, evidence contrary to a belief in fixed learning ability has been ignored or discounted by the great body of educational theorists and by most practitioners in American schools. Measurement and testing specialists in

American universities and in the school systems generally are fully aware of the evidence and have generally emphasized that intelligence and other related aptitude measures are **sample measures of what the individual has learned and do not measure directly any fixed or inherited capacity or ability**. However, the assumption of fixed ability continues to dominate the practice and organization of American education. **The emphasis on the identification of people with various learning 'abilities' or 'talents', and through this the selection of people for various types of education and training, have overshadowed any efforts in American schools to cultivate the appropriate school climates** or environments which would develop the academic abilities of children in appropriate fields. The emphasis is, therefore, on identifying and selecting, so that the round pegs are appropriately placed in the round holes...We **must investigate the reasons for this continued assumption of fixed ability in order to understand and improve our educational system.**" (Brookover and Erickson, *ibid.*, p. 5. Emphasis added is mine).

The critics of 'elitist' orientation in education argue that:

"..all children, except for a few born with severe neurological defects, are basically very much alike in their mental development and capabilities, and that their apparent differences in their characteristics as manifested in school are due to rather superficial differences in the child's upbringing at home, their pre-school and out-of-school experiences, motivation, and interest, and the educational influences of their family background" (Evetts, *ibid.*, p, 68),

These and other superficial factors, the critics argue, are the major barriers to academic and other achievements. Moreover, these barriers are artificially created in a stratified society. Therefore, the demand is made that society and schools must overcome these barriers by reorganizing the priorities.

Some Concluding Remarks

What practical points may we educators draw from the writings of our critics? Perhaps the following are the main points which may help us in carrying out our activities in more meaningful ways:

1. Whenever we are involved in the decision-making process — be it deciding curriculum materials, formulating admission policies, writing down rules and regulations about classroom discipline, school dress, bussing, grouping, I.Q. testing, etc., — we may pause and ask ourselves and others these questions: What is my ideology? What are the ideologies of others with whom I am interacting? What is my position in the social organization as compared to others would policies based upon my ideologies affect other groups of people in the province?
2. Each of us educators may ask ourselves: what perspective on social inequality do I have?
3. As individual educators we may ask ourselves: what understanding do I have about the social stratification in Newfoundland and in Canada? To what extent do I understand the relationship between schooling and social stratification?
4. Each of us may ask this question: what principle do I use in evaluating what I do in my class? Is the principle on which I evaluate my classroom activities drawn from liberal/conservative or other ideologies such as bourgeois, democratic, populist proletarian? For example, why do I practice grouping and intelligence testing? What is the purpose of these practices? What principles do I use to evaluate these practices? How do I justify or rationalize the results of these activities?

Which groups of people get the most benefit out of my grouping and I.Q. testing practices? Who is left behind? Did I intend to leave this group behind?

5. And finally each of us may ask ourselves: what am I doing as an educator? What is the purpose of my activities?

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RADICAL SCHOOL REFORM MOVEMENT - THE MESSAGE IS THE THING

Dr. R.F. Magsino

There does not seem to be any excitement at all in this province about radical school reform. Illich, Reimer, Kozol and Goodman — their ideas on education did, at some stage, catch fire in the United States and some parts of Canada. But a wildfire set by radicals there isn't, and isn't going to be, at least in the foreseeable future, in this part of the world.

Not that education in the province is all wet. It is more likely that perhaps we just have enough common sense not to play with volatile educational materials or ideas that could get us burnt. For indeed, despite the popularity enjoyed by the radicals elsewhere, a lot of their ideas are too difficult to accept, even by one who is sadly disillusioned with the state of education in most places today.

The question that I would like to examine, even if superficially, in this article is: What in the radical school reform movement may be acceptable to us as educators in Newfoundland? I shall suggest that much of what the movement offers is objectionable. Nevertheless, I shall also point out that the movement has at least a vital message — that is, that the matter of freedom for students should be a prime educational consideration. This, it seems to me, requires our sympathetic attention.

For a start, let us take the ideas, for example, of the most radical of them all — Ivan Illich. Espousing what is called de-schooling society, Illich has suggested that we abolish all formal schools, as we know them, and that we put up, in their place, what he calls learning webs. Premised on the power of self-motivated learning, the webs will include:

1. Expanded and readily accessible centres, like museums and libraries, for educational objects and resources;
2. Skill exchanges, which would make available to prospective learners any desired skilled teacher;
3. Peer-matching systems, which would enable one to explore interests with a peer; and
4. Reference services to educators at large.

To make the 'dis-establishment' of schools effective, and to establish his scheme, Illich would require a law forbidding discrimination in hiring based on previous school attendance. Henceforth, actual skills individuals bring with them will be the criterion for job selection. Further, he would introduce an 'edu-credit card', provided by the government to each individual at birth, good for a specified amount, which would permit him to acquire the desired learnings at his convenience.

Now we do not have to think of numerous objections to such a scheme. All we have to do is ask: how, in a free, capitalistic society like ours, could we implement it? Some radical reformers, however, are not as thorough-going as Illich. Others would rather set up alternative schools — 'free schools' — with the hope that their success will convince the public to desert the formal public schools and bring about their demise, or that they will follow the example of the free schools. Yet their prescriptions for the schools they would set up are no less radical. They would, among other things, subscribe to the following 'principles':

1. The goals of education should be the attainment of humanistic personal values — self-respect, self-reliance, personal freedom, self-fulfillment, and the like;
2. Feelings, emotions, and meeting personal needs count for more than factual knowledge. Knowledge is valuable only if it relates to an individual's life and has been learned by himself. 'Learning how to learn' is therefore to be emphasized more than learning facts as taught by someone else.

3. If 1 and 2 are accepted, then teachers must act as facilitators, not initiators or manipulators, of learning; the school must be a resource centre; and the pupil must be the determiner of what he is to learn.

Philosophical acumen is not needed to see what is wrong in these 'principles'. First, it certainly is not true that knowledge is worth learning only if a pupil is interested in it, or if he perceives it to be useful or relevant to him. There is a world of difference between what children desire to learn and what is desirable for them to learn.

Second, insofar as we want to achieve humanistic personal values, what is required is to have children acquire knowledge and skills sufficient to enable them to develop their potentialities, know and assess alternatives in life open to them, make their own decisions, and pursue such decisions effectively. Failure to internalize such skills and knowledge is likely to expose them to frustrations that could undermine their sense of self-respect, freedom, reliance, fulfillment, and the like. Surely, however, these knowledge and skills (including 'learning how to learn') do not lend, at least for most children, to 'self-teaching'. They seem to require more structuring and systematic approach than human nature is inclined to follow.

Nevertheless, when radical prescriptions have been flushed down the drain, there is one matter that disturbingly enough remains. This is the matter of freedom.

Consider, for a moment, some ills that Illich is reacting against.

The ills, whether societal or educational, are legion. But insofar as education is concerned, the all-consuming illness is that schooling, at all levels, has become a ritualized institution that perpetuates the established order. The order, as Illich sees it, is devoted to consumer or materialistic values. As a social machine, the school processes — and is expected to process — materially-oriented individuals whose aspirations lie on scaling the socio-economic ladder. Being inescapably dumped, by compulsory attendance laws, into pre-packaged, age-graded curriculum operated by automated, socially-indoctrinated teachers, who can avoid effective processing, unless one left the machine early enough? Illich makes the point rather starkly in this manner:

We cannot go beyond the consumer society unless we first understand that obligatory public schools inevitably reproduce such a society, no matter what is taught in them.

Illich's analysis of the nexus between society and the schools may be extremely tenuous at several points. But underlying the radical critique is the idea that the quality of human life, whether for the young or the old, depends on their enjoyment of freedom. In other words, freedom is a dimension of the good life, and as such, is an intrinsic value in itself.

The radicals' willingness to give too wide a range of freedom to pupils, in response to their perception that freedom is an intrinsic value, is quite questionable. However, if we agree that freedom is indeed an intrinsic value (and I think a good case can be made for this statement) then the primacy that radical reformers invest in freedom may be modified and expressed in the following general principle:
Any curtailment of individual freedom requires sufficient and acceptable justification.

Socially, the implication of the principle stated in the preceding paragraph seems clear. If freedom involves a person's being able to choose and do what, as a human being, he has the potential to do, then something is wrong with a society where individuals just don't have much choice in life. Thus, if people cannot rise, no matter how much they would want to, from their lot in life because the social structure has closed the doors on them; or because the economic order does not offer them suitable jobs; or because their socio-economic backgrounds prevent them from developing knowledge and skills needed for scaling

the socio-economic ladder — if situations like these obtain, then it does not make sense to say that people are free. If freedom is a desirable thing, then these conditions should be eliminated. Naturally, we would think that responsibility for this lies with the government.

Educationally, at least two implications appear to be equally clear. First, schooling could unwittingly compound unfreedom in individuals and society when in frantic response to demands for 'relevance' it is advocated that schooling should be different things for different children. Thus it is sometimes said that children who do not expect to go to the university should be given a more vocation-oriented curriculum — and the sooner, the better. Unfortunately to heed such a suggestion is very likely to have the school aggravate the narrowing of the range of alternatives in life open to them. Further, it could leave them passive and susceptible to manipulation by social, economic, and political forces that they are too unequipped to understand, much less cope with. It seems necessary to insist therefore that before any specialization vocational or professional — is introduced into schools, preparation for a free life, through mastery of appropriate knowledge and skills, should first be completed.

Second, if freedom is a value in itself, even for the young, then its curtailment in the school must be adequately justified. Presumably, we think it justifiable to compel children to attend school because through attendance, we can promote valuable learnings in the sciences, mathematics, the arts, language, the humanities, and the like. But when freedom is suppressed to maintain quiet and order just to satisfy the principal's passion for orderliness; or to elicit unquestioning obedience and acceptance of dogma; or to follow institutional rules that have not been shown to contribute definitely to worthwhile learnings; or to prop up teachers' emotional security — when this happens, violence is done to children's freedom.

Children's claim to freedom becomes even more compelling when we realize that being free consists in choosing and acting. Unfortunately one may prefer not to choose or act, even when he can. As Eric Fromm convincingly pointed out years ago, people may develop a deep-seated 'fear of freedom' and consequently may not desire to choose or act for themselves. This does not mean that thereby, freedom is undesirable. What it does mean, however, is that a positive attitude towards freedom cannot be assumed. Rather, it has to be consciously cultivated in individuals. If this is the case, rigid and authoritarian classroom situations do not have a place in schools that aim at freedom.

The task confronting any schooling for freedom is thus a difficult one. It has to reconcile the need for mastery of certain knowledge and skills (and its attendant need for children to conscientiously apply themselves to certain required activities) with the need for children's exercise in arriving at their own judgements and in carrying out their own plans. A tall order for anyone, indeed.

However, it seems that a reconciliation can be done. At least in the lower levels of schooling, some measure of success, we are told, has been achieved in English primary schools and in some places in the United States. Thus models of what schooling for freedom might be like are available. What is called for, among other things, seems to be a receptivity to new ideas and willingness to take on more challenging tasks.

Illich and his breed may really be far out. Happily, they have a message. To me, an appreciation of that message is especially urgent in our province.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, IDEOLOGIES AND EDUCATION: SOME NOTES ON CHANGING NEWFOUNDLAND SOCIETY*

Dr. Amarjit Singh

In this article I wish to share my notes with you on two theories of educational stratification, namely, (1) the technical-functional theory of educational stratification, and (2) the conflict theory of educational stratification. I will comment on the ideological assumptions of these theories, especially the functional theory of stratification; indicate that the major ideological assumptions of the functional theory have permeated attitudes and values of many of us involved in educational enterprise, and show how our attitudes and values drawn from this theory may be guiding — consciously or unconsciously — our actual activities in schools, colleges and universities, thus "structuring" barriers to the development of Newfoundland society.

We need to acquire new attitudes and values, we need to act on the basis of newly acquired mental-set, if we want to effect the development of Newfoundland society. By development I mean (a) raising the collective ability of people in Newfoundland, (b) bringing about social, political and economic equalities. Any program of planned social change which fails to direct itself to these goals makes one group of people dependent on another, enables dominant groups to exploit the less dominant.

The technical-functional theory¹ is derived from a more general functional theory of stratification developed by Davis and Moore,² and the second theory is derived from a more general conflict theory based upon the works of Weber³ and other scholars who have built their theories on the basic ideas of Weber and Marx.

Before discussing these theories I will briefly comment on the nature of social organization, the way ideology as a term is used and education as political activity.

Organization of Society

Understanding of two closely related principles: (1) the principle of social differentiation, and (2) the principle of social stratification, is basic to the understanding of any social organization.

Because these are closely related principles the distinction between the two is necessary. Social differentiation is not to be confused⁴ with social stratification.

What social differentiation means is that one person cannot perform all the diverse roles required to sustain a complex society. The division of labour becomes more and more differentiated and specialized as a society industrializes requiring members of society to learn and perform various roles. Even the most simple societies (i.e. less industrialized ones) have some division of labour based upon age and sex. Thus, social differentiation is a universal phenomenon.

On the other hand, social stratification may be defined

".. as the institutionalization of power arrangements that perpetuate intergenerational economic, political, and social inequalities among collectivities."⁵

Social stratification in its different forms — slave, caste, estate, clan and class — is not a universal phenomenon but is a system of structured inequalities which has its roots in an ideology dictating that ranked positions are inevitable for the maintenance of a social system. According to Heller the term structured

..indicates an arrangement of elements: the inequality is not random, but follows a patterns, displays a relative constancy and stability, and is backed by ideas that legitimate and justify it... (although) the various forms of patterning, the degree of stability, and the extent of institutionalization vary from one system to another."⁶

How is the Term Ideology Used

What Does It Mean?

Ideology is a term used in many ways. Frequently, it is used to disparage the viewpoints of one's opponents. As Henry D. Aiken⁷ points out, "During the Napoleonic Era... 'ideology' came to mean virtually any belief of a republican or revolutionary sort, that is to say, any belief hostile to Napoleon himself".

The term ideology, the way Marx and Engles used it 'includes not only the theory of knowledge and politics, but also metaphysics, ethics, religion, and indeed any 'form of consciousness' which expresses the basic attitudes or commitments of a social class".

This is a more common use of the word among sociologists today. Mannheim developed the Marxian analysis of ideology further. He makes the distinction between "particular" and "total" ideologies. Particular ideology includes "all those utterances the 'falsity' of which is due to an intentional or untentional, conscious, semiconscious, or unconscious, deluding of one's self or of others, taking place on a psychological level and structurally resembling lies".

In the case of total ideologies there is no suspicion of falsification, and thus, "the use of the term 'Ideology'... has no moral or denunciatory intent. It points rather to a research interest which leads to the raising of the question when and where social structures come to express themselves in the structure of assertions, and in what sense the former concretely determines the latter".

Milton Rokeach and his associates point out that "Ideology refers to a more or less institutionalized set of beliefs — 'the views someone picks up'. Belief — disbelief systems contain these too, but, in addition, they contain highly personalized pre-ideological beliefs." Thus ideologies are organized products of society, institutionalized results of the historical process.

Educational Practices as Political Activities

Educational systems, in the past and in contemporary societies have been intricately interwoven with their respective political systems, and political systems are organized around a set of political ideologies.

For example, Neil Postman in his discussion of illiteracy in America points out that one of the "unassailable assumptions about education" is "that all educational practices are profoundly political in the sense that they are designed to produce one sort of human beings rather than another — which is to say, an educational system always proceeds from some model of what a human being ought to be like. In the broadest sense, a political ideology is a conglomerate of systems for promoting certain modes of thinking and behavior".

He further points out that "there is no system I can think of that more directly tries to do this than the schools".

If Postman's characterization of schools is even partially true, then access to formal education and what is taught in the formal schools about various groups in society is greatly influenced by the prevailing political and social ideologies which support particular forms of social stratification.

Since dominant groups hold privileged positions in the social structure and have power, they also influence the extent to which social inequalities may exist in a society by controlling the mechanisms of mobility.⁹

The quality and quantity of schooling are closely associated with social mobility in industrial societies. Practices such as streaming, grouping, provision of an academic vs. non-academic curriculum, common vs. specialized education, various kinds of testing, especially testing, to name a few, are in many cases the mechanisms through which schools, in accordance with the prevailing ideology of stratification, influence the chances for social mobility of individuals and of the various ethnic, racial and caste groups.¹⁰

These practices are introduced at all levels of the educational systems, although their influence is most felt at the pre-college level. Questions such as: Who shall be educated in a society? What kind and type of education would be available to what groups of people? What level of education should be available to whom? — cannot be comprehended in a meaningful way without an understanding of the ideological underpinnings of the stratification system of a society.

The Technical-Functional Theory of Educational Stratification

The basic propositions of this theory is found in a number of sources. In a nut-shell the theory provides an explanation of the importance of education in modern societies. Collins¹¹ summarized its basic propositions as follows:

- (1) the skill requirements of jobs in industrial society constantly increase because of technical change. Two processes are involved:
 - (a) the proportion of jobs requiring low skill decreases and the proportion requiring high skills increases; and
 - (b) the same jobs are upgraded in skill requirements.
- (2) Formal education provides the training, either in specific skills or in general capacities, necessary for the more highly skilled jobs.
- (3) Therefore, educational requirements for employment constantly rise, and increasingly longer proportions of the population are required to spend longer and longer periods in school.

This theory can be seen as a particular application of the functional theory of stratification developed by Davis and Moore.

The Davis and Moore Theory

In 1945 Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore presented 'some principles of stratification'. In what is now called the 'functional theory of stratification', the authors asserted that stratification is functionally necessary because every society must have some mechanism for inducing its members to occupy positions that are socially important and require training. The differential distributions of class and status rewards ensures that 'the most important positions are consciously filled by the most qualified persons'. Social stratification is therefore functional, necessary, and inevitable. In their view, stratification 'becomes essentially an integrating structural attribute of social systems, and interclass relations are typically viewed as accommodative'.

In their theory Davis and Moore made several other statements:

..the main functional necessity explaining the universal presence of stratification is precisely the requirement faced by any society of placing and motivating individuals in the social structure. As a functioning mechanism a society must somehow distribute

members in social positions and induce them to perform the duties of these positions. It must thus concern itself with motivation at two different levels to instill in the proper individuals the desire to fill certain positions the desire to perform the duties attached to them.

If the duties associated with the various positions were all equally pleasant to the human organism, all equally important to societal survival, and all equally in need of the same ability or talent, it would make no difference who got into which positions, and the problem of social placement would be greatly reduced."

But, say Davis and Moore, positions in society are not all equally important and thus: requirement faced by any society of placing and motivating individuals in the social structure. As a functioning mechanism a society must somehow distribute members in social positions and induce them to perform the duties of these positions. It must thus concern itself with motivation at two different levels to instill in the proper individuals the desire to fill certain positions the desire to perform the duties attached to them.

If the duties associated with the various positions were all equally pleasant to the human organism, all equally important to societal survival, and all equally in need of the same ability or talent, it would make no difference who got into which positions, and the problem of social placement would be greatly reduced."

But, say Davis and Moore, positions in society are not all equally important and thus:

..it does make a great deal of difference who gets into which positions, not only because some positions are inherently more agreeable than others, but also because some require special talents or training and some are functionally more important than others... Inevitably, then, a society must have, first, some kind of rewards that it can use as inducements, and second, some way of distributing these rewards differentially according to positions. The rewards and their distribution become a part of the social order, and thus give rise to stratification."

And they further suggest that society has two kinds of rewards at its disposal which can be used in "distributing its personnel and securing essential services". These are.

"It has first of all, the things that contribute to sustenance and comfort. It has, second, the things that contribute to humor and diversion. And it has, finally, the things that contribute to self-respect and ego-expansion. ...In any social system all three kinds of rewards must be dispensed differentially according to positions."

Davis and Moore further justify the necessity of stratification and built-in institutionalization of inequalities by saying that:

If the rights and prerequisites of different positions in a society must be unequal, then the society must be stratified, because that is precisely what stratification means. Social inequality is thus an unconsciously involved device by which societies insure that the most important positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons."

After making the point that stratification and institutionalized inequality are functional necessities for the survival of a society; Davis and Moore explain why "different positions carry different degrees of prestige":

..In general those positions convey the best reward, and hence have the highest rank, which (a) have the greatest importance for the society and (b) require the greatest training or talent. The first factor concerns function and is a matter of relative significance; the second concern means and is a matter of scarcity."

They go on to say:

"There are, ultimately, only two ways in which a person's qualifications come about: through inherent capacity or through training. Obviously, in concrete activities both are always necessary, but from a practical standpoint the scarcity may lie primarily in one or the other, as well as in both. Some positions require innate talents of such a high degree that the persons who fill them are bound to be rare. In many, cases, however, talent is fairly abundant in the population, but the training process is so long, costly, and elaborate that relatively few can qualify."¹

The Conflict Theory of Educational Stratification.

Briefly, this theory states:

1. That there are distinctions among status group cultures — based both on class and on ethnicity — in modern societies;
2. That status groups tend to occupy different occupational positions within organizations; and
3. That occupants of different organizational positions struggle over power.¹²

Further, this theory states "that employment requirements reflect the efforts of competing status groups to monopolize or dominate jobs by imposing their cultural standards on the selection process")³ This is the crucial point. Compare this with the basic assumptions of the functional theory of educational stratification.

The conflict theory of educational stratification is derived from a more general conflict theory of stratification which is briefly discussed below.

The Conflict Theory of Stratification

Dahrendorf¹⁴ is one of the major exponents of the conflict theory. According to him the major assumptions of this theory are:

1. Every society is at every point subject to a process of change; social change is ubiquitous.
2. Every society displays at every point dissention and conflict; social conflict is ubiquitous.
3. Every element in a society renders a contribution to its disintegration and change.
4. Every society is based on the coercion of some of its members by others.

These assumptions of the conflict theory can be contrasted point by point with the assumptions of the functional theory which emphasizes order, stability and consensus.

Inadequacies of the Functional Theory

In 1953, Tumin⁵ came up with the major critique of the functional theory of stratification developed by Davis and Moore. Tumin maintained that:

1. Social stratification systems function to limit the possibility of discovery of the full range of talent available in a society. This results from the fact of unequal access to appropriate motivation, channels of recruitment and centers of training.
2. In foreshortening the range of available talent, social stratification systems function to set limits upon the possibility of expanding the productive resources of the society, at least relative to what might be the case under conditions of greater equality of opportunity.
3. Social stratification systems function to provide the elite with the political power necessary to procure acceptance and dominance of an ideology which rationalizes the **status quo**, whatever it may be, as "logical", "material" and "morally right". In this manner, social stratification systems function as they are found.
4. Social stratification systems function to distribute favourable self-images unequally throughout a population. To the extent that such favourable self-images are requisite to the development of the creative potential inherent in men, to that extent stratification systems function to limit the development of their creative potential.
5. To the extent that inequalities in social rewards cannot be made fully acceptable to the less privileged in a society, social stratification systems function to encourage hostility, suspicion and distrust among the various segments of society and thus to limit the possibilities of extensive social integration.
6. To the extent that the sense of significant membership in a society depends on one's place on the prestige ladder of the society, social stratification systems function to distribute unequally the sense of significant membership in the population.
7. To the extent that loyalty to a society depends on a sense of significant membership in the society, social stratification systems function to distribute loyalty unequally in the population.
8. To the extent that participation and apathy depend upon the sense of significant membership in the society, social stratification systems function to distribute the motivation to participate unequally in a population.

Since Tumin's criticism the debate has been continued)⁶ Sociologists soon agreed to withdraw "from the ranks of sociological 'principles'...the assertion that stratification ensures that the ablest and best-trained persons conscientiously fill the most important positions in the society")¹⁷

But disagreement over fundamental assumptions remain. I will discuss the roots of these fundamental differences in another section in The Morning Watch.

Summary

Several studies show that the propositions of the technical-functional theory do not adequately account for the evidence. This theory does not take into account group conflict while focusing on the process of stratification.

Collins,¹⁸ systematically tested several propositions of this theory and concluded:

"The technical-functional theory of education, then, does not give an adequate account of the evidence. Economic evidence indicates no clear contributions of education to economic development, beyond the provision of mass literacy. Shifts in the proportions of more skilled and less skilled jobs do not account for the observed increase in education of the American labor force. Education is often irrelevant to on-the-job productivity and is sometimes counter-productive; specifically vocational training seems to be derived more from work experience than from formal school training. The quality of schools themselves, and the nature of dominant student cultures suggest that schooling is very inefficient as a means of training for work skills."

Once again, the ideas presented in this article are more directly related to the American society. Fortunately or unfortunately, social scientists in Canada and elsewhere have heavily drawn upon the ideas of American social scientists while doing research on stratification.

It is quite clear that in Newfoundland, as in many Third World (developing) countries, education planners have used the rationale provided by the technical-functional theory of stratification.

At first glance it may appear a step forward towards modernization. But a close look, and a long term perspective on the development of Newfoundland society, may reveal to us that what is being considered as modernization might be a step backward — backward in the sense that educational expansion based upon rationality rooted in the logic of industrially advanced capitalist societies may not be suitable for Newfoundland's social structure.

It may be argued that since 1949 Newfoundland society, as many other developing societies, has through the expansion of schools been linked with the manpower requirements of the multi-national corporations, and thus have become dependent on them.

Some of the consequences of such dependency have been observed and studied by an increasing number of social scientists in various countries.

For example, there is now ample evidence that a mechanical use of the manpower approach in the sphere of education in the developing societies has the result that unemployment among the educated becomes a crucial problem; it creates the problems of underemployment and unemployment in general, it creates and increases inequalities among various classes; it widens the gap between manual and non-manual work and thus produces negative attitudes among people towards manual work; by overly emphasizing vocational training, under the impact of changing technology, it renders large numbers of people obsolete in short periods of time; it sets in motion various processes which lead either to personal frustration, alienation, submissiveness and the development of individuals with uncritical attitudes or to political unrest which is often followed by state repression for social control.¹⁹

Owing to the lack of systematic studies of educational processes in Newfoundland, we are not sure of the extent to which the dynamics of the interaction between education and political economy have yielded above consequences. However, one could observe the high unemployment rate in Newfoundland in general and there seems to be some indication that unemployment among the educated may increase

in the coming years, especially when the educated might not be willing to work in rural areas in Newfoundland or when the job openings in these areas get saturated as they now appear to be in the urban centers icy the province.

Thus, what seems to be is needed²⁰ at this point in the development of Newfoundland society is a critical examination of imported educational models and theories underlying them.²¹

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SOURCES OF INEQUALITIES: A FOCUS ON SOME CONCRETE EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES IN SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. Amarjit Singh

Most People are Poor And Are Wage Earners

Believe it or not, most people in the world are working day and night just to satisfy their basic needs for food and shelter. A few get reasonable medical care and education for their children. Only a few fortunate ones have their stomach filled and have spare time for recreation, relaxation and reflection.

In fact, most of the people of the world are reduced to the status of wage earner, are poor, are oppressed, are in debt, and mainly bequeath debt. Most people own little or no property. They have no other choice but to work for some one else — may it be governments or multi-national corporations or other organizations in between these two giant employers.

But there is more to it. The unskilled, uncertified, manual workers are increasingly realizing that the society — the society based upon science and technology and dominated by huge multi-national corporations — does not need them.

For a majority of people, then, making a living, i.e., bringing food on their family's table at the end of the day, is as important an issue as life and death. People in the world would do anything to feed their families.

It is no exaggeration that in our day to day life we, the educators, like others, keep on doing things (e.g., administering I.Q. tests, allotting grades to students, putting them in different groups, flunking them, refusing them admission, asking them to withdraw from schools or the university, etc.) which we sometimes do not like to do but for which we excuse ourselves by saying that: "I am just making a living like everyone else." Or "I have a family to take care of." Or "I got to do what society tells me to do".

So, one thing seems clear; that is, the majority of people seem to behave on their jobs under the direct threat of losing jobs.

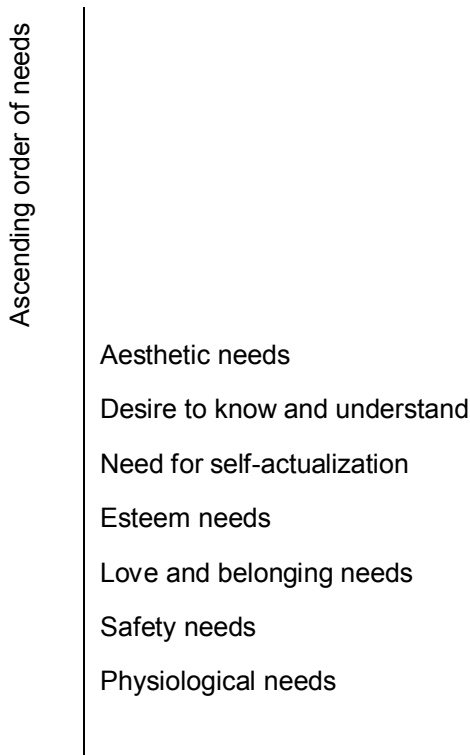
In practical terms losing a job implies going hungry. In this sense, for a majority of people in the world, the basic physiological needs, as described by Maslow (see Fig. 1), are not met. Most people in the world do not get the opportunity to positively strive for higher growth. There is a saying in some parts of the world that it is impossible to worship gods with an empty stomach.

Lest we forget, we should keep in mind that there are thousands (millions?) of people in Canada, including Newfoundland, who almost go hungry everyday or get to eat the minimum.

Things People Used to Do

There was a time when a person could farm, catch fish, raise cattle, hunt, spin cotton and make clothes, manufacture soap, pots and pans, and do other things to support himself and his family. Elements of this life style are still present in many parts of the world, including Newfoundland, but the choice is no more available to the majority of people living in a technically and scientifically advanced/advancing societies.

Figure 1



Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs: Adapted Version (See Maslow A.H., "A Theory of Human Motivation," Psychological Review, 50, 1943, 370-396).

Those few who have aspired to adapt to the above kind of life style, for example, hippies, people living in various communes are frowned upon. Perhaps we can mention the case of the Amish and the Hutterites communities in North America, not to mention the Indians and the Eskimos whose life styles are being destroyed continuously. The case of small fishing communities in Newfoundland and small farming villages in other parts of the world also readily comes to mind.

In the North American context these people are labelled anti-American, un-American, un-democratic, anticapitalist, weird, odd, backward, anti-modernization, traditional, utopian, irrational, communists, socialists, anti-Christ, and what not.

The fact is that the majority of the people who have been motivated to the life style of a wage earner in industrial societies have also developed prejudices, stereotypes and hostilities towards people who are attracted to other life styles.

So, there is greater pressure to conform. Most people are expected to become wage earners. In the real world they can no more make a living the way their forefathers used to make a living.

The Modern Context

The economic, social, and political conditions of today's world leave no other choice for a majority of people but to make a living by becoming a wage earner. In other words, we all have to make our living by participating in economies which are geared toward increasing production, consumption, and profit by exploiting natural and human resources and — without limit — using the most sophisticated technology based upon scientific knowledge.

The other main features of modern economies are specialization, division of labour, exchange, money, capital, property, market, prices and competition. Sometimes modern economies, like Canada, are referred to as "exchange economy", "money economy", "market economy", "credit economy", "consumer economy", etc.

Let us focus on one aspect of modern economies, i.e., on the division of labour and specialization.

The emphasis on mass production, consumption and profit requires specialization. This implies that everyone cannot do everything in a most efficient way. Therefore, in order to increase production and profit, each person needs to and should specialize in the area in which he can contribute the most. That is, people should divide the labour (division of labour) in order to achieve maximum production and profit. One consequence of the emphasis on production and profit is that it accentuates specialization, which in turn accentuates and creates differences, most of the times artificial differences, among men.

Complex division of labour, i.e., an array of specializations, characterizes modern economies. In other words the modern economies, among other things, require a highly skilled and educated labour force. Unskilled, uncertified, illiterate people with obsolete skills, e.g., people who can make sweaters, baskets, spin cotton, grow their own food, catch their own fish, hunt, etc., are considered potential obstacles to economic and industrial growth. Skills acquired at home (e.g., learning to build a boat or learning how to farm by working with one's own father and other adult members in community) are evaluated low when compared with similar skills acquired by attending certified vocational and agricultural schools. In this way the role of the family in socializing the youngsters for social and occupational roles has been undermined since the industrial revolution (see Fig. 2A and Fig. 2B).

The Modern Industrial Economies and the School

In the past the family was the major socialization agent.

But there was a fundamental difference between the socialization which took place in the family and that which took place in the school. Whereas the family was concerned with teaching its members skills which were beneficial to the family, the school taught youngsters skills which were required to increase production, consumption and profit of the owner of the industries.

This is more apparent today than it was fifty years ago in Canada (including Newfoundland) and other countries. In modern industrial societies, dominated by huge corporations, schools are the major source of supply of trained labour. Schools tend to operate in the manner of assembly lines in factories in the sense that large numbers of people are treated as raw material or input. The final produce of schools, or output of schools, are people trained for various kinds of occupations, trades, and jobs which are not equal in terms of income, status, prestige, power and in other socially desired rewards. (See Fig. 3).

This particular way of functioning of schools raises serious and touchy questions. Who acquires what kind of skills and education? Who gets what kind of jobs? Who should make decisions relating to these questions? These questions become crucial in a society like ours. And the sources of inequalities,

as far as schools are concerned, are to be found precisely at this point. We shall discuss these points soon. First let me mention some more features of modern economies.

Besides the increased importance of schooling in today's society, in modern economies individuals are not supposed to work exclusively to meet the needs of their own family alone. They must produce surplus goods and services. Moreover, goods and services must be sold in the market. And the employer or the owner for whom individuals are working, must make a profit.

How much profit should be made or how the profit should be used is not decided by workers or the wage earners. It is decided by the owners or their agent or their representatives.

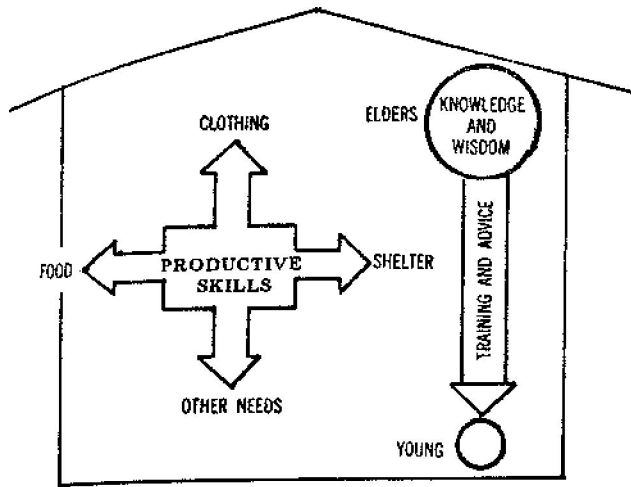
Further, in modern economies small producers, e.g., small farmers and fishermen find themselves in competition with big producers, i.e., governments and corporations. Thus small producers find themselves under continuous pressure to go out of business and become wage earners. Governments and big businesses do not like the majority of the population tied up with their own little operations. Instead, the state and corporations, in the name of "national interest", want to plan the economy in order to meet "national goals". Motivating the population to join the labour force by encouraging the people to dismantle their ties with their own families and communities, thus becomes one of the major goals of modernization process.

It should be pointed out here that popular modernization theories of our times imply ever increasing production, consumption and profit. To insure this, a steady supply of trained labour force is considered a precondition. So, the majority of people are encouraged to become wage earners. In fact, there is no other choice left. Economic interests often take over the social interests.

The point is that social inequalities, including poverty (which is only one kind of inequality), have their roots in the kind of economy and political systems (political economy) which in order to secure ever increasing production, consumption and profit attempts through its various institutions (and the school system is one of them) to reduce the majority of people to the status of a disciplined and skilled labour force.

We live in this kind of society — the modern capitalist society with its emphasis on the "free" market system and profit. Those who are interested in understanding the relationship of schools and social inequalities, in our province, may like to study carefully the political economy of Canada and Newfoundland.

Figure 2A



The traditional family was relatively self-sufficient

The modern family is a consumer of goods, services, and knowledge.

Source: C.S. Brembeck, *Social Foundations of Education: Environmental Influences in Teaching and Learning*. Second Edition, John Wiley and Sons, 1971, pp. 110-112.

Most of us are led to believe that the increase in production, consumption, and profit will reduce, and in the long term will eliminate, social inequalities. But the record up to this point shows that the increase in production, consumption and profit has been associated with increase in degree of social inequalities. That is, the gap between rich and poor people has not only increased in the last several decades, but it is increasing.

The same thing has happened in the area of education. Bowles points out "that as the economic importance of skilled and well-educated labor has grown, inequalities in the school system have become increasingly important in reproducing the class structure from one generation to the next." Many other scholars who have closely studied schools in our society have reached similar conclusions. (See my article "The Critics of the School...Part II" in the previous issue of The Morning Watch.)

Going back for up-grading through further schooling

What we should keep in mind is that economic development and industrialization do not automatically eliminate inequalities in the distribution of wealth and power among various groups (classes) in our society, though they do create condition in which a comfortable level of equalities for all seems possible. Goldthorpe points out that the actual distribution of wealth, power, and status in a society is determined by political and ethical factors, rather than levels of economic and technological development. In other words, social inequalities can be reduced by the deliberate actions of governments and other groups. Similarly, inequalities in schools can be reduced to a considerable extent by the actions of teachers, principals, and school administrators.

What the educators may keep in mind is that the industrial and industrializing societies like Canada and Newfoundland are stratified in class lines. The increased emphasis on production in industrial societies creates a wide range of jobs which are separated from each other on the basis of narrowly and arbitrarily defined skills. Increase in industrial production results in the social division of labour in terms of various jobs. The various jobs available in a society together constitute its occupational structure. In industrial societies the occupational structure, i.e., various jobs which are available to people, are hierarchically arranged. What it means is that for various reasons some occupations are considered better or superior than others by people in society. Usually those jobs which carry more status, prestige, power, and income are considered better or superior. Figure 4 is an example of the hierarchically arranged occupational structure of Canada.

Figure 4

SELECTED MALE OCCUPATIONS FROM BUSMEN'S OCCUPATIONAL CLASS SCALE

CLASS 1		CLASS 5	
Occupation	Score	Occupation	Score
Judges	90.0	Compositors	50.4
Dentists	82.5	Office clerks	50.2
Physicians and surgeons	81.2	Firemen	49.8
Lawyers	78.8	Electricians	49.6
Chemical engineers	77.8	Farmers	49.2
Actuaries	77.6	Stationary engineers	48.7
Mining engineers	77.4	Welders	47.2
Electrical engineers	75.2	Plumbers	46.8
Civil engineers	75.0	Machine operators, metal	46.5
Architects	73.2	Meat canners	45.2
Total occupations in Class 1:10		Total occupations in Class 5:86	
CLASS 2		CLASS 6	
Occupation	Score	Occupation	Score
Professors	72.0	Metal moulders	45.0
Veterinarians	69.8	Potmen	44.8
Mining managers	67.9	Brick and stone masons	44.6
Air pilots	65.0	Service station attendants	44.4
Wholesale managers	63.5	Millers	44.2
Authors, journalists	63.4	Bakers	43.8
Clergymen	61.0	Barbers	43.6
Transport managers	60.0	Leather cutters	43.5
Insurance agents	58.2	Boiler firemen	43.3
Retail managers	57.0	Carpenters	43.2
Total occupations in Class 2:36		Total occupations in Class 6:55	
CLASS 3		CLASS 7	
Occupation	Score	Occupation	Score
Commercial travellers	56.7	Janitors	41.6
Radio announcers	56.4	Sectionmen and trackmen	41.4
Draughtsmen	56.0	Longshoremen	41.2
Surveyors	55.0	Labourers	40.8
Purchasing agents	54.8	Shoemakers	40.2
Railway conductors	54.1	Hawkers	39.3
Locomotive engineers	54.0	Lumbermen	37.4
Music teachers	53.7	Fishermen	36.9
Mining foremen	52.8	Fishcanners	36.2
Actors	52.1	Hunters and trappers	32.0
Total occupation in Class 3:22		Total occupations in Class 7:21	
CLASS 4			
Occupation	Score		
Manufacturing foremen	51.8		
Construction inspectors	51.7		
Telegraph operators	51.6		
Toolmakers	51.6		
Undertakers	51.3		
Bookkeepers and cashiers	51.2		
Office appliance operators	51.0		
Movie projectionists	50.8		
Radio repairmen	50.8		
Captains, mates and pilots	50.7		
Total occupations in Class 4:20			

SOURCE: B.R. Blishen, "The Construction and Use of an Occupational Class Scale," C..1 .E. P.S., XXIV , no. 4 (Nov. 1958).

In a stratified society like ours, having a job, directly or indirectly, gets tied up with making a living, i.e., making money. Without money people cannot buy goods and services produced in society. And getting a job among other factors, gets tied up with having a certified skill. For example, look in The Evening Telegram or in your local news paper. Each job advertised in it has some qualification and income attached to it. Getting certified implies that one must attend some kind of school or training programmes. And not only this, one must successfully complete the programme and earn a certificate, a diploma or a degree. This relationship between schooling occupation and income is illustrated in Figure 5.

What has happened is that in our society, like many others, schools have become centers for selection of large numbers of young people. Due to compulsory education regulations schools are involved in effective selection processes. Selection implies acceptance and rejection of students. It also involves labeling of children into categories such as "good", "bad", "intelligent", "lacking intelligence", "slow learner", "fast learner", "educable", "uneducable", "academically inclined", "vocationally inclined" and so on. See figure 6.

The above categories have social meanings for people in stratified societies. Keeping the meanings people attach to these categories in their minds, people tend to evaluate other people's worth in society.

For example, middle class people and people from the rich class have developed a habit of describing the behaviour of lower classes in derogatory ways. They have developed stereotypes about the behaviours of working and lower classes. The persons from these classes tend to think that lower class people are lazy, lack work ethic, seek sexual pleasures, lack vision of future, have low aspirations, have bad language and speech patterns, etc.

Several studies have shown that this kind of image of lower class held by well to do classes is not true. Too often people who belong to well-to-do classes, including many teachers and professors, lack understanding of life conditions of the working class or the poor. Many teachers and professors have preconceived ideas about the worth of working class or poor children. In schools and universities these teachers and professors discourage their sons and daughters of poor families to aspire for professions which have high status on occupational structure. In this sense these people are involved in an act which is both discriminatory and political.

We have said that people attached meaning to such categories as intelligent/lacking intelligence. What are the consequences of these socially attached meanings for the life chances of individuals?

Well, it is quite obvious. If your child or mine gets labeled as a slow learner, is put in a special class, does not pass high school, or drops out of high school, then that child will not be earning a certificate or diploma. Without certified skills, he or she will get low level jobs or a job with a dead end in the occupational structure.

Generation after generation of people from certain religions, certain nationalities, certain ethnic groups, certain economic classes, etc., have been channelled by educational systems into certain specific types of jobs in the occupational structure.

For example, children of working and professional classes are given tests to prove that the children of the working class are mechanically inclined and the children of the professionals are academically inclined. On the basis of scores obtained on tests, the children of the working class and middle class are given different curriculum in schools. The children of the working class are socialized and encouraged to go into vocational schools while the children of professionals are socialized and encouraged to go to universities.

A holder of college degree and a holder of a diploma from a vocational school are treated differently when it comes to getting a high status job. A job will, to a great extent, determine one's social status (i.e., income, prestige, power, etc.) which in turn will affect the socialization of one's children in terms of educational and occupational aspirations and expectations.

Thus the cycle is completed. This is the process by which a system of stratification is maintained. Schools play a crucial role in this as far as they use strategies for selecting (i.e., grouping, streaming, labeling, I.Q. testing, aptitude testing, grading, and various other subtle techniques, e.g., ridicule, avoidance, derogation, neglect, rejection and self-fulfilling prophecies, etc.) children for various programmes and jobs.

The process by which a system of stratification is perpetuated is shown in Figure 7 and Figure 8. Figure 7 is a simple version and Figure 8 is a more complex version.

In this article I have tried to show how and at what point schools are involved in perpetuating social inequalities.

Source: adapted from C.S. Brembeck, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

Source: K.B. Mayer and W. Buckley. **Class and Society**, 3rd Edition, the Colonial Press Inc., 1969, p. 53.

I believe that an understanding based upon critical analysis of the functioning of schools in society and an understanding of our own actions in schools as educators — that is, an understanding of our own motives, desires, and intentions — is essential if we want to affect social inequalities in our society.

We must also understand the ways in which we arrive at these motives, desires and intentions and the pressure which direct and constrain our actions.

One way to gain such an understanding is to develop a capacity for self-analysis, i.e., to become aware of one's own biography. What has happened to me? What is happening to me? What did happen to my ancestors? What is happening to my children? Where are we going? What is happening to others? Where are others going? What is the purpose of our activities in society?

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SELF-CONCEPT OF ABILITY: A POSITIVE APPROACH TO CLASSROOM LEARNING AND TEACHING

Dr. Amarjit Singh

*"The talent is there, but we need to foster and supply it."
— Kevin Miller, Deep Bay, Feb. '73*

Problem

At a recent conference held at Gander from February 28 to March 3, this year, Mr. George Lee, Acting Director of Extension Service at Memorial, in his opening address to the delegates outlined three systems of education: (1) mass media as educational system, (2) schools, and (3) a system in which people are involved in solving their own problems (he was referring to the Folks Schools in Denmark).

In talking about schools in Newfoundland he said: "In fact it has a 50% merit because only 50% of the students get through it. The rest drop out or are pushed out".

In his **Educational Policy for the Seventies for Newfoundland**, Dr. H.W. Kitchen of Memorial University said that educational productivity in the province is very low. He wrote, "whether it be measured in terms of high school or university participation rates or scores on academic achievement tests, educational productivity is markedly lower in Newfoundland than in mainland Canada. Also, within Newfoundland educational productivity differs markedly".

Similarly, P.J. Warren of Memorial University in his new book, **Quality and Equality in Secondary Education in Newfoundland**, writes that: "there is no doubt that the retention of students in high school is a measure of school productivity. Premature school withdrawal results in a wastage of human talent and indicates failure of the school to meet the needs of students". And somewhere else in the same book he writes that "we must begin to evaluate our schools in terms of their success in working with all children who enter their doors, not just with the 'success group' that brings in scholarship and the university acceptance". "If students are to learn effectively, they should develop positive self-images," he said.

We can see that most people in Newfoundland are concerned with successful education for the children of the province. Education, and quality education, for large numbers of children at all levels: primary, secondary and higher — is a **must** for the future of the province and its people.

The people of Newfoundland have come of age. There is no doubt about it. In fact, in this respect, they are like other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America which have freed themselves from the colonial yoke during the last three decades.

These new nations, like Newfoundland, want to develop their social, economic, and political systems. The key to social change, in their minds, again lies in the education of their people — adult and children alike. At the Conference this is what Mr. Lee pointed out: "in the development of a people education is the key".

The problem, then, is how to teach large numbers of children successfully?

Our schools have not operated on this assumption. In the past schools have operated on the assumption that only a few children have the ability to learn — 20%, 30% or 50%. If a school could teach 20% to 50% of the children successfully everybody felt satisfied. This is an elitist and colonial mentality. This mentality is seriously being challenged now not only in Newfoundland but in other countries too.

With the demand for universal education for all the children there came the pressure on the schools and on the economic and political systems. Educators, social scientists, politicians and the general public started asking questions: how can we teach large numbers of children successfully? The old concept of fixed ability, i.e., the belief that only a few people have the mental ability or intelligence to learn, came under severe criticism. The mental ability is there, what is needed is the commitment to develop it.

An Alternative

What, then, was the alternative? Well, many social scientists and educators suggested different factors which might be affecting learning among children at schools: children's intelligence, aspirational level, aptitudes, sensory impairments, the stimulus properties of various teaching methods, family background, etc.

But all these concepts seemed to be too restrictive for the needs of the people and society. (In future issues of the **Morning Watch I** will discuss some of the dominant concepts in education: intelligence, culture, poverty, nonverbal child, ability, motivation, etc., and show how these concepts may be restrictive to the needs of the people in Newfoundland.) There was something built into these concepts which did not meet the rising aspirations and expectations of a large number of people for bettering their lives economically and socially. There was a need for open-ended assumptions in education.

The self-concept of ability approach in education meets this need. Educators and other researchers identified "one factor which may functionally limit learning of many students and thereby prevent them from working at their maximum level". This factor they called "the student's self-concept of academic ability as a school learner". They said, if we want to educate more than 50% of our children successfully, then we must arrange our school system and teaching practices in them in ways which will enhance students' self-concept of ability.

What is the Self-Concept of Ability Approach in Education?

What are its Implications for Learning and Teaching?

Let me make a few points about self-concept of ability in this issue; in later issues I shall point out some of its implications for various learning/teaching situations: (1) self-concept and achievement, (2) classroom grouping and self-concept, (3) grading and self-concept (4) self-concept and teacher-student interaction in the classroom and in schools, (5) self-concept and parent-child interaction, (6) self-concept and adult-child interaction in the community and in the neighbourhood, (7) self-concept and child-peer group interaction, (8) self-concept and reward/punishment practices in the classroom and in school, and (9) self-concept and disciplinary practices.

A person's assessment of his own ability to perform certain tasks in a given situation is his self-concept of ability. People talk to themselves in defining how good or bad they are in comparison to others with whom they live and communicate in their communities.

For example, a teacher may define himself as a good teacher as compared to others in his school and a student may, in a similar way, define himself as a good student.

The important point to remember here is that definition of the self (self-concept) plays a crucial role in a person's behaviour in a given situation.

For example, if a teacher defines himself/herself as a good teacher in a school, chances are that he/she is in fact doing a good job in the classroom or at least he/she is trying to do a good job. Similarly, if

a student defines himself/herself as a good student, it is more likely that he/she is doing well in school or at least he/she is trying to do well in school.

A person holds not one but many self-concepts. We can say that a person is made up of many self-concepts, One uses different self-concepts to come to grip with different situations in which one happens to find oneself in everyday life.

For example, a student can have many self-concepts of academic ability, depending upon whom he/she is talking to and in what situation. In a student/teacher interaction situation, a child may have a low self-concept of ability when he/she is comparing himself/herself with his/her friend. But in child/parent interaction situation, the same child may have a high self-concept of ability. A child who goes to school in a poor neighbourhood may have a higher self-concept of ability when he refers himself to his friends from the same school, and a low self-concept of ability when he refers to a child in a wealthier neighbourhood.

A child may define himself as a good student in Mr. Smith's class who teaches him/her English and as a bad student in Mrs. Brown's class who teaches him/her mathematics. A teacher may define himself/herself as intelligent in front of his young students but feel timid and inferior when talking to his/her colleagues and superiors.

So, people have many self-concepts. Self-concept is not a fixed thing. People are not born with high or low self-concepts. Self-concept is a changing phenomenon. The self-concept of a person changes with changes in social experience, aspiration, and expectations in a society which provides one with new opportunities and rewards.

For example, the end of the colonial period in Asia, Africa and Latin America created new social conditions in countries on these continents. The aspirations and expectations of people in these countries also changed because society demanded and expected from the people different things.

Opportunities were created for people to participate in the country's development fully. People were expected to go to schools, learn different skills, perform different tasks, participate in political decision-making, write books, paint, do scientific research, write their own history, do literary work, become entrepreneurs, bankers, industrialists, and what not.

Politicians, mass media, educators, local leaders, parents, religious groups, created a total situation in which people were encouraged, expected, and were given resources and rewards for creating their own independent identity new self-concepts — free from the colonial heritage which stigmatized the souls of millions of people for hundreds of years.'

Thus, a total situation was created in which expectations were raised to bring about total change in the self-image of society and its people. The result of this demand has been that millions of people have gone to schools, have learned various skills and professions, and are enjoying a better standard of living.

The people of these countries are today proud people, with their own purposes and goals in life defined by themselves. They have their own solutions for their own problems. Today they define themselves on the same footing, or in some cases on a higher footing, than the nations which colonized them three decades ago.

Newfoundlanders find themselves in a similar situation, I think. Newfoundland perhaps was never colonized in the same way as other countries in Asia and Africa, but its people surely seem to have gone through a type of colonial experience. At least this is what one gathers when one reads books on Newfoundland history and listens to Newfoundlanders talk about their past. Let me quote what some Newfoundlanders have said and written about Newfoundland's colonial experiences.

At the Gander Conference this is what Richard Cashin said:

"There were white colonies, and black colonies, and there was Newfoundland," he said. The others moved ahead but we didn't. We are not an old, but a young people. We only started structuring our society after other cultures had fought revolutions. We didn't have a sense of being Newfoundlanders until later than other colonies in the British Union...

Newfoundland existed as a training ground for the British Navy and as a supplier of fish. We are the only people this side of the Atlantic who can call ourselves a fishing society. We've gone through the 19th and the 20th centuries immune to social upheavals elsewhere. One characteristic we can point to with certainty has been the severe concentration of power in the hands of a few.

We are now being subjected to changes from two directions — one from outside and one, from inside. The latter is rooted in our fishing society....

We have a naive belief that somebody up there will come along and solve our problems and we must realize we have to come to grips with our own problems. We could do without some of the things we are and one of them is this tendency to let someone do it....

I cannot help but paraphrase some of the points which S.J.R. Noel made in his recent book: Politics in Newfoundland. One may, of course, agree or disagree with his interpretation of Newfoundland's history, society, and schools. Among other things, here are some of the points he made in his book which are relevant to our discussion here: (1) that Newfoundland, as a colonial society, was unique in North America; (2) that it was unique in its class composition; rich and poor classes were sharply polarized; (3) that a small group of people in St. John's controlled the entire import and export of trade; this was the merchant class; (4) that the merchant class supported and was supported by the government officials, churchmen and others; (5) that the merchant class was English, Protestant, wealthy and powerful; (6) that there was almost no middle class in Newfoundland; (7) that most of the people in Newfoundland belonged to the lower class; they were fishermen. Half of them were Irish Roman Catholic. This was the class over which the merchants had complete control; (8) that prior to 1949, educational facilities in Newfoundland were controlled by the three main denominations (Roman Catholic, Church of England, and United Church); (9) that education was related to social and economic class, that is, rich people's children got the best education and the children of the vast majority of poor people were left behind; (10) that denominations were associated with this class-biased education in Newfoundland; (11) that in the church colleges in St. John's elitist values were perpetuated; these were the colleges attended by the sons and daughters of the rich class; (12) that children of people in outports went to one-room schools; (13) that there were gross educational inequalities; only the fortunate few could use the schools as a channel for upward social mobility, i.e., the poor people remained poor and rich people became richer; (14) that after 1949 educational facilities and practices in the province have been changed tremendously; more and more people are becoming aware of the value of education in changing Newfoundland and Canadian society.

A sense of our past is important in the development of our self-concepts. And this is why I have mentioned some points from Noel's book. One has to read his whole book and other books in order to get a whole picture of the social setting of Newfoundland society in the past.

Let us go back to the point I was trying to make. The point was that self-concepts of individuals and of society change along with the changes in society due to various factors: independence, freedom, introduction of technology, education, mass media, active local leadership, etc)

Nobody can deny that tremendous social and economic changes have occurred in Newfoundland society. Thousands of people in the province have gone to schools: have acquired new skills and professions.

And nobody can deny the rising aspirations and expectations of people in the province. One can perhaps rightly point out that most Newfoundlanders are experiencing the first-generation social mobility. That is, for the first time, young people in the province are getting better education and jobs.

And there are signs that people are defining themselves in a new fashion, i.e., they are developing different self-concepts. For example, since 1970 there have been several demands made by teachers, students, labour unions, fishermen, tenants, and other groups. During this period Smallwood's administration ended.

These events in Newfoundland's social context may be considered as signs of increased social participation among large numbers of people about the functioning of educational, economic, political, and opportunity structure of their society, and about their rights and privileges in the society.

It is not unusual, in addition, to see Newfoundlanders talking seriously about the future of the province, the government, and evaluating Smallwood's achievements and mistakes critically.

Thus, the development of individuals' self-concepts is dependent upon the social conditions and the spirit of society. If people expect others to do different things in society, and if an encouraging atmosphere is created to achieve certain things, then most people will do what is expected of them.

But when large numbers of people in a society communicate in derogatory terms, then other persons, especially the young children, who are growing up in that society will end up developing self-concepts which are negative and narrow.

For example, when large numbers of people communicate to children in schools, in communities, at homes, at play grounds that only few of them have the ability to succeed in school, then only a few of them end up defining themselves as being capable for school work.

This is perhaps why 50% of the youngsters in Newfoundland don't go beyond matriculation: No one can deny that this is a great loss in Newfoundland's human potential and resources.

The important point, then, to remember is that one's self-concepts develop as one interacts with other members of his community and society. It is only by communicating with others that one experiences new things and learns what is expected of him.

If Tony's friends, parents, teachers and others with whom he talks every day tell him that he is a stupid chap, then Tony is likely to have a poor self-concept and act stupidly, for one's perception of what one can do influences one's actual performance.

THE MEANING OF HAVING POSITIVE SELF-CONCEPT OF ABILITY IN PRACTICAL TERMS

Dr. Amarjit Singh

In my other articles (see one in this issue) I pointed out that in the final analysis our self-concept of ability develops in the social and cultural context. It depends upon what our society expects of us, how it treats us. Therefore, we should know some facts about our society.

Many people believe that everybody in our society has an equal opportunity to be "successful" and that there are no psychological and social barriers. This is what we generally teach our children.

But contrary to that belief, the fact is that in our society opportunities, money, jobs, training, knowledge, power, status, prestige and education etc., are not equally distributed. This is true for Canadian society¹ as well as for Newfoundland.²

In an unequal situation people belonging to various groups are treated differently, i.e., they are expected to perform at different levels.

For example, rural people are treated differently from urban people, poor are treated differently from the rich, garbage-collectors are treated differently from medical doctors, black and other minority groups are treated differently from the whites, males are treated differently from females, and so on.

The result of these different social expectational levels is that millions of adults and children in our society find themselves in a vicious circle of learning negative self-concepts of ability.

That is, millions of adults and children in our society find themselves learning to be poor, learning to be stupid, learning to be slow learners, learning to be potential drop-outs, learning to be "non-verbal", learning to be "culturally deprived", learning to be "backward", etc.³

Thus, different expectational levels result in a type of learning which seems to be perpetuating social inequalities. Moreover, this kind of learning is taking place all the time and at various places.

It is taking place in schools, at 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, publishers of books are all involved.

For those people who are caught in the vicious cycle of "negative" learning, developing a positive self-concept of ability means (a) helping themselves and their children to learn about their past experience, (b) thinking about a new future, and (c) acting in the present to shape the future in order to gain relatively better conditions for living and enjoying life.

Further, having a positive self-concept of ability means understanding the functioning of society, that is, learning to find out the causes of poverty, discriminatory practices, prejudices, social inequalities and social injustices.

It also means (a) learning to participate in the political process of one's society and community, (b) learning to influence schools, government legislations, laws and regulations, university policies, content in books, programmes on mass media, church activities, etc.

In summary, it means learning to create public opinion and through it learning to make demands on the political system to bring about social equality and justice.

And what can those teachers, parents, school administrators, politicians, professors and others do who (a) themselves are not quite caught in the vicious circle of "negative" learning, and (b) who are perceptive of unjust, discriminatory and undemocratic practices in our society and schools?

In order to develop a positive self-concept of ability among young and adult members of our society they can at least do the following things:

1. They may not participate in the kind of teaching and learning which perpetuate social inequalities.
2. This can be achieved by critically looking at theories and concepts being used in classrooms. The concepts, theories which are biased and which contribute to social inequalities should be either eliminated from the course content or they should be considerably modified.
3. The dominant concepts around which contemporary educational practices are formulated can be found in many books. Some of these concepts are: intelligence, ability, culture of poverty, lower-class child, non-verbal child, culturally deprived child, unmotivated child, achievement-oriented child, merit, achievement, opportunity class, and so on. These concepts should not only be looked at critically, but they should be looked at from the point of view of those people who are caught in the vicious circle of negative learning.
4. Those teachers, parents, school administrators and others who are sensitive to the problem of "negative" learning in our society and culture may like to get away from theories which end up blaming the victim of negative learning.

That is, it is high time to get away from the reasoning that if Tony or Susan are not learning subjects taught in schools then there is something innately wrong with their intelligence and very little can be done for them by society.

5. Interested teachers, principals, parents, professors and school administrators may like to seriously find out **the influence of social forces on an individual's ability to learn, and what he or she learns.**
6. This can be achieved by carefully studying and evaluating the educational policy and practice in our society. And if the educational policies and practices are not relevant to the equality of educational opportunities (and social equalities in general) for those who are caught in the vicious circle of "negative" learning, then these should be changed or modified accordingly.
7. Committed teachers, principals, parents, professors, school administrators, politicians may like to extend their imagination beyond the narrow definition of teaching/learning practices which are simply directed towards grading, classifying and labelling children in the schools and adults in the larger society.
8. Teachers, principals, school administrators, professors and others may like to spend more time in the creation of social environments with new **norms and beliefs about human behaviours and new organizational patterns which will counteract the negative learning.** This can be done at both levels of environment: distant and immediate. (See my other article in this issue.)

In a future issue of **The Morning Watch I** shall be talking about the ways we can counteract negative learning among our youth and adult population.

Right now, the best way to finish this article, perhaps, would be to repeat the point that a healthy and positive self-concept of ability develops in a favourable and sympathetic social and cultural environment. How different people are treated in society and what is expected of them influences their perception of society and themselves; this perception influences their self-concept of ability, this in turn influences their actual behaviour which leads them to do "proper" things in a given situation. Their behaviour in turn affects what others will expect of them, and so on.

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DO WE SOMETIMES EXPECT TOO LITTLE?

Dr. Ishmael J. Baksh

The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy in Education

Suppose someone whose opinion you normally respect says to you:

I don't think you're a very good teacher, You make too many mistakes. You do the wrong things most of the time. I don't think there's any hope for you in the teaching profession. You'll never be able to do a good job.

What do you think your reaction will be? It is probably difficult to say. Perhaps you might become annoyed with that person. Perhaps you might say to yourself, that he or she has no right to make such statements. Possibly, you might dismiss the comments, saying to yourself that no one can tell exactly what another's real potential is. Again, it is conceivable that you might treat the remarks seriously. You might concede that perhaps you do have weaknesses which can be remedied through a sincere effort on your part. In this last case, you may well succeed in improving your competence as a teacher.

Suppose, however, that this person — say, your principal or your spouse — whose opinion you generally respect reminds you constantly of the alleged deficiency in your competence as a teacher, repeatedly informing you that you are not likely to succeed in becoming a good teacher. It now becomes difficult to ignore such judgements of your competence. You may find yourself being influenced by the assertions — the repeated assertions — of your inferior capabilities. You may in fact eventually accept the other person's judgements, i.e., your principal's or your spouse's, regarding your competence.

Once this stage is reached, you may stop believing you can improve. When you cease to believe you can improve, you are perhaps unlikely to make an effort to do so. Therefore, if you end up believing that you are a poor teacher you are likely to remain a poor teacher, no matter what your real potential for improvement may be. The result is that the other person's "prophecy" concerning your future as a teacher may well come true. It may do so not necessarily because you lack the potential to do better but because you are influenced unfavourably by the judgements made of you by the other person.

Events of the type described above do occur in real life. Quite often, we hold certain beliefs about what others are capable of accomplishing or of what kinds of behaviour they are likely to display. Then, somehow, such people are influenced to display the standards we expect of them. For example, teachers do make judgements about Johnny's ability to learn and accordingly adjust their expectations for Johnny. Johnny in turn ends up defining himself as a person with limited ability — because he believes his teacher — and adjusts his efforts to meet his teacher's expectations, regardless of his potential. In this way the teacher's prophecy about Johnny is fulfilled.

The possibility that such a phenomenon may occur raises interesting questions for us all as teachers. We are in frequent contact with pupils. It is almost inevitable that we will form opinions regarding such pupils. We may form judgements regarding how well specific pupils are likely to do in their school work, for example. Is it probable that we may form our opinions on the basis of "evidence" that does not necessarily reflect the real potential of our pupils? Also, is it conceivable that, having formed such judgements, we may influence our pupils in such a way that, somehow, our "prophecies" about them are realized? We may, indeed, end up expecting too little from them.

Are Our Judgements Well Founded?

Let us consider this question. There are many different factors which might help to shape our evaluations of pupils' capabilities. For example, there are the official school records of the pupils' past

performance as well as the informal remarks made to us by other teachers who have taught or are teaching the pupils, these may lead us to form certain opinions with regard to the potential of specific children. The problem is that past failure on the part of some children does not necessarily mean that they cannot learn. Past failure may be due to one or more of a variety of factors (e.g., inappropriate teaching methods, unsuitable subject-matter, and community or neighbourhood climate) and inability to learn does not necessarily have to be one of them. In judging pupils by their past performance, therefore, we may often be misjudging their potential.

In the same way, we may be mistaken in our judgements of pupils' capabilities because we are influenced by such factors as how well they dress, how "good" their personal appearance and standards of hygiene are, what kind of classroom group or stream they happen to be placed in, and what kind of social-class background they come from.

For example, I asked about sixty of my own students to grade a short composition "written by a boy living in my neighbourhood". I informed them that I wanted to see how close or how far apart the assigned marks would be. Here is the composition:

I does not go anywhere for my summer holidays, this year as usual I spent most of the time at home. My father had only two weeks off from his job. That is all the time he get off each year as leave. So that we cannot go very far away on our holidays. Besides, my family is large and my father does not earn very much money and we cannot afford to go on very long trips during our holidays.

Most of the time I played with the other kids in the neighborhood. We played baseball on the street and sometimes in a park not far from where I live. There were six of us who were together most of the time. When it was raining, I often stayed at home and read some things a friend lent me. In the two weeks my father was off we drove to provincial parks and had picnics. On some evenings my father and I went fishing. During my holidays I did not do much else. I enjoyed my holidays very much. My father and mother tried there best to make me happy. At first I thought .the holidays would be dull but they were very nice.

Then I repeated the process with another composition which went as follows:

My mother and father like to have a vacation every year. This year dad decide to take a month off from his practise and take my mother, my sister and me on a trip to Europe. My father thought that we should not try to rush true too many countries. He said we should choose a certain area and look at it very carefully. So that we would learn more about it. We chose the Rhine Valley in Germany.

We travelled in a plane to Germany and rented a car their. Then we followed the Rhine and spent a few days in each big city or town and looked at it very carefully. We visited many of the larger cities beside or near the Rhine. We saw old churches and other buildings. We spent hours in beautiful parks. We also went to museums and art galleries. Sometimes we got out of the cities and took cable-cars to the top of some mountains. Here we looked at the ruins of old castles and thoroughly enjoyed the view.

My holidays were very good, the family had a nice time together and we all learned a lot. The holidays were even better than we thought they would be.

In fact, as I subsequently informed my students, I was interested mainly in comparing the marks for the first composition with the marks for the second. I found that in all but two cases my students gave

the second composition the higher mark. Often, the second composition was thought to be worth twenty to thirty marks more than the first.

Now I had made up the two compositions to be virtually alike in terms of number of spelling and grammatical errors, types of errors, use of simple and complex sentence structures, and the essay plan. How, then, can we explain the differences in the marks? Do they occur, perhaps, because the supposed "writers" were perceived to come from different backgrounds and consequently were expected to perform differently?

There are many weaknesses in this little experiment. However, it certainly suggests that perhaps the backgrounds from which students come may influence the judgements we make about students' potentials.

It has been suggested — by more carefully conducted studies — that those whom we expect to do well tend actually to do well while those whom we expect to do badly tend to fall behind.

How Do We Influence Pupils' Performances?

Not much is known about how we succeed in influencing our pupils to perform according to what we expect of them. Perhaps we treat them in differing ways, depending on how highly we rate their capabilities. Perhaps we tend to be more pleasant, accepting and encouraging to those we believe are more promising. Possibly, we watch the "better" pupils more closely and respond more favourably to any signs of good work which they show, thus motivating them to continue trying.

Again, it is possible that we respond at greater length to the answers or efforts of those whom we expect to perform well. It is also likely that we often devote more time to the "brighter" children. In other words, it is quite likely that — even if we do not let our pupils know verbally what we expect of them — we may influence the quality of their work by treating them differently. In fact, recent research indicates that this is exactly what happens in the classroom.

In addition, we may communicate to pupils in different ways some idea regarding how highly we rate their ability. We may do this in more obvious ways such as by assigning grades or by grouping or streaming them. We may also do it in more subtle ways, such as by putting their work on display or by asking them to take on extra responsibilities. Through such activities, we may lead many pupils to believe that they are capable of doing good work. At the same time, our actions may cause other pupils to think themselves incapable of doing good work, with the result that they may cease trying.

Some Implications

It is impossible to pursue fully here the implications of the above discussion. As teachers, we probably need to examine carefully the judgements we have made regarding our pupils' potentials. Are our evaluations well founded? Also, might our pupils be better served if we assume that they are capable of learning much more — whatever our educational objectives might be — so long as they are provided with support, encouragement, appropriate teaching methods and curriculum, favourable school and community climates, and adequate attention? Perhaps it might be worth our while to discuss questions such as these.

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SOME MORE ON THE SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY IN EDUCATION

Dr. Ishmael J. Baksh

Introduction

Let's make a few more observations relating to the self-fulfilling prophecy in education.¹ There is some American evidence which suggests that if we expect more out of some children than of others we may actually get better performance from the former than from the latter.² Of course, the available evidence does not **always** point to such a conclusion. Furthermore, no studies have been done in Newfoundland schools to determine how far — if at all — the self-fulfilling prophecy occurs in schools in our province. It has been suggested, however, that there is sufficient indication of the occurrence of the phenomenon in American schools for us to accept that it exists there.³ This being so, it may well be desirable for us to examine the phenomenon more closely — if only to help ourselves guard against practices which may tend to induce its occurrence in our schools.

How Does the Self-Fulfilling Prophecy Come About?

In spite of all the studies which have been conducted, we still know relatively little about how exactly we manage to obtain from pupils the quality of performance we expect of them. However, the available research **does** suggest a number of ways in which we might possibly contribute to the occurrence of the self-fulfilling prophecy. How far they apply to our schools in Newfoundland has not yet been determined.

One way in which we are probably likely to bring about the level of performance we expect is through the varied use of praise and criticism — in other words, through differences in the quality of our interaction with our pupils. It has been found, for example, that students who normally do well receive about twice as much praise for giving correct answers in class than students who generally are not doing well.⁴ It seems, then, that good work or good performance on the part of the former group of students may often be received more positively by the teacher than similar work or performance on the part of the latter. It is possible that in the same way we may respond with greater amounts of praise in the case of students we expect to do well than we may in the case of students we do not expect to do well. It is not difficult to imagine what the effects of such varying response could be. Perhaps those expected to do well may — because of the more favourable treatment they are likely to receive — be more encouraged to persist with their work, be more likely to develop more positive attitudes toward the teacher and the school and generally be more likely to succeed in school.

It has also been reported that students who are not doing well at school tend to receive more criticism from their teachers for giving wrong answers than students who are doing well.⁵ What sometimes seems to happen, in other words, is that a student who is not doing well academically may encounter a more negative attitude on the part of his teacher than a student who is, even when both students have made a mistake. In the same way we may be more lenient toward and tolerant of poor performance by students when we have high than when we have low expectations of them. The possible effects of such differing responses by us on our students' attitude toward school, interest in work, and so on are perhaps not difficult to imagine.

It is also quite interesting to consider what might happen when students do not know the answers to our questions in class. Are students who are academically successful treated differently from those who are not, even when both types of students do not know the answer for the teacher's question? There seems to be very little for us to go on in attempting to arrive at an answer. Observation of classroom teachers during the course of an American study has revealed some difference in teachers' responses to the two groups of students.⁶ When students who were doing well at school did not know the answer or

gave an incorrect answer to the teacher's question, the teachers tended to persist with them. For example, the teachers repeated the question or provided clues to the correct answer. On the other hand, when students who were not doing well answered incorrectly or did not know the answer the teachers showed less inclination to persist; they were likely to "give up" more easily. Thus, the former group of students tended to receive more encouragement, more assistance and more persistent effort from their teachers. This may well have had beneficial effects as far as their academic work was concerned, thus giving them an advantage over their less successful counterparts. One wonders whether we respond in such differing ways according to the **level of expectation** we have of our pupils and what the effects of such differing response might be.

Not only are we often likely to respond differently to students who are successful than to those who are relatively unsuccessful at school but, some research suggests, we may have interaction differing in both quantity and quality with these two groups of students. There is evidence, for example, that teachers interacted more with "high achieving" than with "low achieving" pupils and that they tended to give their better pupils a longer time to think about questions than they did with their poorer pupils.⁷ In one study — an American study — it was found that the teachers spent more time communicating with students they expected to be superior than with those they did not expect to be superior, and that furthermore they communicated in a more positive and accepting manner with the former.⁸ It has also been reported that teachers often avoided initiating contact with students they rejected, that they often failed to provide such students with feedback about their work and that if they did provide feedback to such students it was more likely to take the form of criticism than positive remarks.⁹

The findings of such studies suggest the possibility that, as in the case of students with differing levels of school performance, we may have interaction of differing quality and quantity with students we expect to do well as compared with those we do not expect to do well. Further, it seems plausible to suggest that such differential treatment of students could well be involved in bridging the gap between teachers' expectations and students' performance at school.¹⁰ In other words, it seems possible that by acting differently toward the two groups of students we may help to bring about the level of performance that we expect.

There is yet another way in which we, as teachers, may induce the level of performance we believe is appropriate for our pupils: we may do this by setting different standards or goals for different groups of pupils. That is, we may be tempted to assume that certain groups of pupils or certain individual students for whom we have low expectations are not capable of doing a specified level of work. As a result, we set lower standards for those pupils for whom we have low expectations. Consequently, such pupils are likely to fall further and further behind those who are expected to do well.

Let me try to illustrate what I mean. In a fairly recent investigation, secondary school students in six countries were tested to assess achievement in mathematics)¹¹ As part of the investigation, information was collected regarding (1) whether or not the pupils had been given the opportunity to learn to solve the kinds of problems presented in the tests used and (2) whether or not the teachers thought the problems in the tests were suitable for their pupils. The results of the study revealed that the majority of pupils who "failed" the tests had been given little or no opportunity in school to learn to solve the types of problems contained in the tests. It turned out, furthermore, that their teachers by and large did not believe those types of problems were suitable for the pupils concerned. It seems, then, that the teachers involved did not have high expectations of certain pupils and set lower standards of achievement for them. This might have been one of the reasons why they got the level of performance they expected of their pupils.

Another way in which we may help to bring about in our pupils the kind and level of performance we expect is through influencing the pupils' self-concepts. We may do this by assigning them to specific groups which are known by everyone concerned to be either high or low in terms of desirability. Again, we may affect pupils' self-concepts through incidental remarks we make to them. And so on. In other words,

we may communicate to them either directly or indirectly — or both — that we do not think much of them, thus probably influencing the way they see themselves as well as their subsequent school performance.

Let me illustrate how we might communicate indirectly to pupils that we do not think much of them. The following quotation from a teacher might serve us well here:

Well, if you wanted a group of students to do canteen duty it's the ones from higher socioeconomic status that you're going to ask, because you know that you can trust them. They're getting enough money from home that they're not going to be taking it from the canteen. If you give them an assignment you know that they are going to get it done; therefore, if they do that they have got the responsibility enough to be able to look after the affairs of the canteen, and to be working in the canteen is a prestigious job. If you are having a dance or something that you want organized but there's no student council there, you ask the A class. Most of the higher socioeconomic status students are in the A class and they do all the organizing for these dances or the other social events you may have.

How might students' self-concepts be affected by experiences of these types at school; Here is how the teacher quoted above views the situation:

If the school was picking a group to represent the school most of the group would perhaps be picked from the A class. "We haven't got a chance," those in the C class would say. Then you had various organizations in the school...Red Cross and so on. "What's the good for us to go?" they'd say. "We'd never get elected to nothing...We'd only be there to listen...somebody to fill in if nobody else want something." ...One young fellow came in and said to me, "Sir, what's the use for me to come here anyhow?. Can't learn. ...I know as I can't learn. ...My mother and them knows I can't learn. ...And you people knows I can't learn because you put me down in the C class."

The possible effects of such self-perceptions on students' subsequent school performance, attitude toward school and chances of achieving "success" may easily be imagined, I think.

Summary

The evidence is not clear regarding how teachers' expectations concerning their pupils become manifest in the latter's performance. It seems likely, however, that the following factors may play an important role here:

1. We may give more praise and less criticism to those students for whom we have high expectations than to those for whom we have low expectations.
2. We may react with differing degrees of warmth, encouragement and so forth to these two groups of students.
3. We may spend differing amounts of time with the two groups of students.
4. We may set different standards for the two groups of students.
5. We may affect the self-concepts of the students in ways which are likely to influence the quality of their work, their attitudes toward school and their chances of achieving "success".

I have little evidence on the basis of which to assert that we in Newfoundland are "guilty" of some of the practices indicated above. My main purpose in discussing them has been to draw attention to the

ever present **danger** that through such mechanisms — if they do operate — we may end up obtaining the kind and level of performance we expect of our pupils.

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MYTH AND THE LOWER CLASS CHILD

Dr. Ishmael J. Baksh

A Function of Myths

We often find it convenient to create myths. "Indians are drunks," we may say. Or, "Negroes are lazy." Or, as Toronto natives may think, "Newfoundlanders are socially inadequate and stunned." We sometimes find it useful to have myths like these (some would refer to them as "stereotypes"): they enable us to justify the way we treat specific groups of people. For example, we can absolve ourselves of responsibility for the "failures" of such people because we can convince ourselves that they are themselves to blame for their fate. "They fail because they are drunks," we may say. Or, "They fail because they are lazy."

We seldom delve below the myths. We seldom ask **why**. Why, for example, do **some Indians** (certainly not all!) become drunks? If we did ask such a question we may be forced to concede that many Indians become drunks in part because we deny them access to "respectable" and satisfying pursuits and instead allot them a life of boredom and frustration. Similarly, if we asked why **some** Negroes appear to be lazy we may have to admit that such apparent laziness is often due either to the absence of opportunities for productive activity or to the menial and unattractive nature of the work they are asked to do. Again, Newfoundlanders can be understood only if their history is taken into consideration.

Such admissions on our part would imply the need for an effort by us to bring about certain kinds of changes in the society. For various reasons, we may find both the required effort and the changes rather unpalatable.

So, we frequently find it desirable to maintain myths about other people. Certain myths enable us to blame these people for whatever fate they enjoy in the society.

Myth and the Lower Class Child

In Newfoundland, as in other places, there is a danger that we may cling to myths that are detrimental to the life chances of the lower class child. Let's consider, for instance, the question of achievement values. We frequently say that the lower class child tends to lack ambition, that the lower class child tends to place little emphasis on achievement — at least as compared with middle class children.

Now such an assumption seems on the surface to be quite harmless. Perhaps it sometimes is. There is a very real danger, however, that having assumed the lower class child to be relatively lacking in "ambition" we may deny that we have any responsibility for his fate in society. "It's not our fault if he's a failure," we may be tempted to say. "It's his fault: he lacks ambition." Or, "It's his fault if he's a failure: he does not value achievement. There's little that the school can do for him."

It is important, however, that we ask why the lower class child often appears to have relatively low "ambition." A careful analysis is likely to reveal that there are complex reasons for the child's apparent lack of interest in "getting ahead." I shall examine only one of these — the possibility that **the child may perceive his chances of achieving "success" as very meagre.**

If we accept this as a plausible — though perhaps partial — explanation of the frequent tendency of the lower class child to appear deficient in ambition, then a further question seems to be justifiable. This is: **why might a lower class child perceive his chances of achieving "success" as very poor?**

Of course, in each individual case there may be one or more reasons.

Some Possible Reasons

It may be that the opportunities open to the individual are limited. Perhaps there may be no real opportunities. Under such circumstances, the individual can hardly be expected to entertain great hopes or expectations. An illustration which comes easily to mind is based on the experiences of certain ethnic groups in Trinidad (experiences which have had their parallel in many other places).

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, East Indians and Negroes in Trinidad generally showed little interest in education as a means of getting ahead in the society. From the point of view of some people, East Indians and Negroes might be described as placing little emphasis on education and thus on achievement. As far as education was concerned, the members of these two ethnic groups were not achievement oriented. The fact is, however, that for most East Indians and Negroes in Trinidad an education could bring no tangible reward. The better jobs in the society went to members of other ethnic groups. In other words, East Indians and Negroes **appeared** to be lacking in ambition at least partly because the social structure was such that they were generally denied opportunity to reap meaningful rewards for education and consequently attached little importance to schooling.

Today, in this very society, there is considerable emphasis on education among East Indians and Negroes (Indeed, among high school students who are academically successful, lower class males tend to be at least as ambitious as their counterparts of higher social status). The social structure has changed. East Indians and Negroes are the dominant groups politically and, to some extent, economically. Opportunity is much more abundant, and emphasis on educational achievement is considerably greater. The nature of the social structure seems to have made a difference with regard to achievement values in these two ethnic groups. (See Dr. Singh's articles on the self-concept of ability in *The Morning Watch*, Nos. 1 and 2, in which he presented the idea that it is the society which creates achievement orientation among its people and that no one group is inherently achievement oriented. What matters a great deal is how one group of people is historically treated by another).

It is quite possible, of course, that many individuals will perceive their chances of "success" as poor even in a society in which opportunity is reasonably plentiful. For instance, some lower class youths may not be aware of the variety of occupational channels through which they may enjoy upward social mobility. Many promising Newfoundlanders have been advised by adults that they should go into teaching. Once they were thought to be "bright" they were advised to become teachers. This was all they knew about. Now teaching has been a satisfying and rewarding career for many but if they were not attracted to teaching and consequently dropped out of the educational system, they were likely in many cases to lose the opportunity to achieve "success." Also, in many instances lower class youths could do little more than follow in the footsteps of their fathers.

The main point here is that some Newfoundlanders may perceive their chances of achieving "success" to be limited at least partly because they are unaware of the existence of avenues through which they might best exploit the capabilities they already possess. (Perhaps, too, there has not been enough emphasis on creating new capabilities). They can see few ways in which they might utilize to their advantage whatever opportunities are available in the society.

Frequently, in fact, they do not know what their talents are. Indeed, they may be made to feel — quite unjustifiably — that they have no talents whatsoever. In previous issues of **The Morning Watch** there have been discussions of ways in which the young may be made to feel that they are incapable of being successful. It has been suggested, for example, that parents, peers, teachers, other adults, school practices and the like may well contribute to the development of poor self-concepts of ability in youngsters. As a result they may feel that their chances of achieving "success" are extremely feeble.

Another factor which may sometimes induce pessimism in the lower class child regarding his chances of achieving "success" is the absence of models. Often, no one whom the child knows personally

has been "successful." Again, the child may know of no one or of few people from his type of background who have achieved "success" in the society.

It is difficult to communicate to the reader the importance of the latter point (i.e., knowing about people from one's own type of background who have been successful in the society). Once more, let us consider — for purposes of illustration — a situation which has existed in a certain developing society — Trinidad and Tobago.

In that society, it has been relatively easy — once one could obtain the appropriate type of appointment — to achieve upward social mobility by pursuing a career in a bank. One needed relatively little education (that is, formal schooling). A high school education would easily suffice for starting purposes. Indeed, many individuals who obtained jobs in the banks were known to have failed their final high school examinations or to have dropped out of high school. However, on the basis of on-the-job training, practical experience and, perhaps, courses taken at the expense of the bank, many were promoted to progressively higher positions.

Now, there have been many highly intelligent and academically successful East Indians and Negroes graduating from high schools (and from universities), but it never occurred to any of them to apply for a job in a bank. These young people went into numerous other occupations, but **they never entertained the idea of applying to a bank for a job.** An important reason for this, I suggest, is that they knew of no one from among themselves who had obtained a job in a bank. They had no models in this occupational sphere and they felt — perhaps with considerable justification — that they had little chance of obtaining employment in the banks. More recently, this situation has changed. As a result of various changes in the society, the banks began employing a few members of the two ethnic groups. Consequently, interest in careers in the banks has greatly increased among East Indians and Negroes. It seems that the availability of models has contributed, to some extent at least, toward making members of these two ethnic groups conscious of new career and mobility possibilities.

In Newfoundland — as elsewhere — individuals, especially lower class ones, may often be unaware of the possibilities available to them simply because they lack appropriate models. For example, one person — speaking of the male youths in a certain outpost — said:

Most of the guys there worked in the woods with their fathers. A few were fishermen, but not very many. Few went away to work or anything like this; they were the exceptions. Like, a few had gone away to trades school and some had gone to live outside the community, but other than that most of them stayed at home and went to work with their fathers. Most of them **did** want their Grade Eleven just the same. But they didn't make use of it, like, and they didn't generally go any further. The few who were accepted at trades school went there, but the rest stayed and did what their fathers were doing. ...There was one very intelligent guy living next door to where I was staying and I tried to encourage him to go to university. But he wanted to go to trades school. That was it, you see. If you could get to trades school that was hitting the top as far as they were concerned.

Speaking of the female youths, the informant said: As for the girls, Grade Nine or Ten was far enough. Very few went on as far as Grade Eleven. It was all right if you could do it but it wasn't necessary. I found that most of them left school by Grade Nine or Ten and got married. They get married real early in there! That was the thing that was done and that was it.

Implicit in the above examples is another factor which may result in the child's perceiving his chances of achieving "success" as quite poor — the lack of active support from people the child knows. There may be a variety of reasons why parents or others do not provide such support. For instance,

perhaps they too see the child's chances of being "successful" as limited — and they probably do so to a large extent for the very reasons that the child himself does. Thus, the parents or others may tend to feel that opportunities for upward social mobility for people of their background are few, or the school (through report cards and the like) may convince them that the child lacks the talents or capabilities needed for achieving "success."

Some Possible Implications

The following appear to be some implications of the foregoing discussion (if the factors indicated are assumed to be potential causes of the child's perceiving his chances to achieve "success" as very poor):

1. It may be necessary for us to examine how "open" Newfoundland society is: that is, how accessible to different groups are the various rewards which the society has to offer (This in itself is a major undertaking and requires a tremendous amount of research and discussion. Dr. Singh's article in this issue briefly touches on the "openness" and "closedness" of society and their implications for the education of the individual).
2. If the society is "open" we probably need to ensure that all youths are aware of the variety of avenues through which they might achieve "success".
3. It seems important for us to help youths recognize the strengths that they may possess. We are also challenged, it seems, to assist youths in developing positive self-attitudes (In previous issues of **The Morning Watch** there have been discussions of the self-concept, of the importance of learning situations which emphasize success rather than failure, and so on).
4. It seems appropriate for us to provide adequate models: Lower class youths probably need to know that others from their own type of background have been "successful" through a variety of avenues.
5. Social support for lower class youths appears to be important if they are to feel that they can be "successful"; we probably need to make sure that we are generating rather than destroying such support.

Of course, the above is not intended to be a comprehensive list of strategies for "raising" the level of ambition of lower class children. We have examined only **one** of the factors which may result in an apparently low level of ambition: the perception that one's chances of being "successful" in life are rather meagre. We have suggested some potential causes of such a perception and, on this basis, have indicated some possible lines of action. The identification of other factors and causes will no doubt suggest further lines of action.

The essential point in this article is that it may be desirable for us to guard against the adoption of unfounded myths, many of which seem to absolve us of responsibility for the fate of those we teach. It seems vital, by and large, for us to probe below the myths in order to uncover the complex of factors indifference to which may easily lead us to misjudge what our children are capable of striving for.

I am not suggesting that this is actually happening in Newfoundland schools. I have no evidence to justify such an assertion. I do believe, however, that **potential** "problems" should be identified and brought into the open for discussion. It is with this in mind that I entered into the above discussion.

**"... AND I WON'T BUY THE STATEMENT THAT
OUR CHILDREN ARE LAZY AND STUNNED "**

Dr. W.J. Gushue

What is the central fact, the most important fact, the most significant fact of Newfoundland education?

It is that we still are unable to get much more than 50% of our school youth through junior matriculation.

(No, I'm not being negative. Indeed, when one keeps in mind the sort of thing written below, the wonder is that we have done that well.)

Remember the reasons we used to give for our low holding power? "Yes, but what do you expect with a denominational system of education?" Well, the church representatives were taken out of the Department of Education and were the DEC's to disappear completely tomorrow it would not make one bit of difference in this regard.

"Yes, but how can you expect children to get through school when their hands and feet are frozen?" Well, we built the big, comfortable, central and regional high schools....

"Yes, but look at the low percentage of our teachers who have any university education." Well, we've graduated thousands of them....

So, we are left with the unavoidable fact: there must be something inappropriate about the school experience for a very substantial number of our school children. There must be, that is, a gap, a great difference, between the Newfoundland culture and the school culture. (And I won't buy the statement that our children are lazy and stunned.)

Now, as it happens, the school culture (any school culture, that is) is essentially a book, or print culture, whereas the Newfoundland culture is best described by the word "oral". As is well known, literate cultures and oral cultures are diametrically opposed.

A little historical perspective might help here, and for this I am indebted to my colleague, George Story.¹

Dr. Story notes that in the prestigious and definitive work, the **Literary History of Canada**, the contribution by Newfoundlanders is rather meagre. (This reminds him of Dr. Johnson's remark about a woman preaching: "it is like a dog walking on his hind legs. It is not done well; but you are surprised to find it done at all".)

One of the historians notes in the above work, supposedly because of the lack of a literary tradition in this province, that the Newfoundland culture was "debased" and that we as a people have been isolated from "humanizing influences".

Dr. Story also notes that in A Dictionary of Canadianisms there is not one Newfoundlandism. No sir, nary a one, and you'd think it would be chock full of Newfoundlandisms.

Now, why should this be? It is because the compilers of the dictionary looked to literary sources only.

And therein lies the key. Literary sources.

It is a fact that the consciousness of the people who "called the shot" in education in North America — e.g., Upper Canada and the Puritans in New England (even their servants could read) — was literary and historical; the consciousness of Newfoundlanders, though, was something else again. (In this regard, it helps to keep in mind that Edgerton Ryerson had more influence on Newfoundland education than Joe Smallwood, Archbishop Roache and Vincent P. Burke combined — remember, now, the book culture of the schools.)

If you want to look for the Newfoundland culture, you must, naturally enough, look for those aspects that are oral — for example ballads, storytelling, myth, folklore, and the like. You will find that not only is the culture not "impoverished" and "debased", but that it is one of the richest, if not the richest, in North America.

We are, perhaps, unequalled in the number of songs that we have preserved and composed. (Liam Clancy once told me that there were more songs here than in Ireland. "Naturally", I said.)

You will find that we are champions when it comes to storytelling. Naturally enough, again; we've had a lot of practice at it.

We are also rather adept at using devices of oral speech such as rhyme, rhythm, repetition (remember Smallwood?), exaggeration, and puns (I know some Newfoundlanders who can pun all day long but I cannot remember one professor who was a good punner — it's the lowest form of wit, you know.)

It is also true, as Ray Guy once noted, that we are in a class by ourselves when it comes to swearing. (I once knew a group of longshoremen, miners and labourers who could swear for five minutes straight without repeating a word.)

Incidentally, if you're still a bit hazy as to what is meant by oral culture, the best place to look is in the "Outharbour Delights" of Ray Guy; in fact that is about the only place to look. I am aware of the inferences that can be drawn from the poetry of E.J. Pratt, as well as from other sources.²

To belittle the Newfoundland culture because of a lack of a literary tradition is somewhat like chastising the Eskimos of years ago for their lack of progress in refrigeration. In fact, it's more stunned than that; it's like saying that people who are at the stoneage level of civilization don't have stone axes. I mean it's a contradiction in terms, isn't it?

The fact is, as Dr. Story points out, that Newfoundland is a nation. It's a nation in the sense that Quebec is a nation, not politically or economically, but culturally. We are a separate, homogeneous entity. Thus while rural Newfoundland is more oral than the urban centres, it can be seen that the Bayman-Townie dichotomy is a false one and in fact a hang-up that prevents us from seeing ourselves as we really are.

We don't belong to the Third World Model either. (It must be admitted, however, that in some ways we do resemble this model; for example, see Dr. Singh's article in this issue). Neither are we like rural New Brunswick, or northern Maine. You always know a Newfoundlander no matter where he goes.

Now the implications of all this for education are absolutely enormous. I mean, it's one thing to talk of this kind of difference and another to talk of "individual differences". Yet if you took all that's been written in education about the oral culture of Newfoundland you wouldn't have enough to fill the back of an envelope.

Why is this? It is, I think, in the main because the oral culture of Newfoundland is associated with poverty — terrible, degrading, back-breaking poverty.

We need to separate the two and we should follow the example of Ireland. Around the turn of the century a great effort was made in that country to cherish, praise and bless the Irish culture.

In future issues we will have more to say about the uniqueness of the Newfoundland culture and the educational implications that can be drawn but this is enough for one article.

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CRISIS IN NEWFOUNDLAND EDUCATION: THE WORSHIP OF VOCATIONALISM

Dr. Lloyd Brown

There is a crisis in Newfoundland education, one that takes the form of worship; worship, that is, of the useful, the practical, the vocational. This adulation of the utilitarian constitutes a crisis for at least two reasons. The first is that it is anti-intellectual, which is to say that it is implicitly and by neglect, if not explicitly and deliberately against the development of an active and live intelligence in the community. In this ethos of vocationalism we are becoming less and less concerned with the development of the powers of mind, powers that help us not just to cope with the world but to interpret it, to understand it, to transform it. The development of this live intelligence is synonymous with inquiry and debate, articulateness and precision of thought, insight and sound judgement, imagination and rationality. Any society that does not value these is in a state of collapse.

The cult of vocationalism constitutes a crisis for another reason: it represents a bankruptcy of Ideals and lack of vision. We seem to have lost our "belief in the powers and the capacities of the human mind") We have lost faith in the possibilities of intellectual development, and have lost faith also in our ability to contribute substantially to that development. Having lost this faith we have succumbed to the demands of pressure groups with their "little specialisms" — typing, driver education, cooking, woodwork. These are supposed to help us solve the every day practical problems. Gone is the notion that education is somehow related to insight, understanding and wisdom. As Whitehead says, "Our ideals have sunk to the level of practice",² and the result will be stagnation.

What makes this crisis particularly acute is that this concern for the immediately useful, this apotheosis of the practical, is a part of the temper of the times, Everywhere there are proselytizers — educators, politicians, the media. Everywhere there is worship, worship in deed and word. shall be specific. Even our brightest students are, on the advice of guidance counsellors and principals, bypassing university for vocational schools. Some students are dropping out of high school to qualify for Manpower grants to attend vocational schools. Superintendents of education are scrambling for more money so that they can "diversify" their programs, which is to say so that they can add practical, career-oriented courses. There is nothing that brings a glow to the face of an administrator like the addition to his school of a workshop, or a few stoves, or a facsimile of a store loft.

The preachers, too, are out in full force. Not long ago an editorial in **The Daily News**, with more confidence than insight, proclaimed vocational education as "the kind of education that they (youth) and the times require."³ Richard Gwyn, in a muddled article in **The Evening Telegram** called "Adults Going Back to Universities", claimed that because highly educated people do not necessarily create economic wealth for society as a whole, we probably have too many such people.⁴ Recently the Committee on Education and Human Resource Development added its voice to the chorus. Having said that the high school curriculum should be broadened to include career oriented courses, it continued: "It would appear... that we are recommending a system of composite high schools for the province. And, indeed, that might be the ideal solution." The only reason the Committee gave for its not being the ideal solution is that "we are constrained by the necessity to be practical and to bear in mind the limited funds available." Having suggested this "ideal solution" the Committee than felt obliged to write: "This is not to say that we deny in any particular the school's responsibility for the cultivation of intellectual competence."⁵ I suppose we should be thankful for small mercies; at least these educators do not DENY the responsibility of the school in the cultivation of the intellect. How depressing and how pernicious is the influence of the cult of vocationalism.

And then there are some politicians, confidently, prophetically declaring their priorities from public platforms. It has been said, for example, that while both the university and the secondary school are

important it is the trade and technical institutions which will make the greatest contribution to our province.⁶

What is one to make of this monotonous litany, this irrepressible, abounding faith in practical training? Some see in it signs of progress; I see frightening naivete, faith misplaced, and lack of vision. One can say as much without denigrating practical training, without denying its importance in industrial society. I do not despair **because** we have vocational training but because it has become our **ideal**. The central purpose of this kind of thinking is not that education should be a civilizing force, which is to say that it should be concerned with the development of reflection, delight in the things of the mind, with a concern for beauty and refinement, but that it should develop man as technician, as a cog in a great machine that will produce wealth. What an impoverished view of man is represented here: man as slave to the industrial machine. We have come a long way from the view reflected in the psalmist's question: "What is man that Thou are mindful of him?"

What are some of the ideas motivating this emphasis on the practical and what are some of the implications of such an emphasis? First, this kind of education is narrow, is concerned with only one aspect of man, man as worker, man engaged in a life of action. General education (the true function of the school) is concerned with man as man, as one who is free and is made so by reason, reflection, and imagination. He is not limited to the confined space of the world of work, but is one who shares the world with others. General education, then, emphasizes the understanding of the totality of man's world and those who share it with him. It is only in this way that he can create order out of the world, think new thoughts about it, and act in new ways toward it. This animating force behind our present emphasis on vocational training seems to be that the world of work is not just one aspect of one's world, but is all of it, is exhaustive; that man is worker and nothing else. Education supported by this view of man is stifling and restrictive because it takes as its aim the contracting of man's world. It makes him a slave to the world of work. In this sense, vocational training involves narrowness.

Related to this is the fact that practical, career oriented education ties the school to the status quo. It is always preparing students for what is — for jobs that now exist, for problems that are immediate. Apart from the fact that the schools cannot adequately cope with such a multiplicity of tasks, this emphasis on the practical leads to ad hocery. That is, the school becomes an ad hoc institution governed by pressure groups. Desperate to be relevant and anxious to serve the needs of society, it introduces, in response to the pressure groups, such courses as sex education, driver education, typing, and auto mechanics. But whose needs are being served? Those of business, of labour, of government? If the school teaches for these or other institutions, it becomes bound to them, forced to serve them, so that as an institution of independent thought it ceases to exist. The high schools of this province only secondarily exist for purposes of education; they exist primarily to prepare students for other institutions: vocational schools, colleges, business, university. George Story is right in saying that "The truth of the matter is that our educational institutions have fatally adapted themselves to our environment", often producing "faint carbon copies of whatever immediate concerns and pressures are on the mind...of the public."? Recently, Ian McDonald, the president of York University, is reported to have said, "We cannot sit back and lick our wounds. We have to discover what the public wants us to do, and the public has to decide what it expects of us."⁸ How democratic, but how wearisome, how depressingly sad. In trying to satisfy the many practical needs of the public we cannot make up our minds about the true function of the school. We do not know, for instance, whether it should be a day-care center, a workshop, a place for socializing, or a model home. The point is that in trying to be all things to all people, the school is overburdening itself; and in order to make room for beauty culture, cooking, typing, and carpentry, it gives less attention to the development of thought, reflection, imagination — its central concern. We see this everywhere. In some schools in St. John's, for instance, the typing teacher has twenty students while the English teacher struggles with forty-five to fifty; the home economics teacher also has twenty students and thousands of dollars worth of equipment, while the geography teacher goes to his class of forty-five with his globe.

Our emphasis on vocational training has also led to a blurring of distinctions. We are all, we are told, engaged in education. Nothing is more important than anything else, nothing is central, nothing peripheral. To make such distinctions would be undemocratic, elitist. The comprehensive school is a part of this phenomenon, a part of the twentieth century's propensity for levelling. It is more a social phenomenon than an educational one. The argument of its proponents is that the mixture of students from different backgrounds will promote sympathy and understanding. The students, J.B. Conant says, will come "to know one another", "to learn how to get on with one another". He specifies that his reasons for supporting comprehensive schools are "social rather than educational" He continues: "it is important for the future of American democracy to have as close relationship as possible in the high school between the future professional man and the future craftsman".⁹ But in this great socialist atmosphere of brotherly love is there not some danger that the emphasis on variety and diversity may lead to mediocrity? May not such a system leave the intellectually superior student unchallenged? Is it not possible that the emphasis on homogeneity may weaken and trivialize traditional subject matter?

G.R. Ottenheimer, our former Minister of Education certainly felt no need to make any fine discriminations in the following statement:

It should not be suggested that the University is the only institution involved in intellectual formation and matters of the mind whereas the other institutions are concerned exclusively with technical training...The pursuit...of excellence...in whatever area, is in itself among the most valuable of educational experiences. The post secondary institutions of this province are co-equal and co-important.¹⁰

This statement is an example of the muddled thinking about education by politicians. It is a desperate attempt to avoid making distinctions. For example, "the pursuit of excellence in whatever area" is not in itself "a valuable educational experience". Would we count excellence in lock picking, extortion, and murder a valuable educational experience? How are all post secondary institutions in this province co-equal and co-important? Ottenheimer leads us to believe that they are so because they are equally concerned with "matters of the mind". If we accept this, it does not matter which institution a student attends; they are all engaged in and equally concerned with educating him. We know that this is not so. Vocational schools do not claim to educate. They are primarily concerned with training in the use of things, and study things solely because they are useful. Even the traditional disciplines of knowledge (the few that are given) are so studied. M.J. O'Brien, in a report on the College of Trades and Technology, makes just such an admission. In claiming that the College is, apart from vocational subjects, also concerned with academic subjects, he adds a telling sentence: "The College is careful to avoid the pitfalls inherent in teaching something for its own sake". He went on to say that that subject matter is given top priority which is most "directly applicable to the field of specialization". This explains, I suppose, the absence of literature, sociology, philosophy, the history from the College's program. They are unrelated to any field of specialization. But surely we are not surprised. This is precisely what we would expect, and is precisely why we must discriminate between general education and vocational training. This distinction must be made not that we may downgrade one or the other, but that we may make it clear that one is no substitute for the other. All educated men need training, and all trained men need to be educated. And to continue one's education one will not choose a vocational school; one's best bet for this is still a university. For in their concern for "matters of the mind" these two institutions are not co-equal, and it is mischievous to maintain that they are. Vocational institutions exist primarily to prepare us for earning a living, to make us comfortable in the world as it is. The university still takes seriously its responsibility in questioning and arguing about the world in which it exists. It attempts to make us uncomfortable with it as it is. The university, to quote Northrop Frye, provides "a continuous current of mental energy flowing into the world, a current of mental energy which is the powerhouse of freedom."¹² The vocational school lays no claim to this "powerhouse of freedom"; it is more concerned with adaptation than freedom, less concerned with a flow of mental energy than with a flow of technical proficiency. To try to blur these distinctions is to do both institutions a disservice.

Why is it that vocational training has become so popular? Its proponents give many reasons. Three of the most common are: It helps those students from low socio-economic backgrounds (and who are unlikely to go to university) to get jobs and thus solve their problems. It gives all students a chance for some form of education and thus contributes to the democratization of education. In high school, emphasis on vocational training helps to make general education more intelligible; it helps students to see the need for academic subjects like reading and mathematics.

Let us deal briefly with each of these claims. Vocational training as a panacea for the problems of the poor is a mistake. As Broudy says, it leads to a "drastic reduction in the amount of general education available to the children of the disadvantaged, and this condemns them to perpetuating their disadvantages indefinitely".¹³ Magsino expresses a similar view:

It is fairly clear that to vocationalize secondary education for the non-university bound is to contribute to his unfreedom, or lack of autonomy. If he is vocationalized before he has achieved the competencies, attitudes, and knowledge needed for life in a complex society, then we leave him unfree. Unfree, that is, to decide on the vocational or professional life he is to follow, and unfree because susceptible to the manipulations of mass media, politicians, demagogues, money lenders...and the like.¹⁴

Those educators who emphasize vocational education for students who are poor seem to be saying that general education is not for them but for the rich, the select few, the elite. And since the poor are not likely to go to university, subjects such as history, literature, and science are not important for them. But surely a feeling for, and some understanding of the ways (as represented by the disciplines of knowledge) that man has looked at the world is not just for the few. It is surely short sighted, in an age of mass culture, mass media, mass goods, mass entertainment; an age that is so desperately in need of imagination, insight, and critical acumen, to think that the school is obligated to offer its students courses in putting on make-up and in taking off hub-caps. One thinks of Milton's line: "The hungry sheep look up and are not fed."

Vocational training is also inappropriate preparation for life in a democratic society. This is so because everyone in a democratic society is to some extent a ruler and needs education appropriate for a ruler, education that develops understanding and sound judgement. If we believe that the development of understanding and sound judgement is necessary for all, and if we believe that all can be educated in some degree in this sense, how can we seriously argue for the early streaming of some students into vocational courses? It cuts them off from the liberalizing influence of general education and denies them the critical consciousness that it develops. Is faith in the ability of the masses to be educated justified? I do not know for certain the answer to that question, but I believe that we have not seriously tried to provide a basic liberal education for all; and I believe that whereas some students will need more help than others to benefit from a program of liberal education, most have the capacity for such an education, given the appropriate choice of content, right sequencing, appropriate motivation, and the like. If there are many who cannot benefit from such a program, we must conclude that the democratization of education must fail.

The argument that vocational courses help to make general education more intelligible in that they help students see the need for academic subjects is not very strong, certainly not strong enough to justify the thousands of dollars spent on such courses in our schools. If, for example, such courses do show the need for Mathematics and English, the question arises, what kind of Mathematics and English? Will woodwork call for any understanding of the structure of Mathematics? Will it require the reading of poetry? If the answer to these questions is "No" (as I believe it is), we must conclude that even those subjects that may be used in vocational subjects will be limited in scope. That is, the Mathematics or English use, for instance, will be abridged, limited versions of them, dealing only with those aspects that are related to the things being studied in the vocational subjects. It must also be pointed out that the number of subjects that can be so used are limited. It is difficult to see, for example, how history,

literature, or music can be made more intelligible through the study of auto mechanics or beauty culture. Surely if we want students to use what they learn from the disciplines of knowledge, there is always life for them to practise on. And that, surely, is what education is meant to do, make life more intelligible.

Conclusion

Our present emphasis on vocational training is a mistake. It gives the impression that we are educating while, in fact, we are denying opportunities for education to many young people because we are making vocational training so easy and attractive. For this reason and because the introduction of vocational courses in our schools take both money and attention away from the central purpose of the school — providing a liberal education — there should be no further expansion of vocational programs in our high schools, and certainly no thought given to the construction of comprehensive high schools.

Vocational schools, if such schools are necessary (and a strong argument can be made against them), should give some thought to providing vocational education as distinct from vocational training. Vocational education, as Entwisle says, implies that there is an attempt to create awareness of the moral, social, economic, political, and aesthetic aspects of work.¹⁵ It is not enough for young people to be prepared for work, but if they are to integrate themselves into society, they must understand the context in which they work. Whitehead says something similar:

A technical...education, which is to have any chance of satisfying the practical needs of the nation, must be conceived in a liberal spirit as real, intellectual enlightenment in regard to principles applied and services rendered.¹⁶

And later he adds:

There can be no adequate technical education which is not liberal...that is, no liberal education which does not impart both technique and intellectual vision.¹⁷

What are some of the questions that such a program of vocational education would consider? The following are some examples:

Ethics

1. What are the moral implications of automation? How are we to use the human energies liberated by automation?
2. What are the responsibilities of organized labour for the unemployed? For the unorganized? For the poor?
3. What are the responsibilities of organized labour for the quality of work?

History

1. What were the beginnings of unionism? What were the economic and political conditions that motivated unionization?
2. Have the conditions changed? How so?
3. What were the original aims of unions? Have they changed?

Aesthetics

1. What is the nature of mass culture?
2. Does it matter that so many are slaves to mass culture?
3. Has advertising developed a stereotype of taste in art, music, literature?

Economics

1. What is the nature of the economic system in which we work?
2. What are its strengths and weaknesses?
3. How is wealth distributed? How might the distribution be improved?

The point to be emphasized here is that one's job is not an isolated activity, confined to one's place of work. It has ramifications outside it. For, hopefully, to be working is to be concerned with the quality of one's production, with the distribution of wealth that one creates, with one's link to the workers of the past, with the aesthetic nature of the environment in which one works. Thus, vocational education that includes ethics, history, aesthetics and economics contributes to the development of ideal worker in that it helps him to understand not just his job but the nature of human society.

The high schools in Newfoundland should add another year of general education to its program (we have, after all, one or two fewer high school grades than other provinces). This is not to say that I am advocating a return to the memorization of subjects. I am not making any such claim; neither is this what is needed. What is needed is the belief that our children, all of them, can benefit from general education, from participation in the life of the mind. The essence of this education is the development of man's ability to think, to reflect about himself, his environment, his culture, his future. The capacity to imagine, to compare, to make judgements, is the basis of human progress; it is what has brought us from barbarism to civilization. This kind of education is achieved through teaching the disciplines of knowledge, but not from the point of view of preparing specialists, not from the point of view of their usefulness to vocations, but from the point of view of their contribution to stimulating thought about and understanding of the world and its problems. This kind of education is not a luxury, is not just for the few but for all. From this point of view it does not make sense to say that one can have too much education or that we have too many educated people. Nor from this point of view does it make sense to say that this kind of education is "for going to university". It is not for going anywhere; it is for where we are. With its emphasis on imagination, understanding, insight and wisdom it belongs to all of us, and our future depends on the imagination, understanding, insight and wisdom which we devote to the task of making sure that our children receive it.

FOOTNOTES

1. Story, G.M., **Education and Renaissance** (St. John's: Dicks & Company, 1962), p. 9.
2. Whitehead, A.N., **The Aims of Education** (New York: New American Library, 1929), p. 39.
3. Gwyn, R., "Adults Going Back to the Universities" in **The Evening Telegram**, Summer, 1975.
4. "High School Dropouts", editorial in **The Daily News**, Spring, 1975.
5. "Report of the Committee on Education and Human Resource Development", 1975, pp. 34-35.
6. See, for example, Moores, F., **School World**, Vol. 23, No. 1, 1973, p. 15.
7. Story, G.M., **Education and Renaissance**, p. 11.
8. Quoted by R. Gwyn in "Adults Going Back to the Universities".
9. Conant, J.B., **The American High School Today** (Toronto: New American Library of Canada, Ltd., 1964), p. 62.
10. Ottenheimer, G.R., **School World**, Vol. 23, No. 5, p. 3.

11. O'Brien, M.J., **School World**, Vol. 23, No. 2, p. 17.
12. Frye, N., By **Liberal Things** (Toronto: Clark, Irwin & Co. Ltd., 1959), pp. 15-19.
13. Broudy, H.S., **The Real World of the Public Schools** (New York: Harcourt Brace Javanovich, 1972), p. 159.
14. Magsino, R.F., "Illich, Freedom, and Schooling" in **Schools Freedom and Authority**, M.J.B. Jackson, Ed. (St. John's, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1975), p. 45.
15. Entwisle, H., **Education, Work and Leisure** (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), p. 56.
16. Whitehead, A.N., **The Aims of Education**, p. 63.
17. **Ibid.**, p. 56.

Section II Cultural change and re-evaluation of schooling

NEWFOUNDLAND'S ORAL TRADITION: THE FORCE OF THE SPOKEN WORD

Dr. W.J. Gushue

In the first article on this series it was mentioned that the culture in Newfoundland is described as oral; that it is to the oral tradition and not to literacy that one must look for that culture; and that we Newfoundlanders have not written or said much about our culture because, unfortunately, it is associated with poverty, which, naturally enough, the older members among us would just as soon forget.

Now, before commencing this article, there are a couple of points that should be made.

In the first place, the fact that I am describing Newfoundland's culture as "different" should not be taken to mean that I am ascribing either positive or negative value to it. That is, I am not saying that it is "good" and I am not saying that it is "bad"; I am merely describing it. (Admittedly, though, I am biased in one direction and this bias will show through at times.)

Another point is that it is obviously very difficult to say just what type of culture Newfoundland has today. It varies from urban to rural communities, from place to place, and from person to person; and it is changing all the time. But this much can be said: whereas it appeared to some of us in the 1960's that our culture was about to be inundated by a global culture, it is now evident that we were wrong and, in fact, it may be that our culture is stronger than ever. So it is that one is probably on fairly safe ground with the assertion that there is still a strong oral tradition in this province. (In any event, it is a certainty that our culture was oral and it helps to know our roots.)

But to continue with the epistle for today...

What we are getting at here and in the ensuing articles is that when a child from a strong oral tradition goes to school he finds the experience so different that he suffers a kind of culture shock. It behooves us, then, to note some of the differences between these two traditions, the oral and the literate.

One simple difference is that the spoken word has much greater emotional force in oral cultures. Speakers and listeners become emotionally involved with words to an extent that literate people find difficult to believe.

This is one characteristic of the oral culture that still holds true in Newfoundland. Even senior students at the University still find it difficult to talk to a group. One still hears of students who open their mouths to speak and no sounds come forth and who have to go to the bathroom to vomit because of such an experience. These are extreme examples but it is the writer's opinion that perhaps as large a fraction as one-third of the senior students in this Faculty are fearful of speaking in class and that when they do they show the usual characteristics of the rush of blood to the head, the drying up of saliva, and the shaking of the knees. (This situation is changing all the time; it wasn't too long ago when the majority of students in this Faculty were showing these signs.)

On the other hand, people from a highly literate tradition can talk to one another, in formal situations if necessary, about very weighty matters without raising their voices. (The writer is aware that there are other forces at work here besides literacy. But it is not possible in this series to talk about all these forces and, in any case, I am not qualified to do so.) Two such groups gathered around a table in Montreal a few years back and spent the greater part of a day throwing the most vicious insults back and forth, threatening lawsuits, and the like — and all in a monotone, for God's sake. Finally, one group was awarded the stake (about one million dollars). They in turn invited the losers out for dinner and they all had a great time. The writer, meanwhile, had a knot in his stomach about the size of a grapefruit.

In this vein academics can, and do, chop one another up without even breathing hard.

Can you imagine two groups of Newfoundlanders hurtling insults at each other across a table for a whole day?! Why, there wouldn't be a stick of furniture, or anything else, left in the place.

The fact is that even today words are not received lightly by Newfoundlanders. Sometimes words are like bullets and on such occasions anything is likely to happen, and often does, like fighting, for example.

I don't wish to give the impression that we Newfoundlanders are all rowdymen or that we are prone to inflict pain on others or on ourselves. Indeed, the long history of peaceful living in our communities contrasts sharply with the violent history of other parts of North America.

It is interesting to note one of the mechanisms that we use in oral communication with one another.

Before stating what that is, it should be borne in mind that oral communication in this province occurs in a peculiar setting. As colleague Herb Kitchen keeps reminding us, Newfoundland was settled in a unique way. Unlike rural areas elsewhere, where the typical pattern is a farmer here, another one or two miles down the road, and so on, Newfoundlanders settled in small, compact, isolated villages. Personal interaction in such villages is incredibly intense.

Now if there is any truth to what I am saying about the force of the spoken word, it can easily be seen that one has to be very careful about what one is saying in face-to-face situations in such communities. I mean, where interaction is this intense, almost anything said of a weighty nature could have the effect of "leaning" on a neighbour. Were this to happen with any frequency, fission would occur and life in the community would become intolerable.

Thus it is that we have developed to a high degree the art of talking about innocuous subjects, the most common of which is the weather. This tradition is so strong that today there are Newfoundlanders who talk about the weather dozens of times daily even though the weather has little or no meaning in their lives.

Our readers may recall that Ray Guy once wrote a column in **The Evening Telegram** which consisted of the conversation between two women who, it can be said with some accuracy, talked about "nothing".

Fortunately, we have now in print from a description of just how this occurs. It can be found in **Craftsman-Client Contracts**¹ by Louis Chiaramonte. A few years back Chiaramonte, a sociologist at Memorial, went to live in a small, isolated outpost to study how contracts were made between two parties, e.g. between a fisherman and a dory-maker. The last thing to be mentioned is the matter of the new dory. Indeed, it may not be mentioned at all but instead the client may refer to the fact that his old dory is in slack shape; the craftsman will take it from there.

The essence of the whole thing is here. The client can't "lean" too hard on the craftsman because the latter may refuse him. In that case, economic hardship could follow and furthermore the community could suffer from an intolerable split.

Consistent with our theory here, Professor Chiaramonte notes that the contract is never in the written form; a man's word is his bond. Such is the force of the spoken word in the oral culture.

There are some important educational implications here and, although they are pretty obvious, I suppose not much harm would be done if I mentioned two or three.

The problem of speaking in class is a very real one. If this point is not fully grasped, God knows what damage may be done. A shy, sensitive child who is thrust too suddenly into classroom conversation will have a fear for school and will make up his mind to drop out at the first opportunity for we all go to great trouble to avoid situations that we fear.

On the other hand, it is only common sense to assume that one of the aims of schooling today would be the ability to speak in social situations. This means that once the beginning has been made, massive amounts of time must be spent speaking in class. It's as simple as that — if the objective of education stated in this paragraph is accepted.

Added to the problem of reticence, there is the further problem, in some people's minds anyway, of getting Newfoundland school children to speak "properly". In this regard, attention is called to the article by John Sharpham in this issue. Sharpham is proposing in effect that there be two languages — bilingualism of a type — one to be spoken locally and one for communicating elsewhere. This appears to be eminently satisfactory to me and young people (admittedly few in number) assure me, the exposure to electronic media being what it is, that this presents no problem as far as they are concerned.

With regard to the last point, thank God there's been a very noticeable change in educational institutions in the province. At the University the change represents a veritable 180° turn. While people in departments all over the campus have been responsible for this change, I don't suppose anybody would mind my singling out Professor Grace Layman and her colleagues for the first-class effort they have made in this direction.

And that's a good point on which to end this article.

¹Chiaromonte, Louis, **Craftsman-Client Contracts**. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, M.U.N., 1970.

NEWFOUNDLAND'S UNIQUE CULTURE: THE HUNTING TRADITION

Dr. William J. Gushue

Well, let's see now.

The Vice-President (Academic) of Memorial University has set up the Committee on Newfoundland Studies; Clyde Rose has edited a book of Newfoundland writers and Pat O'Flaherty is teaching a course on the same subject; Cecil Mouland has become well known in the last year or so (even though that awful disaster occurred 60 years ago); Pat Byrne and Elley Coles are "coming into their own"; **Cod on a Stick** was "right on" (Ray Guy said that); three original plays about the Newfoundland culture (by Tom Cahill, Michael Cook and Kathleen Pottle) are entered in this year's provincial drama festival; Otto Tucker and Mryle Vokey have been travelling all over the province encouraging school personnel to introduce courses on Newfoundlandia; and some of our leading local politicians recently, while on the topic of what it is that we are celebrating this year, have stressed the **uniqueness of our culture**. (And all that is off the top of my head.)

Remember what I wrote in the first issue of **The Morning Watch** about our following Ireland's example in praising, cherishing, and blessing its own culture? Well, I dare say, we are under way...and you can write down 1973 or 1974 as the time when it all began to roll. Come to think of it, that was when we commenced **The Morning Watch**.

I've been stressing the point that Newfoundland's culture is oral. Here I wish to make a further point: it is an oral culture with a difference.

The difference lies in the fact that, in a particular sense of the word, Newfoundlanders have been a nation of **hunters**. We say special sense because Newfoundland did have a farming technology as well as the institutions that have been developing since the revolution in agriculture — the Neolithic Age, or the last 10,000 years.)

Thus, David Blackwood in **The Wake of the Great Sealers**¹ refers to his ancestors as hunters; hunters of the cod and the seal. George Story sees in Blackwood's series of engravings on the seal fishery the primal rites of the hunt itself — ritual and sacrifice. The hunt, he says, is "a last link with the great racial and tribal mythologies of the past".²

The adjectives that Cassie Brown selected to describe the Newfoundlanders of whom she wrote were, "daring, foolhardy, superstitious, religious, outstandingly brave..." These are not exactly the words one would choose to portray people who live in the security of their tilled plots of land. As I said above, the tilling has been going on now for an awful long time, so that when we say we are a "nation" of hunters, well...the mind boggles.

(Now if Jack Davis and Brian Davies really grasped what they were hold of, do you think... ?)

And now, a very important point: we were hunters of the sea, not the land, and that made some difference.

Whether we lived, or whether we died, it seems, depended mainly on the sea. The soil yielded very little and meat on land was scarce.

George Allan England, one of a handful of people who put in print form a sensitive and insightful account of Newfoundland and her people, wrote, "Newfoundland must live by the Atlantic, by cod and

seal or perish".⁴ Farley Mowat called Newfoundland "a true sea province"⁵ and Cassie Brown wrote, "The sea moulded their existence and the sea moulded their character".⁶

Furthermore, we were seamen not of any ordinary sea, but the North Atlantic. One has to sail around a few coastlines before the realization dawns as to just how wild, rough and cold this ocean is. The fact of the matter is that a living had to be wrested from a hostile sea, a sea with stormy, windy, foggy and icy conditions — and frequent drownings.

There is a beautiful line that was given to Farley Mowat by an oldtimer who was explaining the difficulty in wresting a living from such an environment: "We sneaks upon what we wants and wiggles it away".⁷ Oddly enough, Mr. Mowat seems to have missed the point completely in the story of Moby Josephine.⁸

Anyway, here's an interesting sidelight to the whole hunting tradition. When the hunter is finished with his work he rests for a time, that is, his work is dictated by the seasons. To this day there must be retired Colonels from the U.S.A.F. who once in a while ponder the meaning of the words, "to fix the cellar" — a frequently heard phrase on the American bases in Newfoundland in the Fall of the year.

The passion for hunting is a wondrous thing to behold. It is impossible to describe and has to be witnessed to be understood.

There are some people (even writers) who have so little insight into this tradition that they think, for example, that the reason sealers went to the ice was for money. I have get to meet a sealer who gave that as the reason but in any case note the following: "The seal hunt is the greatest in the world...in point of perils from ice, blizzards, fire, explosion, drowning..."⁹ So, as I say, there is more to hunting than just getting food for the kitchen table.

No, and the tradition isn't dead either. There are still thousands of Newfoundlanders who get "funny all over" when the sealing season opens each year. There are thousands of others who become wonderfully agitated around the 24th of May. (Remember the Bullet Special?) And what about chasing turrs on a blustery winter day in the North Atlantic.?

So, the tradition was hunting; the hunting took place at sea; but it wasn't just any old sea; the sea surrounded a particular kind of land.

On top of all this, there was "the system". Since this system is well known to most of our readers, two quotations should suffice: "(They were) born to poverty and incredible hardship...they accepted the system".¹⁰ "They would see little hard cash in their lifetime since they would usually be in debt to the local merchant..."¹¹

"The Main Patch" Theory

All this leads up to an important orientation, an important part of the "make-up", of Newfoundlanders.

Some people refer to this orientation as fatalism. However, one must be careful here of what one is saying.

It is not true to say that Newfoundlanders have been (or are) fatalistic in the literal sense of the word, in the sense that everything is predetermined.

Neither is it true that we were fatalistic in the sense used by some social scientists — the pejorative sense — i.e., some societies are described as fatalistic, meaning that the people in these societies have given up trying.

If there was one characteristic that was not part of the Newfoundland tradition, it was giving up. That was one thing Newfoundlanders did not do; we can make that statement on the basis of personal experience. Our readers can test this point today by simply talking to any of the thousands of old-timers who had an especially rough time at some period, say, during the depression. A conversation with these veterans would go somewhat as follows:

- Q. "So how did you do that year?"
A. "A real bad year...no fish came...we ended up owing such and such on the merchant's books."
Q. "And how about the next year?"
A. "The year of the storms...couldn't sell any fish...didn't have much to eat that winter."
Q. "And what did you do the next spring?"

The jaw juts out, the eyes taking on a there's-nothing-in-the-world-that-would-make-me-give-up look, and you know what's going to be said next.

So, there's "no way" that we were fatalistic in these terms. I mean, the very fact we lived in this environment, the state of technology being what it was, proves that we were anything but fatalistic regarding the immediate, physical environment. Did not Winston Churchill say that Newfoundlanders were the best small boatmen in the world?

And yet, in two respects, one could say that this tradition was a part of the Newfoundland "make-up".

The first point to be made is that, it is one thing to talk about control over physical nature and a very different quintal of fish to talk about the mastery orientation with regard to social structures and new technologies.

Note the reaction to the old system, simple as it was: according to England the Newfoundlanders he knew were only vaguely aware of that system, and, as far as improving their lot was concerned, this was something that they didn't even dream about.¹²

In this regard, centralization came late in Newfoundland's history. For many of the old people involved, the result of centralization was pure, unadulterated pain. Yet there was hardly a murmur. Why not? Because if the leaders of the system say that we will move, well, then...that's it...isn't it?

The other point is that, traditionally anyway, Newfoundlanders appear to have placed trust to an unusually high degree in fate, luck, chance, God's will, and so on.

I think it is characteristic of hunters, and seamen in particular, to be this way. I mean, living itself in this environment is a chancy affair, isn't it? Thus it was, that Newfoundlanders were always looking for "the main patch", "the big haul", "the big catch", or what have you.

This leads into a very interesting point — one which students of the Newfoundland culture regard as rather odd. It is the fact that Newfoundlanders have traditionally been an optimistic people.

But that should not come as a surprise. If it is the case that one's success or failure often depends on forces outside of oneself, one is apt to take a chance — which may result in the big haul, etc. Whether a man returned safely from the ice depended, in part, on luck. Similarly, in the fishing season, storms, fog, markets for fish, and so on, were events over which fishermen had little or no control.

In this tradition, when a man was marked for death, nothing could save him. But there was a corollary: a person would not die until his time comes. Does this help to explain, I wonder, why Newfoundlanders have traditionally been non-swimmers? (Oh yes, I know the cold Atlantic is a factor.)

This orientation may explain as well why, even to this day, we have been notoriously slow to adopt measures of safety and caution. The Newfoundland disaster of 1914 could have been avoided if she had wireless. Farley Mowat referred to the fact that the sealers on the Viking used to knock the dottle from their smoking pipes on to the cases of blasting powder." And England was scared out of his wits by similar practices on the Terra Nova:

"The men seem to have no prescience of perils. At the beginning I got used to seeing them sit on powder cans and calmly smoke their pipes. Later I observed them fitting bombs, still smoking. That was a mere commonplace.. .Laisser-aller is the sealers' motto."¹⁴

The writer once worked in a surface mine in this province where nine men were killed in a relatively short time. Talk about taking chances!

And what about some of our local drivers on the Trans Canada Highway. Would it be an exaggeration to say that they were placing a lot of trust in luck or fate?!

Taking a chance, then, or making it on the basis of luck, appears to have been an important aspect of the Newfoundland tradition. (And it may still be.)

The writer admits, dear reader, that he feels somewhat insecure and awkward with the material in this section. On the one hand, the falsehood that Newfoundlanders were (or are) fatalistic - in the pejorative sense - should be laid to rest. On the other hand, we know from our own experiences that there is "something to it". The problem is that nobody has named or described just what "it" is. However, we have a vital interest here because if "it" turns up in school, it makes all the difference in the world - which leads us to the next section.

An Important Consideration for the Educators

In the early 1960's a Newfoundlander by the name of Herb Kitchen, while doing graduate work at the University of Alberta, became interested in the problem under review here. This led him to Florence Kluckhohn and other scholars who had written about the notion of "world view". This notion is roughly equivalent to that of "philosophy of life". It is the "picture of the world" that each person has and, I suppose, the modern term would be "consciousness".

Anyway, Herb Kitchen took one component of Florence Kluckhohn's rationale on world view, namely, that of World-Nature, and developed a questionnaire to test the Mastery-over-Nature and Subject-to-Nature orientations.

Ten years ago to the month this questionnaire was given to all the Anglican students in Grade 9 in this province.

The findings¹⁵ were significant and important and should be known by every person who works in the school systems of this province. (Incidentally, if you would like to have more information on Dr. Kitchen's research, Herb or I would be pleased to send it to you.)

In general, it was predicted that the greater the involvement in an urban culture, the greater would be the pupil's preference for the Mastery-over Nature alternative.

The predicted relationship was found. The larger the community, the higher the degree of industrialization, the more the exposure to television, the stronger the communication link, the higher the parents' education, etc., the greater the pupil preference for the Mastery-over-Nature alternative. The smaller the community and the more isolated the community the greater the pupil preference for the Subject-to Nature orientation.

Two points should be made here. One is that, as Dr. Kitchen admits, the instruments of research used here are in need of refinement. The other point is that the research was carried out 10 years ago and the Newfoundland culture has changed a lot in that decade.

However, it would be a serious error to assume that this orientation has all but disappeared in our society. A little observation (in different parts of the province) should convince anyone in this regard.

The significant point here is that the institution of the school is based on the premise, **inter alia**, that its pupils have a Mastery-over-Nature orientation. For one thing, just think of all the "bench marks" that faces the school beginner - e.g., all those grades he has to get through in his career. I mean, there's no way that young person can successfully overcome those obstacles on the basis of luck. The notion of the luck of the draw hardly enters at all into the total school experience.

If you have children in your class who do not have a Mastery-over-Nature orientation, you've got some problem on your hands. It's one thing to talk about "individual differences" - one of the cornerstones of the ideology of Education - but this is something entirely different.

Well, if their fathers could be "brave hunters", they can be "brave" students. And that's precisely the point. They can be good students if you really believe in them. In this regard, I bring to your attention Dr. Singh's articles on the notion of the self-concept.

(I wish to give special thanks here to Annie Picard who did some valuable "digging" for this article.)

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THE PROBLEM OF READING IN AN ORAL TRADITION

Dr. W.J. Gushue

In the main, I was led to write this series of articles on education and Newfoundland's oral tradition because of the fact that an inordinately large percentage of our boys and girls do not complete their high school education.

Some of the reasons which explain this fact are universal but some appear to be unique.

For example, we have a problem in education here which exists in advanced countries all over the world. In simplistic terms, the problem is that it is difficult, and at times perhaps impossible, to make the school experience as involving as that of the world outside the school — the experience of the electronic age, if you will.

However, in this province we have additional problems and these usually are associated with the oral tradition. As I wrote in an earlier article, the oral tradition and the tradition of literacy of schooling are very different traditions.

In the first case above, the problem is one of motivation; in the second, the pupils may not be able to complete schooling whether they want to or not.

In any event, central to the whole matter of getting through school is the ability to read well. I believe that the majority of the members of the profession of education in Newfoundland would agree that reading is the problem in our schools.

As our readers are aware, reading is a very well researched field; in fact, reading is the best ploughed pasture in the whole Education field. But still the problem persists. So we may be missing something.

It might be of some help if it were noted (in a shockingly simplistic way) just what mental processes are involved in understanding the printed word. For what I write here on this point I am indebted to H.J. Chaytor.¹ Following this, some inferences will be drawn regarding the problem of reading in the oral tradition.

Let us first, by way of introduction and contrast, describe what happens in the understanding of the spoken word.

According to Chaytor, there is some agreement among scholars about what happens when we hear speech. If we hear the expression, "I have a new watch", the word "watch" is recognized as a familiar collocation of sounds". That is, we gain an **"acoustic image"**. (Of course, the tone used, the pitch of the voice, body language, and the like are all included in the experience. But to keep it simple, let us confine ourselves to the word as such.)

We may also see the watch in our minds. In that case **an acoustic image is translated into a visual image.**

If the hearer is literate, he *may* "see" the printed (or written) word "watch".

Let us turn now to the processes involved in a child's learning to read.

Well, we know he is presented with a visual image (the printed word. The second thing we know is that the printed symbol will not have any meaning unless it is translated into an acoustic image. Into what else can it be translated?

There comes the moment when the word is recognized. What happens then? Well, then, of course, the word must be pronounced — it must be **said aloud**. As Chaytor writes, "he cannot himself understand the printed symbols without transforming them into sounds".

Two more stages follow. In the first stage he is reading faster than he can talk, that is, he is at the **muttering** stage. In the final stage he stops making sounds and becomes a silent reader, that is, "...he **has substituted a visual for an acoustic image...**" (the emphasis is mine).

The key to the whole matter is the substituting of images. To put it another way, a fusion must occur — a fusion between the two "languages" of hearing and seeing. Thus, when we read silently the effect of what we hear "is transmitted from the auditory to the visualizing capacity"; we can hear an inner voice when we read silently. (Try this on yourself if you are unaware of it.)

Sounds pretty simple, doesn't it? **All** that's involved in the reading act is the fusion of sight and sound, eye and ear. How is it, then that not everybody can read silently and well, if it is all that simple?

Well, the answer is, of course, that it is not simple. The point to keep in mind is that sight and hearing, the ear and the eye, are **not connected in any way**. But, in the case of silent readers, sight and hearing are forever inseparable — a truly mind-boggling act.

Chaytor quotes from A. Lloyd James ² in this regard:

"Sound and sight, speech and print, eye and ear have nothing in common. The human brain has done nothing that compares in complexity with this fusion of ideas involved in linking up the two forms of knowledge."

To understand why the ability to read comes with difficulty in an oral culture, especially to older children, it might help to keep in mind that **literate** adults learn foreign languages only with the greatest of effort, whereas children learn them with ease. Chaytor explains that such adults "cannot concentrate wholly upon audition and **are hampered by habits of visualization**". (The emphasis is mine.)

I am going to stick my neck out here and say that the reverse is true. That is, if auditory memory becomes too "strong", if the acoustic images become too strong (to use Chaytor's language), then the ability to read comes only with an inordinate amount of laborious practice.

One should keep in mind that in Newfoundland the tradition was not just oral; it was a very, very strong oral tradition. Oral communication for almost all Newfoundlanders for centuries was the method of communication; the traditional Newfoundlander did not spend his time in an isolated room with print material. Furthermore, Newfoundlanders were not separated by families (as was the pattern in most of North America) but rather they settled by villages, the intense interaction patterns of which were described in an earlier article.

If the reader doubts the thesis stated here, he or she should try to teach an illiterate adult to read. We try to sound an optimistic note in this publication but in this case I have presented you with a very formidable problem. The writer has tried, I mean really tried, to teach three different adults to read; I have to admit to total failure. (However, it should be reported that the academic section of the Fisheries College and the Adult Centre at Stephenville have reported some successes in this regard. The instructors who have achieved this feat are worthy of the highest commendation from all of us in the profession.)

The crucial point, then, is this: just as young children learn languages with ease because they are not "hampered by habits of visualization", so also will they learn reading with ease if they are not hampered by habits of audition.

It seems patently obvious, then, that young children, especially young children in a tradition such as ours, should be given **massive doses of print**. Otherwise, the auditory memory will become too strong and then the troubles will begin.

In the last edition of this publication, Jean Elliott referred to the fact that many children can read now when they come to school for the first time. I have been observing a small number of such children for several years now and I have been amazed at the amount of reading they have done — massive doses of print in truth.

If you are a teacher, supervisor or administrator in a community which you judge to have a strong oral tradition, I would recommend that you scrounge up all the reading material you can get your hands on (naturally at the appropriate levels of difficulty) for the pupils in the primary grades — and the earlier the better. I am not referring here to merely the enrichment programmes, which are good and useful in themselves, but to literally hundreds of pounds of print per classroom.

But, as you say, your responsibility is for children in the higher grades. The same thing applies but perhaps even more so.

But what about the formal school programme? What about the subjects in the syllabus? Well, the decision as to what is done in that regard has to be made by many people, including, presumably, the parents. I am loathe to even give advice on this problem. But I will tell what I would do and let it go at that.

If I had the authority to do so, I would put away, say, the grade five geography and the grade six history and concentrate on reading. Once the pupils learn to read well, it will not take them long to catch up on these subjects. (One of the children to whom I referred above read 18 historical works on Tudor England (his hero was Henry VIII), some of which were at the high school level and beyond, during the summer break following the completion of Grade II.)

I should note here that in this article I have deliberately refrained from writing anything regarding the esoterics of the **subject** of reading, which is outside of my "field" and beyond my competence. I have merely discussed Chaytor's simple point and placed it in the context of my own experience and what I think I know about our oral tradition.

FOOTNOTES

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THE DIFFICULTY UNDER WHICH THEY LABOR OR THE PROBLEM OF READING IN OUR ORAL TRADITION: A RESPONSE

Dr. L. Brown

Three things disturb me about the article, "The Problem of Reading in an Oral Tradition," which appeared in the last issue of **The Morning Watch** (Vol. 4, No. 1). The first is that it treats the issues raised a bit too simplistically; the second is its apparent contradiction; and the third is its possible misinterpretation of the power of Newfoundland's oral tradition to influence the reading ability of young Newfoundland children.

Throughout the article there appears to be an avowed interest in simplicity. Witness these expressions: "in simplistic terms," "shockingly simplistic way," "to keep it simple," "refrained from writing anything regarding the **esoterics** of the subject of reading," and "I have merely discussed Chaytor's simple point". But it seems that in the interests of simplicity, more questions are raised than are answered. For instance, the following observation is made: "Then comes the moment when the word is recognized. What happens then? Well, then, of course, the word must be pronounced." The use of "Well, then, of course" has a ring of finality about it, as if the discussion were closed. But it isn't. There are at least two questions: How is a word recognized? May not the pronunciation be a part of the act of recognition?

Later, there seems to be a rather unquestioning acceptance of Chaytor's simple explanation for the fact that adults learn a foreign language less easily than children do. They have difficulty, Chaytor says, because, unlike children, they cannot concentrate wholly upon audition because they are hampered by habits of visualization. Though this may be true in part, it is difficult to accept it as the only reason. One wonders about the influence of the deeply ingrained structures of the native language and its deleterious effect on the structures of the language being learned. One also wonders if the fact that adults and young children are at different stages of intellectual development has any influence. Newmark and Reibel explain it this way:

The child is developing his intellect simultaneously with his language and can want to say only what he is learning to say. The adult...can want to say what he does not yet know how to say.¹

That is, he wants to say more than he has learned to say in his new language. Because of this he resorts to the linguistic structures of his own language. The result is lack of fluency and, if, for instance, the native language is English, an anglicized foreign language.

The solution to the reading problem suggested in Dr. Gushue's article is also too simple. Teachers are advised to put away the history and geography books, and to encourage pupils to read all the materials they can "scrounge up." But there is little reason to assume that all this material that they can "scrounge up" is superior to that which is already available, like books of history and geography. Some of the materials "scrounged up" may well be history and geography books. A history or a geography teacher may use his texts to help his pupils read, putting appropriate emphasis on the acquisition of the skills of reading that may be peculiar to these disciplines.

There also seems to be a contradiction in the article. Chaytor is quoted as saying that a young child "cannot himself understand the printed symbols without transforming them into sounds." In fact, Chaytor, in emphasizing this point, says further that "vocal expression is necessary to children who are learning to read or to inexperienced adults." In spite of this Dr. Gushue assumes that young children will learn to read with ease if "they are not hampered by habits of audition." But can this be so if "habits of audition," or transforming print into sounds, is such an important part of beginning reading? Does it follow that a complete absence of audition is necessary for successful reading? If so, the logical conclusion

would be that a deaf child can learn to read with greater ease than the hearing child, a conclusion proven by research to be false. It seems obvious, then, that the reverse of Chaytor's statement that children learn oral language easily because they are not "hampered by habits of visualization" will not hold. That is, the statement that children will learn to read with ease when they are not hampered by "habits of audition" will not hold, because "habits of audition" are an integral part of reading, whereas, "habits of visualization" are not important in learning to speak a language.

The position adopted in the article also seems to conflict with expert opinions on reading, which stresses the strong relationship between oral language and reading. Walter Loban, for example, after studying the speech of 338 children, concludes that "competence in the spoken language appears to be a necessary base for competence in writing and reading."²

Perhaps the most serious weakness of the article is what I take to be its misinterpretation of the influence of Newfoundland's oral tradition on the reading ability of young Newfoundland children. To understand why I call this a misinterpretation, let us consider Chaytor's article, the basis for Dr. Gushue's. Chaytor is here discussing medieval readers, specifically the reading difficulties of those few medievals who could read. Medieval society, he says, was largely preliterate: "The ordinary man of our own time probably sees more printed and written matter in a week than a medieval scholar saw in a year." For instance, literature was largely produced for recitation, hence the importance of the minstrel, and the troubadour who travelled around performing, singing, reciting. When the medieval did read, his question

"when deciphering a text, was not whether he had seen, but whether he had heard, this or that word before; he brought not a visual but an auditory memory to his task."

He usually read aloud, whispered his words as young children and uneducated adults do. Dr. Gushue talks of the Newfoundland oral tradition as if we, like the medieval society, depended almost solely on oral language for information and entertainment, as if we were still a preliterate tribe, which is hardly the case. Newfoundland pupils are no more preliterate than are children anywhere. Which is to say, as Riesman suggests, that in one sense "we all began life as preliterates; our written tradition is backstopped by an oral one."³ But most school children, and Newfoundland children are no exception, quickly develop a dominant visual modality. When asked to spell a word, for instance, they will often have to write it down, to see how it looks, to make sure it is spelled correctly. I think the article is mistaken in its assertion that the "auditory memory of young Newfoundland readers is too strong," and that their visual memory is therefore weak. This seems somewhat unlikely where T.V., films, newspapers, magazines, books, and written signs are so prevalent, and so many demands are made on the visual memory.

It does not seem that a very strong case is made for the powerful influence of the oral tradition on Newfoundland children's reading habits. The discussion is introduced in this way:

One should keep in mind that in Newfoundland the tradition was...a very strong oral tradition. Oral communication for almost all Newfoundlanders for centuries was the method of communication.

If the reader doubts the thesis stated here, he or she should try to teach an illiterate adult to read.

Most Newfoundlanders would agree that in Newfoundland the oral tradition was strong, and we would, no doubt, accept what is said in the article about the difficulty of teaching illiterate adults to read. But what have these to do with the conclusion?

It seems patently obvious, then, that young children, especially young children in a tradition such as ours, should be given massive doses of print. Otherwise, the auditory memory will become too strong.

The "then" of the quotation suggests that this conclusion is a natural consequence of his earlier discussion. But it is not. Young children are not adults, and they do not live in a preliterate, oral tradition that typified Newfoundland for centuries. No, the reason given by Chaytor to explain the reading difficulties of the medieval reader in an almost completely oral world will not hold for beginning readers in Newfoundland. It will not hold because, unlike the medieval reader, Newfoundland children are not living in a preliterate world, though many may be living in homes with illiterate parents⁴, and may be speaking a dialect that is not accepted by the school, and is, more than likely, not the dialect used in school texts. Both of these, no doubt, have a strong influence on a child's desire and ability to read. And it is here, it seems to me, that one should look for the influence of Newfoundland's oral culture on reading.

⁴But there is a difference. It is one thing to say that a child lives in a society which is completely dependent on oral communication, and it is quite another to say that a child lives in a literate society but his parents cannot read or write. To say the latter is to say that although there may not be much printed matter in the home of an illiterate, (though illiteracy does not exclude the possibility), there certainly will be plenty of it outside the home.

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THE PROBLEM OF READING IN AN ORAL TRADITION: A REACTION

Dr. L. Walker

In an article in the last issue of *The Morning Watch* an attempt was made, on the basis of some ideas presented by H.J. Chaytor, to relate the problem of reading in Newfoundland to the Province's oral culture.¹ It was argued that the oral culture has an impact upon the psychological processes of learning to read. The argument, as presented in the article, ran as follows:

An adult has difficulty learning language, unlike a child, to whom the task comes naturally and easily, because experience with written language gives the adult an over-potent visual image of words preventing him from learning and remembering their acoustic or spoken form. In the opposite way, it is suggested, reading is difficult in an oral culture because of the overpotency of the acoustic image which hampers processing of the visual symbols.

It is true that literacy has a powerful effect on one's perception of spoken language. Ask a literate adult what the last sound of the word "washed" is and he will likely tell you that it is a "d" sound because his eyes see the letters "ed" at the end which overwhelm the acoustic information presented by his ears that it is really a "t" sound. Ask him if there's any difference between the final sound of "cats" and "dogs" and he'll probably say there's not; whereas if he listened to his ears they'd tell him one was an unvoiced "s" sound and the other a voiced "z". Similarly adults would not see much rhyme or reason in young children's spelling of JRAGN and CHRAN for "dragon" and "train" respectively because we have become so conditioned by years of experience with the conventional spelling system that we cease to hear the fricative "j" sound in the "dr" of dragon and the "eh" sound in the "tr" of "train".

So far the argument is doing well. But when this is used to account for adults' difficulty in learning a second language, it falters. There's no evidence that this kind of visual bias is the cause of the difficulty. An alternative possibility is that there is an optimum age for learning languages in terms of the development of the human brain. Children who fail to learn to speak at roughly the appropriate age have relatively greater difficulty in acquiring language later. Loss of language through brain damage can often be restored if the damage occurs before the onset of puberty; damage after that point in development is rarely replaceable. It is also well known that children's ability to produce language sounds is much more flexible than that of adults. It's probably for these maturational reasons that children learn languages more readily than adults, not because experience with visual language interferes with auditory learning. If the latter view were correct, it should follow that the illiterate adult would find it easier to learn a second language than would his literate counterpart. Yet there seems to be no evidence to support this.

The argument, having faltered, then collapses at the non sequitur that if literacy inhibits auditory language learning (which as argued above is questionable) then overpotent auditory images from the "very, very strong" oral tradition interfere with visual language learning. This, in itself is fallacious reasoning even if it did not contradict another part of the case. In the discussion of the reading process it was suggested that the child has to translate the visual image of the printed word into an acoustic image by pronouncing it or reading it aloud. Here we have the acoustic or auditory image playing a key role in the reading process, at least for the child. So in what sense does the auditory image, having acquired such potency from the oral tradition, perform an inhibitory function in reading? The only way it could would be if somehow the auditory image could not be discarded as the reader progresses through "muttering stage" into the silent reading stage. However, if this were so, Newfoundland's reading problem would not emerge until about grade three or four; whereas most primary teachers attest to the difficulty that a large number of beginning readers have in learning to match auditory images with visual printed letters and words.

Another problem with this line of reasoning is that one could conclude that, if auditory images interfere with the development of reading skills, children who are deaf would presumably quickly learn to read. However, it is with great difficulty that hearing-impaired children acquire literacy skills. The reason for this is that they do not have the necessary command of spoken language that is a prerequisite for reading. In other words their acoustic images are deficient.

What may have led to the erroneous assertion that acoustic images interfere with the processing of visual symbols appears to be the belief that speech and writing, oral language and written language, are two separate and unrelated phenomena. We are told, "sound and sight, speech and print, eye and ear have nothing in common". This is false; speech and writing are both language, derived from the same vocabulary and from the same body of rules of phonology, syntax and semantics that constitute a person's knowledge of his mother tongue. When someone writes, he uses similar words as he would when speaking and he draws on similar grammatical and meaning patterns in which to cast these words into sentences. This is not to claim that writing is simply speech written down. Most writing is carefully edited, grammatically correct and draws upon a relatively large vocabulary; whereas much of speech, especially conversation, is unpolished, grammatically fragmented, and restricted in vocabulary. Besides, writing is almost always in standard English form, while speech may reflect regional dialects.

In spite of these differences, speech and writing are both language and in this sense the beginning reader who knows his language as a listener and speaker, already knows a lot about reading before he can read a word and he contributes this knowledge to the task of learning to read.

Overwhelming evidence exists to show that reading is not a process of making sequential visual perceptions of each word or letter; instead the reader can read smoothly and fluently because he is responding to familiar patterns of language. He is recording visual images into familiar auditory images whose familiarity is derived from experience with oral language. There is no way in which these auditory images can be anything but beneficial to reading, at least in its beginning stages.

Learning to read is an extension of language ability to the processing of printed symbols. The successful acquisition of literacy skills presupposes a good foundation in oral language development. Oral language is learned, not as a result of formal teaching by parents, but through exposure to a rich language environment. A strong oral tradition should be an asset to the development of this prerequisite for literacy rather than a hindrance.

In any case, when we consider the six-year-old from any society, hasn't he grown up in an oral tradition? The great preponderance of his language experience has been acoustic whether he has been exposed to normal conversation or to oral reading of the bedtime story. So why should the Newfoundland child's position be different from that of the mainland Canadian's, the American's or the Englishman's?

I submit that the impact of the Newfoundland oral culture on the learning of reading in this province is not psychological in terms of the reading process, but rather sociological in terms of the values and uses of books and reading in a society which emphasizes communication through the spoken word.

The six-year-old who comes to school from a home in which newspapers, magazines and books are used and enjoyed regularly has a head start in reading over the child whose home contains little print material other than a Simpson's catalogue and a telephone directory. He has probably been read to so that he knows the pleasure that books may bring and he has a rough idea how books and pages in them work, that you go from left to right through the book and across the page and that you start at the top of the page and proceed to the bottom. He sees his mother and father reading so comes to see reading as an activity that people engage in besides when they're sitting in a hard school desk under the eagle eye of a school teacher.

Societies which value and depend upon reading and writing give their members ready access to print materials through newspapers, bookstores and libraries. This is vital to reading development because reading is something that can be taught only to a limited extent; beyond that the successful growth of its skills depends upon practice under conditions of enjoyment and usefulness. Newfoundland homes without books in communities without libraries and whose only print outlets are the magazine rack in the drug or confectionery store may not be able to supplement classroom instruction with this essential exercise of reading skills. The classroom alone is not a sufficient arena for the development of healthy reading skills. I suggest that this is simply where the Newfoundland oral tradition meets the Newfoundland reading problem.

On one point I agree with the article in **The Morning Watch**. It is recommended that vast masses of print materials be made available to the schools in order to counteract those overpotent "acoustic images". Inclusion in the school curriculum of a recreational reading component whereby students are encouraged to read large amounts of written material well within their reading ability would help fill the vacuum caused by the paucity of community print resources. While its effects on acoustic imagery is quite irrelevant, it would allow for the pleasurable exercise of otherwise flaccid reading skills.

That is not to say, however, that oral reading instruction should take the place of subjects such as history and geography as is subsequently advocated. Reading does not have a content of its own; when you're learning to read, you have to read about something. If you know something about history and geography, you can read about them pleasurable and usefully and, in so doing, extend your reading skills. A curriculum built on reading skills per se and lacking content would be a vapid thing indeed and would probably compound the problem. Reading should be kept in its place, serving the curriculum, not dominating it.

FOOTNOTE

1. W.J. Gushue "The Problem of Reading in An Oral Tradition". *The Morning Watch*. 1, 4 (May, 1974), 1-2.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEWFOUNDLAND DIALECT

Dr. Lloyd Brown

Recently a friend told me of an incident he had encountered in a visit to one of our schools. An elementary pupil wanted to know how to spell a word. "Miss", he asked, "How do you spell 'glutch' "? The teacher answered without hesitation, "Swallow, s-w-a-l-l-o-w." The incident illustrates something of the strong disapproval with which the Newfoundland popular language is received in our schools. Why is there this intolerance? Some opinions expressed are: Newfoundland dialect is sloppy, made up of ignorant violations of standard English; it has faulty grammar; it is an inferior means of communication. The purpose of this article is to show that not one of these adequately describes our language. Harold Paddock's article, "The Destruction of Language in Newfoundland" in which he discusses the historical foundations of our language, is enough to convince us that we have no reason to be ashamed of it, that it has respectability. He concluded:

Those who have studied the history of our language know that "what is thought of today as bad English is frequently nothing more horrifying than archaic good English. And this is true of pronunciation as well as of inflection and syntax."¹

There are other things that can be said in support of the Newfoundland popular language. The first is that it is not a series of sloppy and irregular deviations from standard English. Consider, for example, some popular pronunciations. In some parts of Newfoundland "cash" may be pronounced with a long vowel sound (as in cake) instead of the short vowel sound of standard English; that is, /kes/ instead of /kaes/. But this is not just an ignorant mispronunciation. All similar words — ash, mash, dash, lash — are pronounced in the same way. This rule may describe what happens: in the environment of "sh" the vowel is long. The same rule explains the popular pronunciation of "fish" as "feesh", and "dish" as "deesh".

There are other examples of regularity in what we consider to be sloppy deviations. In some parts of the Province there is no contrast between certain front vowels. For example, the mid front vowel sound in "bread" becomes the high front vowel in "brid". But this is not just a single deviation; it is a regular occurrence. In a single conversation recently I noticed the following: "brist" (breast), "diver (devil)", "tin" (ten), "yillow" (yellow).

The Newfoundland dialect is likely to be regarded as ungrammatical and, therefore, inferior if its grammar deviates from that of standard English. For example, we may think that the addition of the -s ending on "have" and "do" by speakers of popular Newfoundland language is an ignorant violation of the standard. However, a brief examination of the phenomenon will show that this is not the case. In standard English, as Harold Paddock points out, this -s ending "is merely a redundant item which agrees with third person singular subjects."² For the speaker of Newfoundland dialect, however, it indicates "a deeper syntactic distinction, that of lexical versus auxiliary verb respectively".³ That is, the lexical verbs "have" and "do" take the -s ending whatever the subject: "They **have** fish for dinner every Wednesday", I **do** (dooz) my work well". But the auxiliary verbs "have" and "do" occur without the -s ending: "Do John go fishing? Yes, he **do**." "**Have** Ned got the punt? Yes, he **have**." The point to be emphasized again is that this phenomenon is not an arbitrary one, an inconsistent deviation from standard English. It is one governed by the dialect's own rule which is, if anything, more logical than the one governing it in standard speech.

As the incident described at the beginning of this paper indicates, we regard words used in the Newfoundland dialect with disdain, perhaps because they are not in our dictionaries. But this is hardly a strong reason for such intolerance; after all, dictionaries are only incomplete records of the words we use and not creators of them. It would be unfortunate for teachers to regard words peculiar to the popular language of the province as phoney, counterfeit, as not really words at all. It would be unfortunate

because these words tell us a great deal about life in the province. George Story divides the words of popular speech unknown to most of our dictionaries into three categories: words that are corruptions of words in the standard language, old words that have disappeared from standard language, and new creations.⁴ Consider these, ranging over many and varied aspects of Newfoundland life:

Corruptions of standard words:

up strapless (obstreperous), outport motor (outboard motor), dinsmore (dynamo), guaranteeen (guarantee)

Old words (words preserved in some form from the past):

glutch (swallow), bide (stay), nish (sore, tender), flankers (sparks), planchard (pieces of broken pottery), besom (birch broom)

New words:

dwigh (light snow fall), bang belly (a type of pudding or cake), yaffle (armful of fish), puddick (stomach of a fish), baddycatter (ice formed around the shoreline)

These are all words that grow out of and crystallize the Newfoundland experience, and one must know them to understand that experience fully. For instance, "obstreperous" is a word that was heard but not seen; and with no visual image to guide them it was easy for Newfoundlanders to create the corruption "upstrapless", a word, it seems to me, that naturally creates the impression of disorder and lack of restraint. The traditional words reveal our conservative streak and remind us of our close ties with Europe, especially England. "Besom", "bide", and "flankers", for example, are all used in Hardy's **The Return of the Native**. These are vigorous, colorful, pleasant sounding words and standard language is poorer without them.

On the other hand, the new words reveal our capacity for creativity. Old words were inadequate to describe what was important in the life of a Newfoundlander, hence his inventiveness with vocabulary. Some of the new words express shades of meaning not known to those who are unfamiliar with the dialect. It was important, for instance, for the Newfoundlander to make distinctions among different kinds of snow. Generally he did this by using modifiers to describe it (powdery, clammy, sandy, crusty), but if these could not adequately crystallize his experience, he invented a word. "Dwigh" is such a word, describing a light, gentle kind of falling snow as distinct from a snow storm, a snow fall, or a snow blizzard.

Something also needs to be said about the character of the Newfoundland expression — its vigor and action; its exaggeration and unique comparisons; its terseness and precision. All of these are qualities that anyone with a concern for language and its power of communication cherishes. Consider some examples:

"Well, sir, dis feller rayched out o'de bunk and bit a piece out o' Sandy Weller's shoulder, and he jumped out o'de bunk an' kicked un in de face and cut scallops o'flesh out of his face. It tuck tree or four men to hold un; every 'ar drapped off his 'eed. Dey tasked un two or t'ree times, but he burst it an' went screechin' crazy."⁵

The two outstanding qualities of this sample are its vigorous action and its detail. Sandy Weller was not "subjected to a severe beating", he was bitten, kicked and cut. He was not just cut, he had "scallops of flesh" cut out of his face. "Dis feller" was not "tied up", he was "lashed"; he didn't "run away", he "went screechin' crazy". Certainly the predilection for active expression is present everywhere in the popular speech of Newfoundland. Witness this active expression of an idea ordinarily expressed in the passive: "Ant nar marn'll kitch me in bead after 5 o'clock".

These are qualities of good narration, as are exaggeration, unique comparisons, imagery, and concreteness. Notice how these latter are used to create force, vividness, and humor in the following:

"I knows a place where you'll have yer eyes bate out wid puffins, turrs, an' gulls in July month."⁶

"He's so big that two men couldn't carry his two eye-balls on a han' bar."

"Me axe is so soft that I got to put un under me jacket, 'cause if he sees a var kriot, pieces flies out of un like harnets."

There is no pretentious diction here; this is not the cliché — ridden, colorless speech we are used to from some educators, psychologists, and sociologists. It is the expression, not of the ego, interested more in expression than communication, but as Northrop Frye⁷ puts it, of "genuine personality". George Orwell in his discussion of "Politics and the English Language",⁸ says that politicians, in their use of clichés and familiar phrases sound more like dummies than live human beings. The popular speech of Newfoundlanders, whatever else it may be, is the expression of live human beings, communicating their own feelings, ideas, peculiarities.

It should be pointed out here that in calling attention to the Newfoundland dialect I do not mean to belittle the value of standard English, nor do I mean to suggest that the school should not teach it. The school is obliged to teach standard English; it is, as Story says,

the medium of our literature, and it is the accepted...medium of cultivated communication. It has its rules of pronunciation and grammar, and it has its vocabulary of agreed meanings and propriety. We must prefer it to popular speech for many purposes because popular speech would be inadequate to the demands made upon a medium of general communication in a community of divergent linguistic practice.⁹

However, teachers of language should be interested in the Newfoundland dialect and should study it for several reasons. First, because they are interested in language, they will find a study of it — its history, vocabulary and structure — a fascinating one. Second, because it is always thought to be inferior, it is important for teachers to find out that it is not a sloppy, irregular, inadequate means of communication. Third, because language is the expression of one's culture, determining largely the way we look at the world, a study of Newfoundland dialect would provide an excellent introduction to the life of the Newfoundland people. Fourth, it has characteristics — unique imagery, vigor, precision — that can be discussed in our teaching, for these qualities need to be developed in children's expression. Fifth, because many children bring this dialect to school, an understanding of it might make us more tolerant of it and enable us to help pupils understand that their speech, because it is different from the standard language of the school, is not necessarily inferior to that language.

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2. Paddock, H., "Some Variations in the Phonology and Grammar of Newfoundland English", Unpublished paper, 1974, p. 6.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
4. Story, G., "Dialect and the Standard Language", *N.T.A. Journal*, Vol. 49, 1957-58, p. 19.

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6. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
7. Frye, N., *The Well-Tempered Critic*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963, pp. 41-42.
8. Orwell, G., *Selected Essays*, London: Penguin Books, 1957, p. 152.
9. Story, G., p. 19.

THE DESTRUCTION OF LANGUAGE IN NEWFOUNDLAND

Dr. Harold Paddock

Since our concern was speech, and speech impelled us
 To purify the dialect of the tribe
And urge the mind to aftersight and foresight,
Let me disclose the gifts reserved for age
 To set a crown upon your lifetime's effort,
 T.S. Eliot, **Little Gidding**, 11, 128-132

One morning this summer I was pleasantly surprised to meet an old friend. Both Newfoundlanders, we had been fellow students at Memorial and continued to meet regularly in London, England, where he did his Ph.D. in English Literature. Sipping his coffee, he praised a published poem of mine which he had just read, assuring me that it was the funniest thing that he had seen in years.

This poem describes the killing of a Beothuk by the first settler in my village and the later desecration of his bones when discovered by road builders. Presumably, my friend was not amused by the subject matter of the poem — our sick society had not yet achieved its fullest effect on him. It was clear that what amused him was the language in the poem. I had written the whole of its eighty lines in the folk dialect of my own village.

Although I stared at my friend in disbelief, I suppose that I should not have been even mildly surprised. I shared in his shame because I too, like most Newfoundlanders, could remember laughing at the sound of words whose meaning ought to have made me cry or kill.

Let me try to explain why this is so.

Our forefathers not only wiped out the Indians they found here but very quickly took over their role as the natives of Newfoundland. We 'white Newfie niggers' have been indeed some of the most docile natives to be found in any colony. And like the natives elsewhere, we learned to exchange all our valuables (both material and spiritual) for the baubles of our exploiters.

Among the treasures we have squandered are our dialects. In our schools we force our children to abandon vernaculars which are often lovely, fluent, and various for a lingua franca which is usually ugly, stilted, and homogenized. We not only reduce the child's ability to communicate; we also reduce his own self-esteem by attacking the speech which is so intimately identified with his family, his social class, his community. It is small wonder that many of our young regard educators as enemies. Ironically, most of the teachers engaged in this war on 'bad' English are themselves demoralized victims of the same process.

Educators may argue that the acquisition of standard varieties of spoken and written English will be of great value to the student. But it seems that our methods have maximized the psychological and social damage while minimizing the learning of standard English. Simply by recognizing the validity of the local dialects, we could decrease the damage and increase the learning.

Where have we gone wrong? How did our society get so dedicated to its own destruction? The cause of the problem is that we have no sense of history.

In *Little Gidding*, my favourite poem, T.S. Eliot puts the alternatives to us squarely: 'History may be servitude, /History may be freedom'. In Newfoundland, as in so many other countries, we have chosen servitude.

But we CAN choose freedom.

In order to do so, however, we must first look to history for some facts about how this linguistic imperialism developed in our system of education.

Many of its roots lie in eighteenth century England where the rising middle classes in the world's first industrialized nation were as hungry for education and social status as they were for money. There developed a great demand for books on the 'proper' use of language. This demand was supplied by writers of widely different knowledge and abilities. But the commercially successful ones shared a common trait — they all prescribed certain forms of pronunciation and usage and condemned other forms. Some of them even attacked certain usages found in the best literary works in English. The assumption of such supreme authority appealed strongly to their ignorant and insecure readers.

The grammars of such purists became established as texts in the schools and many English language programs were still based solidly on such books in the middle of the twentieth century. In addition, the inertia of the educational establishment plus the vested interests of the publishers often prevented the changes which the enlightened citizen and the linguist were demanding.

Those who have studied the history of our language know that "what is thought of today as bad English is frequently nothing more horrifying than archaic good English. And this is true of pronunciation as well as of inflection and syntax."¹

For example, many Newfoundlanders do not distinguish the vowels in such pairs of words as **boy-bye**, **tie-toy**, and **speak-break**. The same phenomenon is indicated in the verse of Alexander Pope (1688-1744) and Jonathan Swift (1667-1745), who are justly admired as the best models of lucid neoclassical style in English. Pope is undoubtedly echoing the Most admired pronunciation of his day when he rhymes join with **divine** in his famous couplet: 'Good-nature with good-sense must ever join; /To err is human, to forgive divine.' Other similarities between Pope's speech and various folk dialects in Newfoundland are suggested by the following rhymes taken from two of his poems: **away-tea**, **obey-tea**; **hair-ear**; **none-own**; and **feel-mill**.

We also browbeat our pupils about their native pronunciation of the ending spelled **-ing** on verbs. However, the following couplets from Swift illustrate its earlier correctness: "See then what mortals place their bliss in! /Next morn betimes the bride was missing;" and "His jordan stood in manner fitting /Between his legs to spew or spit in." In fact, the "in" pronunciation for this ending is a genuine historical development of the Old English present participle suffix **-ende** (as in Old English **ridende**, meaning 'riding'). Our spelling **-ing** reflects the Old English verbal noun ending **-ung** and early in the nineteenth century it gave rise to the 'overcorrect' spelling pronunciation which was adopted by the striving middle classes who did not want to be mistaken for ordinary people. What started as a bit of social snobbery is now regarded as linguistic law by many of us.

In natural living English, multiple negatives and superlatives have always indicated semantic emphasis. For example, in the General Prologue to his **Canterbury Tales**, Chaucer used four negatives in one sentence: 'He nevere yet no vilenyne ne seyde /In al his lyf unto no maner wight' which would be equivalent to saying in Modern English that 'He didn't never say no rudeness in all his life to no kind of man'. Shakespeare did not put his famous double superlative, "This was the most unkindest cut of all", into the mouth of some illiterate commoner; instead, this is one of the most powerful lines spoken by Mark Antony at a crucial turning point in **Julius Caesar**. Lord Byron used **don't** with third person singular subjects repeatedly in **Don Juan**. **Don't** "occurred at least a century earlier than **doesn't** and was frequent in cultivated speech throughout the nineteenth century and was not uncommon in the early 1900's ..."²

The contrast in form between **past tense** and **past participle** (as in **gave-given, ate-eaten, and sang-sung**) was disappearing rapidly by the eighteenth century in which the few relics of such contrasts were preserved by the prescriptive grammarians. Our forefathers in Newfoundland, out of reach of the linguistic tyrants in the schools, continued a natural development of the English language and chose one form to represent both the above grammatical functions in almost all verbs. Also, their use of -s with a simpler meaning (that is, present tense only instead of present tense third person singular) enabled them to achieve further regularities and economies in their grammar of the verb. The result is that certain Newfoundland dialects use only three forms (e.g., **give, gives, givin'**) to make all the semantic distinctions which require five forms (e.g., **give, gives, gave, given, giving**) in standard English. This means that such dialects use **give** for both the basic form of the verb as well as for the two so-called past functions; that is, as simple past tense (in "He **give** it to her yesterday") and as past participle with an auxiliary verb (in "**He've give** it to her already"). The use of -s on the verb throughout the present tense adequately preserves the distinction between present tense ("I gives, you gives, he gives,, ..") and past tense ("I give, you give, he give, ...")

Linguists often find that more isolated dialects of a language are more regular in their structure than is any standard variety of the language. Such differences are due to the 'social history' of the language. Standard versions of a language usually develop in large metropolitan centres which attract masses of people from very different dialectal or language backgrounds. For example, standard versions of British, American, and Canadian English today reflect the large numbers of settlers who flooded into London from different parts of England at various times when it was the only great city in the English speaking world. In addition, Canadian English also reflects the mixture of peoples who settled some Canadian cities, particularly Toronto.

Such constant mixing of dialects in developing urban centres has given rise to the various standard types of modern English. Outside such centres of growth, one may find areas where the sources of the population and way of life have changed little over a long period. In such places the local dialect may regularize many of its former irregularities and preserve many of its former regularities. For example, in my own non-standard Newfoundland dialect, derived largely from southern (especially southwestern) dialects of England, the words **foot, boot, food, good, broom, and room** all contain the same short vowel sound, whereas in some northern dialects of English (as in Scotland) they all contain the same long vowel. But we see that the mixing of such different dialects, especially in London, has produced what seem like arbitrary vowel lengths for such words in several standard varieties of English today.

Our English language programs in the schools have not tried to eliminate such irregularities in standard pronunciation and grammar. Indeed, much of the effort in our schools has been devoted to eliminating the internal consistencies in the children's native speech in favour of the inconsistencies in standard English. Of course, our teachers have not been consciously aware of this fact — they have been usually so poorly trained in linguistic analysis that they were incapable of distinguishing degrees of regularity. Instead, they have been conditioned to distinguish sharply between right and wrong, correct and incorrect, good and bad!

Perhaps it is a waste of effort to point out the beauty, structural elegance, and historical respectability of local Newfoundland dialects. The real prestige of any kind of language derives from the social, economic, and political success of its users both past and present.

But we Newfoundlanders regard ourselves as the least successful of all the daughters of the British Isles. For most of us success has meant bare survival. Even our attempts at imperialism in Labrador seemed ludicrously ineffectual until our Joey called in outside help. Now that rape is proceeding apace!

Let us console ourselves with the knowledge that after our developers have departed we can beg them for our rightful share of the loot in the most impeccable accents.

FOOTNOTES

1. Thomas Pyles and John Algeo. **English: An Introduction to Language.** (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1970), pp. 23-24.
2. Pyles and Algeo, p. 23.

DIALECT AND READING IN NEWFOUNDLAND SCHOOLS

Dr. L. Walker

Some readers will probably be familiar with the story of the American tourist who saw an elderly Newfoundlander hauling a dead tree out of the woods. The tourist stopped and asked, "What's that you've got?"

"A starrigan," replied the woodsman.

"Oh, what's that?"

"A var."

"How do you spell that?"

"Well, in summer I spells en out on me back and in winter I spells en out with me 'ars."

It is reasonable to infer that the quality of this communication was affected by the differences between the dialects of the two speakers, although undoubtedly, in this situation, the problem was more serious for the tourist than it was for the woodsman.

However, for some young Newfoundlanders learning to read Standard English books, the shoe might be on the other foot because the dialect they speak may interfere with their acquisition of reading skills.

The role of nonstandard dialect as a factor in reading failure is a topical question in current reading literature and research. It has been observed that "...a large number of children that do poorly on standardized reading tests are from minority homes — homes in which nonstandard English is commonly used. (Shuy, 1973, p. 4)." One hypothesis advanced to account for the low status of reading skills in many minority children, especially black children in the United States, is the presence of an interference effect of a spoken dialect which differs significantly from the Standard English of school books. The differences lie in pronunciation, grammar and word meanings so that these students are, in a sense, involved in learning a new variety of their language at the same time as they are trying to master reading skills.

There is logical support for this interference hypothesis. Reading is a language activity to which the beginner brings knowledge of a complex body of language habits and patterns acquired as oral language. The task of reading is to derive meaning from printed language. This print, although different in important respects from spoken language, nevertheless follows the same rules of grammar and meaning that the child speaking a standard dialect has become accustomed to as a speaker and listener. There is overwhelming evidence that readers respond, not to individual words or letters in a series of sequential perceptions, but to language patterns, a process which involves predictions and anticipations. Goodman (1970) called reading "a psycholinguistic guessing game". There is evidence of this almost every oral reading lesson. Children will substitute one word for another without changing the meaning. I once had a grade two student who was reading a book published in New Zealand which used the word "seesaw". Every time this little girl came to this word she read it as "teetertotter". She was decoding into her own language.

It is obvious that if a child speaks a nonstandard dialect this process of decoding into his own language may be hampered because there are discrepancies between the language forms of the book and the language forms of his speech. Whereas the book contains, "The boys give us candies not you", some Newfoundland six-year-olds would more likely say "The boys gives we candies not ye". It seems logical that these kinds of discrepancies might interfere with the process of learning to read.

One uses the tentative "might" interfere because research has not conclusively demonstrated that this interference does in fact operate; neither has it succeeded in demonstrating that it does not. Consequently, in the literature on dialect and reading one finds opposing views and assertions. For example, Baratz (1969, 1973) maintained that dialect interference is a serious handicap. Dialect reading materials designed to circumvent the problem have been published (Davis et. al. 1968). Other writers, however, have denied that dialect is a significant barrier to reading progress (Labov, 1970; Torrey, 1970; Venezky and Chapman, 1973).

These writers have concentrated upon Black English. In the local setting a study carried out by the present writer in Twillingate failed to demonstrate the presence or absence of an interference effect (Walker, 1974). Grade 3 students were asked to read aloud a passage that was either in standard English form or in a form which included grammatical features of the local dialect such as "he has to stand by hisself" or "he is froze." These features were shown to be part of the local dialect. When the oral reading miscues were compared, it was found that significantly more "errors" or misreadings occurred when they were reading the Newfoundland dialect version. Clearly this did not indicate that dialect was interfering with reading; however, this result could not indicate the effects that dialect had exerted upon these grade 3 students' progress in reading up to that point. In other words, while dialect was not shown to be interfering with oral reading at the grade 3 level, it might have affected the development of reading skills in the children's two and a half years of schooling prior to the study.

So, where does all this leave the issue as far as teachers in this province are concerned? In the first place there does seem to be a reading problem; standardized reading test surveys indicate this quite clearly. Secondly, there is a distinctive dialect, some variety of which is spoken by many children in Newfoundland schools. While the two conditions are not necessarily related in a causal sense, reading problems do seem to occur in other parts of North America where distinctive nonstandard dialects are found. Besides, there are logical reasons for believing that dialect can impede progress in learning to read even though empirical evidence to support this logic is not available.

It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that dialect may be one of the factors that contribute to the difficulties of learning to read in this Province. It is not reasonable to conclude that it is **the** factor or even the major factor. Given the indeterminate status of the evidence it would be unwise to urge the implementation in Newfoundland of some of the more drastic solutions proposed for dealing with this problem. It has been proposed, for example, that special reading materials be prepared for teaching reading to nonstandard dialect speakers. Shuy (1969) suggested that these could take the form of materials which omitted any Standard English feature that contrasted with a dialect feature. If this suggestion were applied in Newfoundland it would mean, for example, that structures such as "I eat... ", "You drive. . .", "We fish..." or "They take..." would have to be avoided since they would take a different form in the local dialect. Wolfram and Fasold (1974) discussed the use of materials written in the local dialect which could be used as the first introduction of dialect-speaking children to learning to read. A third proposal has been to teach Standard English speech prior to the teaching of reading (McDavid, 1969; Venezky, 1970). This would mean delaying reading instruction.

Although any one of these three drastic, and even contentious, proposals would, at this time be unwarranted, there are more modest suggestions that can be made to Newfoundland teachers. These suggestions relate to those parts of the reading program where one might logically expect dialect problems to occur.

1. Dialect-Based Oral Reading Errors

Most teachers must have noticed that children will sometimes introduce features of dialect speech when they are reading aloud from a Standard English book. The following might be typical examples of such "errors":

Text	Oral Reading
I saw the window was broken	I saw the window was broke.
He came home yesterday.	He come home yesterday.
His hands were frozen.	His hands were froze .
He came by himself.	He came by hissself .
They drive big cars.	They drives big cars.

The question is, are these serious errors? They don't affect the meaning of the sentence so comprehension is not impaired. They are only serious if one believes that reading is a matter of seeing each word accurately as it is written. In fact, the reader who reads each word carefully is quite likely to be a poor reader, a word-by-word reader whose comprehension is weak. Dialect "errors", as illustrated above, are signs of good reading development in that the child is converting the signs on the page into his own language, a process which necessarily involves comprehension. The only time when "errors" like this are a problem is when some public oral reading performance is being given which is usually preceded by rehearsal and practice. The ordinary kind of oral reading demanded of students in school is not public in this sense but is really just private reading aloud and probably revealing of the kind of silent reading performance of which the student is capable.

The point that is being made here, then, is that teachers should not correct these dialect-based "errors". They should accept them without comment as one sign of reading progress. To do this, of course, the teacher must be able to distinguish between genuine reading errors and dialect "errors". She needs to be familiar with the local dialect and be aware of its grammatical rules which are different from those of Standard English. Perceptive listening to the speech of the children in her class could achieve this familiarity and awareness. She can then distinguish between the following oral reading performances and react appropriately:

Text	Oral Reading
Rabbits are scarce this year.	1. Rabbits bees scarce this year.
	2. Rabbits are scared this year.

In the second oral reading the substitution of "scared" for "scarce" changes the meaning and is an error that is interfering with the reading. As such, it requires a different response from the teacher than the first oral reading which is simply a transformation of "are" to "bees".

Acceptance of this argument and suggestion would remove one potential source of friction between dialect and learning to read. The proposal is inexpensive since existing materials and programs need not be changed and it does not substantially increase the teacher's workload.

2. **Dialect and Phonics Teaching**

The aim of phonics teaching is to give students a strategy to attack unfamiliar words which they encounter in their reading so that they may work out their pronunciation in order to recognize them. Phonics refers to the sound values which letter and letter combinations possess and the rules which govern selection from different alternative values. Children are taught that "b" says /b/ as in /bag/, that "a" may say /de/ as in /hat/ or /ey/, as in /bait/ or that "oi" says the sound you hear at the beginning of /oil/ or

/oyster/. The student is being taught to respond to written symbols with particular sounds. This is fine if the sounds he is being taught correspond to significant sound elements in his speech. Difficulties may arise, however, when a child pronounces words differently in his dialect than their Standard English pronunciation.

For example the child learns that the short sound of the vowel "a" is /de/ as in the Standard English pronunciation of /apple/. He then tries to work out the pronunciation of "bag" as /b- of--g/. However, his own dialect pronounces this word as /boeg/, not distinguishing /bag/ and /beg/. Therefore, combining the three sounds /b-oe-g/ does not produce a familiar word so that what he has learned is not helping him to attack unfamiliar words and he may be confused and frustrated as a result.

Consider another type of phonics activity. The workbook contains a page of small pictures, drawings of a lip, a mitt, a whip, a pin and a dish interspersed with drawings of a peg, a pet, a leg, and some men. The student is asked to mark all these pictures which have the short sound of "e" (s.). A Newfoundland student could, not unreasonably, mark all of the pictures since his dialect might not distinguish between the sounds of the two vowels in those words.

Other sources of similar difficulties are suggested by the following pairs of words which may be homonyms (having the same sound) in certain parts of Newfoundland:

- | | | |
|--------------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1. feel, fill | 5. seal, zeal | 9. win, wind |
| 2. thought, taught | 6. car, cur | 10. lass, last |
| 3. beer, bear | 7. boy, bye | 11. bowl, bold |
| 4. born, barn | 8. full, fool | |

This list does not exhaust the examples of pronunciation differences between the Newfoundland dialect and Standard English which are relevant to the local teaching of phonics.

What should the teacher do? In the first place it would be very helpful if she could be aware of the problem so that if some of her students fail to learn particular phonics elements and how to use them, she knows a possible reason for the failure. Secondly, being aware of the pronunciation features of the local dialect as revealed by the speech of her children, the teacher could then become alerted to those exercises in the phonics workbook which might cause problems and either avoid them or modify them.

Thirdly, and most usefully, the teacher can adapt the phonics program to the local dialect and teach, not the matching of Standard English sounds with letters but dialect sounds with letters. In teaching the short /a/ sound for example, let the students say some words like "bag", "match", "flag". Ask them to listen to the sound in the middle of the word. Ask them to isolate it and say it by itself. It will probably emerge as an /_/_/ sound as in the Standard English /beg/. Then write these words on the board and have the students pronounce them drawing their attention to the middle vowel letter which stands for the sound /_/_/. When this has been learned, they can then use the information to help them identify unfamiliar words which contain this particular element. Their attempts to pronounce the word will be more likely to give them a word which sounds familiar than if the conventional Standard English sound had been taught.

Some teachers may have difficulty accepting this dialect phonics teaching because they feel that their responsibility is to teach Standard English. However, while proficiency in Standard English is an obvious goal of the school, the teaching of Standard English should not be confused with the teaching of reading. The two tasks are separate. Combining the two results in overload and confusion to the detriment of both objectives. Probably one of the best ways of ensuring growth in Standard English usage is to teach a child to read and to love reading because then you are exposing him, through his reading, to an immense amount of Standard English writing.

If this argument is still unacceptable to some reading teachers who feel unable to depart from the traditional phonics program, there is something they can do to ensure greater success on the part of their students. Before teaching, for example, that the consonant diagraph "th" has either a /ə/ sound as in /this/ or a /e/ sound as in /think/, it is necessary to teach the students to hear and say these sounds. If they are used to pronouncing these as either /d/ or /t/, they may not be aware of the existence of a /ə/ and a /e/. Thus, this phonics element cannot be useful in reading until awareness has been developed through auditory discrimination activities. If the teaching of Standard English sounds in the phonics program is insisted upon, it is highly desirable that much time be spent on auditory discrimination before each of the problem elements is taught.

3. Vocabulary and Dialect

James Faris (1972) in his book on Cat Harbour explained the local meanings of the terms "clean water" and "dirty water" as they applied to the sea. "Clean water" was good for fishing; it appeared brown, green or milky in colour and you could see the bottom in no more than three to five fathoms of water. "Dirty water" was bad for fishing; its colour was white or blue and you could see the bottom in as much as ten to twelve fathoms. Another word which was not used in a conventional Standard English way was "fresh". "Fresh" in Cat Harbour meant free from salt so that "fresh fish" were fish from fresh water and "fresh bread" was bread that lacked enough salt.

Words like this which have specific dialect usages may present minor difficulties if they are encountered in reading materials where they would have conventional meanings; comprehension could be impeded if the student is not aware of the different usage. This, therefore, is another area of potential friction between dialect and Standard English reading materials that teachers could be alert to so that they can prepare for such difficulties and help the students overcome them. Perhaps this is not extra work for the teachers for building up an inventory of local terms might be an interesting elementary class activity as well as a useful project.

All three of these suggestions imply an attitude to dialect. Non-standard does not mean incorrect: it simply refers to varieties of English which are different from Standard English but which are nevertheless, logically and expressively adequate and systematic. In the three areas of the reading program indicated, teachers are urged to acknowledge the local dialect as a viable and desirable form of English rather than as an inferior system encroaching upon Standard English usage. It may well be that the problem for beginning readers lies as much in the attitude of teachers to dialect differences as in the differences themselves.

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SPELLING AND THE NEWFOUNDLAND DIALECT

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Abstract

The article reports an informal, exploratory study of the effects of nonstandard dialect speech on spelling performance in Newfoundland. The possibility of such interference is raised when part of spelling ability is considered to consist of a knowledge of phoneme-grapheme correspondences. Dialect speech involves a different pattern of such relationships than Standard English and some published work has demonstrated that some spelling errors can be traced, logically at least, to this cause. The present study, using samples of writing from 57 elementary school students from one geographical region of Newfoundland found that almost a quarter of the spelling errors could logically be derived from differences between the local dialect and Standard English. The features which appeared to contribute most heavily to this proportion were consonant cluster reduction and front vowel instability.

Introduction

"Teacher brad her Jack O'Lantern and her incanse. And teacher told a story about ghosts."

A grade 5 student wrote these two sentences about a class Hallowe'en party. To the teacher, who is familiar with the way children in her class speak, the ideas intended by the student are clear enough. Yet, in a society which values conventional spelling, the three spelling errors draw attention to themselves in a way which distracts the reader from the content of the writing and which interferes with the written communication. Not unreasonably, therefore, there is little dissension when schools attempt to teach correct spelling as an important part of the language arts program.

However, while the ultimate goal is clear, the optimum spelling curriculum, the process by which children learn to spell and the causes of failure to overcome spelling difficulties do not enjoy the same consensus among educators. An issue which has entered the spelling arena in recent years is the question of dialect and its relationship to success in spelling. While most of the published opinion concerned with the impact of dialect on language learning has been concerned with learning to read in dialect-speaking communities (Wolfram and Whiteman, 1971), some attention has been given to its effects on written language production, including spelling. It is logical that if dialect should affect the receptive aspect of literacy, reading, which involves decoding written symbols into familiar language structures, it should also affect the process by which those familiar structures are encoded into written form. In cases there is necessarily a mismatch between the conventions of written English and the linguistic forms of the dialect. The term "dialect" is used here to refer to a regional or social class variety of English which has a number of distinguishing phonological, lexical, syntactic, and semantic features that set it off from other dialects. Some of these differences are due to systematic rules, not to careless or indistinct enunciation which is a speech characteristic that can be found in all dialects.

The Relationship Between Spelling and Spoken Language

Current thinking on the language arts stress their relationships. Reading is conceived of as a language process; the common characteristics of reading and listening are emphasized; and listening and speaking are seen as having much in common. Spelling, too, is increasingly being regarded as part of this language process with much recent attention being given to the orthography as a means of systematically representing the sounds of speech.

Traditionally in spelling instruction this relationship was not emphasized. English orthography, owing to a more conservative rate of change than that enjoyed by spoken language, was seen as being an irregular, capricious representation of speech sounds. Under this view, learning to spell (the converse of learning to read) had to be a matter of mastering words individually, often in list form or grouped according to some common theme. The rules that governed phoneme-to-grapheme correspondences were too numerous with too many exceptions to justify their being taught as an aid to spelling. With this view prevailing, dialect could not be regarded as a significant factor since learning to spell was a task of visual learning separate from any oral language use.

In the 1960's research became increasingly interested in the relationships between speech sounds and spelling. The well-known Stanford Study (Hanna et al., 1966), which analyzed over 17,000 words to discover their phoneme-grapheme relationships based on a standard pronunciation system, found that when syllable position and stress were taken into account virtually all consonant sounds and most vowel sounds were represented by one grapheme over 80 per cent of the time.

Venezky (1967), in a computer analysis of grapheme-to-phoneme correspondences from a reading point of view, proposed that the English spelling system was morphophonemic rather than simply a "letter-to-sound-system riddled with imperfections (p.77)." Meaning information is conveyed directly by the orthography when, for example, the word "bomb" retains the silent "b" in the spelling. This serves to preserve the morpheme as it occurs in such derived words as "bombard" and "bombardier." Carol Chomsky (1970) advanced a somewhat similar proposal based upon a generative-transformational model of English phonology developed by Chomsky and Halle (1968). She hypothesized an underlying, abstract, lexical form that intervenes between the phonetic shape of a word and its spelling. This hypothesis can account for the spelling of words like "extreme" and "extremity" whose vowel sound variation in the second syllable is attributable to a near surface phonological rule and whose underlying lexical forms are the same for that syllable. The spelling represents this underlying form rather than the sound of the word. The same theory can account for the silent "g" in sign. Its existence in the underlying form is shown by its appearance in the morphologically related word signal.

Both of these theories suggest that the English spelling system is much more regular than it appears on the surface and that there is a very systematic though indirect relationship between the sound and spelling of many English words. Chomsky (1970) suggested that English orthography may well be a near optimal representation of the sound system of spoken language.

There seems little doubt that the writer of English has information available from his knowledge of spoken language to assist him in spelling words correctly. From a thorough review of research into the issue of phoneme-grapheme correspondences, Cahen et. al (1971) concluded that the evidence favoured the existence of "correspondences of some consistency (p. 297)." Brengelman (1970) felt that the sound and spelling of many English words "correspond in some way (p. 130)."

Dialect and Spelling

As soon as it is admitted that knowledge of sound-letter correspondences may be a part of spelling ability, the question of dialect variation as a problem for the spelling curriculum presents itself. A relationship which holds for one dialect may not hold for another and spelling materials to teach phoneme-grapheme relationships prepared for one dialect may not be appropriate for another. An example of this problem was discussed by Tabbert (1974). He used the words "knotty" and "naughty" to show that whereas some dialects of American English contrast the pronunciation of these words, others treat them as homonyms. Spelling materials based on the first set of dialects, if used with children from the second, would be attempting to teach phoneme- grapheme relationships which did not exist for such children.

This dialect issue was raised by Reed (1966) immediately on the publication of the Stanford Study referred to above. He criticized the study on the grounds that the use of a single pronunciation standard did not do justice to the dialect diversity of American English and inflated the percentages of regular phoneme-grapheme correspondences in the findings of the study. Horn (1969) used dialect variation as one reason for maintaining reservations about the utility of generalizations about these relationships.

In response to these criticisms, Graham and Rudorf (1970) carried out a study to determine whether grade six students from dialect-speaking communities differed in their ability to use phoneme-grapheme relationships from students whose dialect was comparable to the pronunciation system used in the original Stanford Study. They concluded that their findings made the application of sound-spelling generalizations across dialects questionable.

Some evidence of the effects of dialect on actual spelling performance was revealed in an informal study of tenth grade Black students' compositions by Wolfram and Whiteman (1971). Part of this study involved the examination of spelling errors from the point of view of the students' spoken dialect. One phonological feature of Black English, final consonant cluster reduction, appeared to be reflected in the spelling errors, mainly in the form of omitted past tense endings such as "miss" for "missed" and "ram" for "rammed". Errors such as "des" for "desk" or "han" for "hand" were much less common. The authors felt that deletion of an "ed" affix left a recognizable word while the omission of the final consonant in the other type of reduction resulted in an unrecognizable form which would likely then be corrected.

However it is possible that the absence of the "ed" is merely a reflection of the rules of Black English dialects which permit the frequent deletions or omissions of "ed" which have been described by Labov (1972, p. 47), Dillard (1972, p. 41) and others. Note that Standard English itself lacks the "ed" inflection in the past tense of such verbs as **put** and **cut**. We have also noted (Paddock, 1966, p. 18) uninflected past tenses for the frequently occurring verbs, **come**, **eat**, and **give** in the folk speech of Carbonear, Newfoundland. In addition, the occurrence of the "s" **throughout the present tense** in many Newfoundland dialects (see Paddock, 1975, p. 2) also makes the "ed" redundant in that the latter inflection is no longer the sole indicator of the difference between present and past tense as it is in Standard English outside the third person singular. This redundancy, coupled with the high frequency of the uninflected past forms of such verbs as **come**, **give**, and **eat**, is undoubtedly weakening the status of "ed" **as** a past tense marker in many dialects.

However, it must be admitted that the omission of the past tense suffix does in fact contribute to word-final consonant cluster reduction because many occurrences of "ed" do create consonant clusters, ending in either /t/ or /d/, such as the /kt/ in **walked** or the /nd/ in **phoned**. This means that the widespread tendency to reduce many word-final consonant clusters might be another factor encouraging the deletion of the "ed" in Newfoundland pronunciation and spelling.

The above morphological and phonological facts suggest that the omission of "ed" might be a common "spelling error" in Newfoundland. This indeed proves to be the case. As in the Wolfram and Whiteman (1971) study, a considerable number of "misspellings" involved the past tense of verbs in that the "ed" suffix was omitted quite frequently.

The phenomenon of hypercorrection was also evident in the Wolfram and Whiteman data. For example, "while" spelled as "wild" may have been due to an overuse of "e" endings by a writer who was aware of the problem but insecure in his use of Standard English.

Thus, published opinion and research suggest that the English spelling system is considerably more rule-governed than was once assumed and that spelling ability includes awareness of the complex relationships that prevail between the sounds of language and their graphic representation. This would imply that the spelling curriculum should set out to teach these relationships rather than simply presenting

lists of thematically related words to be learned mechanically. However, additional difficulties may present themselves in areas like parts of Newfoundland where a distinctive regional dialect is spoken. The written language, whose spelling system is to be learned, may not reliably reflect the pronunciation and grammar systems of that dialect. Although the phoneme-grapheme relationships are complex enough to cause spelling difficulties for most children at some point in their education, nonstandard dialect speakers may be faced with additional difficulties, and, if so, teachers should be aware of them. As Brengelman (1970) wrote:

It is up to the teacher to select, adopt and create [spelling] lessons on the basis of the rules which underlie his students' command of English (p. 138).

While most language arts and English teachers in the Province will be aware of dialect interference in their students' spelling, there would seem to be some value in a systematic examination of the problem. Sufficient linguistic analysis of some Newfoundland dialects has been carried out in the Linguistics and English Departments at Memorial University for educators to make a start on the application of these analyses to curriculum problems in language and reading education.

A Study of the Effects of Newfoundland Dialect on Spelling

This preliminary, exploratory study was a small-scale attempt to use linguistic descriptions of the phonological features of the dialect spoken on the Northeast coast of Newfoundland to analyze the spelling errors of elementary students from two schools in that area.

The purpose of this study was to examine written stories produced by pupils from grades 3, 4, 5 and 6 to see if there was any logical relationship between errors in spelling and features of the local dialect. Two schools on the Northeast coast of Newfoundland participated in the investigation.

One creative writing exercise was collected from students in selected classes in each school. These data were collected early in November. The investigator talked to each class about Bonfire Night which is a big event in many Newfoundland communities held on November 5 to celebrate Guy Fawkes' unsuccessful attempt to blow up the British Houses of Parliament. Each class was then asked to write a story about their experiences on Bonfire Night. One class preferred to write about Hallowe'en instead since they had participated in an exciting classroom party. From each class a random sample of stories was selected for spelling error analysis. Table 1 shows the composition of grade levels, populations and samples from which spelling errors were analyzed.

Table 1
Grade Levels, Populations and Samples for the Analysis of
Errors in Spelling

Grade	School A		School B	
	Population	Sample	Population	Sample
3	19	5	--	--
4	24	6	87	15
5	54	12	31	8
6	--	--	<u>60</u>	<u>11</u>
Total	97	23	178	34

All spelling errors from the 57 sample stories were tabulated. The list was then scrutinized for errors which could be related to features of the local dialect.

Of the 253 spelling errors in the sample, 62 could have been attributable to the local dialect, a percentage of 24.5. This is not to say with any degree of assurance that these errors were caused by dialect differences. However, almost a quarter of the total misspelled words in the sample contained errors that appeared to be linked to features of the local dialect. It appeared that in spelling these words the children were influenced by the sounds they contained as pronounced in their own dialect with the result that while these sounds were represented by appropriate graphemes the word was misspelled according to conventional orthography. These dialect-based errors were classified according to different features of the dialect which may have contributed to them.

1. Consonant Cluster Reduction

Like several nonstandard dialects of English, the Newfoundland dialect reduces consonant clusters in the final position. For example, the standard English form *wind* will be pronounced as "win", the cluster "nd" being reduced to "n". A total of 27 spelling errors could reasonably be attributed to this characteristic of the children's speech. Examples were: "when" for "went", "rose" for "roast", "bill" for "build", "nex" for "next" and "tol" for "told". Wolfram and Whiteman (1971) in their analysis of Black grade ten students' spelling errors also found that consonant cluster reduction appeared to be influencing spelling. Yet, in contrast to their finding that few examples of incomplete words were produced, several of the above examples like "nex" and "tol" were word fragments. This difference may have been caused by the younger subjects in this study being less familiar with conventional written forms. Also in this consonant cluster reduction category were the spellings "diden" for "didn't" and "wooden" for "wouldn't".

An example of possible hypercorrection, a phenomenon reported by Wolfram and Whiteman (1971), was the spelling of "went" for "when". This student may have been overgeneralizing the need for "t" endings after "n" in Standard English.

We have discussed above the possible contribution of word-final consonant cluster reduction to the deletion of the past tense suffix "ed". We would be more certain of this contribution if we could show that "ed" is omitted more frequently from verbs where it would form potentially reducible consonant clusters than it is from other verbs.

At first sight it appeared that several of the children in the sample did not understand the use of the past tense. However, as was explained above, they may well have been simply producing their own reduced speech forms. Examples of this type of misspelling were: "pack" for "packed", "turn" for "turned", "burn" for "burned", "scare" for "scared", and "travell" for "travelled". Twelve of the 27 consonant cluster reduction errors fell into this subcategory.

2. Instability of Front Vowels

The following are the five front vowels of Standard English arranged in order of tongue-and-jaw height from highest to lowest: /i:/ as in **meet** and **meat**, /ɪ/ as in **mitt**, /eɪ/ as in **made** and **maid**, /e/ as in **met**, and /æ/ as in **mat**. The front vowel system is quite different in the Newfoundland dialect under consideration. For example, this dialect contains two additional long front vowels caused by the contrasts of /eh/ in **made**, **pane**, etc. versus /ey/ in **maid**, **pain**, etc. and /æ/ in **calm** /kae hm/, **path** /pae ht/, etc. versus /æ/ in **cam-shaft**, **Pat**, etc. Also, many words which contain short front vowels in Standard English are changed in the dialect. In particular, /e/ is usually raised to /ɪ/ (in words like **pet** and **pen**) or, less commonly, lowered to /æ/ (in words such as **seven** and **eleven**). In addition, the three short front vowels undergo lengthening or diphthongization, with accompanying raising, in some phonetic contexts so that /ɪ/ becomes /i:/ to produce homonyms of **fill** and **feel**, /e/ and /æ/ become /eɪ/ to make homonyms of **beg** and **bag**. This common upshifting of front vowels could account for the spelling "marshmellovv" by three

subjects in the sample. (The same spelling was seen on the display sign of the St. John's franchise of a national fast food retailer.) It could also account for the spelling "gether" for "gather".

However, counter-examples occurred in the data. "Mettle" was the spelling for "middle" in one case, "than" for "then", and "incense" for "incentive" in others. These demonstrated an apparent shift in the other direction. A possible explanation for this is that as dialect speakers come into contact with Standard English pronunciation their own speech is affected and varies between the dialect and Standard English, especially if any status is accorded to Standard English. The effect of this might be to render the front vowel system quite unstable phonetically. Indeed such instability can be observed in the speech of some Newfoundlanders, including one of the present writers who is a native speaker of the dialect in question. This instability of pronunciation may be reflected in a similar instability of spelling. Front vowel misspelling made up a total of 14 errors in the sample.

One spelling error exhibited features of both category one and two. This was the spelling "liss" for "last". The "t" may have been dropped because consonant cluster reduction deletes it in the spoken form and front vowel instability resulted in a substitution of "l" for "a".

* Our phonemic transcriptions utilize the Trager-Smith binary symbols for long vowels and diphthongs.

3. Other Phonological Features

The two categories discussed above accounted for over half of the dialect-based errors. **No** other single phonological feature of the dialect produced a sizable number of misspellings, but several errors could be attributed to miscellaneous phonological features.

The two "th" sounds of Standard English, /θ/ as in **thin** and /ð/ as in **then**, never occur in the dialect where they are usually replaced by "t" and "d" respectively. Two examples of misspellings related to this featural difference were noted: "trow" for "throw" and "mount" for "month". Perhaps the low incidence of this phenomenon reflects teacher awareness of the problem and steps taken to eliminate it. That these steps don't always work was perhaps demonstrated at a local drive-in theatre when a certain well-known film was advertised briefly as "Deep Troat".

Another frequently-noted feature of the local dialect is the absence of the phoneme "h" in words like **hand** and the presence of the phoneme in words like **ice**. Four examples occurred in the data: "has" for "as", "his" for "is", "is" for "his", and "ear" for "hear".

Two other spelling errors in the data reflected another phonological feature of the dialect. One subject wrote "a noer" for **another** while a second wrote "sunely" for **suddenly**. The first of these errors may have been the product of two phonological processes in the dialect: the change of /t/ to /d/ (described above) and the subsequent deletion of medial stops. The first process would convert **another** to "anodder" and the second would then eliminate the "d" sound producing what the subject in this case relexicalized as two words. In the case of "sunely" the "d" sound of **suddenly** would be deleted.

A final dialect-based error may have been the spelling "boet" for **boat**. Instead of the smooth diphthong /ow/ of Newfoundland Standard English, in the dialect words like **boat**, **close**, **home**, **load**, **road**, and **froze** sound disyllabic, the second vowel being the unstressed version of the Trager-Smith /a/ or /i/. In this case the subject could have been spelling phonetically by representing the unstressed vowel sound with an "e".

4. Spelling Errors Caused by Lexical Features of the Dialect

The writing samples contained words like "flanker", a dialect word meaning a large spark from a bonfire, and "chuck" a word meaning "throw" which some may regard as a slang word. While these are

obviously not spelling errors and were not treated as such, how should one regard the spelling of "potates" for "potatoes"? The student who wrote "potates" was undoubtedly representing his own dialectal pronunciation /pətéyiyz/ or /pətéhdiy/. In this case the spelling "error" was caused, not by a general phonological process in the dialect, but by a particular dialectal form of a word.

An interesting example in this category occurred in a sentence one subject wrote to explain how a fire was put out. He wrote "We had to get a green bough to **doat** it". The Standard English speaker might well be puzzled by the word "doat". Is it a misspelling of the word "dowsed", which, however, is not quite appropriate in this context?. To a dialect speaker the word is quite understandable because the Newfoundland dialect has retained the older English form, dout (do + out) which has been lost in Standard English, as have the comparable words don (do + on) and doff (do + off). Thus, the word "doat" was probably derived from the spoken form clout. The same word occurred with a different spelling in another student's story when she wrote: "We douter the little one (fire) because the big one went down". She was referring to the fact that once the big bonfire burned down they were able to roast marshmallows on it rather than on a smaller fire built for the purpose so they "douted" the little one.

Conclusions

Within the limitations of sampling, this exploratory study has indicated the strong possibility of a relationship between the dialect spoken in part of Newfoundland and a substantial proportion of the spelling errors of a sample of elementary school children. It therefore raises the question of whether dialect interference may be considered as one cause of spelling difficulties in children who are learning to exercise productive control over written language. To show that there is a logical connection between linguistic contrasts between a dialect and Standard English on the one hand and errors in spelling on the other is not to prove that one is the cause of the other. However, the connection is interesting and worthy of further exploration by more rigorously designed research.

While it would be premature to draw implications from this study for classroom practice in the teaching of spelling, one can at least concur with Brengelman (1970) when he urged teachers to become acquainted with the dialect of their children in planning for instruction in spelling. Such knowledge on the part of teachers will help them to understand perhaps some of the spelling errors their children make. It has been suggested that a viable approach for teachers would be to defer attention to dialect-based spelling errors on the grounds that they are evidence of a healthy development of phoneme-grapheme relationships (Robinson, 1973). A necessary first step in the procedure would involve distinguishing such dialect-based errors from other kinds of misspellings. As this study has demonstrated, such an analysis is quite feasible once something is known about the features that distinguish the local dialect from Standard English.

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Section III Society, research and educational policies

EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND SOCIETY *

Amarjit Singh

In addition to providing answers to the questions stemming from the Committee's terms of reference, this study has other, broader purposes. Hopefully, this study will generate other inquiry and will provide an expanded information base that will greatly facilitate decision making with regard to post-secondary education in general, and Memorial University in particular.

Any educational policy which is sensitive to the need for human resource development of a society and which is also sensitive to the rising aspirations and expectations of its people to better their lives (economically, politically and socially) cannot be formulated without knowledge of the basic socio-economic-political facts of that society.

It seems appropriate, therefore, to point out in this report that there is a critical need in Newfoundland to study formal schooling — both secondary and post-secondary — through the interdisciplinary social science perspective.

Does Memorial University cater only to the middle-class population of Newfoundland? To what extent does equal educational opportunity exist in the Province? How many students will decide to come to Memorial after graduation from high school? In which faculty at Memorial will enrollment drop in the coming years? Will there be enough jobs for students graduating from various vocational schools in the Province? What new programmes should be introduced at various levels of schooling which will meet the needs of individuals and society?

Issues such as early drop-out from schools, unemployment, equal educational opportunities, an increased emphasis on vocational training, the migration of trained people from rural areas to urban centers, a low retention rate in schools, failure rate, perceived job dissatisfaction by teachers, etc., cannot be understood in the absence of basic sociological and demographic data relating to schools and society.

The information on such variables as students' sex, age, social class, religion, community size, place of birth, place of residence, family size, the schools they have attended, the schools they are attending at the present time, the kinds of program they are enrolled in, etc., is necessary for the analysis of various social and educational issues, e.g. equal educational opportunities.

Moreover, in order to understand the outcome of manpower and human development policies and the role of educational institutions in such policies, it is important to have longitudinal data regarding students' occupational aspirations, expectations, career preferences and occupational choices.

Besides the information on the above variables, it is necessary to have knowledge about the present and future nature of the occupational structure of society. The study of occupational structure is essential if the manpower, human development, and educational policies of the Province are to be coordinated.

This implies that economic and political activities in society must also be properly assessed and understood, because expansion of occupational structure among other things, depends upon the actual level of economic development at a given time, on the extent to which it will develop in future, and the direction of its development. Economic development, in turn, to a great extent, is influenced by the political processes at work in a society at a given time.

Manpower policies are formulated, usually from the standpoint of society, to ensure the steady supply of a labour force which is needed for the changing occupational roles in society due to the breakthroughs in scientific knowledge and diffusion of technology.

Thus, from the societal viewpoint educational institutions now have become of critical importance since schools are the organizational means through which contemporary societies attempt to solve problems created by the complicated and highly differentiated occupational structure.

A highly differentiated occupational structure, then, demands (1) that diverse occupational niches must be filled with persons of at least sufficient competence and skill, and (2) that there be a steady flow of competent and skilled persons who can fill the new occupational roles that may arise in future or who can fill the vacant positions in order to keep the system going.

But, the logic of the manpower or human resource development approach, under certain economic and political conditions, may have a different meaning for a large number of people of society whose occupational behaviour is to be molded by the manpower policies.

Many studies have indicated that a large number of people have different perceptions of the educational institutions in their society, perceptions which do not always correspond to the model of manpower planners and educational administrators. Individuals and groups have different perceptions of the various levels of formal schooling and their relations to occupations, income, prestige, status, power and leisure time. They go to schools for reasons not necessarily foreseen by educators, administrators and planners.

In most contemporary societies large numbers of people see formal schooling as a means to upward mobility. They are competing with each other in order to attain the "right kind" of formal schooling. This will give them access to the right kind of occupation, as they are aware of the fact that income, status, prestige, power, leisure time, — all things which are prized in most societies — are closely associated with one's occupation.

Since this is the case, large numbers of people are becoming increasingly concerned with how schools treat them and their children as individuals and as members of a particular class or group. That is, they are concerned with the question of equal educational opportunities and the consequences of the level and kind of schooling which they can achieve for their life chances, i.e., the chance to stay alive, the chance to view fine arts, the chance to remain healthy and grow tall, the chances of getting quick and adequate medical care when one gets sick, the chance to avoid becoming a juvenile delinquent, the chance to participate in the decision-making process which affect one's life, the chance to earn money, and the like. (Gerth, Mills, 1953).

The above observations suggest that schools (both secondary and post-secondary) and society are intricately interwoven and that the role of schools in contemporary societies cannot be understood in isolation. The role of schools, especially universities and other post-secondary institutions, therefore, must be studied in relation to the economic and political activities in society.

The study of formal schooling through the perspectives developed in economics, political science, and sociology is a recent phenomenon. For example, systematic studies of formal schooling as a crucial factor in economic development, the role of formal schooling in political socialization and development, and the role of schools in social mobility, social stratification, and social control, appeared only in the last three decades.

Most of such studies have been carried out in the United States, England, the Soviet Union and other advanced industrial societies. The social science approach in studying formal schooling is still not very prevalent in most of the developing nations, although there are various semi-scientific studies which are used by government officials, educational departments and administrators for the purpose of formulating educational and social policies.

In the absence of basic data relevant to the local situation, government officials, educators and administrators have tended to think that results of the studies conducted in the industrially advanced nations are applicable to their local situations.

Although these people are aware of the fact that substantial modifications have to be made before the results of studies conducted elsewhere can be meaningfully applied to their own local situation, such decisions to reinterpret these studies are often based upon personal guesses, whims and the experience of various individuals in government offices, schools, and universities.

No doubt, in situations where there are no hard data, making decisions based upon personal judgement is the only way to get things done. But there is always a greater chance of gross mistakes and miscalculations. Social policies based upon inadequate information may prove not only costly but also detrimental to the interests of society and the individuals in it.

It is fairly evident that, in Newfoundland, formal schooling has not been systematically studied through the social science perspective. A tradition of studying education in relation to the social-political-economic milieu of this Province has not developed. This is not to say that people who formulate educational or social policies do not take the social context of the Province into consideration while making decisions. The point is that there are few systematic studies of formal schooling which are available to the public.

Moreover, there has been little attempt made to diffuse a systematic understanding of formal schooling in all its dimensions to the public. Consequently, the public and teaching profession as a whole — including members of school boards, university professors, government officials — are sometimes making decisions in the absence of adequate information and consequently may not fully understand the implications of various changes which are being brought into the Newfoundland educational system: regional colleges, special education, vocational and technical schools, grouping practices in classrooms, open-schools, and testing, for example.

It should not be concluded from the above observations that no research in education in the Province has been conducted. Obviously, some research has been conducted in education which was relevant to the needs of the Province at that time. Some systematic studies in education have also been conducted by the graduate students and faculty members. These are listed in **A Bibliography of Newfoundland Education**, (Gushue and Singh, 1973).

These studies, however, have been conducted on an ad-hoc basis and with different purposes and goals in mind. They have not been directed to the wider social and educational issues in the Province in a systematically co-ordinated fashion with the purpose of formulating short-term or long-term educational and social policies in the Province.

It is the purpose of this study to relate students' background, present and past experiences, perceptions of self and environment and other distal and proximal factors to students' career decisions and in so doing provide some further guidelines for educational decision-making.

*Originally, the author prepared the text of this paper for the Parson's Report on 1973 Enrollment. The report was prepared under the chairmanship of Dr. Llewellyn Parsons. The full title of the report is: **Career Decisions of Newfoundland Youth, Report No. 3 of the Committee on 1973 Enrollment**, Memorial University of Newfoundland, May, 1974. See "The Need for This Study", pp. 4-7. New title is added here. See, articles by Dr. Llewellyn Parsons in this book.

EDUCATIONAL CHANGE AND RESEARCH

Dr. P.J. Warren

Change has been a primary ingredient of our way of life. The motivation to invent and to improve has been universal in the past, and undoubtedly will continue to be so in the future. Today we believe most sincerely what the philosopher Lichtenburg said a century ago: "I don't know whether if things change, they will get better, but I do know that if things are to get better, they must change."

Considering the pressures for change in education over the past decade or so, one would have expected an educational revolution. We are experiencing a rapid growth in knowledge, including knowledge of how people learn: many people, particularly the young, are questioning existing beliefs and practices, including those in education; and students and the general public want to become more involved in educational decision-making. Yet, many schools have remained basically the same as they were decades ago. There have been some changes in curriculum content, in instructional techniques, in organizational patterns, and in the use of technology in some schools, as was demonstrated earlier, but these changes can hardly be said to constitute a revolution. Perhaps it is more appropriate to say that we are on the verge of a revolution which holds much hope and some apprehension.

Why has change been relatively slow in education? What are some of the barriers to change? What instruments of change have been used in education generally? What can be done to promote educational change in Newfoundland? These are the questions with which this Chapter is concerned.

I. BARRIERS TO EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

One of the major barriers to educational change has been confusion about what change really is. Typical responses to the question "What is change?" indicate that change is not well-defined or understood. Responses to the question often take the following form: "Change is the new nongraded system," "Change is team teaching," "Change is flexible scheduling," and so on.

But change is more than these things. Change is also a process. Research about change itself indicates that there is a definite process which any innovation or adaptation goes through before becoming implemented or institutionalized. The change process appears to have definite stages or elements which can be studied and which lend themselves to the development of strategies to encourage the ultimate implementation of the desired outcome.

There have been several recent efforts to formulate strategies for change adoption. Miles has proposed one such strategy, which moves from the designing of an innovation to its adoption (1). Guba and Clark have developed a classification scheme which calls attention to the range of processes involved in innovating. They enumerate four major processes: Research, Development, Diffusion, and Adoption (2). Research provides a basis for invention while development (a) provides the innovation or new solution to a problem, (b) constructs and packages the components of the new solution, and (c) tries out and tests the packaged innovations under an appropriate range of conditions. Diffusion informs and creates an awareness of the innovation and provides an opportunity for people to examine and assess the innovation. The fourth process, adoption, is that stage when (a) the innovation is tried out in a specific situation, (b) formal action is taken to adopt the innovation for use in a specific situation, (c) the adopting institution creates conditions necessary for the introduction of the innovation or its adaptation, and (4) the innovation is maintained as a part of the ongoing system.

There are many questions concerning the Guba-Clark processes of change. Are these processes too mechanical? Do they describe what actually happens when changes are instituted? Do they give sufficient attention to the goals of an educational program? Undoubtedly, the various steps and elements

in the change process interact in the most complex fashion. This complexity focuses on a second barrier to change.

The complexity of education has long been accepted. There are simply too many uncontrolled variables in the teaching-learning process and too little scientific knowledge to permit the presentation of a neat formula for change. Because education is a social system, each component interacts with others. While minor adjustments may be made in isolation, major ones cannot be made without a rearrangement of other components. Changes made in isolation may in the long run actually hinder educational progress.

The tendency in education has been for innovations to be introduced in a piecemeal, somewhat fragmented manner. Changes have been made in discrete areas of education, without reference to other areas. While, in some cases, changes have been more than "tinkering," they have not been carefully planned or well thought through, at least not in the content of the models presented in Chapter 1 of this report.

The weakness of the knowledge base about new educational ideas has already been mentioned. Not only do we know little about the change process itself, but we have difficulty in establishing the effectiveness of the various innovations that have been proposed. Goals are difficult to define in terms that make them easily measurable, and variables are not easily controlled. Only recently have some of the funds required to mount an attack on the problem of measuring the effectiveness of educational innovations been forthcoming.

Other barriers to change include the following:

1. The failure of many attempts at innovation to address themselves to the basic questions of educational purpose.
2. The nature and structure of our educational institutions. As was noted earlier, effectiveness is difficult to measure, the performance of teachers is relatively invisible to an independent observer or his colleagues, educators are especially vulnerable to the public, and there is a high degree of lay control of educational decision-making. All of these are not present to the same degree in many other professions.
3. The tendency to place new labels on old practices. All too often, for example, flexible scheduling turns out to be a kind of gimmick in which nothing much changes but the length of the periods and the vocabulary with which the program is described.
4. The tendency of educators to resist change. Like people in many other social institutions, educators tend to prefer the security and stability of the status quo. Bertrand Russell once ascribed the lack of great progress in education to the fact that the minds of those who controlled the teaching of the young was dominated by the wish to preserve the past rather than the hope of creating the future.
5. Lack of adequate planning and attention given to preparing educators for change.
6. The absence of institutional change agents.
7. The fear on the part of some people that changes such as bigger schools and the adoption of educational technology will dehumanize the educational experience. There is widespread suspicion, for example, that placing a child before a machine for long periods of time will "mechanize" education and dehumanize relations between pupils and

teachers, resulting in a stereotyped and sterile learning process. Some people claim that this will lead to a general impoverishment of school life.

8. The lack of effective communication of the results of research and development from one school or school district to another. This may be associated with the tendency of educational groups to ignore the experiences of others when introducing changes.
9. The small size of many schools. With some exceptions, the larger the enrolment of the school, the greater the tendency toward innovation.

II. PROMOTING CHANGE

A wide variety of techniques and organizational structures have been developed to promote change and innovation in education. Included are government planning bodies, research and development institutes, model projects, incentive grants, and dissemination agencies. Only a small sample of these will be described here.

A major development in the United States has been the growth of Regional Educational Laboratories. In 1966, twelve regional laboratories were funded by the U.S. Office of Education. Geographically dispersed throughout the Country, these agencies were sponsored by a consortium of varying institutions which included universities school districts, industrial organizations, and nonprofit foundations. Their functions were to conduct basic research relating to education, to develop applied research programs, and to disseminate findings. The establishment of these laboratories may turn out to be one of the greatest forward steps of the past decade.

A number of research bodies have also been developed in Canada. The research and development function is one of the major functions of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. It is also a growing function of the Atlantic Institute of Education.

The provision of grants to promote research and development projects has also been a part of the Canadian educational scene. Quebec has distributed grants annually for this purpose. Alberta has also used a system of grants to promote projects of a more developmental nature than Quebec. And Saskatchewan has recently approved the establishment of such a plan. The Saskatchewan Department of Education will grant up to \$5,000 to teachers and school boards for imaginative new projects, or for programs that exist elsewhere but are adapted to the Saskatchewan context. It is hoped that the plan will encourage originality and diversity in the solution of educational problems. Proposals for grants will go from the teachers through their principals to the school board and then to a regional committee for approval. A provincial committee will then assess the project and make an appropriate recommendation to the Department.

A large number of educational projects have been sponsored by government bodies, universities, school districts, professional organizations, business foundations, and various combinations of these and other agencies. One of the most significant for secondary education in North America has been the Model Schools Project of the National Association for Secondary School Principals (3). Supported by the Danford Foundation, the NASSP has developed the model project to help educators undertake wholesale changes in all aspects of teaching and learning.

The basic goals of the Project have been stated as follows:

1. To provide a program with varied strategies and environments for learning through which all pupils, regardless of differences in individual talents and interests, may proceed with gains.

2. To provide conditions for teaching that recognize differences among teachers and capitalize on the special talents and interests of each person.
3. To define clearly the role of the professional teacher as separate from the roles of clerks, instruction assistants, and general aides.
4. To separate the principal's role in instructional improvement and general supervision from management tasks that can be done by other persons.
5. To emphasize in curriculum revision the distinction between those learnings that are essential for all pupils, and those learnings which are specially relevant for some of them.
6. To reduce required earnings in all subjects to provide more time for pupils to follow their own interests and talents.
7. To develop better methods and materials for evaluating changes in conditions for learning, teaching, and supervising, as well as changes in the use of the things of education; also for evaluating the effects of the program on pupils, teachers, and principals.
8. To utilize school funds, supplies, and equipment, and other school facilities differently to produce better results as described under Item "6" without necessarily having more of the things of education.
9. To discover better ways of utilizing outside consultant help not only within a given school but also through audio-visual devices to spread the consultants' talents among other schools.
10. To analyze the process and the progress of change among schools.

The major feature of the Project is that it attempts to change all aspects of the school program. For example, principals spend three-quarters of their time working directly with teachers to improve instruction and learning; differentiated staffing is introduced, granting teachers fewer contact hours with pupils, an opportunity to meet pupils individually, and paraprofessional help; and pupils have periods of independent study, as well as small-group and large-group meetings. New approaches to pupil progress and evaluation are also introduced.

Schools involved in the Project work to achieve the Model as rapidly as possible. A two-year transitional period is considered adequate. Comprehensive reports are prepared to evaluate the effectiveness of the Project in each school.

A number of agencies promote educational research and development in Britain (4). The work of the Schools Council has already been described. An independent body supported financially by the Department of Education and Science and local education authorities, the Council promotes curriculum study and development and sponsors research where it is needed to solve immediate and practical problems.

The major institute undertaking educational research in Britain is the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER). An autonomous body, it derives its general income mainly from corporate members, including local educational authorities, teachers' organizations, and universities, and from an annual grant made by the Department of Education and Science. It also receives fees for undertaking

specific research projects. In addition to conducting research projects, it provides test services, statistical services, and an information service for its members.

Then there is the Social Science Research Council, an agency responsible for stimulating and assisting research in all the social sciences, including education. In 1967, the Council established the Educational Research Board with responsibility for examining the existing structure of educational research and for relating research findings to educational practice (5).

The greater part of Britain's educational research, however, is undertaken in universities and colleges of education. Assisted by grants from various national agencies, such as the Schools Council or NOER, large numbers of studies and developmental projects are conducted by personnel in higher education. And, of course, higher education has its own funds for this purpose.

National agencies other than those already mentioned which conduct or sponsor research projects include teacher organizations and bodies such as the National Council for Educational Technology. As in North America, local school districts also conduct research projects. Similarly, philanthropic organizations such as the Nuffield Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Gulbenkian Trust finance various projects. The work of the Nuffield Foundation, in particular, has received world-wide attention.

III. THE SITUATION IN NEWFOUNDLAND

Throughout this report, some of the changes that have taken place recently in Newfoundland education have been described. Changes described relate to more individualized programs, more flexible organizational arrangements, new instructional approaches, new materials, and more functional school facilities. But these changes have had limited application.

Often, they have been conducted independently of other aspects of the system. The development of secondary education, indeed of education in general, is replete with instances of the adoption of single innovations. There have been few cases where schools have sought to incorporate a systems approach to planning and improvement. There has been little provision for evaluating the effectiveness of the change in solving the problem concerned.

Individual schools and school districts have undertaken research and development projects. The Department of Education and Youth, the Faculty of Education at Memorial University, and the Newfoundland Teachers' Association have promoted and been involved in various projects. Schools throughout the Province have been asked to conduct various curriculum projects by the Department of Education and Youth. The Faculty of Education has its own research fund and research committee to promote studies among its staff. And, of course, graduate students at the University are undertaking studies as part of their graduate programs.

In 1968, the Royal Commission on Education and Youth recommended the establishment of an Institute for Research and Development in the Province. To date, this recommendation has not been implemented, although a representative committee has considered the recommendation and accepted it in principle.

IV. PROPOSALS FOR ACTION IN NEWFOUNDLAND

A great deal has been said throughout this Chapter and, indeed, throughout this report, regarding the need for and the complexity of educational change. It must be obvious that such change is not the responsibility of any one group. Teachers must have the freedom to innovate, but they alone have neither the resources nor the time to carry massive change to fruition. Nor can it be accomplished at the district, provincial, or national level unilaterally. What is needed is co-ordinated and co-operative planning at all

levels which encourages innovation, experimentation, and change and which utilizes experience and talent wherever it may be acquired. It must be the responsibility of provincial governments, however, to develop legal and operational structures which encourage these processes and make available the required funds. It is in this last area, the financing of experimentation and change, that the Federal Government must accept increasing responsibility.

The proposals that follow suggest some ideas for consideration in the Newfoundland context:

1. The Provincial Government should establish an institute for research and development to sponsor, translate, and disseminate research and to promote change and innovation in education. More specifically, the major functions of the institute should be:
 - (a) To conduct studies of a basic and applied nature.
 - (b) To promote the testing of research findings in different school settings.!
 - (c) To develop demonstration centres under varying conditions.
 - (d) To translate selected research conducted in the Province and elsewhere and to make this available to schools throughout the Province.
 - (e) To co-operate with other educational authorities in the Province in conducting province-wide projects and in seeking funds for educational research.
 - (f) To co-operate with other research bodies throughout the Nation in conducting projects of nation-wide interest.
2. The following are also proposed for consideration:
 - (a) That the institute be legally independent of the various educational authorities in the Province.
 - (b) That the institute have a governing body representative of the various educational authorities.
 - (c) That large-scale financial assistance be sought from the Federal Government (through the Department of Regional Economic Expansion) to help the institute conduct research and development projects in such areas as socio-economic development and education.
3. The task force or the project team should be used by the Provincial Government as a mechanism to study specific problems that require solution over a relatively short period of time.
4. A fund for educational innovations should be established by the Department of Education and Youth. Grants for specific district or school projects should be made by the Department on the recommendation of the research institute or a special projects committee. Detailed applications would be submitted to the appropriate body for consideration.
5. The establishment of a network of demonstration schools throughout the Province should be considered. These schools would be clinical, research-type places where practicing educators and researchers could work together and where new approaches could constantly be experimented with. Such schools could provide a teacher information and visitation service.
6. The importance of having planning agencies and sub-systems built in as a permanent part of the educational system should be widely accepted. The Department of Education and Youth should extend the services of its planning division. The Department should, at the same time, accept rational planning procedures in its own operation and promote

such procedures in the operation of school boards and other educational agencies. Consideration of Planning-Programming-Budgeting Systems as a planning technique can do much to improve the instructional program and the learning experiences of students as well as promote increased efficiency and accountability in education.

7. As part of its accreditation program, the Department of Education and Youth should periodically require each high school in the Province to submit a comprehensive self-evaluation of its organization and administration, its curriculum and instructional program, its staff personnel, its support services (guidance, health, etc.), its instructional materials and equipment, its school plant, and its general spirit and tone to an appropriate Provincial committee. The fulfilling of this requirement, involving citizens and students as well as educators, would do much to improve the quality and quantity of educational programs. This process would require a more detailed statement of minimum standards than is available at the present time.
8. School districts should have a commitment to support the orderly, systematic introduction of innovations - a commitment that assures adequate funds to employ specialized personnel and provide support services. The development of a grant system for innovative projects similar to that proposed for the Province as a whole, could be undertaken at the district level.
9. While large school districts may have their own research and development personnel, smaller ones will have to co-operate if an adequate supply of curriculum consultants or innovation searchers are to be provided. As currently organized and financed, few districts have the resources to experiment with and implement new concepts and innovational programs.
10. The region could be the administrative unit that co-ordinates the use of local educational specialists in an atmosphere based on partnership rather than competition. At the 'region' level, a research and development committee could be established to:
 - (a) Identify educational needs and problems requiring study.
 - (b) Initiate region-wide studies independently or in op-operation with the Provincial institute.
 - (c) Co-ordinate interschool and interdistrict studies.
 - (d) Act as a clearing house for information from research studies conducted elsewhere.

Groups of schools in the region could be organized into "leagues of co-operating schools" to experiment with new approaches.
11. Local school districts and schools could also use the task force as a change agent. The task force may be employed, particularly in the summer, to carry on particular improvement projects, including the development of curriculum guides and other materials for teachers.
12. Exchange of school personnel within the school district and visits to other districts should be used as vehicles of change. School board policy should be developed on these matters.
13. Regions, districts and schools should promote inservice education programs to provide for the implementation of new programs and the preparation of personnel for new assignments.

14. The organization and structure of schools should facilitate change and innovation. Teachers should be fully involved in decision-making: channels of communication should be clear; a high degree of professional autonomy should be granted to teachers; and provisions should be made for parental and student involvement.
15. The "systems" approach to educational change should be used. Because the components of an educational system interact and intermesh with each other, change in one area cannot be carried out in isolation from other areas.
16. Educators should become intimately familiar with the change process. They should fully understand the strategies required to move from one step in the change process to the next. The Faculty of Education has a major responsibility in developing this understanding. In fact, the Faculty itself should become increasingly involved in educational change at the school level.

In conclusion, it should be stressed that change is the responsibility of all those associated with education. What we must do is not only create an awareness of the need for change but establish specific mechanisms and sequences that will result in continuing change. Ways must be found to institutionalize change and develop individuals who will be comfortable with change so that it will not be necessary to destroy an institution in order to build a better one.

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SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH IN EDUCATION AND TEACHERS

Dr. Amarjit Singh

In the **Morning Watch**, vol. 1, no. 3, March 1974, p. 11, I indicated the need for developing knowledge — producing capabilities through research at all levels of the educational system in Newfoundland.

Therein I suggested what teachers and other school personnel can do in this area, especially in the absence of a research institute in education and substantial amounts of money needed for longscale research.

My suggestion was that teachers and other school personnel can record their observations on education in Newfoundland in four areas: (1) various activities taking place in schools, (2) community and school interaction, (3) organization of learning (i.e., I.Q. Testing, grouping, etc.) and (4) the community structure.

It now appears that with the establishment of the Institute for Research in Education within the Faculty of Education much more emphasis will be given to the study of education in Newfoundland within social science perspectives.¹

With this structural change at the university level and due to the fact that the social context of education is especially changing in Newfoundland², it appears that teachers in Newfoundland will have to add a research component in their professional course work, training and in-service teacher-education programmes because they will need to understand the technical language which is usually associated with research methodology, analysis, interpretation and reporting.

Moreover, research in education is done in various ways³, by various persons, for various reasons, and for various interest groups, and is seldom neutral³. It is often used to undermine or to legitimize social control. In this way educational research has become effective ammunition to resist change or to effect change in most societies.⁴

Because research in education is seldom neutral, teachers and school personnel at some point in their decision-making process will have to face the situation in which they will be asked to justify why they are using one set of research findings and not the others. This is going to be so because the general public (and students) now seem to understand the effect of different educational policies on the life chances of their children.⁵

Teachers and school personnel will find themselves more and more in a situation in which they will need to critically analyze various sets of research findings for their use.

In order to be effective in choosing research findings for the purposes of decision-making in the area of teaching practices, curriculum, educational policy formulation, teachers and school personnel have to keep in mind a number of things: (1) the number and kinds of people involved in education, (2) the knowledge they would produce, promote, and attempt to legitimize, (3) the politics of research in the changing political, social and economic context of Newfoundland and of other countries.

The last point is of special significance. In Newfoundland, as in other places, there are forces of "modernization" at work. There are several perspectives on social change which various groups of people in society adopt and each perspective on change will have different implications for organization of education in Newfoundland.⁶

In the **Morning Watch**, Vol. 2, No. 3, March 1975, p. 1, I have mentioned a number of questions related to social change which have been raised by people in various countries when confronted with schemes of planned change. Teachers and school personnel, it seems to me, will be under increasing pressure in the near future to develop ability for understanding problems and processes involved in planned social change at a much higher level. As social science research in the area of social change is generally reported in "scientific" and "technical" language teachers and school personnel will need to sensitize themselves with "scientific" and "technical" jargon.

The addition of a research component in their professional education and training, including in-service training programmes and other opportunities for upgrading, will also enhance their professional status.

Before I conclude, I suggest that there is a need in Newfoundland to carry out research within some broader theoretical framework. Isolated and theoretical research projects do serve some purposes but they are often useless in formulating long term social and educational policies.

In selecting a broader theoretical framework for research in education we need to make up our minds about the purpose of doing research. Should we do research which directly bears upon (a) social and educational problems in Newfoundland, (b) some international, including Canadian, social and educational problems, (c) some social and educational problems unique to the Atlantic Provinces? Some priorities need to be set up. Some focus seems to be necessary. Attention needs to be given to the fact that different research orientations are connected with different institutional networks and that a strong connection with one institution network may not be appropriate for all the areas. For example, Card has recently pointed out that:

"The strong American — OISE connections may well not be appropriate for the Atlantic Provinces or the West, and the Ontario-Federal network in sociology of education may not necessarily serve well the entire country. The strong component of 'Arts' sociology of education in Ontario does not reflect the structure of sociology of education elsewhere in Anglophone Canada, where the field is being developed primarily in Faculties of Education and Departments of Educational Foundations. These are factors, deriving partially from brute geography and Canadian social development, that need to be taken into account when meeting contemporary and future challenges."⁸

A Perspective for Research in Education

Much has been recently written on urban education, employment, and urban development. Issues such as equal educational opportunity, conditions for equality, unemployment, redistribution of income, poverty, status revolution, job satisfaction, alienation, etc., are usually discussed in the context of urban setting. These issues are seldom discussed in the context of "rural growth" or "non-rurban", "non-industrial" growth. In fact, much of the urban development has taken place with little regard for ecology.

However, in the wake of growing urban problems all over the world there is a shift from emphasis on urban development to rural growth. In some parts of the world, the back to the village movement has already gained impetus.

The last trend has some significance for research in the province as the province is at the cross-road in the overall process of modernization in the sense that the province provides a rather unique opportunity in North America. to study interrelationship of issues regarding education, employment, rural growth and ecology. Very little is known in terms of alternatives which may be useful in transforming non-urban growth (i.e. growth without the destruction of ecology) and the role played by formal and non-formal education in it.

Growing out of the basic premises briefly outlined above are the six broader areas of research in education which appears to me worth considering. These are:

1. Studying alternatives in adult and community education as they relate to non-urban growth.
2. Studying alternatives in out of school education.
3. Studying alternatives in occupational and career development through the development of formal and "non-formal" education.
4. Studying alternatives in teacher preparation and training with special focus on growth in small and isolated communities.
5. Studying alternatives in the education of minority status people.
6. Studying alternative in creating conditions for equality and equal educational opportunities in the context of non-urban growth.

Original research in these areas will also have comparative significance as similar research also is being carried out in other parts of the world in which researchers, politicians, general public and policy makers are concerned with the issues of education, enjoyment, rural growth (non-urban growth) and ecology.

FOOTNOTES

1. I have elaborated this point earlier. See "Career Decisions of Newfoundland Youth Report No. 3 of the Committee on 1973 Enrollment," M.U.N., May, 1974, pp. 4-9.
2. In this respect, of significant importance has been the discovery of off-shore oil and gas in Newfoundland. If offshore oil/gas development goes ahead in Newfoundland, it would have special implications for the development of education in the province. See, **Background Papers for the Colloquium on the Potential Impact on the Province of Future Commercial Oil/Gas Discovery Offshore Newfoundland**, November 1-2, 1974, Energy Division, Department of Mines and Energy, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. Also see the proceedings of the Colloquium.
3. Here I am emphasizing the effect of the human factor on social science research by making the distinction between "neutral" and "objective " research. A research is objective if it is based upon "sound" methodology. Neutrality in social science research is difficult to achieve (some hold that it is impossible to achieve) because it involves making choices for researchable problems. Because social scientists and educators are human beings, their choices of problem is interwoven with their value system. A social science research is neutral only to the extent to which the researcher has explicitly explained the value premises which guide him/her to choose one set of researchable problem(s) over the other(s). See Myrdal, Gunnar, **Objectivity In Social Research**. New York: Pantheon Books, 1969.
4. See, Caldwell, Catherine "**Social Science as Ammunition**" in **Erickson, Edsel et al. (eds.) Social Change, Conflict, and Education**. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1972.
5. See my articles "Critics of Education..." in the **Morning Watch**, Vol. 1, No. 3, March 1974 and Vol. 1, No. 4, May 1974.

6. Some of the perspectives on social change and education which are in the back of the mind of people in Newfoundland are revealed in their speeches at various conferences and meetings. See, **Let's Get Together at the Community Learning Center, M.U.N.**, January, 1975. Also see, **Developing Personnel to Meet the Educational Needs of Newfoundland and Labrador, M.U.N.**, February — March, 1973.
7. I should point out that several faculty members and others have been discussing these issues. Some have expressed their views publically. For example, see George Ivany's Address to the Atlantic Education Association, October, 1974; articles in **The Morning Watch** by John Stapleton, Arthur Ponder, **W.J. Gushue** and I.J. Baksh. Also see **H.W. Kitchen**, "Educational Policy for the Seventies for Newfoundland", November, 1969; L.G. Parsons in **The Parson's Report on 1973 Enrollment**, M.U.N., May 1974. P.J. Warren in his various reports, papers, and books has outlined research policy in education in Newfoundland. President Morgan's speeches on various occasions contain various insights significant to research in Education.
8. Card, B.Y. "The State of Sociology of Education in Anglophone Canada," **Bulletin**, Canadian Society for the Study of Education, Vol. 2, No. 4, February, 1975. (See the last part of the article, "Challenges — Needs").

SOME PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH IN NEWFOUNDLAND

Dr. Arthur Ponder

The Problem

Despite the dangers inherent in making generalizations, it appears possible to advance certain tentative ones with respect to the state and impact of educational research in Canada in general, and in Newfoundland in particular. With certain notable exceptions, the schools appear to operate practically independently of any body of research findings. That is to say, we may operate from some theoretical base but seem to ignore empirical data which may either support or disconfirm existing theory, or probably more important, help us to refine that theory. From the viewpoint of the academician, this is probably an undesirable state of affairs. However, more to the point, these descriptive statements may be used to compare what is happening here with what may be transpiring elsewhere and as a basis for speculating why it is the case here but not necessarily so elsewhere. (This assumes, of course, that the description corresponds with what exists in the "real world".) Additionally, it may suggest some remedial action should it be warranted.

The New Zealand Experience

The author has recently completed a tour of New Zealand in which he was fortunate enough to interview officials of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, the Department of Education, Teachers' Association Executive, principals and teachers concerning the role of educational research in the operation of the system. Suffice it to say that some startling contrasts with what we experience here in Newfoundland, were apparent. First, the systems' operations appear to be much more closely guided by research findings. For example, Maori education studies have made it possible to revise and refine second language theory and practice to meet New Zealand conditions (NZCER, 1973-74). Secondly, the familiarity with and acceptance of the worth and applicability of such research appears virtually universal. In a country of three million people, any study published under the auspices of the NZCER is released in a minimum of three thousand copies and is invariably a sellout. (Yes, they actually sell these studies!) Clearly such a description, impressionistic though it may be, is at variance with what exists here in Newfoundland. How can we account for these differences?

Is it the Fault of the Teachers?

An easy explanation would be to blame the teachers. "Teachers don't appreciate or understand research" or "Teachers are anti-intellectual" are statements sometimes heard in the university context. These would be particularly appealing except for two inexplicable phenomena. First, when available and properly presented, school systems do utilize research findings. (see Bellows, 1975). Secondly, teachers appear to participate willingly in various studies. For example, questionnaire studies consistently achieve returns of over ninety percent, suggesting, at least by implication, an interest in and commitment to educational research. What these do suggest is that we may have to look elsewhere for explanations, perhaps a little closer to home.

Who Engages in Educational Research in Newfoundland?

In New Zealand, the agencies undertaking educational research appear numerous. Beside the NZCER, the Teachers' Association, the Department of Education and the universities are all engaged in research. In Newfoundland, with the exception of certain royal commissions, whose findings may have implications for education, most research is done at or through the university. With fewer agencies undertaking research the available output, must of necessity, be limited. It must be recognized that we may be comparing apples and oranges. New Zealand is, after all, a federal system and it could be argued

that a central government permits the more efficient utilization of resources than a segmented provincial one. Perhaps the formation of the new research, institute will add substantially to the volume.

What About the Focus and Quality?

Since the preponderance of research is conducted at the university, it suffers from two identifiable shortcomings. First, because the faculty of Education is departmentalized, any thrust is necessarily diffuse. Even at the department level, a variety of interests and activities occur. Secondly, much of the research is carried out by graduate students who select their own projects. As a consequence, the research rubric often tends to appear as a collage of unrelated studies with little coherence or focus, an example of what might broadly be described as "shotgun" empiricism. Since social science research is dependent on the weight of evidence rather than on any individual study, we may simply have spread ourselves too thin. However such projects as the one under way in the Exploits Valley appear, at least in principle, to be a step in the proper direction. This is not to impugn the research efforts of individual faculty members. Clearly some outstanding work is being carried out, both individual and group. The point is that segmentation mitigates against a unified approach to either basic or applied research problems.

In New Zealand, the NZCER provides just the sort of thrusts which appear to be lacking here. That is, it indicates priorities and directions. This is not to suggest an absence of freedom to select projects. Rather it indicates a delicate balance between academic freedom on the one hand, and need on the other.

Need for Socialization

Finally, it goes without saying that if teachers are to be guided by research findings it has to be demonstrated that they possess specific utility. Additionally, teachers must be socialized into what might be casually described as the research "ethic". This is not to suggest that all teachers need be researchers, only that they acquire some appreciation and understanding of what, if anything, research has to say to practitioners.

Parochialism

There appears to be resistance on the part of some to what has not been generated in Newfoundland. That is, to dismiss it out of hand as having no relevance here. Pride in one's own accomplishments may be a desirable quality. But when, for one reason or another, one's own resources are incapable of producing the necessary output, to exclude what has been generated elsewhere appears unnecessarily disaccommodating. We may simply be "throwing out the baby with the bath water."

Conclusions and Recommendations

Clearly we are faced with a double-barrelled problem, although the two parts are undoubtedly related. The first deals with the paucity of available data and its lack of cohesion. We need not only an increase in the amount of research but some setting of priorities as to focus as well. One possible remedy is the utilization of the "hard" science model, in which graduate students come to work with individual professors or departments on ongoing projects in specific areas rather than choosing their own. The term "hard" science model is used here only with reference to the selection of a research topic. This author uses the term research in its broadest terms, analogous to the way that it is used by Ivany (1974), embodying both the basic and applied as the foci of inquiry. In addition there needs to be some overall co-ordinating agency to aid in the setting of priorities and co-ordination of overall policy. Hopefully the new research institute will assume this role.

Secondly, there has to be greater acceptance of what is available by teachers. Certainly an increase in "useful" data will go a long way to alleviating this condition but some conscientious effort to

"sell" research to teachers is also required. A logical place to begin might well be in the faculty itself where teachers-in-training might well be socialized into the values of research. At present little of this appears to take place.

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"EXISTENCE RATIONALITY" AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY IN NEWFOUNDLAND

Stratford Canning

Denis Goulet writes in his recently published book, *The Cruel Choice*¹ that one of the conventional wisdoms in development theory maintains that underdeveloped, traditional societies are inherently antagonistic to social and economic progress. He notes:

"One common assumption holds that underdeveloped societies are mired in the incapacity to manipulate forces rationally in the service of economic ends. Impotence in the face of nature is said to breed a passivity in congenial to precisely those changes which are most needed if technology is to be harnessed to the satisfaction of wants. Change agents often blame resistance to development on such passivity."²

Goulet sets out to propose an alternative explanation of receptivity and resistance to change and focuses in on the question — how can a strategy for inducing value change best be devised? His central thesis is that the acceptance or rejection of developmental change depends primarily on the manner in which change is proposed. The obstacles within traditional structures have been overrated by development planners, and rather, it is their "insensitive, narrow impact strategies for inducing change" which snuff out traditional society's latent potential for development.

To be successful, technological or social innovations must be proposed in ways which do not threaten what he calls a group's "existence rationality". In its simplest form this concept can be defined as "the process by which a society devises a conscious strategy for obtaining its goals, given its ability to process information, and the constraints weighing upon it."³ In other words, "existence rationality" is the effort of people to come to terms with the physical environment in which they live, and to establish a pattern of activities in living and working that represents a balance between social goals and the resources available to satisfy those goals.

The use of the word "process" implies that an "existence rationality" constantly changes in response to alterations in the environment or in social goals. But once established, economic activities, social institutions or technology tend to be inflexible in the short run. As long as the rate of change is manageable, people will be able to control and develop their "existence rationality", by restructuring its elements in appropriate ways. If parts of this framework become too unbalanced, however, people may require assistance; they may require information on new resources to exploit, or some kind of aid to remove constraints which hold them back.

Any strategy for inducing change, according to Goulet, must begin with a thorough understanding of the system a group has established. It must not present solutions which are essentially alien to this system thereby threatening its survival. Development plans must aim to "restructure the outer boundaries of a society's existence rationality, not eliminate its core"⁴ Unless strategies are largely compatible with their core values, there is every chance people will reject or resist development.

How can such a concept be of use to us in examining the rural development strategies we have followed in Newfoundland in the past few decades?

Well, to begin with, it is possible to suggest there existed a distinctive pattern of rural life in this Province at the time of Confederation. Though one could debate the exact nature of this life-style, it is valid to distinguish it in Goulet's terms as an "existence rationality", as a working social and economic entity which I call the "outport system". This system had outer boundaries — for example a land use settlement pattern of small scattered communities and an economy based upon the inshore fishery; it also had a distinct core of social and cultural values.⁵

It is commonly accepted that Confederation with Canada accelerated the process by which Newfoundland was integrated into the 20th Century Canadian welfare state. In the last 25 years of modernization, some people and communities adjusted more rapidly than others and public policy has been used to assist those which seemed to lag, especially "underdeveloped" rural communities. Though this was an acceptable objective, it is reasonable to question the way policy was shaped to achieve rural development. In my view, this Province framed its strategy according to a particular image of the rural "existence rationality" and proceeded to create programs in keeping with this image. Today, having spent millions, we find that rural economic progress is as elusive as ever. It is evident that something has gone astray.

In any economy, it is an increasing efficiency of production which permits a rising level of consumption, as changes take place in such things as labour, capital and resource productivity. While Newfoundland's economy has seen a large expansion in its goods producing sector, and the addition of a substantial service sector, there remains a substantial gap between what is produced and consumed. This has been filled by net transfer payments from Ottawa, often taking the form of large construction projects — the building of federally subsidized hospitals, schools, roads, and privately sponsored oil refineries and hydro-electric power stations. In reality, our production has not kept pace with our consumption.

It is commonly held in this Province that our rural sector, with its underutilized material and human resources, held back the development of the whole economy. Superficially this is true, but only if we accept that the model of development we chose was the most appropriate one. Let's leave that point for the time being, however, and look briefly at the traditional structure of the rural Newfoundland and ask why its economic adaptation failed to stand up in the modernization process and produce to satisfy aspirations for higher consumption. In other words why didn't people make the appropriate adjustments when they found that their economic activities were not producing enough income to yield an acceptable standard of living?

One reason was that it was difficult for the subsistence "rationality" in rural Newfoundland to switch itself around and begin to produce a surplus. Surplus production was something of an alien concept to established economic patterns. What use was there in producing 2500 bags of potatoes if the family unit only needed 100 bags, given that the family was the main consumer of goods? An excess of goods could not easily be exchanged for cash because there was no system of local, regional or provincial markets for such products, and there still is not today. The family production unit was self-sufficient for Newfoundland-produced commodities and services, and its needs and wants were to a large extent in balance. The required surplus for non-Newfoundland goods and services was obtained mainly through the production of salt codfish since this was the only product within the rural economy which had external demand and value, and could be translated into imports via the local merchant.

This subsistence system was relatively efficient until certain elements within it became unbalanced. Various forces affected both the "outer boundaries" and "core values" of the traditional "existence rationality". To begin with, there were changes in peoples' expectations about consumption. Some of these expectations were raised by visions of the "Canadian good life" fostered by Smallwood; others reached communities as barriers of isolation were broken down and communications improved. Changes in the rural economy followed the weakening of the salt fish trade in the early 1950's making it more difficult to obtain increased income from fishing and thus keep pace with new consumption desires.

Other changes to the way of life were more subtle. For example, the efficiency of the family as an economic production unit was undermined by various policies unrelated to development strategies. The introduction of a system of universal education reduced the role children played in the production of salt fish, and various transfer payments, like the baby bonus, became a new source of income modifying the necessity for women to devote time to family economic activities. New images of the "good life" and changes in values about what were considered worthwhile activities were brought into Newfoundland

through school textbooks, television, magazines and most importantly of all by non-Newfoundlanders coming to work in our civil service, teach in our schools and live in our communities.

Thus, at some point after Confederation, many Newfoundlanders found that their established survival strategy had become ineffective. Their social and economic aspirations were no longer compatible with their economic reality, yet there did not seem to be any reasonable way to make the necessary adjustments. When that was quite evident no doubt contempt for their way of life increased and people were in a position to consider new development options.

In their panic and confusion many Newfoundlanders turned, as they always had, to Government for assistance. To their great relief, it was there to help them. But it is interesting to note how public policy dealt with the problems social and economic change had caused for our rural communities. Apparently with a great deal of public support, Newfoundland development policy adopted the conventional North American assumptions that rural life was essentially demeaning and "unproductive", and that traditional rural structures were inherently obsolete, and antagonistic to change. Few people considered that the rural economy could be a suitable base for development, despite the fact that it had served the purpose for centuries.

It is fair to say that there was little confidence among rural people about the possibility of building upon established patterns, and what little enthusiasm existed was quickly eroded by promises of "two jobs for every man". In any case, the development of the rural economy could not be accomplished without support from some larger institution; the magnitude of external forces of change was great, and there were few mechanisms at the local level capable of translating this change or modifying it to the advantage of rural Newfoundland. Thus there was no great outcry from the outports when development policy set as its main objective to abolish the rural "existence rationality" as quickly as possible.

Because it faced various constraints, Government too was not interested in building upon the old economy. Besides, it has something bigger and better in mind than fishing or rural economic development — industrialization. Public policy had one message — don't worry any longer about trying to be good fishermen or loggers or farmers, we will all soon be working in factories. Industrial development would solve everything!

But there were problems. Maybe people did not want to become industrial workers, for perhaps the jump from fishing boat to factory was too great a step; it may have been that the industrial center of Canada did not want to let us get into manufacturing, In any case, our industrial effort never got off the ground. What then did Government do to "help" the people develop?

Smallwood never gave up on the idea that industrialization would come to Newfoundland. Until that time came, he would make sure that some measures would be available to ease the problems which arose as the "existence rationality" of rural Newfoundland died a slow death. Income from public works construction would fill the gap and help make up the difference between our ability to consume and produce in this Province. And we would also get transfer payments — welfare, mothers' allowances, unemployment, baby bonus, fishery subsidies, resettlement grants — to keep us happy and to maintain the myth and the economic side of our "existence rationality" was adjusting quite nicely. So the money poured in — \$2500 million dollars in the first 15 years of Confederation — to fuel the illusion that we were "developing".

The only problem is that the balance between consumption and production never equalized. Our values about what we considered a "decent standard of living" have never kept pace with the reality of what we were willing to do to attain that standard. Increasing expectations of the "good life" have had to be satisfied by ever increasing transfer payments and loans from money markets.

Newfoundland was set on a course from which it became increasingly more difficult to retreat. As individuals and communities became more dependent on government in St. John's to solve the development dilemma, the Province was in turn forced to become more dependent on Ottawa and large corporations to solve its problems. Our dependence on these outside forces is presently very great. Many critical development decisions are made by bureaucrats in Ottawa and by corporation executives in Toronto, New York, or London. As this became more common, it was inevitable that policy makers would fail to take account of the needs, capacities, and potentials which exist in small communities.

In short, it seems as if we are now in a worse predicament than before. We have become locked into larger systems over which we have no control. As I have written elsewhere, "in our headlong rush to progress, we have successfully encouraged rural people to desire the material goods promised by Confederation, but have been unable to help them develop their economy to supply those needs."⁶

It is only within the last 10 years that there has been some serious questioning of development goals, not only because there has been such a large gap between "the promise and reality" of development, but also because rural people have become more conscious of exactly how destructive to their way of life "development" has been.

Both consciously and unconsciously, most development programs, even those devised especially to achieve rural growth, have assumed that the core of rural society had to be eliminated if we were to have progress. In the last 25 years, the existence of many programs which were essentially destructive of the traditional "existence rationality" seem to confirm this as the underlying theme of development policy. Resettlement and the downgrading of the inshore fishery were, in effect, direct attacks on the essential core of rural Newfoundland — its community structure and economic livelihood. With the benefit of hindsight we can see that our development approach since Confederation has been compatible with our economic resource base, but less so with our social needs and social reality. In other words the development objective of public policy was attainable, but rural people and communities have not fitted well into that particular scheme.⁷

We all realize too late that Max Millikan is right, development planning has as its main task, "the presentation of certain key alternatives to the community in ways which help shape the evolution of the community's value system..(there has to be) a dialogue between planners and community over a variety of critical value options whose costs must be weighed. Few countries however, have proceeded in this fashion. Plans almost always accept objectives uncritically; they do not generate debate over alternatives."⁸

Whereas, in Newfoundland, we once assumed that public development policy understood our goals, we now find that we were not willing to abandon every aspect of our "existence rationality". People still want to live in small communities and people are still anxious for fisheries development — of a kind that supports their present existence in small outports, not one that moves them to a large industrial fishing port 300 miles away.

We have been confounded by our attempts to achieve development in this province. Rural people for E time went along with public opinion that they had no right to retard progress and moved, willingly, "cap in hand", to those lovely growth centres where "development" awaited them. Government in turn has been baffled as outporters, in the face of induced change, clung to their established ways and failed to take advantage of programs promising "social betterment". Policy makers, especially those high level C.F.A.'s Smallwood employed, saw as their task to bring "order" and "development" to our irrationality. But efforts to destroy the traditional "existence rationality" have been incomplete. In some ways, one could say that in order to build a new rural society it would have been necessary to remove all traces of the old system, for the continued existence of any extensive "pockets of traditionalism" could lead to a hybrid rationality which would be more complex and unsusceptible to order. This seems to be the case; witness now that our "rural development dilemma" is apparently more unpredictable and hopeless than

ever before. What we have done in the name of progress has changed things forever in rural Newfoundland.

Will it be impossible to have rural development, as we once conceived it, until our older generations have died and been forgotten? And more importantly, have we now reached the point of no return? Should we relentlessly and coldly finish the process of eliminating the traditional "existence rationality" which began in the 1950's? Ottawa bureaucrats, Percival Copes and many provincial civil servants would gladly say yes. The way that our inshore fishery is being left to rot away good evidence that they are having their way.

Or is it possible to have rural development, as we once conceived it, until our older generations have died and been forgotten? And more importantly, have we now reached the point of no return? Should we relentlessly and coldly finish the process of eliminating the traditional "existence rationality" which began in the 1950's? Ottawa bureaucrats, Percival Copes and many provincial civil servants would gladly say yes. The way that our inshore fishery is being left to rot away is good evidence that they are having their way.

Or is it possible that we can decide there is something of worth in our rural economy? Given a belief that it can still be salvaged, do we begin now to develop what Moores in 1972 called "an excellence in what we know best." Can we reverse all the policies which have been devised since 1949 and turn about to develop our existing system and forget about imposing an entirely new way of doing things in this province?

If present trends continue, our "rural development problem" is likely to engulf us all. We seem to have forgotten that almost half our population still lives in communities below 1000 people. Can we possibly create enough jobs in two or three large urban centres to accommodate them all? Rural communities are still looking to Government for development services and in many ways they are making a significant economic contribution to the whole province.

In view of these and other factors it seems to me that Government has some real obligations towards rural Newfoundland, regardless of whatever messy dilemma its "existence rationality" is in today. But it is unrealistic to expect that Governments, both Federal and Provincial, can continue to provide the economic structures and meet the social needs of rural Newfoundland in the way that they have found convenient to do in the last 25 years, that is with a proliferation of development palliatives in the form of make work projects and welfare subsidies. The provincial treasury, and the Canadian social conscience, will soon grow quite lean in trying to cope with our "rural development problem."

The responsibility for finding a solution falls back on rural people themselves to make a realistic appraisal of where present economic and social trends are going to lead them. But, equally, the responsibility for setting a particular climate for rural and community development falls upon government's shoulders. Within a particular climate set by government, the establishment of a workable rural "existence rationality" not only remains a distinct possibility but a vital necessity if this province is going to survive as a viable cultural and economic entity.

The particular development situation which has arisen in Newfoundland has been the result of both internal and external forces operating on what was once a relatively efficient "existence rationality". Whatever forces of change have been at work — social, political, economic, cultural — we now witness a situation where hundreds of communities and thousands of people are locked into a dependency situation they cannot break. We have a vulnerable and dependent rural sector.

One of the conclusions reached by the Planning Task Force set up a few years ago said the "government, directly or indirectly, has a central role to play, in modifying or changing a situation which government itself helped to create, or which has been created by large outside forces which government

alone has the resources to assist in controlling. Government's self interest is also involved in community development as a means of resolving the dilemma posed by limitless expectations of people and limited capacity of government to meet these expectations."⁹

But how difficult is it for government to accept its responsibilities in this question of community development? Community development's main objective is to foster the ability of people to solve their own problems and reduce their dependency on government. Thus it seeks to get control and co-ordination of decisions about development into a lower level of operations than that of the government department. Some people hold that community development has to be a co-operation between government and people, but it is not in the nature of a civil service to relinquish its power to make decisions. An attempt by local people to pressure a government department, it is said, only leads to an increase in that department's power. Because of this, the responsibility of the community developer and the community is to work within the "system" and discover the opportunities for using existing structures of power to their own advantage, if they really want to. Only when people stop looking to government for the satisfaction of all their development needs will the power of communities grow and the power of central government decrease

In a recent book, E.F. Schumacher suggests that education provides us with a "tool-box" of ideas and values which we later use to experience, interpret and make use of the world around us.¹⁰ Its overall effect is to shape a society's image of itself and the framework of ideas that enables us to make choices about the goals we desire. In this sense teachers act as "front line agents" transmitting values and ideas which influence our economic, political and cultural institutions. But the past, present and future are all linked, Teachers must therefore provide students with an appreciation of the "present worth" of their society. We don't have to discard our old established ways of doing things merely because they are old and because something is new doesn't mean that it is always better.

In a sense Newfoundland was the original "throw-away-society". This is all too evident in the way we once decided to abandon our rural heritage in the process of trying to "catch-up" with North America, In the final analysis, development is all about value change, but it requires the wisdom to know the difference between what is worthy in old ways and what is unworthy in new patterns. Only by critically examining the costs of all options do we achieve the greatest measure of authentic progress.

FOOTNOTES

1. Denis Goulet, *The Cruel Choice A New Concept in the Theory of Development* (New York, Atheneum, 1973).
2. Idem, p. 187.
3. Idem, p. 188.
4. Idem, p. 188. Goulet makes the distinction between the inner and outer limits of existence rationality. Inner limits are the indispensable core values and aspirations without such a society lacks cohesiveness. Outer boundaries are broad zones of behaviour and attitude in which departures from established social practices are possible.
5. For further discussion of this notion see, S.G. Canning, *Outport Newfoundland: The Potential for Development Planning*, (Glasgow University, 1971) Chapter 2, pp. 34-60.
6. S. Canning, "The Illusion of Progress: Rural Development Policy since 1949." **The Canadian Forum**, March 1974, p. 22.

7. The reason I say that development policies are realistic in terms of our economic resource capabilities is to avoid the "Copesiantrap" of concluding that we have a resource scarce economy. For example, given the immense fishery resource which we possess, it is perfectly reasonable for this province to desire an industrial fishery based on the south-coast. What bothers me is how do these desires fit with the social reality within hundreds of fishing communities in our northern areas where that type of fishery is inappropriate?
8. Max. F. Millikan, "The Planning Process and Planning Objectives in Developing Countries:", in Organization, Planning and Programming for Economic Development, (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962) p. 33.
9. Newfoundland Government Planning Task Force Sub-Committee on Community Development, Interim Report, February 1973.
10. E.F. Schumacher, Small is Beautiful: A Study of Economics as if People Mattered, (Harper and Rowe, 1974).

**REVIEW OF GRADUATE THESES
THE FACULTY OF EDUCATION
(1967 - 1976)**

Dr. Amarjit Singh

Some General Observations

There are many ways one could review research. One way to review studies is to simply classify them into some categories and briefly describe their findings. The other way is to subject them to some kind of analysis. On the whole, I have adopted the first way, but here I should subject them briefly to a sociological analysis.

There is line of thinking in sociology that the production of knowledge is influenced by the social structure in which it is produced. Further, this knowledge is generally used to legitimize the given social hierarchies by those who are in power. One of the characteristics of the legitimization process is that people on the top study people on the bottom. Moreover, in a society in which socio-economic-political-cultural changes are occurring due to various internal and external factors, different individuals, at different times and situations, come to take leadership roles in some aspects of social change and try to guide the forces of change towards a definite direction. This sense of direction on their part is derived from their understanding and perceptions of ongoing socioeconomic, political and cultural processes.

If we apply this sociological framework to the production of knowledge by the graduate students in the various departments of the Faculty of Education, which is one of the largest Faculties in the only University in the Province, certain interesting observations can be made.

After reviewing the research carried out by the graduate students in education, it appears to me that a set of studies was carried out which corresponded to the ongoing changes in Newfoundland society initiated mainly by various external forces. These studies also reflected the interests of those people who acquired a leadership role in the process of social change. The following trends may be observed:

1. Manifested concern with regional disparities in education, concern with disparities in education, concern with disparities within the province based upon social class background, and concern that people in rural areas received inferior education compared with their counterparts in urban areas. Thus, several studies were carried out to substantiate this point or later to deny this claim.
2. Manifested concern with community schools, that is community use of school's facilities. Thus, some studies were carried out which pointed to the need for community schools in the province.
3. Manifested concern with centralization. This brought in busing of children, thus some studies were carried out to study the effect of busing on children which concluded that busing has no major effects on children and that centralization of schools should take place.
4. Differentiation in the educational structure followed by the emergence of new roles of supervisors. Thus a few studies were carried out which dealt with the supervisory role and it was concluded that this role was necessary and beneficial for the education of children.
5. Similarly, manifested concern with adult education, special education, science education and reading, resulted in a few studies in each of these areas. All of these studies generally concluded that there was a need for these programs and that these programs were necessary and beneficial for children and the province.

6. Finally, it may be noted that students were studied the most, then the teachers, then the principals, then the supervisors and superintendents. There are no studies which focused on the professors at the University, on the Officers in the Department of Education, on the Denominational Committees and its members, and so on. Schools are studied the most, not the University, not the Department of Education, not the School Boards, and so on.

What it all means, it seems to me, is that there has been very little attempt made to develop a distinct perspective on Newfoundland society and culture. Without a perspective there can be no effective planning and development of an educational system which will meet the needs of a particular society.

It is true, some may argue, that there is a definite perspective on Newfoundland society — and it is that the province must modernize like any other industrialized and developed province in Canada. But a case can be made to show that this perspective on Newfoundland society may be unrealistic, that it may continue the dependency of Newfoundland society on others, and that it may not be serving the needs of the people. This requires seeking alternative models for socio-economic development and corresponding models of educational development.

In the area of economic development two main alternatives seem to be available: (1) investment in large scale industrial development (2) investment in small scale industrial development. An emphasis on large scale industrial development requires quite a different educational planning than the emphasis on the small scale industrial development. Furthermore, experiences of other countries indicate that consequences of each of these perspectives are quite different.

Educational planning inspired by the perspective of large scale industrial development in many less industrialized areas of the world has been followed by a rise in educated unemployment, exploitation of less dominant groups by the dominant groups, outward migration, disintegration of communities, social antagonism at all levels of society, and the linkage of local economics with powerful multi-national corporate economies and lopsided growth. Powerful economic centres have a tendency to perpetuate or even increase differences in economic power.

Small scale industrial development emphasizes cooperative socialization, integration of communities, equity, and harmonious development as opposed to lopsided growth, thus requiring educational planning and initiative of quite a different nature.

This means that there are two criteria of progress, if we wish to pose problems in terms of the notion of progress. Does investment in large scale industrial development or investment in small scale industrial development increase Newfoundland's power as a society over its natural resources, and secondly, which one of these types of development diminishes the power and influence of dominant groups in Newfoundland and outside over the less influential and less powerful majority. So far in Newfoundland, it appears, we have opted for the large scale industrial development and I have discussed elsewhere that educational planning in the province seems to have been geared to this kind of economic development.

Review of the studies indicates that very little research has explored the alternatives in educational development in the province. Little leadership has been forthcoming from the members of the Faculty in this direction. Most of the studies may be labeled as replications of studies carried out in almost entirely different social contexts. We have used ready made variables, theories, methodologies suitable for research in certain kinds of economic, social and political settings (advanced industrial economic) which appear to be different from Newfoundland society. This apparent lack of interest in deliberately looking for alternatives in education most suitable to the political economy of the province may be due to an overly narrow interest in one's profession and its advancement. One of the results of this narrow professional orientation seems to be an emphasis on the selection of topics for research at random with superficial sensitivity to the social context.

At other levels, there is a tendency to use quite unrelated theoretical perspectives in order to justify one's selection of variables for research. A careful look at some of the chapters containing the review of literature will reveal that they usually contain references to unrelated studies carried out by others within theoretical modes and methodologies quite alien to each other. Some of the studies referred to in the chapter bear very little, if any, relation to the research questions asked in the thesis. The decision to include a particular study in the chapter reviewing related research seems to be based mainly, if not entirely, upon the similarity of the titles of the study with the title of the student's own study.

These few passing remarks are not meant to undermine in any shape or form the genuine efforts on the part of graduate students and the Faculty members in understanding. The complex process of education in the province. These remarks are reflections on the general status of some of the contemporary social science and educational research in North America and elsewhere and on the growth of professionalism in general.

Social science research and educational research drawing heavily on social science concepts have been criticized from various angles. Economists, sociologists, political scientists, and psychologists have been criticized for studying the wrong problems and for studying the right problems in the wrong ways. The critics point out that, firstly, academic economists have paid insufficient attention to problems of the distribution of income, wealth, and economic power in society, that they have virtually neglected the study of institutional arrangements and the role of notions of the "distribution of power" and the "class struggle" in explaining the distribution of income, and that instead of studying the "dynamic" socioeconomic processes very deeply over long periods of time, they have focused on the traditional theory of income distribution which is "static" in nature. Secondly, these economists have placed less emphasis on extremely complex mechanisms by which values and preferences are formed and changed in contemporary societies. The activities of large corporations, of large property owners, of the military establishment, and the political leaders, of labour-union leaders, minority groups, and protest groups are not frequently studied by these economists. Thirdly, academic economists have overemphasized problems of the quantity and composition of the output of commodities and services and have rarely focused on problems of the quality of life. Fourthly, it is charged that these economists show little interest in qualitative changes in the economic system and that they are obsessed with marginal changes within a given economic system. Fifthly, these economists have shown little interest in problems of the interaction between economic and social factors both at the domestic and international levels. Very few studies have been carried out in order to understand the mechanisms by which various pressure groups at the local level obtain privileges through economic and other types of legislation, and how foreign aid, trade policies and the like may sometimes lead to foreign domination. Also, economists have not studied the problems of public administration and policy-making sufficiently from the viewpoint of the underprivileged groups.

As far as the choice of topics for research is concerned, critics point out that for a long time economists focused on producing small scale variations on formal models that have already been developed by others. This is especially true for the analytically minded economists. These economists seem to be less interested in "messy" problems in the world in which most people live. Topics for research are selected not on the basis of substantive problems but on considerations of available analytical techniques. Thus endless effort is made on improving the existing techniques and models without any substantive content.

Similarly in sociology, Horowitz long ago pointed out that "specialized techniques of questionnaire design, codification, and compartmentalizing allow for interviewing process to become the end of research rather than an instrumentality." Psychologists have been criticized in a similar vein.

Increasingly social scientists seem to be playing some role in the formulations of social policies and in the implementations of these policies through political leaders and bureaucracies. The way they conduct their research and interpret the data sometimes can have serious effects on the lives of those

they study. The work of Parzival Copes is a case in point. Therefore, there is much to be gained from recent criticism of social sciences and a plea for self-evaluation.

Review of Graduate Research In Various Areas

Schools

Thirteen studies are discussed in this section which focus on schools and throw some light on the activities, programs and facilities of schools in the province. Out of these 10 are done in the Department of Educational Administration, 2 in Curriculum and Instruction and 1 in Educational Psychology. A study by Wage (1974) dealing with a survey of public attitudes towards education in the Terra Nova Integrated School District and a study by Anstey (1972) focusing on certain factors surrounding the origin and implementation of the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth could have been discussed here but in fact are discussed later under the category of miscellaneous. Both of these studies were done in the Department of Educational Administration.

Three studies focused on different aspects of the relationship between community and schools in the province and a study by Tulk (1974) focused on the community school program in some counties in Ontario.

The findings of three studies carried out in the province indicated that there was a great difference between the responses of the principals and school board representative as to the actual use of facilities of schools by the community (Nolan, 1973), that a wide gap existed between schools in the province and the community they serve, that present educational structure might be counter-productive to the real needs of most communities in the province (Hancock, 1974), that through an involved communication program, that is, through a process of active dialogue between the school and the community, the school personnel and the members of the community, in fact, be motivated and made interested in bringing about action leading to greater use of school facilities by the community (Bromley, 1972).

As far as the library facilities are concerned both the primary and high schools in the province are inadequately equipped. This was confirmed by Butler (1975) and Hickman (1971) who found that when compared with minimum standards recommended by the Canadian School Library Association and minimum standards recommended by the American Library Association, the vast majority of primary and high schools in the province failed to even approach these standards in terms of facilities, resources, expenditures and personnel. This may reflect on the quality of schooling in the province.

Schools in Newfoundland also lack in public relations programs. Bishop's (1972) study indicated that there was no organized and planned policy to develop public relations programs in the province. This was more true for the schools in the smaller districts than the schools in the larger districts.

A comparative analysis of program offerings in the larger and smaller regional schools in the province (Davis, 1968) showed that the larger schools offered better programs than do the smaller schools. In larger centers, such as St. John's, schools faced significant problems in the area of scheduling procedures, scheduling practices, scheduling alternates, schedule experimentation and related problems (Price, 1974).

Other studies focused on the development of educational specification for primary school (Lee, 1972), on the problems of implementation of the metric system in the school system (Williams, 1975), on the background information of the inmates of the Boys' Home and Training Schools (Jeans, 1973), and on the open area junior high school program (Sparkes, 1973). Jeans found that the boys adjusted quite well once they were admitted to the Home indicating that they were more deprived than delinquent. These boys came from unstable home background, characterized by unemployment, low income, and large

families. This is quite a significant finding because it reveals that poverty and unemployment as social ills seem to be the major factors which render children of the poor and unemployed delinquent, in almost all societies of the world.

Students

There are 37 studies carried out in the province involving students at various levels. Out of 37, 14 were carried out in the Department of Educational Administration, 14 in Educational Psychology, 6 in Curriculum and Instruction and 3 in Educational Foundations.

I shall try to review these studies in a systematic manner in order to get some unified picture of students in the province. Long (1972), studied the educational and occupational aspirations and expectations of 1433 high school students representing twelve schools located in widely separated communities in the province and found that 80 per cent of the students both aspired and expected to continue their education after high school. Similarly, the students appeared to have high occupational aspirations and expectations; more than 35 per cent aspired and expected to enter professional and technical occupations. Also, there was a high degree of consistency between the students' aspirations and expectations; more than 75 per cent of the students expected to enter the occupation to which they aspired.

Carter (1973), Jones (1972) and O'Brien (1972) study the relationship between student's self-concept and various variables. Carter's study indicated that there was no significant difference between children in the special classes and children in regular classes when they were compared on the basis of overall self-concept. However, significant differences were found between children in the two above classes and between male and female children when they were compared on the basis of their scores on other scales. Jones' study involved Grade VIII girls in the city of St. John's and the results of her study indicated that intelligence, as measured by an intelligence test, must be increased in order for academic self-concept to increase. O'Brien's study involved 97 boys and 96 girls in a junior high in the province. One of the major findings of her study was that self-concept of ability was significantly related to achievement when measured intelligence was controlled.

As far as students' academic achievement is concerned, several studies were carried out in the province. Most of these studies tried to determine the relationship between some selected variables to student's achievement in various areas in schools. Brooks (1972) studied the relationship of personal problems to academic achievement among junior high school students in a rural area of the province and found that underachievers generally did not have significantly more problems than did the average achievers. Davis (1973) focused on various factors relating to the reading ability of selected secondary school students on the Burin Peninsula and found statistically significant relationships existed between student's reading ability and such variables as sex, intellectual ability and academic success. Noel (1970) attempted to determine whether socio-economic variables were more highly related to arithmetic achievement among Grade VI students of rural areas of the province than were certain educational input variables. One of the major findings was that the combined socio-economic variables were more closely related to arithmetic achievement than were the combined educational variables. Pollard (1970) tried to determine whether reading achievement among Grade VI students in rural areas of the province was related more to socio-economic than to educational input variables. Ralph (1971) tried to determine whether socio-economic factors or school input factors were more closely associated with written language achievement of Grade VI students in rural areas of the province. Similarly, Roe (1970) attempted to determine whether socio-economic variables were more related to reading achievement among Grade IV boys in urban areas of the province than were certain educational inputs. It should be noted that all these studies emphasized an effort to raise educational productivity in the province. The results of all these studies confirmed the notion that when variables were combined in multiple correlation, the socio-economic variables explained a much larger proportion of achievements than did the combined group of educational inputs. There were two other studies which also focused on the

achievement of students in school. O'Gorman (1970) examined the relationship between certain psychological variables and the achievement in reading of elementary school children and found that in addition to socio-economic and educational factors certain psychological factors such as — Achievement, time required to form a concept, contributed significantly in the variation in achievement. Pittman (1969) investigated the relationship between age at time of entrance to Grade I and later reading achievement and found significant differences between the reading achievement of early and late entrants, favouring the late entrants. She also found differences in achievement among students coming from higher and lower socio-economic background. Merricks (1975) focused on science process activities, selected science reading materials and reading achievement of primary school children.

Some studies involving students at various levels of schooling focused on their vocational decisions. Fagan (1974) attempted to bring together some of the correlates of vocational indecision and incorporated them into a theoretically meaningful causal scheme. He concluded that it is entirely possible that factors important in other regions of Canada and elsewhere might be relatively unimportant in Newfoundland, and vice-versa. Several of his hypotheses were not supported by the data he analyzed. May (1975) compared high school graduates from the Burin Peninsula with students attending Memorial University. Among other things he found that students attending vocational school came from lower socio-economic background and those attending Memorial University came from relatively higher socio-economic background. Further, a significantly higher percentage of students at the University came from the academic high school program, and had better perception of such factors as the courses of study, costs involved, and entrance requirements at the University. Vickers (1972) investigated the career aspirations and expectations of Grade XI students in St. John's. One of the major findings of this study was that students' vocational aspirations and vocational expectations were greatly inconsistent with percentage distribution of Canada's employed labour force for the various occupational categories used by Statistics Canada. Tilley's (1975) study focused on determinants of educational aspiration, and studied the relative effects of family background and school-related predictors of the post-secondary school plans of 7000 Grade Eleven students in Newfoundland and Labrador. He found that self-concept of ability, job expectations, and type of program were the most powerful determinants of educational aspiration.

Two studies focused on dropouts in the province. Duncan (1973) studied potential dropouts in the Bay d'Espoir — Hermitage — Fortune Bay Integrated School Board. Among other things the findings of this study revealed that as a group potential dropouts were found to be more heterogeneous than potential persisters, that potential dropouts clearly recognized their own lack of success within the public school, and that potential dropouts had developed values and life styles of their sub-culture inconsistent with the pursuit of studies, i.e., Culture of the schools. Stack (1973) attempted to develop a model which could be used in the identification and prediction of potential school dropouts. Among the most important variables which discriminated between the dropouts and nondropouts were I.Q., absence, self-reliance, co-operation, vocabulary and mother's level of education.

A few studies focused on other aspects of students' life in schools. Clark (1968) examined the relational value orientations of a selected group of teachers and pupils from urban areas of the province. Teachers teaching Grades VIII, IX, X and XI and students enrolled in these grades constituted the sample of the study. The results showed that the respondents appeared generally to show no great preference for one value-orientation over any other. Holloway (1975) tried to determine whether separate student sub-cultures existed in some of the province's high schools and whether the attitudes and values prevalent among students' sub-cultures are at variance with the school's educational goals. This study was a replication of David Friesen's study conducted in Western Canada. The response of the boys and girls in the province, as in the Western Canadian sample, did not lend strong support for the separate sub-cultural hypothesis. Creaser (1975) investigated the effects of child created materials on second graders' attitude toward reading.

Two studies compared students enrolled in academic and general programs using several variables. Coish (1973) compared the life of students in the academic and non-academic curricular

streams and found that the academic group received significantly higher mean teacher ratings and took part in more non-sports activities than did the general group. Some differences were also found among males and females on certain variables. Day's (1975) study focused on a comparative analysis of Grade Eleven students enrolled in the academic and general program in the province. It was found that with the exception of sex, the academic and general program students differed significantly with respect to such variables as the socio-economic background, community size and school. Student's program of study was significantly dependent upon the area of the province in which the student lived. East Coast of the province and the urban area had a larger percentage of its students registered in academic programs.

There are some studies which focused on the social adjustment problems of students in the province. Gill (1971) examined the adjustment problems of transported and non-transported in centralized elementary classrooms. Generally, the findings suggested the lack of significant differences in personal and social adjustment of non-transported and transported students. Mercer (1972) designed a project to determine the effects of transfer on personal, social, and academic adjustment of students who leave Churchill Falls after Grade IX to attend Grade X in schools outside Churchill Falls. The results of the study did not support the perceptions of parents and students regarding the advantages of transferring to Grade X outside Churchill Falls and the disadvantages of attending school in Churchill Falls. Hiscock (1972) also compared the transported and non-transported students in Grade Seven and Eight attending central high school with respect to personal-social adjustment and social participation. The findings revealed that the non-transported students participated in more extra-curricular activities, received higher teacher ratings than the transported students. Both Gill and Hiscock found that the transported and non-transported students selected more people from their own groups on the sociometric scale.

Simmonds (1972), Walker (1973), Kirby (1972), and Harnett (1976) studied adjustment problems of the first year students at Memorial University. Simmonds focused on the differential characteristics of higher and lower achieving junior division spring semester students and confirmed the usual findings — that higher achievers had higher intelligence than the lower achievers, that as far as personality traits were concerned, higher achievers had more need for achievement, order and endurance, and that higher and lower achievers had significantly different study habits. He also found that on several variables high and low achievers didn't differ significantly. Walker focused on a comparison between student-teachers in the first undergraduate year and those in the final undergraduate year and those in the final undergraduate years of their preparation program. The purpose was to study the crystallization of attitudes towards pupil control during their training period. Significant differences in attitudes towards pupil control of junior and senior student-teachers were found, the attitude of senior students being more humanistic. Harnett studied adjustment problems of first-year students at the University.

Kirby's study focused on the political socialization of first-year students at the University. One of the findings was that students were prepared to participate in low levels of political activity, but not at higher levels of involvement.

Two studies focused on the nurses and their vocational training at the University. House (1972) attempted to describe and compare the personality characteristics and expressed vocational satisfactions of degree and diploma student nurses. The findings revealed that students at all levels of program were generally dissatisfied with choice of nursing as a career. Further, findings of their study indicated that dissatisfied student nurses were those who had a greater need to be independent and were less concerned with having things planned and organized. Winsor (1974) designed a research project to determine whether the Psychological Corporation Entrance Examination (PCEE for Schools of Nursing) was a valid instrument for predicting success in a nursing education diploma program. It was found that PCEE did possess limited usefulness as an applicant screening instrument, that the personality measures are of little value in the selection process, and that the scores on the Academic Ability measures were a better predictor of student's success in the program.

A few studies were carried out which focused on other aspects of students' life. Andrews (1973) investigated high school students' and scientists' understanding of the characteristics of scientists. Among other things, it was found that in general students had a very positive image of the scientist. Spurrell (1975) focused upon the relationship between mathematical word problems and the ability of Grade X students. Burry (1975) focused on the factors related to Grade XI students' perceived knowledge of post-secondary institutions in the province. The findings indicated the relationship between perceived pupil knowledge and various socio-economic and demographic variables. It was found that students generally lacked in their knowledge of post-secondary institutions in the province. Gosse (1974) carried out a follow-up study of students who completed a course in the teaching of secondary English at the University between 1962-1972. One of the major findings was that a revision of the preparation program for teachers of English was necessary and that a single methods course was not sufficient.

School Personnel: Teachers, Principals, Supervisors and Superintendents Teachers

Altogether there are 22 studies in this area, 12 were completed in the Department of Educational Administration, 4 in Educational Psychology and 6 in Curriculum and Instruction.

Eight studies focused on various aspects of teachers' life, teacher evaluation, teacher preparation, teacher liability, and so on. Farrell (1973) examined the criteria of evaluation employed by district superintendents as far as teachers' competence and promotion to an administrative position were concerned. Findings revealed that superintendents employed the criteria which changed with each evaluative situation. Hickman (1975) studied the criteria that teachers in the province felt should be used in evaluating teachers for their competence and for their promotions to administrative positions. Among other things, the results indicated that teachers were more likely to feel that "process" criteria should be emphasized when evaluating teachers' competence and "presage" criteria should be used when teachers were being considered for administrative positions. These results were consistent with superintendents' criteria for teachers' evaluations and promotions. Leudicke (1974) studied the workload of teachers in the central and regional high schools in the province and found that teachers were considerably dissatisfied with their actual workload. Teachers preferred a workload of 38.75 hours in a seven-day-week over 43.83 hours a week workload. Prowse (1975) studied differential staffing. Badcock (1972) attempted to determine the prevalence of teacher misassignment among secondary school teachers in the province. The results indicated existence of all three aspects of teacher misassignments; subject-field misassignment, school-division misassignment, and teacher-preference misassignment. All these were prevalent in varying degrees.

Parry (1975) studied teacher liability and tenure with special reference to the province. Denty (1973) tried to determine the current status of the preparation of senior high school mathematics teachers in the province. The findings indicated that many teachers had been misassigned, that the majority of them enjoyed teaching mathematics above all other subjects and did not consider that their lack of preparation was a handicap, and that in-service opportunities for high school mathematics teachers were limited to university sponsored on-campus courses. Kinden (1975) in his study focused on the state of professional reading among teachers of English in the province.

Four studies focused on identifying and analyzing the supervisory roles which teachers at various levels perceived as being influential and effective. Bullen's (1972) study was designed to identify and analyze the supervisory roles which primary teachers perceived as being influential. Among various roles considered, the most influential were: principal, board supervisor, district superintendent, other teachers, board specialist, and vice-principal. Teachers also perceived influence and effectiveness of supervisory roles decreased as the physical distance between the incumbent of the role and the teacher increases, Condon (1972), Doyle (1972) and Oldford (1972) carried out essentially similar studies but focused on perceptions of senior high school teachers, junior high school teachers and elementary teachers in the province, respectively. All these studies found supervisors' roles as being most effective.

Several studies were carried out which focused on teachers' and parents' perceptions as these related to some aspects of students' life.

Barnsley (1973) compared teachers' and parents' expectations for learning disabled and normal elementary school children in selected schools in the province and on the basis of findings of the study observed that learning disabled children were rated significantly lower than control children by both parents and teachers for all variables used in the study. Of significance was the observation that parents ratings were higher than teachers rating for all subjects except for potential ability for reading achievement. Gillard (1973) compared teachers' and parents' expectations for learning disabled and normal elementary school children in selected elementary schools in the province, Bennett (1973) compared the opinions of high school administrators, teachers, pupils and counsellors about the ideal and actual role of the high school counsellors. Results of the study indicated that all four groups felt that counsellors were not as involved in field trips as they should have been. Powers (1975) studied teachers' perceptions of the need and helpfulness of elementary guidance and reading consultant services. Among other things, teachers perceived that the greatest need for consultation services was in the area of learning difficulties and that both the reading consultants and the guidance consultant were perceived by teachers as helpful. Mercer (1975) studied the mathematical needs of high school students as perceived by instructors of mathematics in post-secondary institutions in the province. Among other things, it was found that there were areas of agreement as well as disagreement in the rankings of the objectives by the instructors from the faculty of the Department of Mathematics at the University and the mathematics staffs of the various trade schools throughout the province. Shortall (1973) studied the attitudes and teaching practices of selected teachers in the province involved in reading instructions in the secondary schools. The results indicated that the teachers' attitudes and extent of use of the selected practices relating to reading instruction were unsatisfactory. Regular (1973) studied the pupil control ideology of school teachers in Harlow, England. It should be noted here that similar study was carried out by Walker (1973) involving student-teachers at Memorial University. The Harlow study indicated teachers of "academic" subjects were significantly more humanistic in their pupil control attitudes than teachers of "practical" subjects. Walker's conclusions have similar implications.

A few studies focused on teachers' initiative in carrying out certain tasks in schools. Grandy (1974) designed his study to provide empirical data about teachers in the province who volunteered to work on curriculum development projects for Project Atlantic Canada (PAC). The findings indicated that there was very little relationship between open and closed belief — disbelief systems and the decision to become involved in curriculum development projects. Inkpen (1974) compared the present and the desired levels of participation by elementary teachers in educational decision-making in the province and found that significant differences between the present and the desired levels of teacher involvement existed in each of the five decision areas studied (i.e., curriculum planning and adaptations, classroom management, arrangement of the school instructional program, general school organization, and building construction). C.E.M. Mercer's (1974) internship project was primarily concerned with the implementation of an in-service program in developmental reading for ninth-grade content area teachers. It was found that no organized program of reading instruction existed in the school.

Principals

All together there are 5 studies which focused on the principals in the province and all of them were carried out in the Department of Educational Administration.

Trask (1972) studied the criteria for the selection of public elementary school principals in the province. It was found that the superintendent did not agree on the criteria to be used in selecting candidates for the roles of principal, and that in terms of a uniform selection procedure, the school districts in the province were similar to many other North American systems. Lake (1967) examined the vice-principal's qualifications, experience, the school system in which he worked and many other factors in central and regional high schools in the province. Among other things, the analysis of data revealed

that most vice-principals in the province worked in smaller communities, were younger, had occupied their present position for a shorter period of time and were not as well-qualified as their counterparts in Nova Scotia. Further, only 50 percent of them were interested in promotion to a principalship position as compared to 59.3 percent of their counterparts in Nova Scotia. Ludlow (1968) studied the administrative performance of elementary school principals in the province. One of the findings revealed that principals and teachers differed significantly on thirty-one of the forty-nine practices. Also, principals differed in their administrative practices and the degree of performance. Walsh (1973) surveyed the current professional problems of principals in large high schools in the province. Analysis of his data shows that principals identified a number of severe problems in a variety of areas such as developing programs for the gifted and low-achiever, problems associated with school administration, curriculum and instruction, and so on. The severity of most problems seemed associated with principals' experience, school size, the type of school in which the principal worked, and the amount of preparation that a principal had received. Ivany (1975) studied the current professional problems of elementary school principals in the province as perceived by teachers, principals, and supervisors.

Supervisors and Superintendents

Two studies focused on these professional roles and both of them were carried out in the Department of Educational Administration. Gedge (1972) investigated the perceptions of the major functions and styles of supervisors held by generalist supervisors in the province. The analysis of data produced various interesting findings. Generally, the findings revealed that generalist supervisors, are strongly committed to the democratic philosophy of supervision, that supervisors in large school districts expressed less commitment to authoritarian supervision and that supervisors with mainly teaching experience expressed greater agreement with the leadership function than did supervisors with predominant administrative experience. King (1972) investigated the job satisfaction of district superintendents in the province in relation to the role pressures to which they were exposed and in relation to certain personality characteristics. The result of the study indicated that job satisfaction was determined by, among other factors, the unique personalities of the superintendent, the situations in which they work their expectations of the role they are to perform and the role expectations of incumbent of counter positions.

Parents

Only 3 studies were conducted involving parents and all of these were done in the Department of Educational Administration.

Stockley (1968) studied the system of priorities held by parents, teachers and pupils regarding the task of elementary education in the province. The analysis of data showed that all of them agreed with the social and intellectual elements of the function of the school. Grace (1972) designed his study to assess parental attitudes concerning the existing state of education with the schools under the jurisdiction of the St. John's Roman Catholic School Board that the Board might begin to initiate a formal public relations program. It was found that there was a definite need for a program which will help the Board in improving the quality of education in its schools, in informing the parents about the educational responsibilities of the Board, and in making parents understand and respect the work of the Board. Moss (1973) attempted to determine whether the attitudes of St. John's parents towards education were related to various social variables and involved parents of Grade Six students. Socio-economic level and the attitude of the spouse as independent variables were found to be stronger predictors of attitudes for Protestant than for Catholic parents.

Curriculum

There are 33 studies which focus on different aspects of curriculum in the province. Out of these 26 were carried out in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, 6 in the Department of Educational Administration and 1 in the Department of Educational Psychology

There are 12 studies in which the focus is on the development of some aspect of curriculum, Stack (1975) designed a project which included both a guide to aid educators in the purchase of instrumental material and equipment in the province. House (1975) reported on the development, teaching and revision of a multimedia package consisting of 35 mm slides, audio tape and other things. Squires (1974) in his internship reported on the development of instrumental content for Grade nine social studies students in the province. His topic was confederation. Pennell (1975) in her internship reported the development of a selection guide to reading in instructional development. Collins (1975) in his study produced and initially tested the module "The Winter Environment" for use in elementary schools in the province. It was found that the module was successful with the small sample of students used and that the teachers were also enthusiastic about it. J.M. O'Keefe (1974) in her project reported the development of a student study unit on the social history of the Ferryland area covering the years between 1900 -- 1915. The social history study unit was presented to the Grade VIII students in the senior elementary school over a three week period. Among other things, pre-test/post-test analysis indicated that every student involved in the project increased his knowledge of and interest in the social history of his region of the province. Lenora Fagan (1974) developed a unit of curriculum and instruction on resource-based single industry communities using the theories of Mauritz Johnson Jr., and criteria of the Canada Studies Foundation. Similarly, Cowan (1973) developed a unit of curriculum and instruction based on the theories of Mauritz Johnson Jr. The Content of this unit was derived from a scientific document prepared by Dr. James A. Tuck, an archaeologist of the excavation at Port au Choix, Newfoundland. One of the conclusions reached was that children in early grades can study substantive content of a highly cognitive nature provided the content is properly selective, transported, and structured. F.T. Butler (1975) attempted to develop a unit of curriculum and instruction based on the theories of M. Johnson Jr., and the criteria of the Counselor Studies Foundation. The unit developed was "Problem of Housing and Planning in a Growing Urban Centre".

The objective of Hicks (1972) was to devise materials and bring together information that guidance personnel and teachers could use to help the Grade eight students in making pre-vocational course choices for Grade nine at the Conception Bay South District Vocational School. Kelly (1974) developed an instrumental content for Grade nine social studies in the province. His topic was "The Canadian North". Matchim's (1973) internship focused on the development of a learning sequence in primary language arts and other instructional improvement aids for non-graded school, The internship took place at MacDonald Drive Elementary School in St. John's. Pond (1973) studied the development of the graduate programs and did an evaluation of the relevance of the Master's program in the Department of Educational Administration at Memorial University as perceived by those who received Master's degree in the Department. One of the conclusions was that the Department has provided them with competency needed in school administration.

A number of studies focused on the development of reading programs. M.L.B. Baker (1973) in his internship aimed at improving the Grade seven student's reading performance and planning of a more adequate reading program. E.M. Baker (1973) in her internship did the same for Grade eight students using somewhat different procedures. English (1974) carried out a readability study of social studies and science textbooks. The result showed that at Grade four and six and Grade eight the majority of textbooks sampled did not conform to their publisher's designated grade-level; in fact they scored above it. However, this was not the case at Grade five and Grade seven level. Smith (1974) in his internship implemented a motivationally-based remedial reading program and used principles of behavior modification. The purpose was to improve the performance of seven Grade five children who were severely retarded in reading and were apathetic to improvement. The internship covered a period of

approximately seven weeks. It was concluded that the internship was generally effective in achieving its purpose. M. Genge (1974) in her internship focused on the preparation and use of reading material written at more than one level of difficulty and concluded that there were benefits to students if the existing reading materials were re-written and used to provide for the range of reading ability in a classroom, Andrews' (1975) study involved planning and implementing an individualized reading program in a Grade two classroom. Arnold (1975) in his internship explored the feasibility of rewritten subject material at lower reading level in geography for less capable Grade eight students. It was observed that students using the rewritten textbook materials showed an 'improvement in attitude and behavior and in the achievement scores on teacher-made tests.

Other studies focused on various aspects of curriculum, while some focused on geometry and its objectives, Spencer (1970) examined the relevance of questions of Grade IX English Literature examination, June 1968, for the professed objectives of the province. One of the findings was that there seemed to be no communication among teachers, the English Council, the Curriculum Division,' and the setters of the examinations concerning the goals to be attained in the teaching of English Literature. Robbins (1973) studies the objectives of deductive geometry in secondary schools of the province as perceived by teachers and mathematics educators in universities in Canada and the United States. One of the conclusions was the geometry teachers in schools in the province did not agree with mathematics educators on the important objectives of deductive geometry. Reccord (1973) was to evaluate the first year's operation of the Seal Cove District Vocational School Pilot Project. It was concluded that the pilot project had proved beneficial for some of the potential dropouts. Pitcher (1975) tried to determine the feasibility of introducing a unit on transformations to the tenth-grade geometry program. The results showed that teachers had favourable attitudes towards the materials. Hajek (1973) tried to identify and analyze factors related to participation in extra-curricular instrumental programs.

Butler (1974) analyzed the curricular content of educational administration graduate courses to the Master's degree level at Canadian Universities. The study also attempted to investigate the degree of preparation of students in the Department of Educational Administration who received graduate diplomas in the Department. Among other things it was found that the program offered by the department was compatible with the programs at other universities and that students who received the graduate diploma felt that their training in educational administration was adequate. Mercer (1972) used the taxonomy of educational objectives, cognitive domain, in analyzing and comparing objectives of curriculum in Geography and questions on the public examination in the province. The findings revealed that there was a significant difference between the items tested on the Public Examination in Geography for Grade XI and X and the objectives outlined in the geography curriculum guides. Norris' (1975) study focused on the construction and validation of a text on the nature of science and scientific thinking. The purpose was to use their test with Grade X and Grade XI high school students with Grade I to XI science teachers. Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: Cognitive Domain provide the theoretical framework for the construction of their instrument. Among other things, it was observed that teachers performed significantly better than the students.

Kelleher (1973) in his internship report made comparison of curricular decision making in England and Newfoundland. Goulding (1972) compared two treatment groups in both grades five and six to determine the effectiveness of a process-oriented course and the experimental groups in both grades were taught the process-oriented science course. One of the various conclusions drawn based upon the finding of this study was that the process-oriented science curriculum is more effective at teaching students the processes of science than are more content-oriented courses.

Crocker (1973) studies the characteristics, organization, and administration of the co-curricular programs in the regional high schools in the province. The analysis of data produced several findings and recommendations.

The purpose of Hiscock's (1975) internship was to design and implement a challenging program for grade three bright children in a classroom. The subjects were two girls and four boys with I.Q. scores ranging from 116 to 130. Teachers and parents thought that the program was enjoyable, effective and worthwhile in challenging the student's capacity for learning. Churchill (1974) focused on developing an individualized reading programme at the College of Fisheries, Navigation, Marine Engineering and Electronics.

Teaching

There are 9 studies which focus on the subject of teaching. Out of these 7 were carried out in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction and 2 in the Department of Educational Administration.

The studies compared structured and unstructured modes of teaching. Bartlett (1973) using process-oriented science activities attempted to determine whether students preferred structured or unstructured instructional approach and whether or not they achieved at the highest level at the same time. A two week experiment was carried out in two elementary schools in the province involving sixth grade students. Among other things it was concluded that students achieved significantly higher in the structured approach and that they preferred the structured approach over the unstructured. Elliott (1973) investigated the effects of structured and unstructured teaching styles on the acquisition of science processes and on students preferences of learning styles. The possible interactions of certain personality traits and other factors were also investigated. The study involved grade six students. Among other things, the study suggested that the structured style favouring the more neurotic students may be the result of a greater need for teacher control by the students.

Griffiths (1973) carried out an experiment in individualized instruction as an approach to introductory chemistry involving students enrolled at Memorial University. With some caution, the results of the study suggested that the experimental treatment produced a marginally significant greater gain in achievement and that there were indications that students with a tendency towards neuroticism were favored by the experiment treatment, although this was not statistically significant. Janes (1974) compared the effectiveness of individual manipulation of instructional materials in learning grade four fractions versus a teacher demonstration method using the same material. The main purpose was to compare the achievement of Grade IV students using these two instructional methods and to compare results achieved in selected levels of Bloom's Taxonomy by the two methods of instruction. On the basis of the analysis of data several conclusions were drawn and discussed.

Hodder (1971) examined the relationship between the variables of creativity and personality and the student teaching achievement of a group of student-teachers at Memorial University. The study concluded that creativity is not significantly related to student teaching achievement, but that grade point averages are at the .05 level of significance and that extroversion was not a factor influencing student teaching.

Cross (1974) internship focused on the implementation of prescriptive teaching techniques in reading through in school material development. In the end the intern and the teachers compiled a resource book, Skill Reinforcement Activities and Classroom Games. It was concluded that the internship had been a beneficial experience which met the proposed objectives. Okoye (1971) attempted to assess the degree of professionalism associated with the teaching of English in the secondary schools of St. John's. It was found that the provincial Education Act created difficulty for the English teacher to teach English as considered appropriate to his/her particular situation and that there was lack of commitment on the part of English teachers to English instruction as a career. Tremblett (1973) investigated teachers' and students' perceptions regarding methodology in the teaching of the high school novel in the Bonavista peninsula. The study sought to answer questions related both to the classroom presentation of the novel and the activities preceding and succeeding this exercise. Among other things, the findings indicated that lecture and large group discussion were the classroom methods used more extensively to teach the

novel, that student and teachers rated those methods highly. Farrell (1973) examined the literature on oral communication, reticence, education and psychology with a view of presenting principles and strategies for use in the high school classroom as a prevention and treatment of reticence.

Guidance

There are 8 studies which have focused on different aspects of guidance programs in schools. All of these studies were conducted in the Department of Educational Psychology.

Akman (1972) in a survey compared the nature and frequency of the guidance related functions actually performed by primary-elementary classroom teachers with those they would ideally like to perform. The implications of the findings as they related to local conditions and needs were also examined. Teachers in 18 primary-elementary schools of the St. John's Roman Catholic School Board participated in the study. One of the major findings was that teachers differed widely both in the guidance related functions which they actually performed and in those which they would like to perform. It was concluded that teachers' opinion should be consulted and guidance activities in these schools should not be developed nor allocated by defining, a priori, the specific contents of the guidance functions. A.W. Bishop (1974) did an investigation of the utilization of the counselor's time in the schools of the province and its relationship to the counselor's professional experience, his professional counselor education and factors in the educational setting in which he works.

O'Brien (1975) in her project focused on the organization and establishment of a guidance program for the Bay d'Espoir Integrated School District. This program was designed on a one year basis and the most important recommendations concerned the role of the district supervisor of guidance. O'Reilly (1974) focused on the development of a model information center containing appropriate guidance materials for counsellors in the province. Besides the development of the center, an Information Service Packet was developed for counsellors. Turpin (1972) in her project focused on the implementation of a career guidance program for grade eight students in conjunction with the Seal Cove District Vocational School Pilot Project. Several goals of a group vocational guidance program on the certainty, satisfaction and realism of vocational choices made by grade eleven students. Over the treatment period those who changed their choices were students in the experiment group. These students made significant increases in certainty and satisfaction while the control group made a significant increase in the level of realism. Anderson (1975) focused on the development of a job analysis guide and Crewes (1974) on the development of an elementary school guidance program in Partanna Academy, Grand Bank.

Special Education

There are 5 studies available in this area. Out of these 3 have been carried out in the Department of Educational Psychology, 1 in Education Administration and 1 in Curriculum and Instruction.

Martin's (1969) survey consisted of identification and placement procedures, teacher qualifications, facilities, instructional program and financing of schools for the trainable mentally retarded and of opportunity classes in the schools in the province. It was found that the Newfoundland Association for the Help of Retarded Children was providing excellent service, that this responsibility was too great for a single voluntary organization such as the association, and that the opportunity classes were being too hastily established in the province. Burden (1971) investigated the efficiency of special class placement for the educable mentally retarded as indicated by measures of academic achievement and social adjustment. The study was conducted in St. John's in schools under the jurisdiction of the Avalon Consolidated School Board. Several correlations between various variables were reported. The main implication of the findings indicated that special classes did not seem to be producing any positive gains for those retarded in academic achievement or social adjustment. It was suggested that some integrative scheme with the "normal" children would perhaps produce better academic and social results. Woodill's

(1974) project included a program of compensatory effective education for cerebral palsied adolescents. The report mainly dealt with two problems faced by these children, namely (1) lack of developmental experiences, (2) a presence of a number of environmental stresses in the early years. A remedial program is described in the report. The purpose of Basha's (1975) study was to investigate the strengths and weakness of the mathematical performance of special education students and average students (as defined by the teacher) at the grade seven and eight level. The study involved 51 junior high students in three schools in Central Newfoundland. It was found that the regular class was superior to the special education group in every category of the test. However, certain errors that emerged were common to both groups. Frost (1973) made a comparison of three programs for attainment of personal-social outcome in classes for the educable mentally retarded.

Adult (Continuing) Education

Three studies have been done in this area, 1 in the Department of Educational Psychology and 2 in Educational Administration.

Coombs (1971) designed his study to investigate the background characteristics of the students participating in the program at the Stephenville Adult Centre during the period of 1968-69 and the benefits they derived from the program. It was found that the participants were enrolled "to get more education" or "to help get a better job" and that these objectives were achieved. One quarter of the respondents wanted to attend the Centre for a longer time than fifty-two weeks allowed by the Canada Manpower. Chipp (1972) made comparison of biographical variables of dropouts, graduates and no-shows, at the Stephenville Adult Centre. The sample included 531 students out of 4361 who attended. The Centre from January 1968 to April 1972. It was found that all student categories comprised married males between the ages of 20 and 25, having a Grade VII or VIII prior to entering up-grading and needing two grade levels of up-grading in order to enter the occupation of their choice. However, some important differences were found which the study noted. Kelleher (1975) in her internship focused on the organization and management of a continuing education department within a hospital. An open-systems theory framework was used. The researcher was a participant observer and used focused interview techniques to gather data. It may be noted here that this is the only study using this technique as compared to most of the studies which have used survey methods.

Financing

Only 2 studies have been carried out in this area and both of them were done in the Department of Educational Administration.

Russell (1973) reviewed the program of public elementary and secondary school finance in Newfoundland from 1960-61 to 1970-71. The studies focused on various specific levels of financing education in the province. The data were obtained from various official documents. Several interesting findings are reported in the study. The purpose of Vincent's (1974) study was to conduct an analysis of the financial operations of a selected school district in the province for the school year 1970-71. Data were obtained from the financial ledgers of the school district and from primary sources. The Faculty Workload Survey questionnaire provided data regarding the teaching staff in the district. Among other things it was found that there were significant differences among costs per divisions.

Miscellaneous

There are 10 studies included in this section. Some of these might have been included in some other sections. The reader can make his/her own choice in this regard.

Anstey (1972) studied certain factors surrounding the origin and implementation of the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth. Specifically, the study focused on

the Commission's recommendation that the Newfoundland Department of Education be reorganized along functional rather than denominational lines. Data were mainly collected by interviews with relevant actors. Several conclusions were drawn. It was pointed out that five factors created an educational climate which favoured the setting up of a Royal Commission in the 1960's. These factors were (1) a general feeling of public dissatisfaction with the province's denomination system, (2) increasing public interest in quality education, (3) the growth of amalgamated schools, (4) the prospect of the integration of school systems, and (5) politics. Waye (1974) carried out a survey of public attitudes toward education in the Terra Nova Integrated School District. Several recommendations were made. Both of these studies were carried out in the Department of Educational Administration.

Five other studies completed in the same department focused on various topics. Eastham (1972) studies private returns to education and training for selected trade-occupations and vocational teaching. Fisher (1973) in his internship carried out an investigation of private child care centres in the province.

Reid (1974) made a descriptive survey of the position of school board business managers in the province. The study focused on how business managers perceived their position. Among other things the study found that the education of business managers had a bearing on the nature of their work. Jain (1973) studied the relationship between selected personal and organizational variables and adoption of an innovation. It was found that there was no significant relationship between personal variables and adoption of innovation, that the superintendent's support for the innovation was not necessary for a teacher to become interested in the innovation and to evaluate it for its applicability, and that the teacher, regardless of his/her socio-economic status, tended to try the innovation on a small scale to determine its usefulness, and also tended to adopt it, when he/she thought that the superintendent supported the innovation.

Banfield (1975) and Staple (1974) carried out their studies in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction. Banfield's internship focused on the guidelines for planning the physical aspects of a resource centre. It was suggested that guidelines developed at the national level in Canada and the United States may be considered unsuitable for the specific situation in Newfoundland. Staple made a survey of the practices of Canadian Provincial Department of Education in the area of educational media. The purpose of the survey was to come up with several recommendations for Newfoundland. The media programs of each of the ten provinces were examined and analyzed.

Smallwood (1971) focused on the education, social and non-academic benefits of three different residence hall settings and off-campus lodgings to male college students. This study was carried out in the Department of Educational Psychology. Several similarities and differences were found among male residence hall students and male lodging students. Duggan (1975) studied the relationship between achievement differential, mother's value of education, student's value of education and student's self appraisal of performance. This study could be classified with other studies on students,

Section IV Social order and schooling

THE NEW ECONOMIC WORLD ORDER: THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF FUTURE EDUCATION

Dr. Amarjit Singh

Future educational systems will have to either adjust to the new world economic order which is being put together now or mediate it. An important element in mediating one's social milieu is to understand it as comprehensively as possible. In this brief article I intend to discuss some of the basic concepts that appear in books and documents related to the on-going debates on critical and complex issues in the area of the new international economic order, international relations, international cooperation, and national development. These books and documents, by no accident, contain blue-prints for organizing educational systems, and for learning and teaching in the future. For this reason, at the end of the article a reading list is attached. Social Studies teachers, educators of different interests, undergraduate and graduate students planning to work in schools, and those who occupy decision-making positions may find the suggested reading useful.

In recent years the provincial government and the general public have shown an increased interest in the economic and social development of the province. In daily life, problems related to social and economic development are discussed along with local politics and the weather. One cannot grasp the seriousness of the issues involved unless one has developed some degree of understanding of the Newfoundland outlook conditioned by its own history, society and culture.

One of the characteristic elements of this outlook, which is often emphasized in certain circles, is that Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders are unique. In other quarters it is generally emphasized that Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders are like other people and places who have been trying to outlive their colonial past and raise their standard of living so that they and their children can enjoy a better life in terms of the industrial and technological changes that have taken place all over the world.

On the surface these two elements may seem contradictory but a careful analysis of the society may inform us that these two perceptions — that of being unique and that of being like others — are in reality joined together to create a new self-confidence which is needed to bring about desired changes in the province's social and economic structures. This dialectic is observed in many other societies whose peoples have aspirations like ours.

These two perceptions also serve as parameters within which a variety of sentiments relating to the future, present and the past of the province are discussed. For example, there are those who would like to see the province become highly industrialized by bringing in heavy industries and foreign capital. This group of people is willing to encourage anybody who is ready to invest in the province. On the other hand there are those who would like to be selective in bringing in industries and foreign investment. This group of people would like to bring in foreign capital and know-how but would like to have a controlling hand in the venture. There are others still who advocate that self-reliance in any development policy is the most important element and are skeptical of any foreign penetration by multinational corporations and monopolistic capitalism. And there are those who do not want to industrialize on a scale and in ways which would disrupt the traditional style of living in the province. Finally, there are professionals, technocrats and technicians — the beneficiaries of industrialization and urbanization, no matter how these have been brought about — who would like to be part of the new middle class. To some of these people the process and direction of development is not important but the slots they occupy are. They are less concerned with the means than with the end. For them, the formation of the middle class, its growth and its size, is the main indicator of social and economic development in the province. One can appreciate the position of this group. Historically, most of the people in this province have been poor and have been dependent on a handful of rich. There was a tremendous gap between the poor and the rich during the period when the province was linked with the colonial social structure. With the coming of modernization

in Newfoundland in the last two decades or so there has been some growth in various professions and occupations. Many sons of the sea, like many sons of the soil elsewhere, found an avenue for upward social mobility for the first time. The dreams of many parents who themselves did not have the opportunities for acquiring technical education and professional qualifications have to some extent come true, for even if they themselves could not get "modern" professional jobs their sons and daughters now have them. Becoming part of the middle classes in North America and Europe is no doubt a tremendous achievement, a fulfilment of life-long ambition and the fruit of hard work. But only a few would seriously object to the proposition that Newfoundland is still a poor province with an unstable and dependent economy. Like the province of Newfoundland, many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America — and many regions in the developed countries — have developed peripheral and dependency relationships in the present world economic order. Therefore, it may be worthwhile to share the experiences of those countries in the world which are trying hard to reshape the present economic and political order in a conscious effort to break the dependency relationship.

It is now widely recognized that the present world economic order is lopsided; that is, the world is divided into rich and poor with the gap between these widening. Thus, we live in a world in which the points of view held by the rich and the poor, the developed nations and the developing nations and the developed regions and the developing regions within a nation, on such topics as development, international relations and relations between the two regions have become increasingly polarized since the late 1960s and early 1970s. The "oil crisis" of 1973-74 intensified the confrontation between the beneficiaries and the victims of the existing international order.

The present world economic system was put together in 1944 and 1945 and at that time the views and interests of the poor nations were simply ignored. The characteristic feature of the present economic order is that 70 percent of the world's population awards 70 percent of the world's income to the other 30 percent of its inhabitants. In the present world economic system countries and areas which are on the periphery serve as sources of raw material for countries and areas which are at the center and as export markets for the manufactures of countries at the center. Thus, in the present framework the partners involved in economic activities have an unequal status which results in "the exploitation of the weaker partners." The overall issue in 1976, then, is the validity, or at least the acceptability to the majority of the world's inhabitants, of such a lopsided world order. Are the rich willing to respond to the demands of the poor nations, i.e., the nations at the periphery? Can the interests and views of the poor be simply ignored once again? These two questions are considered crucial among other complex issues in today's world and are discussed in books and documents listed below.

One of the main thrusts of the debate is the realization, through the experience of two decades of development sponsored by the United Nations in 1950 and 1960, that development as conceived in the past has not achieved its goals. This has given rise to two new concepts: (1) the "global interdependence," and (2) "self-reliant development." The first one is receiving increasing attention in the North (i.e., the developed countries), while the second is becoming a major concern in the South (i.e., the developing nations). North-South relations are being discussed in the midst of a new awareness which reflects interest in "genuine interdependence" and international economic justice. The crucial factor in understanding the future world order and how it may affect educational systems is to know how these concepts are being articulated by national leaders and other experts at national and international levels.

At the present moment it is not very clear what these concepts mean, although many are trying to grasp their meanings. Self-reliant development has come to mean capability on the part of the developing countries to formulate social and economic goals and strategies that are relevant to the domestic realities and needs. In the quest for self-reliant development, the question has been posed in terms of "liberation" versus "development." The experience of the developing countries with the development process over the last two decades or so have made them aware of two things: (1) that concepts, policies, and patterns of development borrowed from developed nations are not suited to their needs, and (2) that patterns of international economic cooperation that continue to make trade, aid, investment, and transfer of

technology a major part of the development process are instruments of domination used by the developed nations and are not helping them to solve their problems. So, it is being said that a first step in the process of liberation and self-reliant development is to systematically evaluate the "intellectual biases which have been diffused in much of the literature produced in the developed world on such questions as economic development, international trade, welfare economics and project criteria" and to be able to formulate counter-dependency policies which are directed to domestic needs.

The idea of dependency has been articulated in terms of economic dependency, political dependency, and cultural and ideological dependency. In general, dependency theory emphasizes that the underdevelopment of developing countries is closely linked with integration of economics of developing countries with the world economic order dominated by more industrialized nations such as the United States and the Soviet Union. Once linked to world economy, the economies of the developing countries are geared towards meeting the needs and demands of the economies of the powerful developed nations at the expense of the needs and aspiration of the local people. In this connection the role of multinational corporations in the world economy has gained special significance and therefore has become a major concern for those who want to attain self-reliant development.

Other specific components of self-reliant development which have been identified are — (1) the rejection of imitative approaches: this implies that the developing nations should re-evaluate their ambition to become high production/high consumption societies like Japan, West Germany, and the United States and reconsider the needs and possibilities of their own countries, (2) the insistence that social justice accompanies growth: experience shows that increases in GNP did not decrease economic inequalities; in fact increases in GNP have aggravated economic and social inequalities. The idea of growth first and equal distribution later is being rejected by the majority of developing nations, (3) institutional change: it is now being argued that if values and institutions have roots in non-egalitarian tendencies in a society then they are perpetuating feudo-colonial relationships. In feudo-colonial relationships, increase in resource inputs is linked with the status-quo — a condition in which poverty continues to increase despite a growing output. Thus, without a fundamental transformation of the social framework the attainment of the basic objectives of development — social justice, self-reliance, and a decent standard of living for the masses — are not possible. Specific ways, means and strategies to attain self-reliant development are discussed in the official and unofficial documents and books cited at the end of this article.

At the heart of the issue of interdependence lies the old question of equality. The world has been interdependent for centuries, but interdependency in the past has had unequal consequences for the parties involved. Theories about the division of labor, the origin of caste, class, and hierarchy and theories about the consequences of these, essentially have been concerned with issues of equality and issues of interdependence. The notion of genuine interdependence means interdependence based upon equality. It is true that the economies of the developed and developing countries are interdependent in the sense that the main sources of the incomes of the developing countries are exports of primary products — raw materials and other commodities — to the developed countries. But what is being challenged within the rubric of genuine notions of interdependency is the underlying assumption that such international division of labor implies an immutable law of economic life. No doubt, as Sir Arthur Lewis long ago pointed out, "the prosperity of the underdeveloped countries has in the past depended on what they could sell to the industrial countries; but there is no reason why this should continue," especially when the Hammarskjold Foundation has pointed out that in the present world order (that is, in which economies of developing countries are supposed to be integrated into the free world economic system for the purpose of their development) "integration increased dependence and reduced the capacity for self-reliance," It is being pointed out that in the existing economic world order the promise of "gains to all parties" cannot be achieved and that interdependence "among unequal partners" can only result in "the exploitation of the weaker partners." The idea of asymmetrical interdependence, that is, lopsided interdependence in which developed nations gain the most, is challenged and rejected. What is sought and recommended by the developing countries is a new development strategy which will change fundamentally the present

economic order of the world. Specific development strategies being suggested and adopted by developing countries are discussed in the various documents listed below.

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NEWFOUNDLAND: TRADITION OR MODERNITY?

Dr. Ishmael J. Baksh

Introduction: Tradition and Modernity

If someone says to you that Newfoundland is undergoing modernization, it is likely that you will picture the province as developing large-scale industry, achieving "higher" standards of living, and the like. Your interpretation of the term "modernization" will be to a large extent correct, in the sense that it corresponds in part with definitions offered by some writers.

Moore, for example, defines "modernization" as the total transformation of a traditional and pre-modern society into the types of technology and associated social organization that characterize the advanced, economically prosperous and relatively politically stable nations of the Western world. Modernization, Moore observes, tends to be construed by many writers in terms of primarily economic development.¹ We should note, of course, that some social scientists have focused their attention on such areas of national life as communication development, educational development and political development as well as the relationship of these to modernization.

Many scholars have attempted to analyse the process of modernization. These include, for example, Lerner, Rostow, Hoselitz, Smelser, Moore, and others.² A major problem in some analyses is the oversimplified and somewhat ethnocentric view of the process of modernization that is presented. In such instances, societies are seen as moving from a traditional past toward a modernized condition, "modernized" being frequently taken to mean possessing specified characteristics regarded as typical of the advanced Industrial societies.

In effect, scholars have sometimes said, "If underdeveloped societies wish to modernize, they must abandon their traditional characteristics and become exactly like my society in the ways I specify." They tend to perceive the existing institutions, values and traditions of "traditional" societies as impediments to modernization, impediments which must be removed before modernization can take place.

Moore, for example, discusses the view that if "traditional" societies are to achieve economic growth there must be certain changes in them.³ Among the "preconditions" to be satisfied are changes in values (e.g., individual mobility must be emphasized rather than strong orientation to the group). There must be changes in institutions (e.g., "rationality" must become the basis for the conduct of human affairs). There must be changes in modes of organization (e.g., the growth of bureaucracy). There must be new forms of motivation (e.g., desire for a "better" life, ambition for personal "betterment"). We recognize immediately that the kinds of changes advocated would make "traditional" societies very similar to modern industrial societies in numerous ways.

Such a conception of the process of modernization has been challenged by some critics.⁴ Gusfield, for instance, points out a number of "fallacies" in this view of economic development as requiring a change from one extreme called "traditionalism" to another extreme called "modernity."⁵ He questions the assumption that so-called "traditional" societies have generally been static (unchanging) and culturally homogeneous human groups. Three other "fallacies" indicated by Gusfield are pertinent to the present discussion.

The first is the assumption that in the process of modernization old traditions are of necessity displaced by new cultural elements. Gusfield indicates that in fact old "forms" may exist alongside new ones, often with both sets being used alternatively by the same people (e.g., the same people having recourse to both witch doctors and "scientifically trained" doctors in the case of illness). Or there may be some degree of fusion between the old and the new.

The second "fallacy" is the assumption that "traditional" and "modern" forms are always inherently in conflict. In reality, "traditional" forms may well serve as the basis for economic growth. In Japan, for example, a somewhat rigid social structure, a strong orientation to the group, and a marked commitment on the part of labour to a particular employer helped to create conditions which led to economic growth. Thus, elements of near "feudalism" were fused with industrial development to promote economic growth in that society. It may be observed, also, that "traditional" social groupings may provide skills relevant to industrial development as well as values which support or justify economic growth.

The third "fallacy" discussed by Gusfield is the assumption that "tradition" and "modernity" are mutually exclusive systems or patterns of culture. We need to recognize that a cultural system tends to contain various aspects or dimensions and that these aspects or dimensions do not all necessarily function in the same manner with regard to new influences on the society. Some aspects or dimensions may be quite compatible with industrialization even though other aspects or dimensions may appear not to be. Thus the extended family (as distinct from the nuclear family which is more characteristic of modern industrial societies) is a "traditional" family form but has been found in some instances to support industrialism, for instance by facilitating the accumulation of capital.

In brief, we need to recognize the weaknesses of the "myth of unidirectionality and utopia apprehended".⁶ It seems that economic development does not necessarily require a shift from one extreme called "traditionalism" to another called "modernity." It appears that a considerable amount of "traditional" life may co-exist with or even support economic development. Therefore, the attainment of characteristics supposedly typical of modern industrial societies need not be regarded as an entirely compulsory goal by those societies attempting to modernize.

Possible Implications for Newfoundland Education

What, one may ask, does the above discussion have to do with Newfoundland society and Newfoundland education?

Let us assume that Newfoundland is committed to economic development. The evidence suggests that we are. For example, there is discussion of further development of hydro-electric power and the possibility of attracting new industries to the province. There is hope, in many quarters, that commercially viable off-shore oil and gas deposits will be found.

Given the existing situation, the above discussion implies that in seeking to modernize we need not assume automatically that Newfoundland society must adopt all the characteristics of advanced industrial societies. It seems, rather, that we ought to examine very carefully the "traditional" elements in the society in order to determine whether they are compatible with modernization, are worth preserving, and can be preserved.

What are the "traditional" elements which are likely to satisfy the above criteria? This is a crucial question.

I'm afraid, however, that I have no ready answer. These are matters for research and discussion. I can only provide examples of the **kinds** of questions that may be raised **once the elements of "traditional" Newfoundland society have been identified.**

Let us look, for instance, at the issue of familism versus individualism. By "familism" I mean an inclination to place greater emphasis on maintaining links with the family than on seeking individual achievement or individual social mobility.

It has been suggested that "individualism" is a prerequisite for modernization. Individualism, it is often argued, frees persons from strong kinship ties and makes them available for satisfying the varied

manpower needs of the society as it seeks economic development. We might note, however, that familism does not necessarily militate against economic growth. It has been found (in some societies) that if the family accepts the importance of education it may make sacrifices (and in the case of the extended family may pool its resources) to secure the education of an older child who may be expected in turn to look after the advancement of younger brothers and sisters as well as, perhaps, other relatives. In this way, a strong familistic orientation may actually contribute towards satisfying the manpower requirements for economic development.

If a strong familistic orientation has existed in Newfoundland society, certain questions appear to be justified. For instance, is such an orientation compatible with the kind of economic development we want in Newfoundland? If it is, should it be nurtured? How? In what ways can the school and other agencies in Newfoundland ensure that, while a familistic orientation is being nurtured, the strong commitment of youths to their families does not result in the society being deprived of needed talent ... or that youths are not deprived of opportunities commensurate with their ability?

Let us consider another example — the phenomenon of sense of community (frequently regarded as an important element in "traditional" societies). I would include in a definition of "sense of community" such aspects as a feeling of belonging to a particular group, of sharing with other members of the group at least some values and attitudes, of having certain problems in common with other members of the community. Perhaps even a sense of uniqueness as a group.

Through the mass media and conversations, I am led to believe that there has been some erosion of the sense of community which was a vital force in the typical Newfoundland settlement. Perhaps I'm mistaken. If my impressions are correct, however, various questions may be raised.

Is it worth attempting to foster a sense of community, perhaps at the provincial level? In such a phenomenon compatible with the kind of modernization we want? If desirable, how can this sense of community be created? For example, can the transmission of Newfoundland's "cultural heritage" (e.g., oral tradition, other art forms, **et cetera**) **contribute toward recreating such a sense of community? If it can, would this "cultural heritage" be understood by the young apart from the social and historical context in which it originated and persisted? What does this imply for various areas of the school curriculum? To what extent will efforts by the school have to be supported by other agencies (e.g., mass media, theatre)?**

I'm not suggesting that the above concerns (i.e., familism versus individualism, **sense of community**) are necessarily issues to be raised. Perhaps **they** are. **But** my main point is to suggest the **kinds of questions that need to be asked.**

Possible Advantages

The questions may be raised: "Why bother at all? Why don't we simply adopt the values and other characteristics of existing advanced industrial societies?"

Some responses to the above questions may be very general ones. For example, we may argue that any culture which adds to the rich diversity of Canadian or North American life is worth preserving on that score alone. Or, that an understanding of our cultural roots may help provide us with a sense of identity.

Other responses may be specific to the "traditional" elements we choose to preserve. Let us suppose, for purposes of illustration, that we opt to foster a sense of community — and choose to do so in part by directing the attention of the young to their "cultural heritage." We may argue that a sense of community can in some ways facilitate a more satisfying way of life or that it may form the basis for concerted action to remedy common problems. Not to mention the possibility of enhanced

meaningfulness of the curriculum or the increased feasibility of utilising local educational resources (people as well as cultural objects) which some emphasis on Newfoundland's "cultural heritage" would seem to imply!

The main point here is that we need to have sound reasons for selecting those elements of "traditional" life which are to be preserved.

Summary

The main points I have made in the foregoing discussion are as follows:

1. We should not assume uncritically that we must reject all "traditional" elements in order to modernize.
2. We need to determine what kind of economic development or modernization we desire.
3. It is necessary for us to determine what the components of "traditional" life in Newfoundland are.
4. It is necessary for us to assess the extent to which these components are compatible with the kind of economic development we desire.
5. On the basis of specified criteria (or sound reasons), we need to select those traditional elements which are to be preserved.
6. It is necessary for us to identify effective ways of preserving such elements while ensuring that economic development is achieved.

Of course, there are other considerations, some of which stem from the points presented in the above summary. However, I think I've already made the issue sufficiently complicated for the time being!

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AN APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL POLITICS

Dr. John Stapleton

"When I got into this job I thought I'd be making educational decisions. Instead more and more I find I have to deal with the politics of the situation."

— A District Superintendent

"More and more, educational decisions are becoming political decisions."

— A Department of Education Official

"I don't show up for board meetings anymore because they waste my time. I wasn't told what was going on and the executive committee made all the decisions anyway."

— A School Board Member

When groups of teachers get together, a question often raised is "Why did that educational body make that particular decision?" For about 15 years the study of the politics of education has been predominantly concerned with this question, that is, with the process by which educational decisions — be they financial, personnel, or curricular — are made.

Probably the first thing learned in this fledgling discipline has been that the question when put into the above form is unanswerable. The analyst who asks "Why?" wants to know what the cause of a particular decision was. Since he cannot perform an experiment after the fact, he can never be sure that he has considered all possible causes before settling on the true one. As the historian David Hackett Fischer has noted.

... The impossible object is a quest for the whole truth — a quest which characteristically takes one of three forms. Occasionally, it consists in an attempt to know everything about everything. Sometimes it consists in an attempt to know something about everything. Most often it is a search for everything about something. None of these purposes is remotely realizable. A historian can only hope to know something about something.¹

The student of the policy making process must search for the appropriate question to ask. In an effort to find such questions, students of educational governance have reviewed the methodologies of the behavioral sciences — psychology, social psychology, sociology, political science, and economics. The result of this search has been the identification of a number of analytic frameworks which in modified form have been applied in educational research.

Currently, systems models are favored by researchers although these are not without their critics.² In the politics of education, the most common is the Easton model which in very simplified form is schematically shown as follows.³

Environment

Easton is a political scientist and his work was designed as an approach to the study of political systems. He suggested that the model could be fruitfully applied to para-political systems, that is, to any groups which were legitimately empowered to distribute resources to its members.

The model depicted in the above diagram suggests that the system converts inputs into outputs. It does not offer any hypotheses which link the concepts shown in the diagram, nor more importantly, does it present any concepts by which the conversion process can be explained. However, it does have several advantages.

1. It focuses attention on decisions made by particular groups. The question that the teacher might ask becomes: "What body had the legitimate right to make that decision?" In Newfoundland, a number of decision loci exist in education.

DECISION LOCUS	SAMPLE DECISION
Provincial Legislature	Amendment to the Schools Act
Cabinet	Grant Regulations
Department of Education	A Curriculum Program
University Senate	University Regulations
A Denominational Education Committee	Allocation of Capital Grants to School Boards
A School Board	The Closing of a Small Rural School
The NTA	A Convention Resolution

2. The basic Easton model suggests that the analyst examine the demands which are made on the system. According to the model, demands can come from within the system or from the environment of the system. Furthermore it is conceivable that demands which originate in the environment never receive serious consideration by the system itself. For example, it is possible that a proposal coming from a curriculum group might be sent to the department of education but never receive active consideration by the department insiders.

On the assumption then that the analyst can identify the system or decision locus and the groups which comprise the system's environment a number of important questions can be raised.

- I. What demands were formally made by environmental groups?
- II. What demands were made by system insiders?
- III. Which set of demands receive more serious attention?
- IV. What mechanisms exist to place environmental demands before the system's decision makers?
- V. Can demands be categorized over a period of time according to origin and intensity?

A formal and thorough examination of the demands made upon school boards since integration might be a fruitful approach to the study of the effectiveness of the centralization program.

3. The basic Easton model focuses attention on the conversion process. Sometimes we think of systems as "black boxes", i.e., mechanisms which by a set of processes known only to a few insiders generate decisions. A number of approaches⁴ exists by which the "Why?" question can be rephrased.
 - a. The decision was the choice of a system which in response to an identified problem very rationally considered a series of possible alternatives and selected the one which gave the best hope of providing a solution. Here the "Why?" question becomes
 - I. What problem was defined by the system?
 - II. What alternatives were considered?
 - III. How were the alternatives evaluated?
 - IV. Of the alternatives considered, was the one selected the most appropriate?
 - b. The decision was the output of a formal organization. For example, departments of education and school boards make use of formal organizations. Organizations collect information, define problems, and implement decisions in accordance with standard operating procedures. In this case the "Why?" question might be
 - I. To what extent did such organizational variables as standard operating procedures and organizational norms affect the rational process depicted in the last section?
 - c. The decision was the result of bargaining among different actors inside the system. Perhaps nobody inside wanted the particular decision which resulted but it was the only compromise available when different actors wanted different things. In this case, the "Why?" question becomes:
 - I. Who were the inside groups?
 - II. What did each of these groups want?
 - III. What resources did they have at their disposal?
 - IV. Could the interaction between these inside groups be characterized by competitive or collaborative approaches?
 - V. If a disruptive strain was placed on the system because of the interaction, what mechanisms existed to keep the system together?

To this point in reviewing the study of educational politics, we have simply suggested in what other forms the "Why?" question can be asked. We have not reviewed any of the findings of researchers who have asked such questions. The dominant conclusion from other jurisdictions was suggested by an analyst recently when he suggested that the politics of education can be characterized as "a low visibility, insider game dominated by the educational elite."⁵ In the next few issues we'll explore the extent to which conclusions from other jurisdictions can be applied to provincial and local situations in Newfoundland.

FOOTNOTES

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THE PROVINCIAL POLITICS OF EDUCATION: Interest Group Interaction

Dr. John Stapleton

The introduction to this series provided a framework which might guide an investigation of educational politics in Newfoundland. As used here, the term "politics" does not refer to the interaction of the provincial political parties; rather, it refers to the study of "who gets what, when, and how." The basis of the framework as developed in the first paper (see the *Morning Watch*, Vol. 2, No. 3, March, 75) was that a number of educational decision making bodies exist in Newfoundland to convert demands into policy outcomes.

This paper concentrates upon the impact that interactions among the formal interest groups have upon the possibility for educational change. To accomplish this purpose, the speculations of a prominent Canadian researcher are examined for their relevance to this province.

The Housego Thesis

In addition to his own studies, Ian E. Housego has supervised the research of several graduate students on the topic of provincial policies in Canadian Education.¹ From data which have been generated in Western Canada, Housego has made several speculations which deserve wider dissemination.

He has suggested that the pattern of policy development in education at the provincial level is typically that of the politics of interest groups. He notes that:

...On major province-wide policy issues, settlement rests on the conflict and compromise of a limited number of interest groups — typically the executives of the provincial teachers' and trustees associations and the senior administrators within the department of education.²

Housego suggests that what often happens is that the department of education establishes committees which serve as arenas in which the various interest groups forge acceptable compromises and accommodations. Such agreements are then presented to the politicians whose options are limited to either rejection or adoption.

This thesis has serious implications. It implies that a closed system operates within the educational establishment. By limiting the input concerning educational matters to select groups, the possibility that the system will entertain divergent ideas is reduced. The adaptive capability of the system is therefore eroded.

Application to Newfoundland

What formal educational interest groups exist in this province and what interactions occur among them?

Only those groups which are represented on committees that exist in accordance with provincial legislation are included. With this criterion, the following groups can be identified.

1. The Department of Education. Some might object to the identification of the Department as an interest group. However, the Department certainly attempts to influence the other interest groups. For example, the Department might attempt to make the Faculty of Education at Memorial University change some of its education regulations.

2. The Newfoundland Teachers Association. (NTA). The three Denominational Education Committees (DEC.) — the Integrated, the Pentecostal, and the Roman Catholic.
3. The Federation of School Boards.
4. The Faculty of Education at Memorial University.

Numerous other educational interest groups exist in Newfoundland, and these generally make representations to decision making bodies. Their degree of influence is probably debatable. In a recent review of the state politics of education in the United States, Iannaccone and Cistone make the point that interest groups often attempt to secure representation on key committees as a first step in ensuring that their value preferences are represented in the official policy.³

What are some of these committees on which the interest groups interact? Here we are concerned with legislated committees primarily, although mention is made of one other.

1. **The General Advisory Committee.** The Minister of Education chairs this committee which meets at his request. The Department of Education, the DEC's, the NTA, and the Faculty of Education at Memorial University are represented. The function of the committee is to make recommendations on educational policy, but it is interesting to note that any potential legislation that would affect the rights and privileges of the recognized denominations must be referred to the Denominational Policy Commission.
2. **The Denominational Policy Commission. The Minister of Education also chairs this committee** which consists of the Minister, the Deputy Minister of Education, and the three Executive Secretaries of the DEC's. The committee meets at the request of the Minister to make recommendations concerning that aspect of potential policy which can affect the rights and privileges of the churches.
3. **The Teacher Certification Committee.** The Registrar from the Department of Education chairs this committee which also includes other department officials, the DEC's, two NTA officials, and two university representatives. This committee makes recommendations about the regulations concerning the academic and professional standards in the training and classification of teachers.
4. **The School Board Committee.** The Newfoundland Teacher (Collective Bargaining) Act established the School Board Committee as the agent which bargained with the teachers. The Federation of School Boards has representation on this committee and thereby has the opportunity for influencing the terms of the collective agreement.
5. **The Joint Committee.** Unlike the above, this is not a legislated committee. Like the others, it has representation from the Department, the DEC's, the NTA, and MUN. This committee normally concerns itself with the preparatory programs of teachers.

The above paragraphs show that a number of committees exist to facilitate the formal interaction of the interest groups. However, it is important to realize that numerous informal interactions occur also.

ITEM: The airplane lands in Deer Lake, and a car is rented to take a number of people to yet another education convention in Corner Brook. Conversation on the journey centers around education. A closer look reveals that the passengers include an assistant deputy minister, an executive secretary, two senior officials of the NTA, and the dean of the faculty of education.

ITEM: A veteran observer of educational politics in Newfoundland is relating some of his experiences. "You know, one of the amazing things about this province is that everywhere you go, every committee upon which you sit, you see the same faces."

Housego suggests that the cumulative impact of the interest group interaction is the reduction of the capability of the system to undergo meaningful change. By reducing the number of inputs to a select number of groups, only a limited number of ideas can be considered. Have other groups been excluded from the decision making process in this province?

So little research has been done that neither an affirmative nor a negative answer is possible. Certainly, opportunities for input have been provided. The Royal Commission on Education and Youth, the Committee on Teacher Education, and the recent Provincial Curriculum Conference have been among the more formal efforts to increase the involvement of others. However, many seem to be skeptical about the actual impact of reports upon decision makers.

Implications for Change

If the cumulative impact of the interest group interaction is to reduce the possibility of change, then what strategies might be employed?

1. If an individual seeks to change policy he must realize that his chance for success is small. He must convince an interest group to make his cause its own. Furthermore, that cause must become a high priority item for the group. That is, it must not be simply an issue which can be traded for other and more important items.
2. An interest group that desires change has a number of alternatives.
 - a. It can decide to go it alone if the matter in question is something over which it has jurisdiction. However, this strategy runs the risk of becoming part of what Downs calls either "the superman syndrome" or "the shrinking violet syndrome".⁴ In the former, the group attempts change which is so major that it needs the cooperation of the other groups for successful implementation. In the latter, the group attempts change which is so insignificant that the impact is meaningless.
 - b. It can decide to use other channels. At the moment in Newfoundland, this seems possible. The reorganization of government at Cabinet level means that leadership of the interest groups must ask such questions as "Does the existence of the Social Policy group and the Planning and Priorities committee make the General Advisory Committee obsolete?" Furthermore, the methods by which the collective bargaining legislation for teachers was passed is another event that should not escape the notice of those individuals and groups concerned about change.
 - c. It can decide that change can only occur through the negotiation of the interest groups. Efforts must then be made to improve its interaction skills.

It can be hypothesized that as long as the respective groups are reasonably happy with the outcomes of current interest group interactions, few efforts will be made to develop other channels. Even in the case where it seems profitable to develop other channels, it is reasonable to assume that other interest groups will be concerned, leaving the organization to work at its negotiation behaviors.

Conclusion

This brief paper has explored the question as to whether or not the Housego speculations are applicable to this province. Clearly, Newfoundland has numerous interest groups, perhaps even more than the other provinces. These interest groups interact both formally and informally. Although efforts have been made to draw upon the ideas of other agencies change, efforts probably require the cooperation of the dominant groups.

The final point to make about the interaction of interest groups refers to accountability. Since there are so many of these groups in this province where education is the work of both church and state, who should be assigned credit or blame in appropriate situations? Does the fragmentation of responsibility prevent the assignment of accountability to any one group? We'll try to examine aspects of this question in the next issue.

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THE LOCAL POLITICS OF EDUCATION IN NEWFOUNDLAND: EXTERNAL CONSTRAINTS

Dr. John J. Stapleton

Introduction

According to The Schools Act, a major function of the Newfoundland school board is to provide for the elementary and secondary education of the children of its districts.¹ In carrying out this function, it makes numerous decisions such as the following:

1. It approves an annual budget which is the numerical statement of its policies.
2. It hires a superintendent upon whom it relies for advice and to whom it delegates the responsibility for efficiently administering its policies.
3. It decides on the administrative organization of the district. For example, it might decide to adopt an elementary — junior high — senior high school pattern in contrast to an elementary — central high school arrangement. Or, it might decide to establish single sex schools in contrast to co-educational schools. Or, urban boards might establish zoning areas in which children from designated areas are required to attend particular schools.
4. It makes a number of personnel decisions in the areas of hiring, transfers, promotions, and dismissals, thus pointing out the types of behaviors it considers desirable or undesirable.
5. It decides on the site of a new school and on whether or not the school will be a traditional or modern structure.

These examples are outcomes of the school board's decision making process. In recent years, research has identified several constraints which limit the freedom of the individual school board. A recognition of these constraints is particularly important for the board newcomer whose initial enthusiasm to promote the education of the children of his community is dissipated because of his apparent inability to make an impact. The purpose of this article is to shed light on some of the particular constraints that face the Newfoundland school board.

A Brief Review of the Literature

A popular American text that appeared in 1958 asked the question "Who runs our schools?"² The question is important because of the assumption that the values of the educational governors which are reflected in its resource allocations may or may not be the same as those of the governed. The authors of the text could not provide the definitive answer and had to be content with an identification of the forces that impinge upon the interaction between the school board and its superintendent.

The same question has been the focus of a number of American and Canadian studies since 1958. In his recent review of these, Peterson suggests that two themes regularly appear: (1) the insulation of the educational sphere from other policy arenas, and (2) the dominance of professionals over lay board members within the educational policy field.³ He states a major finding of the research to be:

...School policy formulation is conducted autonomously by specialists in the field who are⁴ virtually impervious to pressures from external forces.

Selection of board members contributes to this situation in that board members are usually chosen in non-partisan elections held on dates differing from those of other state and local contests. Such board members

...do not have close affiliations with political parties, seldom lay claim to represent any group or segment of the community, and are elected by only a small percentage of the voters.⁵

Once these members attain office, their behavior contributes to the insularity because they

...discuss controversial issues in private sessions, present a facade of unanimity in sessions attended by the public, and hold their meetings in small rooms at times that are announced as unobtrusively as possible.⁶

Peterson states that by and large the research has concluded that American local school politics are governed by

...a relatively closed circle of professionals and, to a lesser extent, lay board members... subject only to scattered and sporadic public pressures.⁷

Reports from Canadian studies show surprisingly similar results. For example, Wiles and Williams, in commenting on their study of educational governance in Metropolitan Toronto, suggested that the balance of influence between board members and professionals was shifting toward the latter.⁸ The creation of the larger units of administration together with its concomitant complexities tend to reduce the policy making role of the board member, whereas the continuity of the administrative structure, expertise, and control over policy administration are major factors contributing to professional dominance.

In both countries, an emphasis on the autonomy of the school board, and on the increasing difficulty of the layman to meaningfully alter board policy has been found. This provides a point of departure for a consideration of some of the differences that exist here.

The Newfoundland Situation

The extent to which the findings about board autonomy and professional dominance apply to Newfoundland boards is doubtful. The major governance decisions of the mid-nineteenth century saw Church control prevail over any other type of local control. The unworkable non-denominational boards which were established in 1836 gave way to Protestant and Roman Catholic boards in 1843 and to further fractionalization with the subdivision of the Protestant grant in 1874. From this vantage point, it has seemed that there was no other local agency capable of administering local education at that time.⁹

In contrast to an era that fostered the proliferation of denominational boards, the past 25 years have been marked by interdenominational cooperation, and this factor as much as any was responsible for the legislative changes of the late 1960s. When Dr. Rowe moved the legislation in 1969 that consolidated the school boards, he stressed two goals that the reorganization was to accomplish: (1) increased equality of educational opportunity, and (2) a higher degree of efficient administration.¹⁰ In the light of statements which accompanied reorganization in other jurisdictions, the absence of a statement about local autonomy is surprising, although given the nature of our public denominational school system, perhaps not so much so.

If the central governance problem in other jurisdictions is the relationship between provincial responsibility and local autonomy, the problem here is much more complex. As is stated in The School Board,

...While the Government provides most of the finances, the schools are Church owned but they are operated by local school boards...and they are regulated by church and state acting in partnership."

In the complexity that is our system, the local school board is the junior member of the church-state partnership. The following diagram depicts some of the major constraints that affect the board's operation.

The **Department of Education** is supposed to enforce minimum standards and provide educational leadership. Among its many functions can be included the determination of educational expenditures, the prescription of most of its curriculum, the certification of teachers, and a partial examination of students in grade XI.

There are three **Denominational Education Committees** — the Integrated, the Pentecostal, and the Roman Catholic. As the operational arms of the Church involvement in educational, they have considerable influence. They control the distribution of capital grants, a process that might bear fruitful study. They control the religious education program. They have the right to make recommendations about the initial certification of teachers, the appointment of members to school boards, and the boundaries of a school district.

The **School Board — Teacher Liaison Committee** is a creature established by the collective agreement between teachers and their employers. The parties to the agreement must meet several times a year to talk about matters of mutual concern. At this point, not too much is known about the impact of this committee on a board's decision making powers. Research from other jurisdictions shows that although teachers have been interested in such matters as school decentralization within a district, their greater interest has been in welfare matters.¹² This finding may not be applicable here.

The **School Tax Authority (STA)** is one of the arenas in which the board and the municipal or community councils interact. The school board is not fiscally independent in the share of local monies that will be raised for educational support. The money must be raised by the STA. This body is created by the provincial government upon the request of the majority of boards in the area affected.. There is a waiting period in which all those who do not favor the creation may oppose the move. Membership is comprised of representatives from both school boards and municipal bodies. An interesting amendment to The Local School Tax Act was passed in 1974 and stated that the school boards had to have at least one more representative than the councils involved.¹³

To be effective then, a board must be aware of the constraints imposed upon it by these external bodies. It is not hard to speculate that some boards will be more successful in its negotiation than others. Of course, the relationships involved may be questioned from many perspectives. Space limitations here will permit only a brief discussion of one area which, to this observer at least, contain the seeds of potential disruption for the system. This is the area of interaction between the school board and the municipal council.

1. Because the municipal council and the school board share the same tax fields, is conflict endemic? Will this be intensified if the provincial government wishes to see the STA absorb more of the burden in financing education?
2. What will be the impact on the denominational school system as municipal government grows in importance? Consider the case of the small town whose high school students are bussed to three different institutions in a neighboring community and whose municipal councillors want to preserve the town identity by retaining the students in a community school. How many such cases are there, and what is the long range solution?
3. Are there cases in rural Newfoundland where the same individual serves as both board members and municipal councillor. If so, what role conflicts does he face?

This article has attempted to identify several of the major constraints which confront a board as it provides for the education of the children entrusted to its care. In particular, questions about the future interaction between boards and municipal councils are raised.

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Section V The school and social selection

EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY BEYOND HIGH SCHOOL IN NEWFOUNDLAND

Dr. Llewellyn Parsons

Dr. Amarjit Singh

Last year the Committee on 1973 Enrollment at M.U.N. conducted a study on what Grade XI students did or planned to do after completing high school and the factors related to their post-secondary education decisions.

The Committee was set up by the President of Memorial University, Mr. M.O. Morgan on 21 September and the members of the Committee were Dr. G.L. Parsons, Dr. Trevor H. Williams, Mr. Chesley Sanger. To facilitate the work of the Committee the following were designated to serve with the Committee: Mr. Cyril McCormick, Mr. William O'Driscoll, Mr. Arnold Betz and Mr. Arthur Robertson. Dr. Amarjit Singh and Dr. David J. Kirby were co-opted to provide their services and ideas to the Committee.

Below we present some of the results of that study, particularly those results which throw some light on the problem of equality of educational opportunity in Newfoundland. In general, the results of the study show that there are wide disparities in educational opportunities in this Province and that accessibility to further education varied with socio-economic background and experience of the student. However, before discussing the results of the study in some detail we wish to make a few points so that the results are not interpreted out of context.

One thing which we should keep in mind is that the problem of equality of educational opportunity arises out of the social context of industrial or industrializing societies in which the school as a social institution has increasingly become involved in selecting, sorting and certifying pupils for various trades, occupations and professions; and further, the problem of equality of educational opportunity is related to the general problem of inequality (i.e. economic inequality, power inequality, and status inequality — see Heller's and Porter's books) in our society. Some of the major themes in the area of social inequalities and social stratification have been discussed by Dr. Singh in his articles in the last two issues of *The Morning Watch*. We hope that the general awareness on the part of readers regarding the nature of social inequality in Canada and in Newfoundland will help them in understanding the nature of the problem of equality of educational opportunity.

The Committee on 1973 Enrollment, among other things, examined the way in which education is distributed through the class structure in the Province. In other words the Committee tried to examine who in fact ends up attending the post-secondary educational institutions in Newfoundland. Taking the stock of people who are actually attending the post-secondary education institutions is the first step towards determining the extent to which equality of educational opportunity exists in the province. Once we know who is attending post-secondary educational institutions in the Province, then we can ask further questions: What are the social and psychological barriers to equal educational opportunity in Newfoundland? (For the discussion on these two types of barriers to equal opportunity, see Porter's book, pp. 168-173).

The results of the study by the Committee presented here throw light on the social barriers to equal educational opportunity in the Province. These results should not be taken to mean that those who are attending the post-secondary educational institutions in the province are the only ones with the desired ability and potential. That is, when we say that students from low income and larger families experienced difficulty in attending post-secondary schools of any type in the Province, it should not be taken to mean that students from these families do not have ability and potential to attend post-secondary schools. With these remarks we now present the results of the study which showed that:

1. Students from low income families experienced difficulty in attending post-secondary schools of any type. Generally their chances of getting a

university education were very slim. The majority of those students entered full-time or part-time employment, entered some institution where there was no financial cost, or become unemployed.

2. Those graduating high school students whose parents had experienced some unemployment over the past two or three years did not have opportunities to attend university or other post-secondary schools comparable with those of students whose fathers had experienced full employment.
3. There was a wide discrepancy between the post-secondary education choices of students whose parents had a high level of education (Grade nine and beyond) and those whose parents had a lower level of education (below Grade nine). Students whose parents had a low level of education perceived that they knew very little about entrance requirements to and courses of study at the various post-secondary schools, especially Memorial University, as compared with students whose parents had a higher level of education.
4. Students from large families had much less chance of attending post-secondary schools, especially Memorial University, than did students from small families. Before making a choice of further education those students from large families weighted heavily the factors of "getting paid to attend", and "the length of the training period."
5. There were wide disparities of educational opportunities among students in various regions and between urban and rural areas.
 - (a) A much larger percentage of the students from urban areas attended Memorial University and the College of Trades and Technology than from rural areas.
 - (b) A much larger percentage of the students from rural areas attended vocational schools and nursing schools than from urban areas.
 - (c) The percentage of the students on the Avalon Peninsula who attended Memorial University was twice the percentage of the students outside the Avalon Peninsula who attended Memorial.
 - (d) The proportion of the students outside the Avalon Peninsula who attended vocational schools was twice that of those on the Avalon Peninsula.
 - (e) Labrador had the highest percentage of students who did not attend post-secondary schools of any kind.

Apparently the Committee's findings document the existence of inequality in educational opportunity in the Province and particularly throw light on the social barriers to equality of educational opportunity. Thus the belief that everybody in Newfoundland has the opportunity to attend any post-secondary educational institution of his/her liking seems to us a myth. Much more work has to be done in this area if we are interested in reducing the inequality in educational opportunity in the province in particular and reducing social inequality in general.

In this brief article it is impossible to give a complete picture of the Committee's findings regarding students' career decisions after high school. For further details we would recommend the following reports of the Committee:

Career Decisions of Newfoundland Youth. A Preliminary Report. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, December, 1973.

Career Decisions of Newfoundland Youth. Report No. 2. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland. January, 1974.

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FACTORS RELATED TO GRADE XI STUDENTS' PERCEIVED KNOWLEDGE OF POST-SECONDARY INSTITUTIONS IN THE PROVINCE OF NEWFOUNDLAND

Eric Burry, M.Ed. and Dr. Llewellyn Parsons

The purpose of this study was to measure students' perceived knowledge about the courses of study at, costs of attending and entrance requirements to the various post-secondary institutions in the province of Newfoundland. Several selected variables, namely socio-economic status of the parents, sex of the student, size of the family, and region of Newfoundland in which students live were examined to see their relative effect on students' perceived knowledge of the various post-secondary institutions in Newfoundland.

The data reported here is a part of the information on Grade XI students (1973-74) collected by the Committee on 1973 Enrollment for its study on "Career Decisions of Newfoundland Youth". Questions 10, 11 and 12 of the questionnaire dealing with students' perceived knowledge of post-secondary institutions were analyzed in relationship to selected socio-economic variables.

THE FINDINGS

1. Fathers' education was found to be statistically significant at the .0001 level as it related to students' perceived knowledge of courses of study at the College of Trades and Technology, vocational schools and Memorial University, but was not found to be statistically significant ($P < .0001$) as it related to perceived knowledge of courses of study at the College of Fisheries and nursing schools in the province. The higher the educational level of the father, the more students perceived they knew about the courses of study at the College of Trades and Technology and Memorial University and the higher the educational level of the father, the less students perceived they knew about the courses of study at the College of Trades and Technology and Memorial University and the higher the educational level of the father, the less students perceived they knew about the course of study at the vocational schools.
2. Fathers' education was found to be statistically significant ($P < .0001$) as it related to students' perceived knowledge of the entrance requirements to the College of Trades and Technology, vocational schools and Memorial University, but fathers' education was found not to be statistically significant ($P < .0001$) as it related to perceived knowledge of the entrance requirements to the College of Fisheries and nursing schools. The higher the educational level of the father, the more the students perceived they knew about the entrance requirements to the College of Trades and Technology and Memorial University, but for vocational schools, students perceived that they knew less about the entrance requirements when fathers' education was high school graduation or higher. Students whose fathers had a 'low level of education' reported greater perceived knowledge about vocational schools than did students whose fathers were well educated.
3. Mothers' education was found to be statistically significant ($P < .0001$) as it related to students' perceived knowledge of courses of study at the College of Trades and Technology, vocational schools and Memorial University, but mothers' education was not found to be statistically significant ($P < .0001$) as it related to students' perceived knowledge of courses of study at the College of Fisheries and nursing schools in the province. The higher the educational level of the mother, the more information students perceived they possessed about the courses of study at the College of Trades and Technology and Memorial University, but students perceived that they knew less about such courses at vocational schools when their mothers' education was grade eleven or more.

4. Mothers' education was found to be statistically significant ($P < .0001$) as it related to students' perceived knowledge of entrance requirements for the College of Trades and Technology, vocational schools and Memorial University, but mothers' education was not found to be statistically significant ($P < .0001$) as it related to pupils' knowledge of entrance requirements to the College of Fisheries and nursing schools. The higher the educational level of the mother, the more students' indicated they knew about the entrance requirements at the College of Trades and Technology and Memorial University. Again, a reverse effect was noted for vocational schools; the lower the educational level of the mother the more the students perceived they knew about the entrance requirements to Newfoundland vocational schools.
5. Fathers' occupation as it related to students' perceived knowledge of the courses of study at the College of Trades and Technology, vocational schools and Memorial University was found to be statistically significant ($P < .0001$). However, fathers' occupation was found not to be statistically significant ($P < .0001$) as it related to pupils' perceived knowledge of the courses of study at the College of Fisheries and nursing schools. Students who had fathers from the upper middle and lower middle-class occupations perceived they knew more about the courses of study at the College of Trades and Technology and Memorial University than did students who had fathers from the upper working and lower working-class occupations. However, students who had fathers from the upper working and lower working-class occupations perceived that they knew more about the courses of study at Newfoundland vocational schools than did students whose fathers were in the upper working and lower working-class occupations.
6. Fathers' occupation as it related to students' perceived knowledge of the entrance requirements to the College of Trades and Technology, Newfoundland vocational schools and Memorial University was found to be statistically significant ($P < .0001$). However, fathers' occupation as it related to pupils' perceived knowledge of entrance requirements to the College of Fisheries and nursing schools was not significant ($P < .0001$). Students who had fathers from the upper middle and lower middle-class occupations perceived that they knew more about the entrance requirements to the College of Trades and Technology and Memorial University than did students who had fathers from the upper working and lower working-class occupations. Students who had fathers from the upper working and lower working-class occupations perceived that they knew more about the entrance requirements to Newfoundland vocational schools than did students who had fathers from the higher occupational classes.
7. Size of family as it related to students' perceived knowledge of courses of study at the College of Trades and Technology and Memorial University was found to be statistically significant ($P < .0001$). However, size of family as it related to students' perceived knowledge of courses of study at the College of Fisheries, vocational schools and nursing schools was not statistically significant ($P < .0001$). Students from small families perceived that they knew more about the courses of study at the College of Trades and Technology and Memorial University than did students from larger families.
8. Family size as it related to students' perceived knowledge of entrance requirements to the College of Trades and Technology and Memorial University was found to be statistically significant ($P < .0001$) but family size as it related to students' perceived knowledge of entrance requirements at the College of Fisheries, vocational schools and nursing schools was not found to be statistically significant ($P < .0001$). Students from large families perceived that they knew less about the entrance requirements to the College of Trades and Technology and Memorial University than did pupils from larger families.
9. The region of Newfoundland in which students lived as it related to students' perceived knowledge of courses of study offered at each school and as it related to students' perceived knowledge of entrance requirements to each school was found to be statistically significant

($P < .0001$). Students from the Avalon region were likely to know more about the courses of study at, and entrance requirements to Memorial University and the College of Trades and Technology than were students from other regions. However, students residing off the Avalon Peninsula were likely to know more about the entrance requirements to and courses of study at vocational schools than were Avalon resident students.

Students' perceived knowledge of courses of study at and entrance requirements to Memorial University, the College of Trades and Technology and vocational schools is strongly related to the socio-economic factors of fathers' and mothers' levels of education, fathers' occupations, size of family and the area of Newfoundland where students live. Steps need to be taken to offset the effects of these factors so that students of whatever background may have sufficient knowledge to select post-secondary schools on the basis of their abilities and interests rather than on some basis of social stratification.

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FACTORS RELATED TO THE POST-SECONDARY CHOICES OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES FROM THE BURIN PENINSULA

George May, M.Ed., And Dr. Llewellyn Parsons

The primary concern of this study was to compare selected social, economic, academic, and background characteristics of 1973/74 high school graduates from the Burin Peninsula who chose to attend vocational school with the same characteristics of graduates who chose to attend Memorial University, and those who were not attending any post-secondary school.

Further, the study identified and compared selected proximal influences which seem to have influenced students' decisions to chose vocational school, with those influences which seem to have influenced students' decisions to attend Memorial University.

The objectives of the investigation were as follows:

1. To compare selected family related characteristics of 1973/74 high school graduates from the Burin Peninsula who were attending vocational school with the family characteristics of those graduates who were attending Memorial University, and those who were not attending any post-secondary school.
2. To compare selected school related characteristics of 1973/74 high school graduates from the Burin Peninsula who were attending vocational school, with the school related characteristics of those graduates who were attending Memorial University, and those who were not attending any post-secondary school.
3. To compare selected personal characteristics of 1973/74 high school graduates from the Burin Peninsula who were attending vocational school, with the personal characteristics of those graduates who were attending Memorial University, and those who were not attending any post-secondary school.
4. To compare the importance of selected proximal influences of 1974/74 high school graduates from the Burin Peninsula who were attending vocational school with the importance of the same influence to those graduates who were attending Memorial University.

The data pertinent to family, school, and personal factors, and proximal influences were obtained on a questionnaire administrated by the Committee on Enrollment 1973, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Llewellyn Parsons, to all 1973/74 Grade XI students in Newfoundland.

The Findings

1. The fathers of those students who chose vocational school had higher occupational levels than fathers of those students who chose not to attend any post-secondary school, but lower occupational levels than fathers of those students who chose Memorial University.
2. The fathers of those students who chose vocational school had completed more years of schooling than fathers of those students who chose not to attend any post-secondary school, but had completed fewer years of schooling than fathers of those students who chose Memorial University.
3. The mothers of those students who chose vocational school had completed more years of schooling than mothers of those students who chose not to attend any post-secondary school,

but had completed fewer years of schooling than mothers of those students who chose Memorial University.

Post Secondary Choice and School Related Factors

1. Students who chose vocational school were more likely to have come from the 'general' high school program of study than were students who chose Memorial University.
2. Students who chose vocational school perceived themselves as being much better informed about the courses of study at vocational school, than did those students who chose Memorial University and those who chose not to attend any post-secondary school.
3. Students who chose vocational school perceived themselves as knowing less about the courses of study at Memorial University than did those students who chose Memorial University, but knowing more than those students who chose not to attend any post-secondary school.
4. Students who chose vocational school perceived themselves as knowing more about the entrance requirements at vocational school than did those students who chose Memorial University and those who chose not to attend any post-secondary school.
5. Students who chose vocational school perceived themselves as being much less informed about the entrance requirements at Memorial University than did those students who chose Memorial University, and only slightly better informed than those students who chose not to attend any post-secondary school.
6. Students who chose vocational school were more positive in their assessment of the social environment at vocational school than were those students who chose not to attend any post-secondary school and those who chose Memorial University.

Post-Secondary Choice and Personal Related Factors

1. Students who chose vocational school had occupational aspirations higher than those of students who chose not to attend any post-secondary school but significantly lower than those students who chose Memorial University.
2. Students who chose vocational school had occupational expectations higher than those of students who chose not to attend any post-secondary school but significantly lower than those students who chose Memorial University.
3. Students who chose vocational school perceived their ability as compared with their school class to be lower than that of students who chose to attend Memorial University.

Post-Secondary Choice and Perceived Proximal Influences

1. Students who chose vocational school considered the school being close to home as significantly more important in making their post-secondary choice than did students who chose Memorial University.
2. Students who chose vocational school consider the shorter training period as significantly more important in making their post-secondary choice than did students who chose Memorial University.
3. Students who chose vocational school considered information provided by post-secondary personnel as significantly more important in making their post-secondary choice than did students who chose Memorial University.

4. Students who chose vocational school considered being paid to attend significantly more important in making their post-secondary choice than did students who chose Memorial University.
5. Students who chose vocational school considered being able to find accommodation with relatives or friends significantly more important in making their post-secondary choice than did students who chose Memorial University.

Conclusions

The following conclusions were reached regarding 1973/74 high school graduates from the Burin Peninsula and their particular post-secondary choices.

1. A high percentage of all students, regardless of their post-secondary choices, indicated a lack of knowledge of the courses of study, costs, and entrance requirements at Memorial University. Students from all groups, however, indicated a higher level of knowledge of the courses of study at and entrance requirements to vocational school. This may indicate that students are not getting the same level of exposure to information about Memorial University as they are about vocational school.
2. Vocational school students also considered the information provided by post-secondary personnel to be very important in making their post-secondary decisions, whereas the same importance of information was not perceived by Memorial University students. This seems to indicate as well that students' exposure to vocational information, through the efforts of the vocational school in the district, is more in-depth, more effective, and influencing students more than exposure to Memorial University information.
3. The vocational school on the Burin Peninsula appears to be attracting mostly high school students whose parents are engaged in middle to lower class occupations, while Memorial University appears to be attracting mostly high school graduates whose parents are engaged in upper middle class occupations. Thus, social stratification seems to be a considerable part of the selection process of both vocational school and Memorial University.
4. The vocational school on the Burin Peninsula appears to be an attractive place for such reasons as its closeness to home, its shorter training period, and students being able to find accommodation with relatives or friends. School counseling services must endeavor to make students fully aware of the post-secondary opportunities available, and have students fully examine their motives and reasons for making particular post secondary choices. The immediate and short-term attractiveness of a particular post-secondary institutions must not blind the student to other post-secondary opportunities which might be more appropriate to the student's abilities and interests.
5. Being paid to attend vocational school is certainly an important influence in attracting vocational students. Memorial University students, however, tend to have fathers more in the professional and manager/owner categories than in working class occupations and thus are more likely to be financially able. Thus, it seems that equality of post-secondary opportunity might not be available to high school graduates because of the financial attractiveness of vocational school and the lack of the same at Memorial University.
6. Students on the Burin Peninsula do not suffer from low aspirations or expectation levels. The fact is that most students, regardless of their post-secondary choice, tend to have middle to upper class aspirations and expectations. Unfortunately, intervening forces and factors are operating

which are preventing the pursuance of post-secondary education congruent with these aspirations and expectations.

7. High school, through their 'general' and 'academic' programs of study, are tending to stream students into various post-secondary areas. The high schools thus are playing a very significant role as selecting and sorting agencies.

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FATHER'S LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND NEWFOUNDLAND GRADE XI STUDENTS' CHOICE OF POST-SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Dr. Llewellyn Parsons and' Ross Senior, M.Ed.

This study was a part of a much larger investigation set up to weight factors which influence Newfoundland high school students' career decisions. Specifically, what is reported here is the relationship between fathers' level of education and the Grade XI students' choices of a post-secondary school using the following model:

Fathers' level of education was classified according to the following scale: (1) Grade 5 or less, (2) Grade 6 to 8, (3) Grade 9 to 11, (4) post-secondary training other than University, and, (5) university education.

It was hypothesized that the higher the level of fathers' education, the larger the percentage of students that would select university as a post-secondary school and the lower the fathers' level of education the larger the percentage of students that would choose vocational schools.

The data used in this study was a sub-set of the data collected by the Committee on Enrollment at Memorial University. Strong relationships were shown between fathers' level of education and Grade XI students' post-secondary choices as can be seen from the following table:

The table shows that of all those students whose fathers had grade five level of education or less 13.8 per cent chose Memorial University, while of all those students whose fathers had a university level of education 54.8 per cent selected Memorial University. On the other hand, of all those students whose fathers had grade five level of education or less 38 per cent chose to attend vocational schools, while of all those students whose fathers had a university level of education 6.9 per cent chose to attend vocational schools. It should be noted from the table that the fathers' level of education up to and including Grade Eleven was not significantly related to the percentage of students who chose to attend the College of Trades and Technology and the various nursing schools (not including the School of Nursing at Memorial University).

Summary

Analysis of the data shown:

1. The higher the level of fathers' education the greater the percentage of students who chose to attend university.
2. The higher the level of fathers' education the smaller the percentage of students who chose to attend vocational schools.
3. Fathers' level of education decision to enter nursing schools and the College of Trades and Technology.

STUDENTS' CHOICE OF POST SECONDARY SCHOOLS BY FATHERS' EDUCATION

Students' Choice of Post-Secondary School (Per Cent)

		College of Trades and Technology	College of Fisheries	Vocational Schools	Memorial University	Other Universities	Nursing Schools	Other	Total
FATHERS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	Grade 5 or less	26.7	3.8	38	13.8	2.2	12.3	3.1	100.0
	Grades 6-8	29.2	2.7	31.6	20.2	1.7	10.6	4.1	100
	Grades 9-11	27.3	2.5	21.2	29.4	4.9	11	3.9	100
	Post Secondary Education other than University	27.1	2.1	11.3	34.2	7.5	11.3	6.5	100
	University Education	15.2	1.7	6.9	54.8	13.6	3.9	3.9	100

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF GRADE ELEVEN STUDENTS ENROLLED IN THE ACADEMIC AND GENERAL PROGRAM IN NEWFOUNDLAND ON SELECTED FACTORS

Dr. Llewellyn Parsons and 'Gordon Day, M.Ed.

The main aim of the study was to compare Grade Eleven students enrolled in the Academic (Matriculation) Program in Newfoundland high schools with students enrolled in the General (Non-Matriculation) Program on socio-economic, background, community, and school factors.

The study was based on information obtained from a questionnaire sent to all students in Grade Eleven in the Province of Newfoundland. The questionnaire was part of a study being conducted by Memorial University on the drop in university enrollment which occurred in 1973-74. The population for the study was all those students registered in Grade Eleven in the Province who returned usable responses to the **Career Decisions of Newfoundland Youth** questionnaire. A computer program was used to provide descriptive statistics for the Academic and General groups of students on the socio-economic, background, community and school factors.

When the results from the research instrument were analyzed, it was found that with the exception of sex, the Academic and General Program students differed significantly with respect to the chosen variables.

The results showed that the area of the Province in which the student lived was a significant factor in relation to the students' program of study. The East Coast of the Province, for example, had a smaller percentage of its students registered in the Academic Program than did other parts of the Province. The urban area had a larger percentage of its students registered in Academic Programs than did rural areas. The Avalon area, when compared with the Non-Avalon area, had the largest percentage of students in the Academic Program.

The major findings of this study are summarized by a presentation of the hypothesis and the conclusions reached. Each hypothesis was tested using the Chi Square Test of Significance with the significance level set at 0.0001.

Hypothesis 1: There is no significant relationship between sex and the student's high school program of study.

It was found that sex was not significantly related to the program in which the student enrolls. The null hypothesis could therefore be accepted.

Hypothesis 2: There is no significant relationship between parents' occupation and a student's high school program of study.

The null hypothesis was rejected. Those students whose parents were employed in the more prestigious occupations were more likely to be found in the Academic Program while those with parents of lower occupational status were more likely to be found in the General Program. There was a significant relationship between parents' occupation and a student's program of study.

Hypothesis 3: There is no significant relationship between parents' unemployment record and a student's high school program of study.

The null hypothesis was rejected. An analysis of the employment records of fathers showed that students from families with no record of unemployment were more likely to be found in the Academic Program than were students from families with a record of some unemployment. Although for both groups

the percentage of students found in the Academic Program was greater than that found in the General Program, the percentage for some of those whose fathers experienced unemployment was much lower in the Academic Program than in the General. A significant relationship was found between a parents' unemployment record and a student's high school program of study.

Hypothesis 4: There is no significant relationship between parents' education and a student's high school program of study.

The null hypothesis was rejected. An analysis of the data on fathers' and mothers' education revealed that the higher the educational level of the parents, the higher was the percentage of students enrolled in the Academic Program and the lower the educational level of the parents the higher was the percentage enrolled in the General Program. It was concluded that there was a significant relationship between parent's education and a student's high school program of study.

Hypothesis 5: There is no significant relationship between size of family and a student's high school program of study.

An analysis of the data on family size revealed that the smaller the family the larger the percentage of students enrolled in the Academic program and the larger the family the larger the percentage enrolled in the General Program. The null hypothesis was rejected. The analysis showed that a significant relationship existed between size of family and a student's high school program of study.

Hypothesis 6: There is no significant relationship between the number of older brothers and sisters attending post-secondary institutions and the student's high school program of study.

An analysis of the data revealed that the larger the number of older siblings attending post-secondary institutions, the larger the percentage of students in the Academic Program and the smaller the percentage in the General Program. The null hypothesis was rejected. A significant relationship was revealed between older siblings attending post-secondary institutions and a student's high school program of study.

Hypothesis 7: There is no significant relationship between the region in which a student lives and his high school program of study.

This null hypothesis was tested using three different indicators of region; first was the division of the Province into eight regions, next was the urban/rural dichotomy and finally the division of the Province into Avalon and Non-Avalon regions. With all indicators used, the analysis of the data revealed that the region in which a student lives bears a significant relationship to the high school program of study in which the student is enrolled. The null hypothesis was rejected.

The results obtained from this study showed that students enrolled in the Academic Program differed from students enrolled in the General Program on parents' occupations, parents' unemployment record, parents' level of education, size of family, number of siblings attending post-secondary institutions, and the area where the students reside. The percentages fluctuated according to the strength of the variables tested.

Those socio-economic variables were strongly related to the program of study in which a student was enrolled. The study indicates that the lower the socio-economic status of a student's family, the greater was the possibility of his being enrolled in the General Program. The background of the student thus may be a limiting factor in his high school studies.

The analysis of the data indicated area of residence was also related to the high school program of study in which a student was enrolled. Students living in certain regions of Newfoundland appeared to

have a greater chance of being enrolled in the Academic Program than in the General Program than those living in other areas.

The major implication arising from this study is that high school students in Newfoundland are limited by three groups of factors over which they have little control. They are limited by their family background, their place of residence and the educational facilities available to them.

Schools, it would appear, tend to sort out students, according to their socio-economic background. The schools of this Province do not appear to be 'the great leveling agents' many would like them to be. The high schools, by sorting according to socio-economic standing, are making it possible for those differing socio-economic status to maintain their positions. Generally, upper class students are enrolled in the Academic Program and are bound for university and the positions it offers. Generally students in lower socio-economic groups are in the General Program and are bound for vocational and technical schools; thus, the status quo is maintained. There would appear to be a need for the high school to reassess its function and to establish programs to help overcome the barriers posed by the students' family background.

The barriers placed upon a student by his area of residence can be eradicated more through policies of school boards and the Department of Education than by individual schools acting alone. The school boards and the Department of Education are responsible for education over a much wider area and therefore have greater influence on policy making and budgets than do individual schools. There is a need for school boards and the Department of Education to realize that educational opportunities are not always the same for all students in the Province and indeed for all students in a given district. There is a need to recognize that the need for assistance is often greater in rural areas. There is a need for additional personnel, courses and physical facilities to ensure that all students, regardless of area of residence, have equality of access to education.

AUTHORS' NOTE

This paper is a summary of a thesis submitted by Gordon Day under the direction of Dr. L. Parsons. For details regarding theoretical rationale, review of literature and methodology, see Gordon Day, "**An Analysis of General and Academic High School Students in Newfoundland on Family Background, Area of Residence and School Size and Type Factors,**" Department of Educational Administration, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

FAMILY SIZE AND CAREER DECISIONS

Catherine Parsons M.Ed, and Dr., Llewellyn Parsons

Rehberg and Westby (9:1967) found that the larger the family, the greater the reduction in (1) the frequency which the parents encourage their children to continue their education beyond high school and, (2) the effectiveness of any given frequency level of parental educational encouragement.

Porter (8:1972) also studied the relationship of family size and educational plans and the post-secondary expectations of students in the high, medium, and low socio-economic status levels from families with two, three, four and five or more children. At each class level expectations were related to family size. It was found that for the higher classes only 44 percent of children from families with five or more children expected to go to university, compared to 61 percent from two-children families. In the 'medium' class level thirty percent of children from five-or-more-children families, compared to 50 percent from two-children families expected to go to university. And finally in the lower class level 16 percent from five-or-more-children families compared to 28 percent from two-children families expected to go.

Family size, it may be concluded, is related to educational intentions and it may be hypothesized that students from small families have greater educational opportunity than those from larger families.

Conceptual Framework

A simplistic conceptual model was set up to relate the different levels of family size to the career decisions of Grade XI students (1973-74). This model is presented in Figure 1.

A second aspect of this model relates family size to the degree programmes selected by those students who planned to attend Memorial University of Newfoundland (See Figure 2).

The Problem

The problem was to investigate the relationship between family size and (1) the career decisions of Newfoundland Grade XI students (1973-74) and, (2) the degree programmes selected by those students who planned to attend Memorial University. More specifically an attempt was made to answer the following questions:

1. What were the relationships between family size and the career decisions of Grade XI students (1973-74)?
2. What were the relationships between family size and the degree programmes selected by those Grade XI students (1973-74) who planned to attend Memorial University?
3. What was the relationship between family size and the decisions of Grade XI students (1973-74) to enroll at Memorial University and to enroll at other post-secondary institutions or not to proceed to further education?

Review of Literature

Several studies conducted in different countries revealed a negative relationship between family size and educational plans. Breton (3:1972) found that the size of the family is negatively correlated with educational intentions, the correlation being stronger with high schools plans than with post-secondary plans. He found that the effect of family size, however, was somewhat reduced when socioeconomic background was controlled, particularly with post-secondary intentions.

Family size was classified according to the scale: one or two children; three or four children; five or six children; seven or eight children; nine or more children.

The contingency model argues that family size is not only related to the career decisions of Grade XI students but also related to the degree programmes selected by those students who planned to attend Memorial University.

Analysis of the Data

The data used in this study was a sub-section of the data collected by The Committee on 1973 Enrollment at Memorial University under the chairmanship of Dr. Llewellyn Parsons. Cross-tabulations and contingency coefficients were used relating the following variables:

1. Family size.
2. Post-Secondary School (First Choice).
3. Memorial University degree sought.

The chi square value for family size and Grade XI students' (1973-74) first choice of a post-secondary school was 215.18 with 48 degrees of freedom. The chi square value for family size and degree programmes in which students planned to enroll at Memorial University was 266.8 with 104 degrees of freedom. In each instance the chi square value was significant at .0001 level.

A. Relationship of Family Size to Grade XI Students' (1973-75) First Choice of a Post-Secondary School

Table I shows the post-secondary plans of Grade XI students of 1973-74 who came from families of differing sizes. It can be seen from this table that the largest percentage of those students who had one or no other brother or sister planned to attend Memorial University. Almost thirty-eight percent of all the students of this family size (one to two children) planned to attend Memorial University while 22.6 percent of all the students of this family size planned to attend the College of Trades and Technology and 17.5 percent of all the students of the same family size planned to go to vocational schools were from this family size.

It can also be seen from the table that the largest percentage of students who had three or four children in the family planned to attend Memorial University. Although the percentage is not as high, this is the same pattern as was observed when students came from families of one or two children. The data suggest that there was a greater likelihood that students who came from small families would plan to attend Memorial University.

Table 1
Post-Secondary School (First Choice) By Family Size

No. of children in Family	Post-Secondary School (First Choice: Percentages)							Percentage of Sample
	College of Trades and Technology	College of Fisheries	Vocational Schools	M.U.N.	Other Universities	School of Nursing	Other	
40179	22.6	2.6	17.5	37.5	6.3	9.9	3.5	10.5 (536)
40240	26.2	2	20.1	32.8	5.8	9.7	3.4	28.1 (1432)
40303	28.2	2.3	25.7	25.4	3.6	10.5	4.3	25.5 (1300)
40366	29.7	2.9	28.5	20.9	3.5	10.2	4.3	15.8 (807)
9 or more	26.2	3.3	33.6	17.7	2.6	11.9	4.7	20.0 (1017)

Table 2

M.U.N. Degree Sought by Grade XI Students

No. of children in Family	M.U.N. Degree Sought: Percentages									
	Bachelor of Arts	Bachelor of Science	Bachelor of Commerce	Bachelor of Nursing	Education Degree	Conjoint Education Degree	Bachelor of Engineering	Pre-Forestry	Bachelor of Medical Science	Percentage of Sample
40179	18.7	15.3	11.9	11	10	7.7	7.3	4.6	13.4	13.2 (261)
40240	15.6	14	11	12.9	13.2	8.5	7.9	3.5	13.5	32.1 (636)
40303	15.1	10.9	10.5	12.4	23.3	8.6	8	2.7	8.6	24.1 (477)
40366	13.4	7	8.7	13.7	17.1	10	8.4	6	15.7	15.1 (299)
9 or more	13.5	8.6	4.6	16.5	25.7	9.2	9.2	5.6	6.9	15.3 (303)

Again, the table shows that the largest percentage of students who had five or six children in the family planned to attend the College of Trades and Technology, vocational schools, and Memorial University, in that order. The twenty-five percent of students from this family size who planned to attend Memorial University is significantly lower than the 37.5 percent of students from families in which there were one or two children in the family. A significant increase in the number of students who planned to attend the College of Trades and Technology and vocational schools is associated with this increase in family size.

The table also shows the post-secondary plans of Grade XI students (1973-74) who came from families of seven or eight children. It can be seen that the largest percentage of students who came from families of seven and eight children planned to attend the College of Trades and Technology or vocational schools. The data suggest that there is a greater likelihood that students who came from this family size would attend the College of Trades and Technology or vocational schools, rather than Memorial University.

With regard to Grade XI students of 1973-74 who came from families with nine or more children, it can be seen from the table that the largest percentage of students of this family size planned to attend vocational schools or the College of Trades and Technology. Although the percentages are more pronounced, this is the same pattern as was observed when students came from families with seven or eight children. This suggests that the larger the family the larger the percentage of students who planned to attend the College of Trades and Technology or vocational schools.

B. The Relationship of Family Size and Degree Programmes Selected by Grade XI Students 1973-74 who planned to attend Memorial University

Table II shows the degree programmes selected by Grade XI students (1973-74) who planned to attend Memorial University and who came from families of different sizes. It can be seen from this table that the largest percentage of students who came from families of one or two children planned to pursue a Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, Bachelor of Medical Science or Bachelor of Commerce degree in that order.

Again, from the table it can be seen that a high percentage of students who had three or four children in the family planned to enroll in a Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, Bachelor of Commerce or Bachelor of Medical Science degree programmes. The percentages of the students planning to enroll in these degree programmes were not as high as the percentages for these programmes found for students from smaller families. Also, Table II shows that a relatively high percentage of students who came from families with three or four children planned to enroll in a Bachelor of Nursing or a single Education degree program. The percentages for these two degree programmes increased whereas the percentage of students planning to enroll in non-teacher-education programmes decreased.

Again, the table shows that the largest percentage of students who came from families with five or six children planned to enroll in a single Education degree programme. Once more, the percentage of students who planned to enroll in Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, and Bachelor of Commerce degree programmes has decreased.

It can also be seen from the table that the largest percentage of students who came from families with seven or eight children planned to enroll in a Bachelor of Nursing or a single Education degree programme.

Table II shows the degree programmes selected by Grade XI students (1973-74) who planned to attend Memorial University and who came from families with nine or more children. Again the same pattern can be found here as for students from families with seven or eight children. The greatest percentage of students who came from families of nine or more planned to enroll in a Bachelor of Nursing or Single Education degree programme.

Summary and Recommendations

The following conclusions were apparent from the analysis of the data:

1. Family size was strongly related to students' plans for enrollment at all post-secondary schools.
2. In general the smaller the family the larger the percentage of students who planned to enroll at Memorial University. The percentage of students who planned to go to University and who came from a family in which there were nine or more children was barely half the percentage of students who planned to go to University and who had one or two children in the family.
3. It was found that the larger the family the greater the percentage of students who planned to go to the College of Trades and Technology and/or vocational schools.
4. The majority of students who planned to attend universities outside the Province came from small families
5. There was no significant relationship between family size and the percentage of students who planned to go to the College of Fisheries and/or nursing schools.

6. The percentage of students who planned to enroll in the various degree programmes at Memorial University was related to the size of their families.
7. The larger the family the smaller the percentage of students who planned to enroll in the Bachelor of Arts and other non-teacher education degree programmes at Memorial University.
8. Students from smaller families were more likely to enroll in Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, or Bachelor of Commerce degree programmes than were students from larger families.
9. The larger the family the larger the percentage of students who planned to enroll in a degree programme leading to a single Bachelor of Education or a Bachelor of Nursing degree (Figure 3), if they planned to attend university.
10. There was also a very small percentage of student who planned to enroll in conjoint degrees in Education of the Pre-Forestry degree programme. No significant relationship between family size and these two degree programme was found.

The study showed that family size is strongly related to students' post-secondary education decisions. It is recommended that in the interest of the fullest development of the students, guidance be provided so that each and every student may make a selection of their postsecondary schools on the basis of ability, need and interest.

No student in this Province should be penalized or deprived of an education because he/she happens to come from a large family. There should be equality of educational opportunity regardless of family size and income.

There is still much that is unknown about the process of post-secondary educational choices, the factors which contribute to the various stages of post-secondary educational choices, and what can be done to facilitate the process for the benefit of the individual. Further research in this area is needed.

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**CAREER DECISIONS OF NEWFOUNDLAND YOUTH SUMMARY OF FACTORS
RELATED TO THE OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND
EXPECTATIONS OF NEWFOUNDLAND GRADE XI STUDENTS, 1974**

Dr. C. Llewellyn Parsons

Background Factors and Students' Aspirations

1. Females aspired more to upper middle class occupations than did males.
2. The higher the occupational level of the father the higher were the occupational aspirations of the student.
3. The more unemployment experienced by the father the lower were the aspirations of the student.
4. The higher the educational level of the father, the higher were the aspirations of the student.
5. The smaller the size of the family the higher were the aspirations of the student.

Experiences and Students' Aspirations

1. Generally students who were registered in the academic study program aspired to upper middle class occupations; students who were registered in the general study program aspired to working class occupations.
2. The higher the students' perceived knowledge of post-secondary schools the higher were the students' aspirations.
3. The lower the students' perceived knowledge of Memorial University the more likely the students were to aspire to working class occupations.
4. Students with working class aspirations perceived that it would be easier to obtain a job after graduation with a Bachelor of Arts degree than did students with upper middle class aspirations.
5. The higher the students' self concepts, the higher were their aspirations.
6. Those students who did not plan to attend Memorial University generally held working class aspirations.

Background Factors and Students' Expectations

1. Female students tended more towards upper middle class occupational expectations than did male students.
2. Students' occupational expectations were similar to fathers' occupational levels.
3. Students from homes where fathers had experienced unemployment generally had lower occupational expectations than those of students from homes where fathers had experienced continuous employment.
4. The higher the father's educational level the higher were the student's occupational expectations.
5. Students from small families generally expected to enter upper middle class occupations; children from large families generally expected to enter lower middle or working class occupations.
6. Students in grade eleven who were registered in the academic study program generally held higher occupational expectations than did those students registered in the general study program.

Experience and Students' Expectations

1. Students who perceived that they knew 'a lot' about post-secondary schools generally held higher occupational expectations than did those students who perceived that they lacked such knowledge.
2. The group of students who perceived that they knew 'little' about Memorial University held lower middle and working class expectations.

3. Generally students who perceived that it would be easy to obtain employment after graduation from a post-secondary school held higher occupational expectations than did students who perceived it would be difficult to obtain a job after graduation.
4. Those students with working class expectations perceived that it would be more difficult to obtain a job after graduation from Memorial University than did those students with upper middle class expectations. Students who perceived that employment would be available for the graduate with a non-teacher education degree generally held higher occupational expectations than did those students who perceived that employment would be difficult to obtain.
5. Students who held upper middle class expectations generally perceived that it would be difficult for the Memorial University graduate with a Bachelor of Arts degree to obtain employment.
6. Students who perceived the social environment of Memorial University to be acceptable also held higher occupational expectations than did those students who perceived the social environment to be unacceptable.

Self Concept and Expectations

1. The higher the student's self-concept of ability, the higher were his occupational expectations.
2. The higher the student's sense of control over environment the higher were his occupational expectations.

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING BACKGROUND FACTORS RELATED TO ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS OF STUDENTS

1. There was a wide discrepancy between the occupations students desired and the occupations students expected to obtain.
2. The background factors in order of strength of relationship to the discrepancy between students' aspirations and expectations were:
 - (a) sex of students: the discrepancy between upper middle class aspirations and expectations was higher for males than females. A greater proportion of males who aspired to upper middle occupations expected working class jobs than did females.
 - (b) self-concept: those students with a low concept of their ability showed a lower expectancy in obtaining the occupations to which they aspired than did those students with a high concept of their ability.
 - (c) obtaining a degree from Memorial University: those students who intended to complete a degree from Memorial University held a higher degree of congruency between aspirations and expectations than did those students who did not intend to graduate from Memorial University.
 - (d) fathers' occupations: the lower the fathers' class of occupation the higher was the discrepancy between students' aspirations and expectations.
 - (e) perceived knowledge of Memorial University: the less students perceived to know about Memorial University the higher was the discrepancy between their aspirations and expectations.
 - (f) jobs after graduation from Memorial University: the more difficult students perceived it to be to obtain jobs after graduation from university the less they expected to attain the occupations to which they aspired.

Financial Support Factors and Students' Aspirations

1. The closeness of the post-secondary school to the home was of more concern to students who aspired to lower middle and upper working class jobs than for students who aspired to upper middle class occupations.

2. The factor of "getting paid to attend post-secondary schools" was of greater importance for students who aspired to lower middle and upper working class jobs than for those students who aspired to upper middle class jobs.
3. Job opportunities for university graduates were of more concern for those students who aspired to upper middle class jobs than for those who aspired to lower middle and upper working class jobs.
4. The length of the training period was rated of higher importance for those students who aspired to lower middle class and upper working class jobs than for those students who aspired to upper middle class occupations.
5. Money received from summer and/or part-time jobs was much more important for those students who aspired to lower middle class and upper working class jobs than for those students who aspired to upper middle class jobs.
6. Students who aspired to upper middle class occupations depended more heavily on Canada Student Loans for financial support than did those students who aspired to lower middle class and upper working class jobs.

Financial Support Factors and Students Expectations

1. Closeness of the post-secondary school to home was of greater importance for those students expecting lower middle and working class jobs than for those students expecting upper middle class jobs.
2. 'Getting paid to attend a post-secondary school' was of greater importance to those students expecting lower middle and working class jobs than it was for those students expecting upper middle class jobs.
3. 'Shorter training period' was perceived to be more important for those students expecting lower middle and working class occupations than for those students expecting upper middle class occupations.
4. 'Finding accommodations with friends and relatives' was more important to those students expecting lower middle and working class occupations than for those students expecting upper middle class occupations.
5. The higher the occupational class expectations, the smaller the percentage of students who expected all of their financial support from summer jobs and/or part-time employment.
6. Students who expected upper middle class occupations were more dependent on Canada Student Loans for their education than were students with other occupational expectations.

Conclusions regarding Financial and Proximal Factors related to the Discrepancy between Students' Aspirations and Expectations

As noted previously, there was a wide discrepancy between the occupations students desired and the occupations they actually expected. The background factors most strongly related to this discrepancy were found to be: (1) sex of student, (2) students' self-concept, (3) obtaining a university degree, (4) fathers' occupations, (5) perceived knowledge of Memorial University and, (6) perceptions of job opportunities after graduation. In analyzing the discrepancy between aspirations and expectations three

financial support factors were strongly related to the differences between the occupation a student desired and the occupation he actually expected. These three factors in order of importance were:

1. The availability of summer and/or part-time jobs to help student finance his education. The more financial help available through summer jobs the higher was the congruency between aspirations and expectations.
2. Being paid to attend a post-secondary school, and financial aid available from all sources, the more financial aid students could receive the less was the discrepancy between the students' aspirations and expectations.
3. Post-secondary schools being close to home. For those aspiring to lower middle and working class occupations closeness to home was related to congruency between the occupations students desired and the occupations they expected. Students perceived that it would cost less to study close to home.

Aspirations and Expectations of Students by Regions

1. There were wide discrepancies between the aspirations and expectations of Newfoundland students. Congruency between aspirations and expectations varied with geographic location. Students on the Great Northern Peninsula and the north-east coast showed the highest discrepancies between aspirations and expectations.
2. Students from urban regions held higher aspirations than did students from rural areas.
3. There were no differences between the aspirations of students who lived on the Avalon Peninsula and those who did not. However, there were significant differences between the expectations of Avalon and non- Avalon students.
4. A greater percentage of students from Central, Avalon and West Coast regions of the Province expected upper middle class occupations than did students in other regions.

The Occupations which Students Desired (Aspirations)		
Group I		
Owners of large business Owners of small business Professional/Technical	6.7% 3.1% <u>42.3%</u>	52.1%
Group II		
Sales Clerical Service and Recreation Transportation & Communication	9.1% .9% 6.3% <u>4.9%</u>	21.2%
Group III		
Craftsmen	<u>7.3%</u>	7.3%
Group IV		
Fishing Farming Logging and Mining Labourers	0.4% 0.7% 0.7% <u>0.9%</u>	

		2.7%
Group V		
Housewives and Others	<u>16.7%</u>	<u>16.7%</u>
	TOTAL	<u>100.0%</u>

The Occupations which Students Expected (Expectations)		
Group I		
Owners of large business Owners of small business Professional/Technical	1.6% 2.1% <u>34.6%</u>	38.3%
Group II		
Sales Clerical Service and Recreation Transportation & Communication	12.6% 5.5% 3.8% <u>.4%</u>	22.3%
Group III		
Craftsmen	<u>9.2%</u>	9.2%
Group IV		
Fishing Farming Logging and Mining Labourers	0.4% 0.5% 9.2% <u>4.2%</u>	14.3%
Group V		
Housewives and Others	<u>15.9%</u>	<u>15.9%</u>
	TOTAL	<u>100.0%</u>

THE PROBLEM OF REPEATING IN OUR SCHOOLS

Dr. Ishmael J. Baksh

Non-Promotion

Let's talk about non-promotion.

It is perhaps true that in Newfoundland — as in many other places — only a small proportion of pupils is asked to repeat grades. Nevertheless, as teachers we are interested in promoting successful learning in all our pupils. Therefore, I'm sure you will agree that since repeating a grade may be a significant event in the child's school career — probably affecting his chances in life as well — it may be important for us to take a closer look at the policy of non-promotion.

An important question immediately arises. How do we usually explain our acceptance of such a policy? That is, what are the reasons we generally offer for requiring pupils to repeat grades?

I suggest that our reasons frequently — perhaps mainly — reflect psychological and administrative concerns. In other words, we tend to consider only psychological factors or administrative advantages in determining who will repeat and who will not.

Now I'm not implying for a moment that psychological and administrative considerations are unnecessary or unimportant. They are perfectly legitimate. They are relevant in various ways to what goes on in the school. All I'm suggesting is that overemphasis on such considerations at the expense of others may lead us to overlook some factors which may be relevant to the issue of promotion versus non-promotion.

An Additional Perspective

I suggest that the psychological perspective we usually adopt tends to put all the blame for "failure" squarely on the pupils. We tend to see our pupils as possessing an extremely wide range of ability. If Johnny and Susie are not "successful" in school work we often assume that it must be because they are "dull" or "backward". It must be because they are somehow lacking in "ability". The cause of failure, we think, resides for the most part in Johnny and Susie, or in their home environment, or in some such thing.

In adopting such a viewpoint we may — perhaps unintentionally — ignore a variety of potential reasons for the apparent failure to learn by Johnny and Susie. If a sociological perspective were added — that is, if teaching were seen as a process of interaction, as a social phenomenon — then other possible reasons for the pupils' "failure" may become apparent.

Thus, Johnny may perform below his real potential because his experiences at school — his interactions with teachers and others — may have resulted in his developing a poor self-concept. Susie may be performing below her true potential because she feels that her teacher or other people important to her do not really expect her to do well. In Susie's case, therefore, the self-fulfilling prophecy may be the primary reason for the lack of "success". Again, Joey may be "unsuccessful" because his teachers are required to transmit subject-matter in which values alien to his own may be implicit. He finds the curriculum meaningless. And so on.

When we talk about schools, we often think of school buildings, facilities, qualification of teachers, money, curriculum, administrative set up. We talk about good schools and bad schools based upon criteria which take into consideration the above factors. The school with more facilities and certified

teachers is thought of as a good school and those lacking the facilities and certified teachers are classified as bad schools.

The above factors do not directly influence the learning-teaching processes. The crucial factor is what happens in the classroom situation, i.e., how the teacher and students interact in the classroom and define the classroom situation.

What are some of the most important factors which are usually ignored by most people? These are: (1) the way in which the system, the school and the classroom are organized, (2) the atmosphere or climate of the school, (3) the attitude and prejudices of teachers, (4) the expectations of teachers and administrators, (5) the interactions and relationships between teachers and pupils in the classroom, (6) the way teachers, administrators talk about students in the staff-room, etc. (For detailed discussion of these variables see William Ryan, *Blaming the Victim*).

I'm suggesting that where such causes of pupils' "failure" are dominant, non-promotion is not likely to be an effective way of helping pupils. For example, Johnny's self-concept may not be enhanced when he is asked to repeat a grade. It may, in fact, become poorer. Consequently, the quality of his performance at school may deteriorate. Similarly, if we ask Susie to repeat her grade we are in effect informing her that we do not think she can do more advanced work. She is therefore unlikely to try harder. In Joey's case, the difficulty continues because the curriculum remains the same.

Furthermore, viewing the classroom situation as a form of social interaction (involving teacher and pupils) forces us to recognize that the pupils in our classes have their own interpretations of what goes on in the classroom. For example, how does Mary perceive the teacher? Does she feel that her teacher likes her? Does she feel that her teacher is interested in her? Or does she feel just the opposite? If she feels that her teacher dislikes her, the chances are she may not be encouraged to do her best.

The point is that if we overemphasize psychological and administrative considerations of the kind generally used to justify the policy of non-promotion, we are likely to overlook factors such as those discussed above. If this happens, we tend to proceed as if our psychological and administrative reasons are sufficient to justify our asking pupils to repeat a grade.

We tend to say that pupils who "fail" are, generally, deficient in some way. They must therefore repeat the grade so that they'll have another opportunity to master the "basics" needed for doing the work of the following grade. We argue, too, that making pupils repeat is administratively convenient. The teacher in the next higher grade does not receive the most "backward" pupils from the lower one. Consequently, she will find it easier to manage her class and to cope with the "range of ability" in it.

Thus, we frequently act on the basis of two main assumptions. One is that pupils who "fail" do so largely because of their own limitations: they simply do not have much "ability". The other is that it is administratively convenient to have dull pupils stay back since this makes classes more manageable.

Of course, the situation is not really that simple.

A Complex Situation

First of all, pupils fail for many different reasons. Examples of reasons developed from a sociological perspective have been suggested above (for example, self-fulfilling prophecy, self-concept). As indicated above, also, non-promotion may not be an effective way of helping pupils who "fail" because of such factors.

It is perhaps not surprising to discover, then, that many of the repeaters do not improve upon their previous year's performance. In fact, some pupils actually do worse when they are asked to spend an

extra year in a grade. A few repeaters do better work, but the majority do not improve upon their previous year's performance (see, for example, the selected readings at the end of this paper).

Also, administration of a class is not really made easier by a policy of non-promotion. Research evidence suggests that the range of performance in a particular class is not greatly reduced by keeping out those pupils who have "failed" in the lower grade. The teacher still has a complex group of pupils with which to cope.

Once more, a sociological perspective proves to be useful. It provides at least partial insight with regard to why the complexity of classes may not be reduced substantially — if at all — by non-promotion.

Such a perspective may include parents and others outside the school as part of the social network involved in the child's education. It then becomes clear that individuals outside the school may actively influence what goes on within it.

There is evidence that, often, little or no difference exists in terms of school performance between pupils who are promoted and those who are asked to repeat. The fact is that many parents may succeed in having their children promoted because they actively oppose the attempt by the school to make their children repeat a grade. It seems, in other words, that some pupils may repeat mainly because their parents do not or cannot make an effort on their behalf.

In such cases it cannot be said that psychological or administrative considerations have been the main criteria for promotion or non-promotion. The truth is that influence or power of individuals outside the school has been the important factor here.

Some Implications

The foregoing discussion raises a number of points. First of all, we have seen — in adopting a sociological perspective — that we do not necessarily help pupils by asking them to repeat a grade. Varied factors may lead to "failure" on the part of pupils and non-promotion may not meet the needs of specific boys and girls.

Secondly, the problem of criteria employed in separating repeaters from non-repeaters seems to call for attention. In the light of the discussion above, we may conclude that the problem is not quite as simple as it has appeared to be. Since a variety of factors may result in pupils' inability to do well, a criterion such as "failure" appears to be too highly simplified. It does not recognize the diversity of the reasons why pupils "fail".

We need to consider the question of why specific pupils "fail" before we can prescribe ways of helping such children. In this connection, a perspective of the kind I have hinted at may be an additional asset to us in our attempt to deal with pupil "failure".

We probably need to acknowledge, also, that unstated criteria may sometimes enter and complicate the picture. One writer, recognizing the complexity of the issue of promotion versus non-promotion, suggests that unless we can establish beyond a doubt that repeating will contribute to the all-round development of the child we ought not to refuse the child a promotion.

Thirdly, we may raise a different, though related issue. Are there alternative educational objectives and strategies which may make it unnecessary for us to think in terms of promotion or non-promotion? I hope to return to this question in a later issue of **The Morning Watch**.

SELECTED READINGS

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THE PROCESS OF CULTURAL LEARNING AND THE FIXED ABILITY MODEL OF LEARNING

Dr. Amarjit Singh

A Perspective On Learning

At the very outset, I should point out that very little is understood about human learning. There is no theory of human learning which is all exclusive and final. Our knowledge about how people learn is very meagre. Boulding has recently remarked "that even after Piaget and all that, almost all that we have learned about human learning can be written on two or three pages. There is an enormous number of crossroads". Keeping this in mind, however, I wish to draw the attention of educators to some observations about the process of human learning which I find valuable. These observations are drawn from a social-psychological perspective on learning which emphasizes the importance of human interaction in a socio-cultural context.¹

Basic to the interactionist perspective is the assumption that human learning does not take place in isolation; it always takes place in a socio-cultural context. We as human beings find ourselves living in a socio-cultural environment of one kind or another. In this socio-cultural milieu we are **required** or **expected** to learn different patterns of behaviour.

Ralph Linton² has pointed out that each sociocultural system **expects** its younger generation to learn three kinds of behaviour: the universal behaviour, the alternate patterns of behaviour, and the specialized form of behaviour. Universal are those patterns of behaviour which are required or expected of all members of a society or a cultural group. No one is excluded. For example, all people are expected to learn the language of their society or cultural group (i.e., in England people learn English and in France all people are expected to learn French).

The alternate patterns are those behaviours which are selected by individuals or for the individuals by someone else. Each society provides alternate patterns of behaviour in some areas of behaviour. For example, in Newfoundland, although everyone is expected to learn English as a first language (universal), one can also learn French as a second language in schools. Thus some students end up learning two languages and others only one.

Similarly, parents, teachers, friends and "others" may **expect** some children to learn, let us say Algebra, while they may **expect** others to learn vocational skills. (The provision of differential curriculum for children in schools is an example of the way in which alternate patterns of behaviour are provided. The issue of differential curriculum vs. common curriculum thus becomes important in a stratified society. The questions involved are: who should be expected to learn what kind of alternate patterns of behaviour in schools? i.e., who should be expected to learn cognitive skills or vocational skills? What are the consequences of learning different kinds of alternate patterns of behaviour on the life chances of individuals in a stratified society?)

And, finally, Lipton points out that specialized forms of behaviour are those behaviours which are specific to particular members of society.

We all know that in most societies certain kinds of behaviour are prescribed for females and other kinds of behaviour are expected of males. This differential treatment of males and females in terms of expectations results in differential sex behaviour.

Because learning takes place in a socio-cultural context, it is appropriate to indicate how some interactionist theorists have used the terms culture and society. What is meant by culture here is this: that all people in particular society have some common behaviour, although there are various minor

differences between groups and within groups. For example, in a particular society the people speak the same language, dress essentially the same way, eat similar food, behave alike at public places, and have common belief and values.

There are many societies and cultures in the world. Also there are many sub-societies and sub-cultures within a country. Observations on children growing up in different socio-cultural milieu in different nations indicate that the differences between groups and the commonality within groups are **learned**. Thus, the term "culture" is used here to indicate "these similarities of behaviour within a given group and differences between groups".

Culture and society are two closely associated concepts. Each particular society has its own culture. There is no society without culture and vice versa. Thus a society may be defined "as an organized group of individuals and a culture as an organized group of learned responses characteristic of a particular society".

The significant point is "that culture is learned behaviour associated with a particular society...." This observation is of particular relevance and significance "because teaching and learning the culture is the essence of education in any society".³ (Underlines mine)

Now if the culture is learned by all people in a particular society, some important questions which may have important implications for learning in schools are raised: What are the processes at work in society which make learning of universal behaviour by all people possible? How do almost 100 per cent people learn these behaviours — for example, language, eating habits, relationships between the sexes, etc?

The main idea is that if we know how culture is learned by 100 per cent of the people in society, and if we could somehow organize the structure of our schools in such a way that it would become possible to transplant those cultural processes in it, then it might be possible for educators to meet their professed responsibility, that is, of making everyone who comes to school learn "functionally".⁴ The underlying assumption is that school behaviours such as learning Algebra, Science, etc., which only some people end up learning within the classroom situation, are acquired through the same processes through which other cultural behaviours such as language, eating habits, sex roles are learned outside the schools by almost all the people.

What is the nature of culture and society? Brookover and Erickson make the following two observations about the nature of culture and society in order to gain some insights⁵ which might be relevant for the analysis of the processes related to human learning.

1. "Human beings learn to behave in many different ways. There is not a single language but scores of languages characteristic of various societies around the world. There are widely differing patterns of behaviour in almost any aspect of human life — religion, values, relations of men and women, dress, eating, and sleeping. Human organisms apparently have the ability to learn a very wide range of behaviour — whatever is appropriate in their society."
2. "Nearly all members of each society learn certain behaviour patterns commonly expected in the society; Americans (also Canadians) often discuss the difficulty of learning a foreign language and the relative complexity of various languages. In this we imply that some people cannot learn some languages, but with very rare exceptions, every child in any society learns whatever language is provided and deemed appropriate and proper for him to learn regardless of its complexity. American (and also Canadian) schools generally provide foreign language instruction for only those students with presumably high language ability, in spite of the fact that even rather retarded French children learn to speak French. The same, of course, could be said for all aspects of the common cultural behaviours. Walking, food consumption, dress, religion, and a

complex pattern of relationship between sexes in each group, as well as many other aspects of the culture, are acquired by essentially all members of the society. This is such a universal phenomenon in every society including our own that no question is ever raised concerning the possibility that a newborn child will fail to acquire the appropriate patterns of human behaviour. And more important, almost 100 per cent of the children do learn such behaviour."⁶

The Process of Cultural Learning

If the above observations on the nature of society and culture are valid, significant questions may be raised: What are the actual processes involved through which cultural learning takes place? or, what makes the process of teaching and learning the common cultural behaviour so universally successful? Figure 1 indicates various aspects of the process of cultural learning.

The above observations on the learning process are drawn from theories in cultural anthropology and from the theories of interactionists like George Herbert Mead.⁸ Many of these theories were developed in North America. However, some of the observations and insights drawn from these theoretical perspectives are similar to the observations and insights that could be drawn from the contemporary psychological theories in the Soviet Union.

Many people have recognized the breakthrough in the field of psychology in the Soviet Union. But the orientation of such noted Soviet psychologists as Leontieva, Luria, Galperin, and Vygotsky have been only recently introduced in North America and Europe.⁹

The important point is that the basic assumptions of interactionists theorists and Soviet psychologists are the opposite of the assumptions of psychometric or measurement-oriented of the assumptions of psychometricians or measurement-oriented psychologists.¹⁰

The Fixed Ability Model

In North America and Europe the organization of learning (i.e., the actual practices carried out in school and universities, e.g., I.Q. testing, grouping, streaming, individualized curriculum, etc.) are greatly influenced by psychometrics.

For example, the concept which has been widely used to explain variations in learning in school is the concept of ability or mental intelligence. Brookover explained it this way:

"The prevailing conceptions of intelligence in our society are (1) that ability to learn is relatively fixed or unchangeable, and (2) that is predetermined by heredity. These beliefs assume that each individual has a limited ability to learn and that this ability is unaffected by external social forces. Another common assumption is that the fixed ability of individuals can be measured with reasonable accuracy by intelligence tests."

Based upon these beliefs, some psychologists (psychometricians) argue "that the differences in academic achievement are best explained by differences in capacity to learn, which are relatively fixed" and this belief, writes Brookover "is still carefully nurtured in many schools and universities."¹¹

The learning models that are built on the assumptions that the individual's ability is fixed, that it can be accurately measured by the various tests developed by psychologists since 1905,¹² have been identified by some educators and social scientists as the "bucket theory of intelligence". Brookover explains:

"The metaphor (i.e., the bucket) makes it possible to perceive of individuals as having varying capacities, potentials, or quantities which might be measured in terms of some scale. Associated with quantity and dimension is the conception of limit: the individual who has a small quantity or small dimension for learning cannot expand the size of his bucket. In most discussions of goals of education, educational leaders tend to emphasize the importance of educating the individual to the limits of his capacity."¹³

The educational practices involving "grouping", "streaming", "selecting", "individualized curriculum", "special education", "intelligence testing", etc., in some cases are apparently based upon the assumption underlying the fixed ability model. The fixed model, then, is said to be based upon a close-ended conception of human potentialities and seems to put unnecessary limits on the possibilities of educating those children who come to be identified (due to various historical, economic, political and social reasons)¹⁴ as slow learners or uneducable.

Many educators believe that they are all for educating everyone who comes to school but do not waste their time in qualifying their belief by saying that they are only committed to teaching an individual to the level of his/her "ability and achievement".¹⁵ This is, then, their cherished belief. Consciously or unconsciously they are operating within the framework of fixed ability models.

Some Implications

If someone asks me to write a manual for those involved in teaching in the real classroom situation and stop talking about theories, I will emphasize the following points in the manual:

1. Always remember that mental processes are not inherited as directly as is colour of eyes or colour of skin. They are influenced by historical processes.
2. Always remember that the founder of intelligence tests, Alfred Binet, conceived intelligence as process and not as an entity. He indicated "a child's mind is like a field for which an expert farmer has advised a change in the method of cultivating, with the result that in place of desert land, we now have a harvest. It is in this particular sense, the one which is significant, that we say that the intelligence of children may be increased".¹⁶
3. Always remember that scores on tests only indicate what a child has learned in the context of his/her past experiences. Test scores are not sure indicators of a child's potentials, especially if their environment changes.
4. Always remember that society creates its own ability level. It is self evident that large numbers of people in a given society keep learning their culture at increasingly complex levels.

5. Always remember that expectations of "significant others", i.e., teachers, principals, parents, peer groups, and members of one's community influence student's academic achievement to a very great extent.

FOOTNOTES

1. The perspective presented here was developed by W.B. Brookover and his associates. This article heavily draws from their book **Society, Schools and Learning**. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1970, second printing.
2. Lipton, Ralph. **The Study of Man**. New York: D. Appleton Century Co., 1936.
3. Brookover, W.B., et. al., op. cit., pp. 21-22.
4. I am aware of the dominant ideology in education profession. Most educators, as professionals, always claim that they and the schools are there to educate everybody to the limits of his/her capacity. Is there any limit beyond which a "normal" person cannot learn? This is the most crucial question that educators and social scientists must face.
5. Willard Waller, in his book **Sociology of Teaching** wrote that "Teacher training has done much to improve the general run of instruction, but it can do vastly more if it equips beginning teachers with **social insight** (underline mine). For it needs insight to put advance educational theories into practice when schools and communities are attracted to the old and antagonistic to the new. Insight will help teachers to keep a good school and it will help them to hold their jobs". (see the Preface to the First Science edition, 1965).
6. Brookover and Erickson, **op. cit.**, pp. 22-23.
7. For a more detailed discussion of the process of cultural learning, see Brookover and Erickson, **ibid.**, pp. 28-34.
8. Mead, G. Herbert. **Mind, Self and Society**. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934.
9. For a brief discussion on the developments in the field of psychology in the Soviet Union and for the relevance of the perspectives developed by Soviet psychology to the process of human learning, see Brian Simon's **Intelligence, Psychology and Education: A Marxist Critique**. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971.
10. **Ibid.**, read the introduction.
11. Brookover and Erickson, **op. cit.**, p. 3. Brookover is talking about the American society. But one observes that the same assumptions are prevalent in Canadian and Newfoundland society.
12. **Ibid.**
13. For a lucid commentary on the development of various tests and their use in schools in North America (especially in the United States), see Lawrence Cremin's **The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education 1876-1957**. New York: A Vintage Book, 1964.
14. Brookover and Erickson, **op. cit.**, p. 8.
15. I am here referring to the various modes of funding for special education and opportunity classes. Sometimes schools don't get funded if they don't have opportunity classes and special education

programmes. In such circumstances schools go out of their way to identify students who can be put in these groups. Thus, in many cases slow learners or uneducable are the creation of schools and society.

16. Here I am referring to the letter for the first time by Mr. R.L. Ryan which was sent to the editors of **The Morning Watch** in October. The same letter was published in the **NTA Bulletin**, Vol. XVII, No. 4, Dec., 1974.
17. Cited in Brookover and Erickson, **op. cit.**, p. 6.

SOMETHING MORE ABOUT THE SELF-CONCEPT OF ABILITY APPROACH IN EDUCATION

Dr. Amarjit Singh

In this article I am going to summarize and say something more about the main points I made in my last article "Self-Concept of Ability: A Positive Approach to Classroom Learning and Teaching" which appeared in the first issue of **The Morning Watch**.

The purpose of the self-concept of ability approach to learning is derived from consideration of the real social conditions in which our schools operate and in which we as teachers, students, parents, school administrators, professors, politicians, etc., work and live our lives.

Self-Concept Approach In Education: Some Important Points To Remember

In the last issue of **The Morning Watch** I pointed out:

1. that an individual's self-concept of ability — i.e. one's estimate of one's ability to do well in a given situation, e.g., in school — is one of the crucial factors in doing "well" in that situation;
2. that a person holds not one but many self-concepts;
3. that self-concept is not a fixed trait but changes in the process of experiencing new demands and expectations which society makes on its members;
4. that the development of an individual's self-concepts depends upon the social conditions and the commitment a society makes for bettering the lives of its people; and
5. that one tends to have positive self-concepts when one gets the opportunities to "succeed" in society.

Some of the points which I have enumerated above are drawn from more basic assumptions about human behaviour and society.¹

A prominent sociologist and educator has summarized these basic assumptions in the following ways:

1. "That the social norms and expectations of others define the appropriate behaviour for persons in various social situations,
2. Each person learns the definitions of appropriate behaviour through interaction with others who are important or significant to him,
3. The individual learns to behave in the ways that he perceives are appropriate or proper for him. The individual also acquires conceptions of his ability to learn various types of behaviour through interactions with others whose evaluations are important to him."²

Another prominent social psychologist has expressed the same ideas in the form of a model. According to this model "the actual responses of others to the individual (A) will be important in determining how the individual will perceive himself (P), this perception will influence his self-conception (S) which, in turn, will guide his behaviour" (B).³ This model is illustrated in a diagram form below:

A → P → S → B → = "leads to"

This model can be modified in the following way:

A → P → S → B = "leads to"

The dotted line returning to A suggests the snow-ball effect of this process. That is, an individual's behaviour affects the actual responses of others to the individual. Thus, over a long period of time, the cumulative effect of A and P on the development of individual's self-concept (S) and behaviour (B) seems to be very significant.

What Our Society and Culture Expect of Us, and What Our Perception of These Expectations is, are Crucial in the Development of Our Self-Concept of Ability

From the above discussion it should be clear that we acquire our self-concepts within the environment which our society and culture provide to us. This is illustrated in Figure 1.

Generally speaking distant environment includes a person's province, region and nation in which one lives and it also includes other nations in the world.

Immediate environment of a person generally includes one's family (i.e., parents, adult relatives, age group relatives, brothers, sisters), neighbourhood, playground, city, village, town, church and school.

A = An individual or a group
B = Immediate Environment
C = Distant Environment

In my first article, **Self-Concept of Ability: A Positive Approach to Classroom Learning and Teaching**, I pointed out that changes in the level of expectations in the distant environment level affect changes in the immediate environment level, and vice-versa.

It seems, therefore, that in order to bring about changes in people's self-concept of ability, changes at both levels of environment must take place.

Research on whether the distant environment or the immediate environment has more effect on the development of self-concept is not conclusive. Nor is it clear at which level change should occur first.

However, research in this area tends to support the point that changes in either level of environment bring changes in the other.⁴

Some Social Events Affecting Social Expectations and Individuals' Self-Concepts

There is some consensus that various social movements which got started at the national and local levels in the United States and in other countries during the nineteen sixties (e.g., Black Power

Movement, Anti-Poverty Movement, Anti-War Movement and Women's Liberation Movement, etc.) have greatly contributed to the changed self-images of blacks and other minority status groups.

For example, "black is beautiful" was learnt by individual blacks within the context of national and local black power movements and in the context of other social activities which were directed towards the liberation of black and other minority group people in the United States and other countries.

The demand for equal rights for women at all levels of society, including the family, seems to be greatly influenced by women's liberation movements at national and international levels.

One may cite the example of the first woman being elected as the mayor of St. John's and more women running for public offices these days locally as an indication of changes in social expectations and individuals' self-concepts of ability in **Newfoundland society**.

Let us take another example. Let us talk about Newfoundland a little more.

Confederation with Canada in 1949 was a big event for thousands of Newfoundlanders living in small communities and in urban centers. For many Newfoundlanders, this may be regarded as change in their distant level of environment.

By joining Canada, Newfoundland as a society, entered into a different level of aspirations and expectations.

For example, after Confederation, the standard of living in Newfoundland, the educational level of the people, etc., was being compared with national and international norms.

In order to achieve new goals the Provincial Government legislated and instituted social and economic development plans. The Federal Government, through its assistance programs, facilitated these plans.

All these things happened at the distant environment level, so to speak.

The impact of these plans was felt by individuals in small communities and in urban centers only after highways, roads, mass media, telephones, schools, shopping centers, cars, the university, etc., intruded into people's life at local level.

Once the winds of change brought Coco-Cola, Kentucky Fried Chicken and Juke Boxes along with other things in the homes of thousands of people living in Newfoundland they began to talk about these things. They began to think and imagine about their future and the future of their children in the light of new opportunities. They began to talk in a new language, so to speak. They started doing different things. Thus, their immediate environment changed.

Let us take more specific examples in the area of education in Newfoundland.

In the past only a few people in Newfoundland were expected to go to school; opportunities were limited. The limited expectations at the societal level and restricted opportunities at the local level produced an adult population with limited formal education. Dr. Kitchen draws our attention to the 1961 census according to which 47 per cent of the people of Newfoundland who lived in settlements under 1000, "40 per cent of those over 25 years of age had less than grade five education, 52 per cent of those over 45."⁵

But within the last twenty-five years a high percentage of children of these people (both sons and daughters) are now going to university and other educational institutions.

Why? Because education for our children became the aim after Confederation. Politicians, mass media and others talked a great deal about education. That is, a persistent demand was made upon the people in the province to get their children a "proper" education. Expectations were raised and opportunities were offered.

Once this image was created at the provincial level, most parents began to demand "good" educational facilities for their children.

Now, there is no question that everybody wants a "good" education and relatively higher standards of living for themselves and for their children. Parents, community, mass media, leaders, politicians, educators, friends, etc., all have helped in raising the expectation level of people in Newfoundland. Both adult and young now aspire to a "better" and "more relevant" education.

Thus, in summary, we can say that society creates its own level of expectations, aspirations, and opportunities. And individuals in it, through their efforts, respond to society's new goals and purposes.⁶

Some Implications for Education

Several researchers, in many countries, including Newfoundland, have conducted research in education and in other areas using the self-concept of ability approach as described above (refer to the model discussed in the beginning of this article).

The researchers in Newfoundland, Michigan, Lebanon and West Germany have tried to apply the self-concept theory to enhance achievement of adolescents in schools (grade seven through grade twelve.⁷)

More specifically, these researchers have tried to establish: (a) who were the persons who were perceived by adolescents in grades seven through twelve as important in their academic lives and their lives in general, (b) how adolescents' perception of the evaluations by those people whom they regarded important in their lives affected adolescents' self-concept of ability to perform well in subjects taught in schools, and (c) the relationship between the self-concept of ability of adolescents and their grade point average in schools.

So, there are three parts to this study. Let me point out some of the results which relate to each part of the study.

In Adolescents' View Who Are the "Significant" (important) People in their Academic Life and in their Lives in General

In Newfoundland, adolescents in grade seven indicated that fathers, mothers, teachers, friends, principals, counsellors and priests or ministers were very important in their lives.

In addition to this, they point out that their grandfathers, grandmothers, brothers and sisters were also important in their lives. More specifically, parents were more often named than any other person by the seventh grade students in all studies (i.e., in Michigan, West Germany, Lebanon and Newfoundland) as important in their lives.

But teachers were more often named by adolescents in all the studies as important in their academic lives. Parents were also considered by most adolescents as important in their academic lives.

Evaluation of Parents, Teachers, Friends and Principals, as Perceived by Adolescents in Newfoundland and Other Countries, is Related to their Self-Concept of Ability

The studies indicate that there is a positive relationship between evaluations of parents, teachers, friends and principals as perceived by the adolescents in grade seven through twelve and their self-concept of ability.

Evaluations by teachers, parents and students, seem to be more instrumental in shaping adolescents' "self-concept of ability in Newfoundland and in other places.

It seems therefore, as the theory of self-concept dictates, others' evaluations as perceived by the individuals, are important in the formation of one's self-concept of ability.

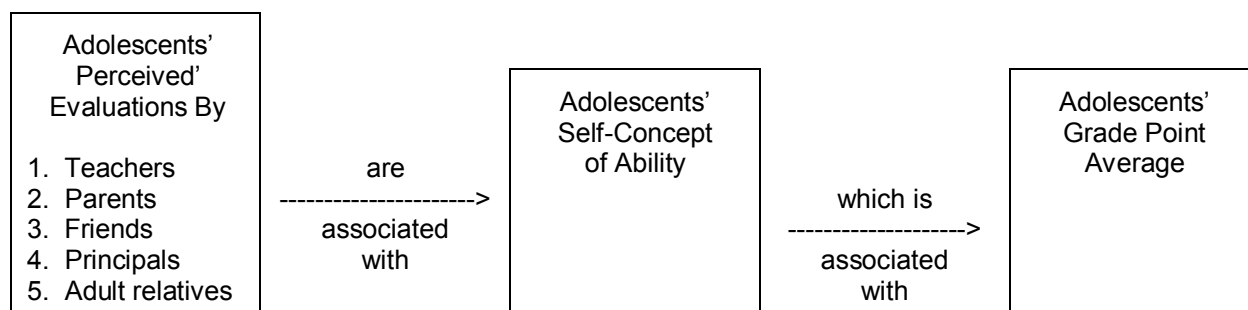
Self-Concept is Related to Grade Point Average

In all studies it was found that the self-concept of ability of adolescents was correlated with their grade point average.

Thus, it can be concluded that self-concept of ability is a crucial factor in achievement in schools.

The findings of the research conducted in Newfoundland and in other countries are presented in the diagram form in Fig. 2.

Figure 2



What Can Be Done?

So, if you are a concerned teacher, parent, principal, friend, grandfather, grandmother, be careful what you say—especially when Dr. Gushue reminds us that "sometimes words are like bullets" (see his article in this issue) — about Johnny's and Susan's ability to do well in school.

If you all expect Johnny and Susan to perform well in school, and if Johnny and Susan think that you all really mean it, chances are much greater that they will do well in schools.

Expect them to do well in school, encourage them to do well in school, and create the social environment for them to do well and see what happens.

And you have to do these things consistently for some time with the conviction that Johnny and Susan are going to learn whatever you are teaching them, regardless of the level of your subject matter.

If Johnny and Susan are put in various groups and are labelled as "slow learner", "culturally deprived", "nonverbal", "lower class", etc., in the very beginning of their school years, then chances are very slim that they will learn more than what is expected of them to learn. And in many cases, it seems to me, we do expect very little from children grouped under various labels, and in doing so we make our self-fulfilling prophecy come true. (See Prof. I.J. Baksh's article in the last issue of **The Morning Watch** on this subject.)

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"SIGNIFICANT OTHERS" OF ADOLESCENTS IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-CONCEPTS OF ABILITY

Dr. Amarjit Singh

In the previous issues of **The Morning Watch** I wrote about the self-concept of ability approach in education and reported that several studies in this area indicate a strong relationship between student's self-concept of ability and his/her achievement in school subjects.

One of the major assumptions in this approach is that student's self-concept of ability develops in interaction with other people, especially those people who are important to the student.

In sociological language, the people who are important for us are called one's significant others. Each of us as individuals have some significant others. How these people treat us, what they expect of us, are important for our behavior. We adjust our behavior to the expectations of significant others.

In this article I intend to report research findings which throw light on the significant others of adolescents in Newfoundland. I hope this empirical information will be useful for teachers, parents, school personnels, and others who are interested in understanding learning processes at work in schools and society.

The following two questions were used to identify the "significant others" of seventh grade students in St. John's.¹ Responses to these questions were labelled "Academic Significant Others" (ASO) and "General Significant Others" (GSO). The questions asked were:

1. There are many people who are concerned about how well young people do in school. In the space below, list the **names** of the people you feel are concerned **about how well you** do in school. Please indicate who each person is. (ASO)
2. There are many people who are important in our lives. In the space below, list the **names** of the people who you feel are **important** in your life. Please indicate who each person is. (GSO)

The distribution of the responses of the seventh grade students in the Avalon Schools and in the Roman Catholic Schools, and the responses of male and female students were tabulated separately for comparison purposes.

Data in Table 1 show the academic significant others of students and data in Table 2 show the general significant others of students.

Table 1

Percentage of Total Students Naming a Specific Academic Significant Other in Two School Boards

Categories of Significant Others	The R.C. Schools		The Avalon Schools	
	Female (N = 391)	Male (N = 133)	Female (N = 259)	Male (N = 294)
Mother	94	92	91	89
Father	90	85	86	86
Teachers	83	65	54	46
Principals	61	47	36	18
Friend	24	17	19	13
Counsellors	10	5	9	4
Priests or Ministers	5	7	1	1

Table 2

Percentage of Total Students Naming a Specific General Significant Other in Two School Boards

Categories of Significant Others	The R.C. Schools		The Avalon Schools	
	Female (N = 359)	Male (N = 133)	Female (N = 250)	Male (N = 294)
Mother	95	86	88	83
Father	91	81	84	80
Teacher	58	35	26	24
Principal	32	17	10	5
Friend	38	26	34	22
Counsellor	10	5	5	2
Priest or Minister	9	11	2	2

A similar type of study was carried out by Catherine O'Brien² in schools in Ferryland District. O'Brien's study provides the opportunity to compare the responses of grade eight children studying in six rural schools in...Newfoundland with children studying in schools in urban setting in the province. The

responses of students in six schools in Ferryland District to the question: "Who are the people who you feel are concerned about how well you do in school?" are shown in Table 3.

Further, O'Brien divided her sample of males and females into high and low achievers, and tabulated the responses of low and high achievers to the same question. Their responses are show in Table 4.

It is clear from the data presented in the above tables that there are **many** significant others of adolescents. This is an important point because until 1961 social scientists and educators assumed that peers or friends were the primary reference group at this age level.³

But recent studies give more attention to the importance of appropriate interaction between the individual and his/her significant others as far as it relates to the individual's performance in school.

Table 3
Percentage of Total Students Naming a Specific Academic Significant Other

Person Named	Boys	Girls	Total Percent*
Parents	96	94	99
Teachers	65	70	70
Relatives	35	30	35
Pastor	65	46	58
Peers	15	10	13
Non-Classifiable	3	2	2.5

* Students were permitted to give more than one response; thus percent totals more than 100%.

Table 4

Percentage of Over – And Under – Achievers by Sex Naming Specific Academic Significant Others

Person Named	Male High Achievers (N = 10)	Male Low Achievers (N = 25)	Female High Achievers (N = 24)	Female Low Achievers (N = 131)	Total Percent*
Parents	10	25	24	13	100
Teachers	7	10	24	8	69.4
Pastor	7	12	15	2	50
Peers	4	2	8	1	20.8
Relatives	3	6	6	2	23.6
Non-Class	0	0	0	0	

* Students were permitted to give more than one response; thus percent totals more than 100%.

The above data also indicate that there are some differences between the responses of rural and urban children at this age level, that there is not much difference between the responses of students in the two denominational schools, although there seems to be some difference in the pattern of responses among girls in the R.C. Schools as compared to other students.

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LET US FOCUS ON THE PRACTICES OF GROUPING AND STREAMING IN NEWFOUNDLAND'S SCHOOLS

Dr. Amarjit Singh

It is now common knowledge that many teachers, principals, supervisors, university professors and educators working in various other organizations in Newfoundland encourage the practices of grouping and streaming in their schools.

These and similar practices have become something like cherished values. In them are seen "the solution" to the problem faced by "slow learners" or "disadvantaged child" or "special child". Any comment which does not comply with these cherished values arouses great emotion and almost instant defensive reaction.

But at the time when our society and culture are being transformed due to various internal and external forces which have come to impinge on them, it is not surprising that cherished values are being questioned. Of course, the important point is that we understand where these forces are taking us. We must decide what we want and what we do not want. No doubt we will have conflicting views on deciding the direction of change in Newfoundland.

But one point should be clear. Educational policies and practices based on personal emotions and cherished values may not help large numbers of children in the province to learn successfully.

And it is the time, we should remind ourselves once again, that schools are established (in principle) to teach everyone successfully. This is our professional and occupational responsibilities. The larger public in Newfoundland now expect and increasingly will be expecting us as educators to fulfill our professed responsibilities. We must see that all children in school end up learning the basic skills and required subject matter — and at high standards — by the time they get through high school.

Now someone can argue that not all children have the ability or intelligence to learn the basic skills — and especially if the standards are set too high. Some will also argue that not everybody has to get through high school and go beyond. Well, the unfortunate thing is that those who argue this way make sure that their own children get the best grade and attend post-secondary institutions. You and I know how important it is in our technologically oriented society to have good education. The point is that we have become accustomed to use double standards. We want the best for ourselves and our family but often show little concern if others and their children do not get the same things. But the time has come when we must look into this double standard, when we must revisit our cherished values and bring them in line with the contemporary time and mood.

The point I am making is that it is time that, first, we revise our thinking on the point that only a few children have the ability or intelligence to cope with what is being taught and, secondly, we must realize that intelligence is not a fixed thing: it grows with experience and time. Children develop intelligence and ability in a social context in which everybody demands, encourages, creates opportunities, and rewards them for becoming intelligent and able. The second point is that we get away from the thinking that not everybody needs to pass the high school and go beyond it.

Once we have overcome these two cherished values, the purpose of grouping and streaming children in schools will become clear. Why do we advocate these practices in schools? How did it all start? What did we end up doing in schools? Who ended up being grouped in slow classes? What has happened to these children? What is their future? Are we to go on grouping and streaming children for ever? Has the point been reached where these practices have gained lives of their own and where we cannot control them?

These are the questions I thought I will be raising with you. There is growing concern among parents, students and professional educators that these practices may do more harm to children than good. There are also a growing number of studies carried out in various countries which provide the basis for the evidence that these practices discriminate against lower class and rural children. There is good evidence now that grouping practices adversely effect students' self-concept of ability, thus their achievement in schools. Grouping and streaming practices may also effect adversely children's social, emotional and personal adjustment. There are many other bad effects of grouping and streaming on children which influence their life chances.

As I have pointed out in one of my previous articles in **The Morning Watch** most of the studies on grouping, streaming and other similar practices are carried out in other countries, especially in England and the United States. In some other issue of **The Morning Watch** one of us will review all the studies on this topic.

I have had opportunity to talk to several teachers and students in the province on this topic. There are conflicting reports. Some say these practices are doing "good" for their children while others are becoming skeptical of these practices. In this situation what criterion for evaluation can we establish on the basis of which we can say that when certain things happen to children the grouping and streaming practices are harmful for them and when other things happen then these practices are good for the children.

I will hope that in our schools we would sit down and look into our criterion for evaluation. If in our schools all those children who are grouped together in a slow class come from lower socioeconomic background, smaller out-port communities; if we are expecting them to learn less than other children; if large numbers of students in slow classes do not get transferred into regular classes; if the prestige, status and reward systems in school are organized in such a way that "good" teachers do not want to teach the slow class; if those of us who teach the slow classes are looked down upon; if the children in regular classes look down on the children in the slower classes; if all believe that children in slow classes have lesser ability, intelligence, etc., and if we all find consensus among ourselves that children in slow groups do not have to pass high school and beyond — then we have immediate basis for challenging our cherished values.

For the whole purpose of grouping and streaming (in principle) is to create environments in which all children will learn what we expect them to learn. In this sense they are supposed to be compensated by schools for their "deficiencies". If a large percentage of those who are put in slow groups for various reasons do not get integrated with regular students, pass high school, attend post-secondary institutions, get good jobs, contribute intellectually and socially to the development of their communities, province, country, and the world — then from their standpoint and from the standpoint of their families we have done great harm to them.

And we as educators should not take the consequences of grouping and streaming for children lightly because most of us know that in other countries parents, individuals, racial, ethnic and socio-economic groups have taken school boards to court on the charges that schools did harm to their children by putting them in slow classes or giving them biased "intelligence" tests. And in most cases schools have lost in the courts.

ABILITY GROUPING: AN OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH

Dr. Ishmael J. Baksh

In my last article in **The Morning Watch** (Vol. 3, No. 1, 15-16) it was suggested that if one of our educational goals happened to be that of promoting "maximum" intellectual development we probably need to reassess some of the organizational features of our schools to determine whether they are appropriate for the achievement of this specific goal. In the present article I shall provide an overview of the literature on "ability grouping" in schools. My purpose is not to criticize what is being done in Newfoundland schools but simply to provide a basis for discussion for those who are interested in pursuing any issues that might arise.

Ability Grouping

Ability grouping refers to the practice of assigning pupils to instructional groups on the basis of scores on tests, usually standardized measures of intelligence, aptitude or achievement. Homogeneous and heterogeneous ability grouping might best be regarded as opposite ends of the same continuum. In the former the range of measured ability is supposedly reduced while in the latter it is maximized.

Arguments used to justify the adoption of homogeneous ability grouping have included the following:

1. homogeneous grouping caters for individual differences by allowing students to progress at their own pace with others of similar ability,
2. narrowing the ability range facilitate; the provision of more suitable curricula and materials and the use of more appropriate teaching methods,
3. more individual attention by the teachers is possible since they do not have extremes of ability to deal with,
4. pupils are provided with more realistic standards with which to judge themselves, since they can compare themselves with their peers of roughly comparable ability.

Arguments employed to defend the practice of heterogeneous ability grouping have included the following:

1. homogeneous grouping is undemocratic and affects the self-concept of children adversely by placing a stigma on those in lower groups while giving those in higher groups an exaggerated sense of their own worth,
2. in real life people must deal with others widely varying in capacities, so pupils must learn to work with a wide range of people,
3. students of lower ability may profit from learning with those of greater ability,
4. it is impossible to achieve truly homogeneous grouping, even if a single form of achievement is considered, since test results are not usually valid or reliable enough for this purpose,
5. homogeneous grouping may lead teachers to conclude erroneously that they are dealing with pupils who are similar in social needs, achievement and learning style, whereas heterogeneous grouping is likely to encourage sensitivity to individual differences.

It might be noted that studies pertaining to ability grouping have varied widely in terms of their objectives, the basis for determining homogeneity or heterogeneity, their duration, the numbers of pupils involved, the size of classes, the instruments and techniques used for assessing changes in pupils, and the training of teachers for various groups. The quality of the studies has varied, and the results of the numerous investigations have not been uniform. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify — even if somewhat tentatively at times — certain overall trends in the results now available.

The Precision of Strategies for Homogeneous Grouping

Tests employed in grouping pupils by ability may vary in reliability. It is essential that the reliability of tests be taken into consideration and that provisions be made for correcting mistakes made in assigning pupils to groups. For instance, studies conducted mainly in Britain and West Germany on the efficiency of methods of selection for academic secondary-school courses have indicated that a conspicuous error, involving some ten per cent of the students, occurs even when the best known techniques are used. There is evidence, however, that once students are assigned to a specific ability group it is highly probable that they will remain in them.

It appears, also, that factors other than test performance may enter into the placement of pupils in homogeneous ability groups. In some cases, behaviour patterns, appearance, language, and dress of students seemed to stand in the way of their admission to high-ability classes. In one study, for example, it was found that children who come from well-kept homes, are clean and are well-clothed have a better chance of being placed in high-ability classes than their measured ability appeared to warrant. Also, once there they are likely to remain in that "stream" and to improve in performance during succeeding years.

Teachers' Response to Homogeneous Groups

Even though one purpose of homogeneous ability grouping is to facilitate the use of more appropriate methods and instructional materials, there is little research evidence that teachers made much adjustment to the content and method of teaching when faced with narrower rather than broader ranges of ability. There is some evidence, indeed, that teachers do not make a significant effort to adapt the methods or content of their classes to the range of ability of their pupils.

Teachers often seem to develop rigid stereotypes of the students' ability when the students are placed in homogeneous ability groups. What appears to happen in many instances, perhaps, is that teachers do not adjust the content and methods of their lessons but simply assume that different ability groups have different capacities for learning the same kind of content taught in the same way. The expectations held by teachers regarding the capacities of their pupils may be a factor influencing the level of academic performance of pupils.

Grouping Practices and Academic Performance

There is no consistent evidence that homogeneous ability grouping is successful in raising the academic performance of pupils generally. In one review of the literature on ability grouping, it was concluded that homogeneous ability grouping does not in itself produce improved academic performance in pupils and may even be detrimental to children in the average and lower-ability groups as it robs them of the intellectual stimulation of the brighter students, whereas on the other hand the brighter students do not seem to suffer intellectually when mixed with average or below-average students. However, it was found in another study that the presence of brighter students resulted in better academic work among other students only in science.

The research evidence regarding homogeneous ability grouping may be summed up as follows:

1. there is some indication that homogeneous ability grouping results in improved academic performance among the "brighter" students but the evidence is not consistent on this point,
2. there is almost uniform evidence that homogeneous ability grouping does not promote improved academic performance among the "average" students,
3. there is almost uniform evidence that homogeneous ability grouping does not promote improved or superior academic performance in the "low-ability" students.

On the whole, in the studies showing that homogeneous ability grouping has a significant effect on academic performance the evidence of a favourable effect among "high ability" students is counterbalanced by evidence of an undesirable effect among "average" and "low-ability" students. Furthermore, these findings are found to hold at elementary **and** high school levels.

Some authors have suggested that, in those instances in which homogeneous ability grouping appeared to be more successful than heterogeneous ability grouping, factors other than grouping practice might have made the difference. In those instances in which homogeneous ability grouping produced superior academic results to heterogeneous ability grouping, there were also modifications to educational objectives, curriculum and curriculum organization, teaching methodology and/or teaching materials. One might therefore ask if, in such cases, the reported superiority in academic performance was due to grouping practices or to the other factors which accompanied such practices.

Grouping Practices and Affective Development

There is fairly conclusive evidence that grouping practices are linked to the student's perception of self, his sense of dignity and worth, and his attitudes toward other children. The self-concept of both the "average" and the "low-ability" pupil (and, of course, self-concept influences academic performance) generally deteriorated in schools where homogeneous ability grouping is practiced. It was found in one study, for instance, that pupils in "heterogeneous" ability classes had more favourable attitudes toward self and higher self-acceptance than those in "homogeneous" ability classes. This was especially marked among girls.

There is some evidence that homogeneous ability grouping — at least the way in which it is generally used — can affect students' attitudes toward their peers in ways which may be regarded as undesirable. For example, it appears that this type of grouping often results in a form of intellectual snobbery in which students classified as "high" in ability avoid associating with those designated as "low" in ability.

Ability Grouping and Opportunity

Much of the work in this area relates to social class (more specifically, socioeconomic status) and ethnic group membership. There is abundant evidence that where homogeneous ability grouping is practiced a disproportionate number of lower-class (low socio-economic status) and also of non-white students are assigned to the "low ability" classes.

Where "homogeneous" ability grouping is associated with allocating students to different kinds of curriculum streams (for instance, at the high school level), students of lower socioeconomic status and of non-white ethnic groups are less likely than those of higher socioeconomic status or of white groups to enter the more academic and more prestigious curriculum stream(s) (for example, the college preparatory stream). A study conducted in Toronto, for instance, revealed that children of the well-to-do tend to be in the Arts and Science Branches of the secondary schools while those of the less well off tend to be placed in the Business and Commerce and the Science, Technology and Trades Branches of the schools.

Concluding Note

I wish to emphasize that the brief overview of research into ability grouping has not been presented as a criticism of practices in Newfoundland schools. It is intended to serve primarily as an easily accessible source for those interested in discussing any of the issues involved. It might be borne in mind, of course, that studies in this area have varied in quality, scope and purpose. On the whole, however, their results tend to indicate that while homogeneous ability grouping may have certain advantages (mainly for those classified as "high" in ability), such a practice may have undesirable consequences of various kinds. It might be noted, however, that academic performance is likely to be

affected by many factors other than grouping practice and that while grouping practice is apparently a highly crucial one these other factors need also to be taken into consideration in any attempt to improve student's performance at school.

Section VI The school and the socialization process

SOME EFFECTS OF DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLING.. .

Dr. G.A. Cooper

The most unusual and one of the most interesting facets of schooling in Newfoundland is the nature and extent of church involvement. In many countries and in other provinces of our country parochial (separate) schools exist as an alternative to the public school. But in Newfoundland, through certain vagaries of history, there emerged an educational system in which the schools are financed almost entirely by the state yet owned and controlled by the churches. The Roman Catholic schools in this system are almost completely homogeneous. The schools of the Protestant denominations, however, enroll many from other denominations, although the majority are usually affiliated with the church or churches operating the school.

In recent years there has been widespread controversy over the effectiveness of church schools, especially in the United States of America, where the Roman Catholic Church maintains the largest system of private schools found anywhere in the world. The advocates of church schools claim they are necessary for the moral and spiritual development of the students and for the proper nurturing and maintenance of the church. Their opponents claim that they have a divisive impact, breeding intolerance toward other groups and that they tend to vitiate somewhat the proper socialization of the students into the general norms and practices of society. The arguments are largely rhetorical but these questions are coming increasingly under the scrutiny of social scientists. Greeley and Rossi carried out an extensive analysis of the effects of parochial schools in America. Ronald Johnstone examined the effectiveness of Lutheran schools as agencies of Christian education. Anderson and Western studied students in Australian Universities controlling for type of school attended whether public, Catholic, or private (Protestant church controlled). The results of all such studies fail to support the contentions of the supporters of church schools or the worst fears of those who oppose them.

In Newfoundland there has been little written on the subject of an objective nature. In Rowe's **Development of Education in Newfoundland** one has the statements of church leaders. The **N.T.A.** Journal in 1967 published an argument in support of the system followed by a rebuttal from the present writer. All these (and others) are more noted for the heat generated than for light shed, the arguments being highly emotional and unsupported by any empirical evidence. Three years later, when the Anglican, United Church and Salvation Army schools had been merged, we undertook a study designed to answer some of the questions raised: Does the control of a school by a church ensure a more religious person, as measured by religious beliefs, knowledge and practice? If it does, is there a resultant loss of interest and involvement in secular and civic affairs? This logical focus for the study entailed (a) a comparison of graduates from church schools with a general population (the latter from the "godless" schools of the U.S.A.); (b) a comparison of graduates from schools of their own religious affiliation with those from "neutral" schools. In order to ensure that such differences as obtained were not due to extraneous or concomitant factors, it was necessary to control for such factors as sex, age, social class, parental education, parental religiousness, etc., found generally to influence religious beliefs and practices.

It is difficult to measure religious beliefs, knowledge and practices, although these are necessary to assess the degree of success achieved by the denominational schools of Newfoundland. It was decided to use as models the work of well known sociologists of religion: Stark and Glock, authors of *American Piety* and Greeley and Rossi in *the Education of Catholic Americans*, following closely their definitions and their measures. This offered the advantage of comparison with the population they studied. This was especially important in view of the American constitutional division of church and state and the invidious comparisons usually made with the products of American schools by the proponents of Newfoundland's denominational system.

The difficulties of researching matters related to religion in Newfoundland set constraints on the choice of both the sample and the design of the study. Until quite recently (since the growth of ecumenism and the merger of the principal Protestant school systems) it was not considered feasible to

inquire into religious beliefs and practices. This was unfortunate in that religious considerations have been of primary importance in Newfoundland, especially in the century following the granting of self-government. The decision to locate the study on the campus of Memorial University was only partly dictated by convenience — it is true that the scattered population in Newfoundland would militate against obtaining a representative sample from home communities without prohibitive expense. The campus was a "natural" for a study in education and religion in that (a) the students are "end products" of the schools, representing the cumulative efforts of the religious schooling; (b) the sample would include many from teacher education, whose attitudes would be critical for the success of church schools; (c) the denominational balance is roughly that of the general population, since there is but one university in Newfoundland. One objection sometimes raised is that university students are more likely to be irreligious, a belief refuted by many studies, such as one by Gustafson on "Protestant beliefs in Portland, Oregon" which showed that scores on religion from college students approximate those of the denominations to which they belong. Since virtually all Roman Catholic students attended R.C. schools and thus could not provide comparison and since the number of Salvation Army and Pentecostal Assembly students were too few the study concentrated on Anglican and United Church students in attendance beyond the first year at Memorial in the fall of 1970, of whom 873 responded to a questionnaire and became the "subjects" of the study. The demographic characteristics shown in the following table demonstrate the representativeness of the sample:

TABLE 1
Demographic Characteristics of the Sample by Denominational Affiliation (Per Cent in Each Category)

a. Year at University			b. Size of Home Community		
	Anglican	United Church		Anglican	United Church
Second	42	40	Less than 1,000	29	24
Third	25	27	1,000 - 5,000	22	22
Fourth & Beyond	33	33	More than 5,000	49	54
	100%	100%		100%	100%
c. Sex			d. Age		
	Anglican	United Church		Anglican	United Church
Male	68	63	Under 20 years	44	49
Female	32	37	20 - 30 years	54	47
	100%	100%	Over 30 years	2	4
				100%	100%

The collection of data was by a self-administered questionnaire. While the drawbacks of such surveys have been extensively debated, it is a most useful device especially where respondents must be assured anonymity and where, as in this study, the topic is sensitive and privileged. The questionnaire, calling for more than 100 responses, covered the following topics: (a) Background Information (sex, age, family characteristics, etc.) (b) Religious Orthodoxy (c) Religious Knowledge (d) Importance of Church (e) Religious Practice (f) Friendship Patterns (g) Social and Civic Relations (h) General Knowledge (I) Social Distance (j) Ethical Orthodoxy (k) Assessment of Denominational Schools. Most of the questions were drawn from the two works previously cited with minor changes made to make some questions more applicable to the Newfoundland situation. (To be continued)*

*N.B. When nearly 1,000 students at Memorial University of Newfoundland completed a questionnaire in early 1971 for a study of the effects of denominational schooling on beliefs and behaviour of Newfoundland students they were promised an account of the results. This article (together with the completion in the next issue of **The Morning Watch**) constitutes a fulfillment of that promise. For those who are interested in the details, the complete study may be obtained from the Education Library of Memorial University of Newfoundland.

SOME EFFECTS OF DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLING...(Cont'd.)*

Dr. G.A. Cooper

*Here we summarize and comment on the study introduced in Volume 3, No. 1, November 1975. The complete study is available at the Education Library, M.U.N. and is entitled: "Some differential effects of Denominational Schooling in Newfoundland on the beliefs and behaviour of students".

In **American Piety** Stark and Glock report on religious beliefs and behaviours of a sample of about three thousand members of various Christian churches in California. The results obtained approximated those of another study of a national sample in America. Since the Episcopalians in the U.S. are equivalent to Anglicans in Newfoundland and American Methodists much the same in beliefs, etc. to the United Church of Canada, these two groups were chosen for comparison with their Newfoundland counterparts. We can present here only a sample of the comparisons made, so we reproduce three tables summarizing where each group stood on **Belief in God, Belief in the Divinity of Jesus** and **other Items of Orthodox Belief** which will speak for themselves in response to the claims that Newfoundlanders are a very "Christian" people due to their schooling under church auspices.

We enquired further into Religious Knowledge, the rating of the Importance of the Church in the opinions of the respondents, Religious Practices (including church attendance, taking Holy Communion, Memberships in Church organizations, willingness to finance their church). On none of these formal and public aspects of religious activity did the Newfoundland samples show evidence of superior measure or even a level acceptable to any interested in the religious welfare of our subjects. We then probed the private practices usually identified with Protestant denominations viz. Bible Reading, Table Grace and Private Prayer. These are shown in Tables 16, 17, and 18 in the study and reproduced here:

This section of the study i.e., the comparisons with members of similar religious communions in the United States not only refute the idea that our Newfoundland schools produce more dedicated and conscientious Christians than the "godless schools of America" but give reason to question the place of religious teaching in our schools. Is it possible that students are being "turned off" from religion by the process or is the phenomenon due to "poor" teaching? In any case there is need for sober assessment.

The second part of the study concentrated on the 453 Anglican students, 252 of whom had attended Anglican schools. The other 201 students had attended either Amalgamated or United Church schools, which were identified as "Neutral" since we were concentrating on presence or absence of "Anglican" schooling to answer whether attendance at a school run by one's "own" church was more likely to produce a "better Christian". Here we introduced controls for size of community, socio-economic status, sex, parents' religiousness, and other factors which have been found in other studies to influence measures of religious beliefs and practices.

Table 7

Belief in God--Per Cent Responses in Each Category by Denomination and Sample

Statement	Stark and Glock Church Membership Sample (b)				Newfoundland Sample	
	Episcopalians (N = 416)	Methodists (N = 415)	Total Protestant (N =2326)	Roman Catholic (N = 545)	Anglican (N = 477)	United Church (N = 391)
(a) I know God exists and I have no doubts about it.	63	60	71	81	27	24
(b) I find myself believing in God some of the time, but not at other times.	21	26	19	13	36	36
(c) I don't believe in a personal God, but I do believe in a higher power of some kind.	12	11	7	1	22	24
(d) I don't know whether there is a God, and I don't believe we can find out.	2	2	1	3	11	15
(e) I don't believe in God.				1	3	2
Totals (a)	98%	99%	98%	99%	99%	101%

(a) Columns fail to sum to 100% due to rounding errors and non-responses.

(b) c.f. Stark and Glock, American Piety, pp. 28-29.

In this part of the study our model was the Greeley and Rossi Study of **The Education of Catholic Americans**. Unlike the situation in Newfoundland, Roman Catholic students in the U.S. attend **either** public **or** parochial schools and the authors set out to discover whether there were significant differences along lines of religious beliefs and practices, and such matters as tolerance, ethical stance, civil liberties and social justice. They found differences, but the positive effects of Catholic education along the religious dimension were visible **only** among those from highly religious families or who married highly religious spouses. "Catholic education is virtually wasted on three-fourths of those in Catholic Schools because of the absence of a sufficiently religious family milieu". (Greeley & Rossi, 1966, p. 112.) To allay any suspicions about this classic study, we might mention that Andrew Greeley is a ranking Catholic priest. We built into our questionnaire the questions from Greeley & Rossi which seemed applicable to our Newfoundland Anglicans and analyzed for differences on the basis of schooling as they had for the Catholic Americans.

We now present selected tables which show relatively little effect from type of schooling. Where N (the number of subjects) for a category is small, less significance must be attached to the result. Tables 20, 25, 30, 35 and 40 are chosen to indicate the relative influence of schooling at "own church" school or "neutral" school. Apart from the area of Religious Knowledge there is no demonstrated superiority of Anglican school over Neutral school. The questions on religious knowledge were so simple as not to give

comfort to any churchman because of the generally low scores obtained. For example about 20 per cent did not know where Jesus was born, more than 30 per cent could not identify the Holy Trinity and more than 50 per cent did not know that Rome ruled Jerusalem in the time of Jesus.

Table 8

Belief in the Divinity of Jesus—Per Cent Agreeing with Each Statement by Denominations and by Sample

Statement	Stark and Glock Church Membership Sample (a)				Newfoundland Sample	
	Episcopalians (N = 416)	Methodists (N = 415)	Total Protestant (N = 2326)	Roman Catholic (N = 545)	Anglican (N = 477)	United Church (N = 391)
(a) Jesus is the Divine Son of God and I have no doubts about it.	59	54	69	86	24	20
(b) While I have some doubts about it, I feel basically that Jesus is Divine.	25	22	17	8	34	34
(c) I think that Jesus was only a Man, although an extraordinary one.	13	20	11	3	30	33
(d) Frankly, I'm not sure whether there was such a person as Jesus.	1	1	1	1	11	13
Totals (b)	98%	97%	98%	98%	99%	100%

(a) Adapted from Stark and Glock, *American Piety*, p. 33.

(b) Columns fail to sum to 100% due to rounding errors and non-responses.

Table 9

Items of Orthodox Belief (Per Cent who said “Definitely”)

Statement	Stark and Glock Church Membership Sample (a)				Newfoundland Sample	
	Episcopalians	Methodists	Total Protestant	Roman Catholic	Anglican	United Church
(a) Jesus was born of a virgin.	39	34	57	81	18	11
(b) Jesus actually walked on water.	30	26	50	71	14	10
(c) Jesus will actually return to earth some day.	24	21	44	47	16	13
(d) There is life after death.	53	49	65	75	24	25
(e) The devil actually exists.	17	13	38	66	16	10
(f) A child is born into the world already guilty of sin.	18	7	26	68	7	3

(a) Data extracted from Tables 5, 6, and 7, American Piety, pp. 34-37.888

Table 16

**Bible Reading (Per Cent in Each Category)
Question: “How often do you read the Bible at home?”**

	Once a day or more	About once a week	Not often	Rarely or never	Total ^b
<u>Church Member Sample</u> ^a					
Episcopalians (416) Methodists (415)	96	2123	3637	3234	98100
<u>Newfoundland Sample</u>					
Anglicans (477) United Church (391)	44	45	2423	6868	100100

a. c.f. Stark and Glock, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

b. Some rows fail to add to 100% due to rounding errors.

Table 17

Table Grade (Per Cent in Each Category)

Question: "How often are table prayers or grace said before or after meals in your home?"

	At all meals	Once a day	About weekly	Rarely or never	Total ^b
<u>Church Member Sample^a</u>					
Episcopalians (416) Methodists (415)	1816	2124	68	5451	9999
<u>Newfoundland Sample</u>					
Anglicans (477) United Church (391)	3645	1615	1715	3025	99100

a. c.f. Stark and Glock, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

b. Some rows fail to add to 100% due to rounding errors.

Table 18

Private Prayer (Per Cent in Each Category)
Question: "How often do you pray privately?"

	Daily	Weekly	Once in a while	Rarely or never	Total ^b
<u>Church Member Sample^a</u>					
Episcopalians (416) Methodists (415)		7263	1927	99	10099
<u>Newfoundland Sample</u>					
Anglicans (477) United Church (391)	3330	53	2930	3237	99100

a. c.f. Stark and Glock, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

b. Some rows fail to add to 100% due to rounding errors.

Table 20

Per Cent Giving Orthodox Response to Items of Doctrine by Educational Background

Item*	High on Doctrinal Orthodoxy		Positive on Doctrinal Orthodoxy	
	Anglican School N = 252	Neutral School N = 201	Anglican School N = 252	Neutral School N = 201
1. Belief in God	27	26.9	62.7	61.7
2. Divinity of Jesus	23.4	24.9	55.5	59.7
3. Virgin Birth	17.5	18.4	37.7	41.3
4. Miracles	15.1	14.4	31.4	32.8
5. Second Coming	17.5	14.9	36.2	39.3
6. Life after Death	24.2	22.4	46.4	51.3
7. Devil	15.9	15.4	27	29.8
8. Original Sin	6.7	6	11.5	11.5

Table 25

Association of Religious Knowledge by Educational Background (Per Cent in Each Category)

Score on Religious Knowledge	Anglican School (N = 252)	Neutral School (N = 201)
High	25.8	11.4
Medium	31.7	33.3
Low	42.5	55.3

Table 30

**Importance of Church and Educational Background
(Per Cent in Each Category)**

Importance of Church	Anglican School (N = 252)	Neutral School (N = 201)
Extremely Important	2.8	4.5
Quite Important	15.9	13.4
Fairly Important	29.8	35.3
Unimportant	51.6	46.8

Table 35

**Percentage meeting criteria on Religious
Practices by Educational Background**

Religious Practice	Anglican School (N = 252)	Neutral School (N = 201)
Attendance at Church	17.9	20.9
Received Holy Communion	72.7	72.6
Membership in Church Organizations	22.2	19.4
Evenings at Church Meetings	10.3	10.5
Financial Support	28.5	24.9

Table 40

**Percentage Meeting Criteria on Devotional
Acts by Educational Background**

	Anglican School (N = 252)	Neutral School (N = 201)
Bible Reading	9.2	8.5
Grace	52.8	52.7
Prayers	39.7	36.3

On the other matters which the study probed e.g., the "divisiveness" of denominational schooling, ethical orthodoxy, membership in civic organizations, attitudes to other races, nationalities and religions, no significant differences were found on the basis of school attended. There was naturally a tendency for Anglicans educated in Anglican schools to have more Anglicans as friends etc. but the general conclusion here as in the American study was that parochial schooling was not unduly divisive. The divisiveness found on religious lines was, as Greeley and Rossi reported, "divisiveness resulting not so much from religious education as from religion itself".

Although this study has concentrated on measuring the effects of denominational schools on students, especially in religious matters, thereby testing the justification of the involvement of the churches in Newfoundland education, there has been in the background the broader issue of the appropriate allocation of responsibility, power, and privilege to the various claimants of school control. Should the state abrogate its responsibilities to another institution without periodic testing of public opinion? Should the priority in socialization be to the society at large or to the religious or ethnic group? If both are necessary, to what degree should the latter be supported and what safeguards are necessary to ensure it is not in conflict with the needs of the former?

No one knows whether the church-controlled school system has the confidence and approval of the people, and no effort has been made to find out. This study explored the question but can report only for the sample of Anglican and United Church University students. From them comes a resounding: "No". Less than eight per cent preferred denominational schools over public schools, with about twenty-five per cent stating no preference. According to the respondents, religious instruction, where given, has usually been less than satisfactory, and was rated the least important of factors in their religious development. In their general development, as well, the sample considered school and church as least important (after parents, peers and teachers in that order).

However, the present study by no means establishes an antipathy to church schools in Newfoundland. Much wider enquiry would be needed to obtain a clear indication of the will of the people. Even the results of a province-wide referendum might be misleading if partisan feelings were stirred by emotional arguments, as occurred in the referenda in 1948 on the question of Newfoundland's entry into the Canadian Confederacy. Also the apparent rejection of church schools by the respondents in this study might be displacement unto the churches of the general criticism of formal education, which is not confined to Newfoundland.

This study, within its limitations, has shown the denominational schools of the Anglican and United Churches in Newfoundland to be singularly ineffective in producing the "Christian" man they have stressed, judging by the sample examined. These churches (and schools) represent more than half the Newfoundland population. We call for expansion of the research to see if the findings here obtain for the remainder of the population. If it does, further research into alternatives in religious and moral education and also to church control of schools, is indicated.

RESPONSE TO COOPER'S "SOME EFFECTS OF DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLING"

Dr. C.F. Melchert

In a recent study published in this journal, Dr. Cooper concluded that "the denominational schools of the Anglican and United Churches in Newfoundland to be singularly ineffective in producing the 'Christian' man (and woman?) they have stressed, judging by the sample examined."

Whether the schools are ineffective or not I cannot presume to say, but I shall argue that such a conclusion cannot be drawn unequivocally from the data and the arguments Dr. Cooper presents. Let us examine some of Dr. Cooper's assumptions, his research design, and the data themselves, and then ask whether the interpretation placed upon that data is apt to be believable?

First the assumptions:

1. Dr. Cooper intends to investigate the effectiveness of denominational schools in producing Christians. Despite a few pious affirmations by some highly placed ecclesiastical officials which Dr. Cooper quotes, I am not convinced that the Anglican and United Church schools were or are focally concerned with "producing Christians." Neither ownership and administrative control of a school nor merely attending such a school, ensures a particular outcome. Even Dr. Cooper admits that historically the United Church reluctantly became engaged in denominational schools more for reasons of denominational competition than for primarily religious purposes. If that is so, it may help explain why so few of their schools taught any courses in religion prior to 1968, and Cooper's data does not show major differences between United Church students and Anglican students, allowing one to suspect they may have been treated similarly.
2. Dr. Cooper further assumes, no doubt for testing purposes, that a person is religious by virtue of his or her religious beliefs, knowledge, and practices. Admittedly, such criteria of religiosity are more readily accessible to the sociologist and to the questionnaire format, and also permit Cooper to compare his results with those of Glock and Stark or Greeley and Rossi, but he pays the price of operating with their intrinsically truncated version of what constitutes a religious person. In addition to beliefs, knowledge and practices the religious person is **characterized by a depth and quality of feeling, of caring for other human beings, by a sensitivity to and attendance upon divine activity as that person perceives it, by feelings and attitudes of awe and worship to one or more objects deemed worthy of that awe and worship. There is substantial evidence that beliefs, knowledge and particular practices are not a prerequisite to these other dimensions of religiosity. Indeed, sociologists of religion have shown that one may score quite high on matters of beliefs, knowledge and practice and yet remain what they designate "extrinsically religious". Extrinsically religious people tend to use their religion to support or satisfy their own personal or social needs and beliefs, rather than allowing their religion to mould them. Extrinsically religious people tend to be more prejudiced and less at peace with themselves and others than is the general population who, in turn, are more prejudiced and less at peace than are intrinsically religious people. This is not to say that the schools have produced intrinsically religious people, only to call attention to the fact that Cooper has not included this fundamental dimension of religiosity in his study.**
3. Dr. Cooper also seems to assume that a school can produce a religious person, even in his truncated and "orthodox" sense. But if orthodoxy of beliefs is a criterion for such a person, Dr. Cooper should realize that one of the most orthodox of Christian beliefs is that human institutions (surely that includes schools) cannot produce a "Christian person," rather, in orthodox terms, that is the work of divine grace and the Holy Spirit, not human activity. As we noted above, even

taking a realistic and non-theological look at the schools in question, it seems dubious whether their religious orientation would be the feature which stands out most clearly to the observer.

All this suggests that Dr. Cooper's assumptions are not beyond debate, and therefore, that his findings may not be unequivocal. But what of his research design?

1. The research sampled only students identified as belonging to the Anglican and the United Churches. That permitted Dr. Cooper to compare Anglican students who went to an Anglican school with those who went to "neutral" (non-Anglican) schools. Doing that he shows that "attendance at a school run by one's 'own' Church" is not a significant factor in "producing Christians". It is widely recognized that Roman Catholics and Pentecostals take "producing a Christian person" (in their own definitions) far more seriously than do the Anglican and United schools. They spend more time at their religion teaching, they give it a higher priority in their schools, both in classroom time and teacher training, and they try to help create a consistently religious milieu in the schools. If the purpose of the research was to study the effects of denominational schooling, it would have been highly useful to compare the potentially differing effects of differing degrees of commitment to the goal of "producing Christians". Omitting Roman Catholics and Pentecostals from a study of the effects of denominational schooling in this province is analogous to studying the effect of cigarette smoking on health by studying only those who smoke one cigarette a week and ignoring those who smoke a pack a day.
2. There is no indication that Dr. Cooper controlled for the amount or quality of religious education received by his sample. Those who had daily religious education and those who had none were all treated alike, apparently under the supposition that both went to schools owned and operated by the church. The sample was asked about the quality of the religious instruction they received, yet no comparisons were made between those who indicated they had received good quality instruction and those who indicated poor quality instruction. Had no significant difference appeared between two such groups, Dr. Cooper could have greatly strengthened his case.

It is surely discomfoting to any who care about the quality of religious education, as I do, to note the finding by Dr. Cooper that so many students who felt that religious instruction was important to them, and yet also felt that the instruction they received was of "poor" quality. My own conversations with students would lead me to agree with this finding by Dr. Cooper.

3. Complete reliance upon self-report, especially concerning things like the degree of parental religiousness or quality of religious instruction, allows room for systematic bias in such a uniform sample. Adolescent university students are still in the process of differentiating themselves from parents and institutional authorities, and thus might systematically bias the results, if the research design does not permit correction for such sources of potential error, or at least a means of detection of suspected bias. At the very least, the interpretation must take such possibilities into account.

Thus Dr. Cooper's assumptions and research design do not create for me an overwhelming sense of confidence in his argument. What then of the interpretation of that data?

Earlier this year, in another piece of research for quite different purposes, I happened to ask some of the same questions Dr. Cooper used. My sample (n = 104) included Roman Catholics and consisted of students in the Faculty of Education at Memorial and of teachers in primary and secondary schools on the Avalon Peninsula. My data is not designed to help make any determinations about the effects of denominational schooling, but it does give a chance to compare directly with Cooper on a few selected items, rather than making comparisons with an adult church member sample from the U.S. My research, unfortunately, is also a questionnaire, and thus suffers from some of the same problems Dr. Cooper encountered.

1. My respondents confirmed Cooper's finding about Bible reading and private prayer, and they did not alter significantly across age groups although Catholics do pray somewhat more than do Protestants.
2. Cooper's own data calls into question his assumption, noted above, that religiosity can be treated as essentially a matter of beliefs, knowledges and practices. Cooper reports that 62% of his sample reports believing in God at least some of the time, and approximately 56% believe Jesus to be divine, yet only 42-48% of the same group view themselves as "religious", and that, in turn, can be compared with only 20% who report attending church weekly. My sample showed 77% responding in agreement with the assertion "I am sometimes very conscious of the presence of God." I would suggest that each of these items taps a slightly different dimension of what might be called "religiosity", and that it cannot be equated with or reduced to beliefs, knowledge and practice.
3. Dr. Cooper argues that he can make generalizations from his university sample and legitimately compare them with an adult church member sample from the United States, despite the fact that 97% of his sample was under the magic age of 30. 33% of my sample was over 30, with the upper age extending to over 55. Look at what happens to the following items when we control for the differences in ages:

Age	Melchert's Sample			Cooper's Sample
	20-25	26-30	31+	
Agree Jesus born of a Virgin	45.9	50	57.6	39
Agree there is life after death	56.8	57.1	72.7	48
Never pray privately	28.6	17.9	21.2	34
How often do you read the Bible? Never	69.4	55.6	57.6	68
Attend Church weekly	56.8	67.9	72.7	20

While recognizing that these figures include Roman Catholics and Anglicans and United Church members, there are, nevertheless, distinct changes evident over the age span which suggest that age does correlate with differences in beliefs and practices. There are many possible explanations for those differences, for example, older people may reflect the older, more orthodox patterns of belief and practice; or the older members of this sample, being teachers, may show greater responsibility to their institutional loyalties; or that there is more social conformity among the older, more orthodox patterns of belief and practice; or the older members of this sample, being teachers, may show greater responsibility to their institutional loyalties; or that there is more social conformity among the older people than there is among the younger; or that people in teaching positions tend to be more orthodox in their beliefs and practices than does the younger university sample, or...? But the differences are there — clearly suggesting that one cannot too hastily generalize from the university sample to the population at large.

4. As for the influence of denominational schooling, we noted above that it is generally agreed that Roman Catholic schools take religious education more seriously (in the sense of spending more time and effort upon it, and giving it higher priority and more emphasis) than do Anglican and

United Church schools, so what happens to our sample when we control for denominational affiliation?

	Melchert's Sample		Cooper's Sample
	Roman Catholic	Anglican & United Church	Anglican & United Church
Agree Jesus born of a virgin	63.5	21.9	39
Agree there is life after death	74.6	40.6	48
Never pray privately	19.4	29	34
Never read Bible	64.5	64.5	68
Attend church weekly	85.7	31.3	20

First, it should be noted that allowing for the age differences seen above, the findings on Anglican and United Church students between the two samples are not drastically different, except perhaps on church attendance. But when noting the differences between Roman Catholics and Protestants, if one were to follow Dr. Cooper's example and interpret these findings as indicative of the effects of denominational schooling (which I hasten to add, would be premature at best) one might be tempted to draw conclusions quite opposite to those of Cooper. On the other hand, even some Roman Catholics would not be apt to take much comfort in these figures if their concern is to produce orthodox believers, and if it is true that only 63% believe that Jesus was born of a virgin and 64% never read their Bible.

- Having taken approximately half of Melchert's sample from classes of students who voluntarily enrolled in a course in religious education (the other half were from teachers in the schools of the Avalon Peninsula, about half within and half outside of St. John's), one might suspect a bias to be introduced in that the sample could be more "religious" than normal. If this were so, one might expect that the "extreme" portion of the sample would be those in the classes who were religious studies majors. Note what happens when we control for major.

That would seem to indicate that except for Bible reading (resulting from class assignments?) there are not significant differences between religious studies majors and others among students and teachers, at least on these particular items.

Interestingly, although 64% of my sample was Roman Catholic, 55% of the religious studies majors in the sample were Protestant. I have no evidence that that is other than a sampling fluke, though if it were not it might pose some interesting possibilities for the interpretation of the effects of denominational schooling.

- Cooper notes that Sunday school attendance was a better predictor of religiosity than was denominational schooling. I would suspect that rather relates to another factor with which Cooper did far too little, namely the influence of family. As even Cooper notes, Greeley and Rossi, Johnstone, and Strommen as well, have consistently shown that family patterns and influence is the dominant factor in subsequent religiosity, and surely family is highly influential in the matter of whether or not and how long children go to Sunday school.
- I should have thought that if one were examining the effects of denominational schooling, one might want to attempt to measure the **educational** effectiveness of those institutions, especially since that is primarily what schools are for. For example, is there a correlation between denominational schools and educational attainment or intellectual interest and curiosity as Trent claimed to have found in Catholics in College? Would similar kinds of explorations show

differences here in Newfoundland, not in the religious products of the schools, but in their educational outcomes?

8. Another finding of Dr. Cooper's study which I also agree with, though on a purely impressionistic basis, is that many students would prefer not having denominational education for their children. It would be good to have further exploration of that, and of the reasons people give for such a preference.

What do I conclude about the effects of denominational schools? I conclude that Dr. Cooper's study has not proven his conclusions, and that for a host of reasons we are quite unable to say reliably what are the effects of denominational schooling in this province. Dr. Cooper's study does help us see clearly how complex and demanding a subject this is, and how much we need more extensive, more exhaustive and more disciplined studies in this area. The issues involved are too important and far reaching in their consequences to leave them entirely to the realm of political and emotional appeals.

GIRLS AND WOMEN IN THE PRIMARY AND ELEMENTARY CURRICULUM OF NEWFOUNDLAND*

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*This article is a part of the Brief on the Presentation of Girls and Women in the Primary and Elementary Curriculum of Newfoundland, June 1975, the Newfoundland Status of Women Council, Box 6072, St. John's.

Following the terms of reference given to us on International Women's Day, our committee has focussed on the portrayal of women and girls in the Primary and Elementary curriculum. The first books children read in school are important both because young children believe books, and because reading under supervision, answering questions and filling out work-cards about what is read, which are all standard practice, reinforce in children's minds the "rightness" of the contents. Therefore early reader and social studies materials merit close attention.

We concentrated on the presentation of women and girls, but it was soon obvious that other people are misrepresented by these materials too. In fact two comments we feel it necessary to make at the outset are of a much more general nature. One is that these books and kits establish too many false hierarchies which diminish the status of all kinds of people, teach children to think in hierarchies and give too little importance to cooperation. Another is that they are so inappropriate to the majority of Newfoundlanders. Do we really want our children's school reading materials to imply that the culture of Toronto or New York is more relevant than their own? This is not to say that children should read only about people like themselves, but that in these early materials some stories and poems should give positive reinforcement to their own environment.

The false hierarchy which tells children that men and boys are different from and superior to women and girls is one of the most pervasive. It comes in several forms which we shall examine separately.

1. Out of all the books we looked at not one showed women as frequently as men in pictures. For young children pictures do more than interpret the text. They have a message all their own which impinges in an emphatic way on the child's consciousness. When a girl repeatedly sees pictures of boys and men she concludes either that there must be more of them, which is false, or that males and what they do must be more important, which is debilitating and also false.

The Nelson Readers showed 59% men to 41% women, Ginn an overall average of 73% to 27%, ranging from 58% to 42% in **Meet My Pals** to 91% to 7% in **Close-Up. Seeking Adventure** (Open Highways) has 753 pictures of men and only 73 of women. The SRA kit for Primary Social Studies has 64% men, 36% women.

2. This numerical imbalance in the pictures unfortunately reflects the emphasis of the stories. The Ginn series has male leads and male participants three times as often as female ones. **Seeking Adventure** has 25 stories with male leads, 3 with female leads, 7 where the leads are shared.

The females who take the lead do not always provide positive models either. When you have to count as female leads a princess who stays in bed for the whole story (**Catch a Firefly**), the old woman who sewed the top of her apron onto the bottom to make it longer (**Higgleby's House**), a girl who hesitates for a whole page about whether to go home and babysit her brother or go to a friend's house (**Moon Shiny Night**), Mrs. Hen who was such a good joke that "they laughed for days" (**Up the Beanstalk**), Susie who lets the dishwasher overflow (**All About Me**), and Cathy who puts the dog's hair in curlers (**Up the Beanstalk**), it is obvious that the field is not overcrowded with strong heroines. In fact

the whole Ginn series we found only seven stories about females which we felt would enrich the self-image of girls.¹

In **Kites and Cartwheels**, there is a similar imbalance. In particular the story of Stan, the helicopter pilot who has the dubious talent of being able to scare away small boys by roaring, is given 10 pages. The biography of Amelia Earhart, billed in the title as First Lady of Flight, takes only 4, and her career as a pilot is not even mentioned.

It has been argued that boys are slower on average to read and that therefore the curriculum has to be geared more to them and their interests, or that boys are interested in more exciting things and therefore stories about them make better reading for everyone. The facts are that all children enjoy exciting stories and that girls are just as interested as boys in outdoor, active and adventurous projects, so long as it is not constantly brought home to them that being female entails submission to a passive, domestic role. Besides, what educational theory has been advocated that the leading group in one subject area should be sacrificed so that the other may catch up?

3. The materials we studied tend to separate the sexes and present them to children as quite different kinds of people. Attributes which in real life belong to both men and women are here linked to one sex or the other. The SRA Social Studies Kit is a prime offender. In Section 3 Mother at Home is separate and different from Father at Home. (In fact they are found together throughout the entire kit only when travelling or eating. We found not one single instance of an interest which they shared.) Mother is an indoor person here and elsewhere in the series (units 12, 16, 29, 49, 82), while father is the outdoor parent (units 14, 53, 70). Mother is defined completely by home and children, her only trips out of the home being to shop for food or take children to doctors and dentists.² Her props are an apron, cooking-pots and shopping-carts. Father is a wider ranging figure. His props are fishing rods, cars, paintbrushes and lawnmowers. He comes home to eat and display his pay cheque (units 15, 18, 82, 87, 88).

The point is not that one set of props is more glamorous than the other. If it is "your job", the car may be just as tiresome as the washing-up. The point is that mother and father are shown to have separate duties and separate spheres determined purely on the grounds of sex.³

The same division is found in other materials. The boys in the Mr. Mugs stories (Ginn) have props like rockets, boats, hockey sticks, baseball caps and clubhouses, while the girls have curlers, hair dryers, skipping ropes, mirrors, dishwashing liquid and dolls.

In **All About Me** the "status" symbols of the sexes are clearly delineated:

Willie's daddy had a credit card. With it he could get new shoes, gas for his car, and lots of things he needed. Then he could pay for them on payday. Willie's mommy had an identification card, and Willie's grandma had a library card.

Occasionally boys cross the boundaries to pick flowers, hold baby and do dishes, although in the latter case it is made clear that it happens only because mother is having a baby (**Up the Beanstalk**, pp. 114-115). And there are some positive trends which we would like to see more of. Boys and girls dance together, climb fences together, roast wieners, work puppets, play magician, make plays, sledge, roll in leaves and find fossils and insects together. It is a pity that such incidents are rare enough for this to be an exhaustive list from sixteen (Ginn) readers, and that adult males and females who co-operate on projects are even rarer. This kind of co-operation and sharing of interests needs much more emphasis,⁴ for the prevailing message is still, "We are separate and different."

4. Women in these books are defined by what males would like them to be and do, and are often described in terms which emphasize appearance rather than achievement.

In **Meet my Pals**, Mom is shown trying on a new hat. The text reads:

"See my surprise! I made it! Daddy likes red." "It's pretty Mom. Red looks pretty. What a surprise for Dad!"

When Cathy puts Mr. Mug's hair in curlers, Mary asks, "Will the boys like Mr. Mugs like that?" The parade of beautiful princesses who are given as rewards to princess (**Carnival** p. 38, **Up the Beanstalk** p. 57, **Deep Sea Smile** p. 23, **Higgleby's House** p. 55 and **Treats and Treasures** p. 216) further emphasizes this value-system.

In **Kites and Cartwheels** it becomes more explicit. A boy tells the story of an adventure he shared with two girls and puts in a male interpretation of the girls' behaviour at the same time:

(...) the packsack I was carrying slowed us down, but I found the girls didn't mind. They had movie stars and records to talk about and that was fine by me. (p. 18)

The noise was getting louder and I could see the girls were lagging behind in my footsteps. They really were nervous. It was ridiculous to get so worked up about a noise, and in broad daylight. (p. 24)

The funny thing about girls is that they are so contrary. Not long before, they had been scared stiff of some imagined dangers and now I couldn't drag them away. (p. 26)

Generalisations of this kind promote the myth that all girls are the same and that males have them all summed up.

In **What's a Poem Anyhow?** the main character is again male. Here are some of his capsule comments about male and female friends.

Sylvia was way taller than Peter. She had long blond pigtails, braces on her teeth and was in grade six. (p. 108)

Liz (. . .) always wore a nice ribbon in her hair. (p. 114)

Bob was wearing his Little League cap, and had his baseball glove on. He could whistle very well. (p. 109)

Charlie Kucharik (...) liked to put gum on your seat. (p. 114)

Pierre Caledonia (...) always came first in class. (p. 115)

Likewise in "A Funny Thing Happened to Mr. Gravely" the women in the story are "the blond, pig-tailed girl at the registration desk" (p. 130), "a large lady with an armful of groceries" (p. 135) and a "rather pretty woman sporting a nifty black choker" (p. 136). Girls and women are described in terms of what they look like; males are defined by what they do. This teaches both sexes that the important thing about girls is their appearance.

5. At times this male definition of women becomes derogatory. Males are seen insulting and excluding females when it suits them..

If, in **Rockets Away**, the boys had put up a sign which said "No Blacks", would it make acceptable reading material? Yet girls are expected to enjoy reading that males have the power to

exclude them and set traps to make sure they stay out. (This exclusion occurs also in **Spelling in Language Arts 3**, p. 91.)

In **Take a Peek** Cathy says she can't play football. Pat replies, "Oh come on. Mr. Mugs can play football! You can play. Come on." Girls are at least as good as dogs, a comforting thought.

In **Detective Game**, John defines Miss Partridge:

She was one of mother's friends, and she was always calling him her dear little man and wanting to kiss him. It wouldn't be hard to shadow her, she was so fat.

This stereotype of the single woman, ugly and craving male affection, is a caricature school texts can do without.⁵

Perhaps the most explicit statement of male dislike of females appears in "Bonjour", a story in *Kites and Cartwheels*. The following sentiments are those of the male lead:

Really he hated them. He'd like to pot them with his slingshot (. . .) It was tough luck they were English but those girls have to be such sissies? They couldn't fish! (p. 174)

Those girls couldn't swim! How helpless could you get!

Even the oldest one lay around in a tire and tittered about the coldness. (p. 176)

He'd seen one of them pick up a stone and try to throw it in that silly overhand way girls have. (p. 177)

Girls! All they did in that precious cove of theirs was sit around giggling, arguing, talking and pulling boats on strings. (p. 177)

The girls couldn't paddle and the mother was mostly busy with baby. (p. 179)

Well that was pretty dumb, about as dumb as anything those girls might dream up. (p. 180)

Serve them right, couldn't even tie knots, those stupid girls. (p. 180)

The game wasn't such a sissy affair now because he was given personal charge of the exploits of the ocean liner. He swam it far out, to the girls' great admiration, and converted it into an atomic submarine navigating beneath polar ice. He added technical refinements out there that he didn't have to explain to them. (p. 189)

Stories like this written to prop up male egos by demeaning girls should be censored in school books.⁶

6. Men are shown in an endless range of occupations, women in very few. Three examples will suffice. The Ginn Readers show men in over fifty occupations, women in only eight. *Seeking Adventure* shows men in twenty-eight different occupations, women in five. *Kits and Cartwheels* shows men in twenty, women in six.

Women in Newfoundland have traditionally contributed to the family economy by making fish, cutting wood, putting up fences, tending gardens and carding and spinning wool; they still grow vegetables, make fish, work with their hands, paint their homes and get involved in all kinds of community work as well as raising children. Women whose husbands are lost at sea or in other accidents take the

full responsibility for providing for homes and families. And yet the mothers who populate the textbooks are menial, plastic people.

Women in Newfoundland work outside the home in a much wider variety of jobs than is shown. While they are the librarians, secretaries, nurses and teachers whom children see in textbooks, they are also contractors, mayors, ironworkers, truck drivers, biologists, artists and doctors.

The point is not whether women are shown working inside or outside the home. It is that women and girls would be shown to be worthwhile, independent, active. People with the interests, strengths and positive qualities which they possess in real life.

FOOTNOTES

1. They are Elizabeth in *Taking Off* (though her father makes most of the decisions), Miss Latimer and Maria in **Detective Game**, Molly Whuppie in **Topsy Turvy**, Maria in **All About Me**, Cathy in **Up the Beanstalk** pp. 51-54, and Claire pp. 59-74 in the same book.
2. Even the board entitled *Mother at Work* has 2 pictures of mother with her children, 1 of mother eating lunch, 1 of mother shopping on the way home, and only 1 of mother at work, while *Father at Work* is actually at work in 4 pictures and shares his pay cheque in the 5th.
3. The SRA Kit is of course being phased out. However in the choice of a replacement, the depiction of women and girls was not taken into account, according to the Social Studies Consultant. **One World** is a much more global and realistic kit, and for those reasons it is a good choice. However its portrayal of women is the traditional one (e.g. Year One, 1B/15-21 and Year Two, 2C/1-13). In the section on how communities change socially and culturally (Year Two, Concept DI, the changing of women and men are not mentioned.
4. A rare interaction across two generations is found in **Bundle of Sticks**, where a little boy, who is crippled, and his grandmothers play an imaginative game together (p. 46). The treatment of such subjects as age and physical handicaps in school textbooks would require separate studies.
5. The disciplinarian mother is also a cliché of school materials, from board 12 of the SRA kit and the finger-wagging mother of **Up the Beanstalk** (p. 47) to the mothers in **Kites and Cartwheels** (p. 124 and p. 165) who punish their children and refuse to share their enthusiasms. The disciplinarian father does not figure in anything we read.
6. A similar instance occurs in **Driftwood and Dandelions**, where boys, on finding their teacher is a woman, are thoroughly disgusted. She in fact turns out to be friendly, active and courageous. Why the negative beginning' Stories which are truly designed to correct a prejudice present the enlightened viewpoint without reinforcing the prejudice.

SEX-BIASING IN EDUCATION TEXTBOOKS

Marguerite Baker

A recent article in the **Morning Watch** has examined the sex biasing of elementary school textbooks in Newfoundland (Chadwick, et al., 1975). The present study is designed to examine sex biasing in textbooks used in education courses at Memorial University. Differential treatment within textbooks defines one example of inequality of opportunity between the sexes. Research indicates that individual differences in abilities, interests and personalities are far greater within each sex group, than between the sexes (Anderson, 1972:7), and yet, teachers still encourage little boys to be manly and tougher, while encouraging little girls to be ladylike and less tough. This research is designed to examine the presentation of the sexes in the books which student-teachers study and from which they derive many of their expectations of the teaching situation.

Differential treatment of children based upon sex becomes an important issue when we consider the types of occupations which they tend to obtain as adults. For instance, in Newfoundland, males and females still tend to gravitate towards traditionally sex-defined occupations. Females fill 94.7 per cent of the stenographic and typing occupations and only 18, 4 per cent of the managerial, administrative and related occupations (Statistics Canada, 1973:2-1, 2-5). Males, on the other hand, fill 97.9 per cent of the occupations in natural sciences, engineering and mathematics, but they occupy only 13.5 per cent of nursing, therapy and related assisting occupations (Statistics Canada, 1973: 2-1, 2-3). Such statistics indicate that sex biasing may tend to limit the range of useful and fulfilling occupations which people may enter.

Sex-defined roles do not suddenly appear in adulthood. One source of children's role information is the messages which they receive in the ten thousand hours spent in the classroom. A review of the portrayal of females in Newfoundland's primary and elementary school curriculums pointed out that children receive sexist messages from the Nelson Readers, Ginn series, Open Highways series, and the SRA kit for Primary Social Studies (Chadwick, et al., 1975). Out of all the books reviewed, not one showed women, in pictures, as frequently as men. This numerical imbalance was also reflected in the stories. Neither series portrayed men and women in a non-stereotyped manner.

If schools are not being supplied with non-sexist books another approach to obliterating sexism may be taken. Teachers may be made aware of, and sensitive to, this issue. In this way, teachers themselves may avoid sexist attitudes and, furthermore, may deal with the sexism in children's books.

An enormous task facing teacher-training institutions, then, is to make teachers aware of sexism. Books are learning tools common to both student-teachers and school children. Children's books have been reviewed and found to be sexist, but no one has examined the books used in the teacher-training institutions.

Through their textbooks, teachers-in-training are led to expect certain experiences in the school situation as normal. Textbooks may suggest to the student-teacher the types of students to be found, their typical abilities, interests, and personalities, and ultimately, how each sex should be taught. Consequently, the present study attempts to identify sexism in a sample of texts used by the Education Faculty at Memorial University.

METHODOLOGY

The textbooks for education courses listed in the 1975-76 Memorial University calendar as suitable for both primary and elementary teachers were considered. Only those textbooks with a practical orientation, and intended for classroom teachers, were included. From this population, a random sample of five books was drawn: J. Dean, **Religious Education** for Children (1971, 141 pages); G. Ivany,

Today's Science (1975, 331 pages); E. Nye and V. Nye, **Music in the Elementary School** (1964, 208 pages); K. Kramer, **Teaching Elementary School Mathematics** (1975, 396 pages); and M. Mathews, **Teaching to Read** (1967, 208 pages). The last-named book did not meet all the criteria for selection. It is a reference book which has a historical perspective.

The number of male, female, and sexually-neutral references to teachers, principals and administrators, parents, children, and authors of professional articles, was **enumerated** for each book. In reference to the authors of professional articles I was interested in whether authors specifically point out another author's sex through name usage. The sentence was used as the unit of analysis. That is, each sentence in each book was examined with reference to sex biasing.

RESULTS

There are six important points to make in the results. First, teachers were most often referred to in a neutral way, and when defined by sex, were more often male than female. Only one book was an exception to this and in that book teachers, when described by sex, were most often referred to as female. It is generally accepted in the English language that the male term "he" may refer to and in that book teachers, when described by sex, were most often referred to as female. It is generally accepted in the English language that the male term "he" may refer to males only, as well as to people in general. This may partially explain these findings. Table I shows these findings.

TABLE 1
Number of teachers, principals, administrators, parents, children
and authors of professional articles, by sex

Textbook Group	Sex	Reading	Religious Education	Music	Math	Science
Teachers	Male	52	2	217	36	258
	Female	20	36	21	0	69
	Neutral	203	151	920	160	914
Principals	Male	2	2	1	0	0
	Female	3	2	0	0	0
	Neutral	0	0	11	0	3
Administrators	Male	0	0	0	0	0
	Female	0	0	0	0	0
	Neutral	8	0	16	0	3
Parents	Male	4	9	3	0	5
	Female	38	24	14	3	5
	Neutral	8	50	54	0	20
Children	Male	207	98	171	325	347
	Female	15	10	32	100	61
	Neutral	704	676	1830	887	1631
Authors	Male	28	23	6	6	28
	Female	6	13	10	1	6
	Neutral	10	19	37	39	14

Second, sexually-neutral references to principals and administrators predominated. There were no sex-defined references to administrators and an equal distribution of male and female principals. As indicated in Table 1, generally there were few references to principals and administrators in these books.

Third, in four books mothers were referred to more often than fathers. However, these were not important differences. In the fifth book, the number of references to mothers and fathers were equal. In three books, the number of sexually-neutral references exceeded those of either mothers or fathers. In only one book were mothers mentioned most often.

Four, the authors did refer to children considerably more frequently as boys than as girls. However, an interesting finding was that children were referred to without regard to their sex three or four times more often than as either boys or girls.

Five, the sex of authors was generally indicated and in this process professional works by male authors were cited more often than those by female authors in four of the five books. Only in two books were sexually-neutral references to authors used most frequently. In the remaining three books, male authors predominated.

Six, very few interactions were found in which the sex of both the child and the teacher were given. There were no incidences of a male teacher interacting with a female student. Overall the largest number of interactions were between male teachers and male students because of a heavy concentration in the Math textbook.

The overall pattern of interactions between both sexes of children and parents was similarly low and homogeneous. Mother-son interactions were the only exception, being greater in number than others. However, these interactions were still insignificant in terms of that number of pages read. Table 2 shows these results.

Table 2

Child/Teacher and Child/Parent Interactions

Interaction	Reading	Religious Education	Music	Math	Science
Male Teacher/Female Child	0	0	0	0	0
Female Teacher/Male Child	0	2	3	1	0
Male Teacher/Male Child	1	1	0	19	0
Female Teacher/Female Child	1	0	1	0	1
Male Parent/Female Child	0	1	0	0	2
Female Parent/Male Child	2	5	0	0	2
Male Parent/Male Child	0	1	1	0	1
Female Parent/Female Child	0	2	0	0	0

DISCUSSION

On the sample considered, the Reading book fared the best. Only few sexist examples were found. For instance, the authors say that "...it is just as illogical to assume that every boy must be able to

read as it is that each one must be able to perform on a violin, that it is no more reasonable to require that each girl spell well than it is that each one should bake a good cherry pie" (page 147). The subtle implication here is that most boys and girls should be able to do those respective things. Nevertheless, the book also contains a few derogatory comparisons: "English spelling is a traditional joke like mothers-in-law" (page 155).

The Reading book contained more references to mothers than the other books. Generally, however, the references seemed to be unbiased. The Religious Education text, on the other hand, which contained the second greatest number of references to mothers, did contain more biased references. For instance, the following sentences exemplify the role mothers play in the lives of their children. As such, these sentences imply roles for mothers which are not necessarily solely in their domain: "He is helped in these demands for certain kinds of behaviour by his love for and desire to please his mother and by his own search for order and meaning" (page 128); "one group represented the old-age pensioners, another group mothers with pre-school children..." (page 38); "Toilet training is one of the earliest situations in which a child attempts to control his own activities and desires to please his mother" (page 128).

In the Religious Education text, also, mothers are mentioned in incidences where it is completely irrelevant, but in which the primary roles mothers are supposed to have in the upbringing of their children are emphasized: "This is the story of a group of London children with working mothers who hear that the local council is going to remove a tree that they play in..." (page 38). The story is about the tree. The fact that the children's mothers work is probably irrelevant. The children's fathers also work.

As there were generally few references to mothers, there are few examples of the roles traditionally assigned them. However, in the Music text the author says: "The singing of a mother to her baby...is highly important in musical development. Music education begins at home in the cradle" (page 182). One wonders why the father, who also learned to sing as a child, cannot sing to his children. Similarly, the same author says the following: "Make up a story and use percussion instruments for sound effects. Example: The alarm clock (triangle) awakens us in the morning...mother calls 'are you sleeping?'" (pages 107-108). Again "father" would be equally applicable in a real-life situation. Caring for children in the morning is not solely the mother's responsibility.

A noticeable characteristic of two books was the tendency to use boys when undesirable behaviour was being discussed. The Science and Religious Education texts did this in several incidences. The following comments were found in the Religious Education text: "There is the boy who launches into a fight with his neighbour in an unsuitable place" (page 56); "...the Headmaster was faced with a group of four boys who had managed to break the football goal posts by swinging at them" (page 57); "...a boy who volunteered to his teacher that he had gained threepence because a shopkeeper had given him too much change" (page 56); "One, for example, might tell of Mr. Jones who had painted his gate and was very proud of it until some boys thoughtlessly scratched their initials on it; of old Mrs. Smith who was desperately frightened when boys kept knocking on her door at night..." (page 113).

In the Science text were found the following: "No Bobby, we're not going to discuss that now" (page 106); "That's not science, Johnny. This is a science class" (page 166); "Sir, yesterday you asked Johnny to leave our group because we were too noisy..." (page 70); "Okay Billy, stay with us. Don't get carried away again" (page 87); "Can't you see that Billy or are you too busy entertaining Leslie?" (page 87). The lack of comparable comments on, and disciplinary directions for, females may indicate to the student-teacher that such undesirable behaviours are to be expected primarily from males. This, in turn, may affect the student-teacher's approach to teaching.

Furthermore, the Math text was biased in terms of the examples used. Adult males buy in order to sell, sell, earn, own, pave roads, have land, money, and cars, and they travel, and estimate expenditures. Adult females are cited in only two examples. They buy cheese, and they buy eggs.

In six examples boys hike and walk, but in only one example a girl plans to walk. Boys have baseball cards, postcards, scrapbooks, copperware, cardboard, money and customers. Girls have dolls, dresses, flowers, eggs and money. Boys pay, collect money, receive a commission, buy, sell, earn, and spend in a total of eight examples. Girls sell in two examples. In thirteen other examples, boys are active; in nine others girls are active. In two of those nine examples, girls "have to read" and "want to buy". Boys, on the other hand, are never forced, and nor are they described as being contemplative.

The Math book cites research throughout. In two cases, the research results are possible sources of student- teachers' sex-bias. The first study "...involved about 133,000 students in more than 5300 schools in twelve countries...it was emphasized that the project was not designed to be an international test" (pages 23-24). Canada was not among the twelve countries listed, yet a student-teacher, being more classroom oriented and less oriented towards research, might apply the following findings to Canada: "Boys performed better than girls" and "boys were more interested in math than girls" (page 24).

In the Music book tendencies towards bias are evident in terms of information given about sex differences and advice to teachers to encourage them. "Interests of boys and girls are usually divergent...he (the teacher) encourages children to create in terms of their varying interests" (page 37); "girls are more interested than boys in music concerned with home and family life" (page 37). In conjunction with these observations on sex differences, the author encourages such differences with these suggestions: "...dialogue songs are used in which boys sing one part, girls another..." (page 33); "...develop breath control. The teacher's approach appeals to the boys, for she emphasizes that they should take part in sports...to acquire the muscles that they need to sing" (page 172).

One source of bias peculiar to a music book is the number of songs about males and females. In this particular book, of 51 songs presented, 39 concerned neutral subjects or were not sex-biased. Seven described sex-defined roles for females and 3 for males. Sex-defined roles refer to descriptions such as female subordination to male, male independence and female dependence, and an overemphasis on female physical attractiveness. "The Count", for example, was one song which described sex-defined roles for a male and a female: "he wrote me a letter...it asked for my hand...I wrote him my answer said no wedding band...Father shook with wrath. He broke every pot in the kitchen" (page 104). This song could be one more link in a schoolchild's formation of a chain of sex-defined roles — a male chooses the female, and a male angers at the female's daring to refuse.

It was interesting to find that two books made explicit reference to the subject of sex-bias. The author of the Religious Education text said: "...throughout this book I have referred to the teacher as "she" and the child as "he" this is purely for convenience as the book is of course intended for teachers and children of both sexes..." (page 12). The author of the Science text said, "Another, important inhibition occurs when the assigned learning material is labelled as inappropriate to one's sex. Science and mathematics continue to be viewed as somewhat, masculine pursuits by children and adults in our culture. Consequently young girls are inhibited from getting involved in such areas" (page 50).

In summary, the overall tendency seems to be towards unbiased, sexually-neutral references to teachers, children, administrators, etc. This is desirable if student-teachers are to study books which do not subtly produce, or reinforce, sex-biases. However, another tendency of these books is to refer to males more often than to females. This could direct the student-teacher towards thinking only of males in the roles of children, colleagues, administrators, etc. Such a narrow outlook may be undesirable.

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Section VII The school as a complex organization

A RATIONALE FOR SELECTIVE DECENTRALIZATION IN SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN NEWFOUNDLAND

Dr. Art Ponder

Introduction

One of the dilemmas facing educational administrators in the province of Newfoundland is how best to involve teachers in decision-making related to education so as to improve both overall effectiveness and teacher morale. Historically, school systems have tended to retain the decision-making locus at the top of the organization. That is, decisions affecting education have been the prerogative of government, the Department of Education, the DEC's, school boards, superintendents and school administrators.

At the same time, teacher militants might well argue inputs to the decision-making process have tended to be minimal. As Spracklin (1976) suggests:

...Today's teachers may become disenchanted with authoritarian and paternalistic types of administration and are making increasing demands for a greater degree of participation in educational decision-making.

(Spracklin, 1976:4)

With the advent of the "Human Relations Movement", organization theory has given teachers' associations a theoretical impetus for demanding a greater decision-making role for their memberships. The popularity of the collegial model is not surprising as it envisages a "company of equals", an intuitively attractive (at least to teachers) form of educational governance.

In Newfoundland, during the last nine years, the average certification level of the provincial teaching force has increased from 1.56 in 1966-67 to 4.01 for 1974-75 (See Ponder, 1975), a commendable increase. As Boyan (1969) argues, an increase in professional qualifications is accompanied by a commensurate expansion of professional aspirations. Thus teachers are caught in what Sergiovanni (1968) refers to as the authority-ability dilemma. On the one hand, teachers are bound into a system characterized by a steep hierarchical structure, with a limited number of administrative positions above the level of classroom teacher. As a consequence, they are denied organizational rewards, such as prestige and power, which might normally accrue to the members of other organizations. On the other, lies the increase in teacher qualifications and specialized expertise. It is not surprising then, that these same teachers seek an expanded decision-making role, especially in decisions which directly affect them.

The Dilemma of Participative Decision-making

Based on the works of Maslow (1954) and McGregor (1961), overly enthusiastic PDM (participative decision-making) advocates have created the impression that teachers are somehow capable and interested in participating in all decisions related to education and that this will somehow translate into both increased productivity and teacher satisfaction. Is this a realistic assumption?

With respect to the relationship between PDM and productivity for other-than educational organizations, Lowin (1968) has determined that there appears to be no consistent, direct relationship between PDM and productivity. For educational organizations, in which a generally acceptable measure of productivity might be more difficult to determine, research findings are similarly unclear. Mitchell (1973) examined the relationship between PDM and the satisfaction level of employees and reached similar conclusions. That is, increased participation in organizational decision-making does not necessarily lead to enhanced job satisfaction for teachers or any other employee groups.

Thus the reader is faced with accepting one of two conclusions. First, that PDM and productivity or job satisfaction are independent. Secondly, that the relationship is a selective one, which holds under certain circumstances but will not under other sets of conditions. It is the latter position which this author supports and a brief overview of the literature which follows will hopefully help to sustain the argument.

Overview of Some Relevant Literature

Barnard (1938) raises the possibility that employees may desire only selective involvement. That many decisions are of no interest to them or lie outside their area of expertise. He refers to a "zone of indifference" within which an administrative decision will be accepted without question. Effective PDM by teachers comes only in decisions which lie outside this zone. Further, teacher interest in participation should be higher when the decision is relevant to their personal concerns.

Sharma (1955), in a study of teachers' wishes for participation in decisions related to thirty-five activities, ascertained that they desire participation in decisions related to instructional materials, objectives of learning and curriculum content, teaching load and other assignment of teachers, salaries and welfare provisions, pupil evaluation and promotion, selection, retention and promotion of teaching personnel, extra-curricular activities, and public relations. Additionally he reported that "satisfaction was related directly to the current practices in decision-making in operation in the schools" (Sharma, 1955:4)

Similarly Carson, Goldhamer and Pellegrin (1967) discovered that teachers wanted formal participation in the areas of salary schedules, determining methods of instruction, curriculum planning and development, determining schedule in teacher's own room, selection of instructional supplies and the scheduling of supervisory duties. In a number of other areas such as selection of new teachers, financing school expansion and room assignments, they had no interest.

A study by Simpkins and Friesen (1969) revealed that teachers want PDM in certain areas, but the extent and form of participation should vary with the task. They reported teachers preferred to see the formal staff determine school rules and regulations, teaching loads and duties and allocation of money to teachers and departments. Individual teachers desired content of the curriculum, and making arrangements with parents to discuss matters concerning their children.

Belasco and Alutto (1972) examined the relationship between the levels of satisfaction experienced by teachers and the state of their decisional participation. Their approach isolated three states of participation, deprivation (participation in fewer decisions than desired), equilibrium (participation in as many decisions as desired) and, saturation (participation in more decisions than desired). They concluded that decisional climate is a major factor influencing teacher satisfaction. Those teachers experiencing lower levels of satisfaction also experience the highest levels of decisional deprivation.

In a study utilizing a similar approach, Inkpen (1974) collected data on three hundred elementary teachers in Newfoundland. He was concerned with the amount of PDM teachers experienced contrasted with the amount which they desired. The results indicated:

1. A significant difference existed between desired and actual levels of participation in the decisional areas of: curriculum planning and adaptation classroom management, arrangements of the school instructional program, general organization and building construction.
2. With the exception of sex, essentially no significant interaction was found between variables of age, sex, teaching experience, professional training, size of school, type of board and school, and teachers present and desired level of participation in the five decisional areas.

(Inkpen, 1974:91)

Some Conclusions and Recommendations

Although the author has by no means reviewed all the relevant literature, a number of tentative conclusions may be drawn from what has been presented as a representative sample. First, teachers clearly desire to participate in certain decisions and not in others. Secondly, there does not seem to be an equal, or absolute amount of participation required for all areas. Rather it appears to be a relativistic problem, a matter of the degree to which actual participation matches desired participation. Further, the question of how important is the decision area to teachers must also be determined. For example, teachers may indicate inadequate participation in decisions related to school social activities but consider the decision unimportant. As the author has suggested elsewhere:

Discrepancy, by itself, need not be dysfunctional to the organization. Negative effects are most likely to occur when the decision is of major importance to teachers. Even a large discrepancy in an area of peripheral importance would be less likely to have any substantial negative influence. Since involvement in decision-making is a time consuming process, teachers are likely to have established a hierarchy of decision priorities. The higher the priority and the wider the discrepancy, the greater is the likelihood of lowered productivity and satisfaction. Similarly, the higher the priority and the greater the degree of congruency, the greater the likelihood of both increased productivity and teacher satisfaction.

(Ponder, 1974:8)

Finally, the question of the form of participation desired by teachers has to be a consideration. Of the possible decision-making opportunities available to teachers, it may well be that different forms of participation are required.

Finally, involvement in decision-making can take different forms such as individual, group or representational. The form which is appropriate for one decision area may be totally inappropriate for another. For example, a teacher may wish to decide jointly with the principal his or her workload. Similarly, history department matters may best be decided by the concerned group. Finally, on certain matters, such as grievance procedures where teachers may have limited experience and expertise, they may prefer to be represented by the N.T.A.

(Ponder, 1974:8)

Although positive relationships between PDM and both productivity and job satisfaction may be selective ones, what are the conditions likely to bring them about? This author hypothesizes that there are three. First, it appears necessary to determine which decisions are important to teachers. For decisions lacking importance, it seems unlikely that the state of decisional participation will affect either productivity or morale.

Secondly, it is necessary to determine how much participation teachers actually have compared with the amount they desire. For decisions where a condition of decisional equilibrium exists, no further decentralization appears appropriate. In instances where decisional deprivation is evident, the further transfer of decision-making responsibility would be in order.

Finally, since different forms of decision-making (individual, group or representational) may be deemed appropriate by teachers, it makes sense to attempt to determine this as well. This is not to suggest that school administrators will necessarily willingly surrender decision-making authority. However it is the contention of this author that the degree to which the basic conditions are met, the greater the probability of the positive relationships occurring.

The author, in collaboration with Professor J.W. Bulcock, has developed a strategy to determine directions for selective decentralization. This technology will be shared with readers in a subsequent issue.

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A STRATEGY FOR RATIONALLY DECENTRALIZING DECISION-MAKING IN A SCHOOL DISTRICT

Dr. Art Ponder

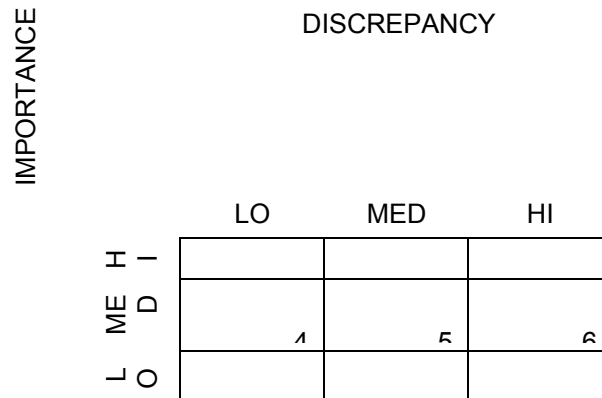
In a previous article the author outlined a rationale for selective decentralization of educational decision-making in school districts in Newfoundland. The basis of the argument was that indiscriminate, haphazard decentralization was unlikely to bring about desirable outcomes, particularly increased teacher productivity or morale. Rather it appears to make sense to expand the teacher decision-making role in decisions which the teachers consider important and in which they feel they have insufficient input. (Ponder, 1976)

School administrators are presumably interested in identifying important decision areas in which a large discrepancy between actual and desired participation exists for a substantial percentage of teachers; to discover what Wallin (1973) refers to as "friction-points". That is, to specify areas of potential conflict which could be dysfunctional in the successful operation of school systems in Newfoundland. The theoretical application of the friction point is three-fold. First, decision areas of high importance to teachers and in which there is a large discrepancy between actual and desired participation are likely to yield negative outcomes for the organization i.e. have a high friction point rating. Secondly, decision areas which are of high importance to teachers and in which there is relative congruency between actual and desired participation, increase the likelihood of positive outcomes, i.e. produce low friction points. Finally, decision areas of low importance, whether discrepant or congruent, appear unlikely to affect organizational performance significantly in either direction. Hence, they possess a medium friction point. A high friction point rating, by a significant percentage of teachers, may then be interpreted as an indication of an area in which the teacher decision-making role might be expanded.

One way of determining friction-points is through the administration of questionnaires to teachers in the district. The questionnaire could be divided into four sections. A number of decision activities (the number and nature of these will be discussed later) could be listed and possibly grouped into decisional areas. On the first section teachers could then be asked to indicate, on a one-to-five point (Likert) scale, the extent to which they actually participate in decisions related to each of the activities. 1 — no involvement; 2 — low level of involvement; 3 — medium level of involvement (teachers have equal involvement with other individuals or groups); 4 — high level of involvement; 5 — exclusive involvement (teachers have complete freedom to make decisions). Next, the same activities are repeated. Using an identical scale, teachers are asked to indicate the extent to which they would like to be able to participate. On a third part, teachers rate, on a one-to-five point scale, the importance they attach to each activity within the decision area. The scale ranges from; 1 — Not At All Important; 2 — Slightly Important; 3 — Average Importance; 4 — Very Important; 5 — Priority Importance (Essential). Finally, respondents are asked, regardless of the level of participation they prefer, to indicate the form which this participation should take.

From the initial discussion it is easily shown that there are two distinct dimensions to the friction point concept, namely a decision discrepancy dimension and a decision importance dimension of the simple friction point rating (FPR) typology depicted in Fig. 1. On the discrepancy scale, (desired-actual) discrepancies of ± 4 or ± 3 could be considered high, ± 2 , medium, and ± 1 and 0, low. For the importance scale, 5 and 4 could be considered high, 3, medium, and 2 and 1, low. Thus those which fall in cells 6, 8, and 9, important and discrepant items, are given high FPR, those in 1, 2, and 3, unimportant and either discrepant or congruent, a medium FPR, and those in 4, 5, and 7, important and relatively congruent, a low FPR rating.

Figure 1
Friction Point Rating Typology



It then appears possible to calculate the percentage of teachers giving each item a high FPR and the percentage of teachers who do not. Perhaps an example will serve to illustrate. In a recent study of elementary and primary teachers in Newfoundland, Ponder and Bulcock (1976) included the following items dealing with curriculum:

Curriculum Planning and Adaptation

1. Determination of the basic outline of the curriculum.
2. Determination of the detailed content of the curriculum.
3. Determination of the texts and instructional material for the curriculum.

Table I

% of teachers viewing the item as either unimportant or in which they had sufficient participation.			% of teachers viewing the item as both important and in which they had insufficient participation.	
Decision Item	#1	70.5	29.5	29.5
	#2	74.7	25.3	25.3
	#3	57.7	42.2	42.2

Clearly such findings provide a data base for administrative action. For each of the three items, in excess of 25 percent of the teachers felt it was both important and that they had insufficient input to the decision-making process. Thus it might well be concluded (utilizing 25 percent as an arbitrary cut-off point) that these are areas in which the teacher decision-making role might profitably be expanded. Items, with less than 25 percent indicating a high FPR, would not appear to warrant further expansion.

Additionally, the form (individual, group or representational) of participation indicated by teachers may provide some guidelines for administrators seeking mechanisms to further involve teachers. For example, in the same study the authors asked for an FPR for "the evaluation of my performance as a teacher". Not only did in excess of 25 percent of the teachers rate the item as high FPR, but indicated that they preferred individual participation in their own evaluation. The authors conclude

With respect to the preferred form of participation, teachers favour individual participation in their own evaluation and group participation in the evaluation of superiors. This suggests that teachers view their own evaluation as a private matter between themselves and their superiors. The evaluation of superiors, such as the principal, would be the province of the concerned group such as the teachers on his or her staff. (Ponder and Bulcock, 1976:3)

Perhaps of even greater concern to administrators might be what decision items to include in the questionnaire itself. The preparation of the instrument requires both a reasonable knowledge of teacher concerns and some selective judgement on the part of the administrator. Perhaps, at this point, a word of caution is in order. Questionnaires should provide guaranteed anonymity to respondents. It should be obvious that responses may provide criticism, either implicit or explicit, of the system itself.

The sources of items appear to be three. First, appropriate items may be gleaned from the literature. Similar studies have been conducted with teachers in Newfoundland at the primary, elementary, junior and senior high school levels. Inkpen, Ponder and Crocker (1975), Ponder and Bulcock (1976) and Penney (1976) utilized items pertaining to curriculum development, classroom management, building construction, school organization, staffing and evaluation, to name only a few. Similarly studies conducted in other parts of Canada, such as Mackay (1964) and Simpkins and Friesen (1969), may provide additional appropriate items. Finally, studies conducted in North America, in general, may yield a further source of material. These are exhaustively reviewed by Inkpen (1975) and Penney (1976).

The activities of the NTA, more specifically motions passed at the AGM, could be a useful reflection of teacher concerns. Additionally, discussions of the liaison committees produce similar information at the local level. Finally, alert administrators may become aware of issues by simply keeping their ears to the ground.

It must be recognized that not all possible decision items fall under the preview of "local" administrators. Who make certain decisions and the way in which they are arrived at are often clearly specified in such documents as the collective agreement, department regulations or provincial legislation. Nevertheless, it appears from the several studies carried out in the Newfoundland context that many decisions are not similarly constrained. Thus it is the contention of this author, for the administrator seeking to decentralize decision-making while at the same time increasing the probability of increased teacher productivity and enhanced satisfaction, the application of the friction-point strategy may well provide some information on the directions which might be undertaken.

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AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH TO SYSTEMATIC TEACHER EVALUATION IN SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN NEWFOUNDLAND

Dr. Art Ponder

Introduction

The recent collective agreements signed on behalf of the Newfoundland teaching force appear to have serious implications for the teachers in the province. In brief, the necessarily vague clauses concerning teacher evaluation include only that:

1. 14.01 The prime purpose of evaluation shall be the increased effectiveness of personnel in improving instruction.
2. 14.02 All evaluation shall be conducted openly and with the knowledge of the teacher(s).
3. 14.03 The results of such evaluation shall be made known to the teacher(s) concerned.

(NTA Handbook:26)

However, whatever is or might be included must necessarily suffer from two identifiable shortcomings. First, there is little or no consensus on what constitutes good teaching, even in very general terms. Secondly, the general methodology of evaluation is based almost exclusively on teacher observation, a system or a collectivity of systems which research has shown to be singularly invalid and unreliable. As a consequence, teacher evaluation, as it is presently constituted, offers little in the way of constructive possibilities for the improvement of instruction. Further, teachers subjected to evaluation may, in some instances, be dealt with in a capricious or at least unfair manner. Perhaps the exercise of observation provides already busy administrators with additional responsibilities, but it might well be concluded that, at best, the extent to which such observation leads to improvement in instruction remains uncertain.

It appears appropriate to deal with the former question first, Is there some process which can be clearly identified as good teaching? The position which this author chooses to advance is that there is not. That is, the doctrine of equifinality may apply here. Simply stated there are probably a variety (more than one) way to teach reading to, for example, exceptional children.

The research on teachers, teaching and teacher education has given rise to no notable theory of teaching. Neither has it been notable for the consistency of its findings other than that there seems to be little agreement between the many different criteria used to judge successful teaching (Wiseman and Start, 1965; Koskenniemi, 1965; Start, 1967). It has been bedevilled by the lack of an agreed definition of effective teaching, and of teacher competence (Getzels and Jackson, 1963; Tarpey, 1965; Lomax, 1972). It is truly amazing that so much research has occurred in an area where the essential criterion evades definition (Domes and Tiedman, 1950).

(Start, 1974:206)

Some of the variables which might help to determine the better methods could be orientation, appearance and personality, of the teacher, ability of the students and a host of other potentially mediating variables which the reader might choose to advance. Coleman (1973), in his proposal for the improvement of aggregate teaching effectiveness in a school district, has identified the dimensions of warmth, indirectness, cognitive development and enthusiasm as four generally associated with what might broadly be termed "success" in teaching. At the same time, he is necessarily vague as to whether some of all of these need be present, to what extent they need be present and, if present, whether they are, in fact, identifiable.

Probably one of the most promising attempts to categorize modes of teaching has been advanced by Broudy (1972, 1974). He suggests that teaching may be taxonomized into three general modes called philetics, didactics and heuristics. Clifton (1975) reports the empirical identification of these three modes and suggests a possibility of match between teacher and student orientations, bringing important data on what Coleman (1973) calls improving the match.

The general issue of match or inconsistency between teachers and their work assignments can be considered in three different ways: first, the relatively simple question of the wishes of the teacher with regard to a teaching assignment; second, the more complex question of role expectations and role conflicts for teachers and students and third, the even more difficult, and relatively unexplored question of what is the most productive match (or mismatch) between students and teachers for promoting student growth along psychological, social or cognitive dimensions.

(Coleman, 1973:251)

However attempts to isolate modes of teaching, although appearing to hold great promise, must be considered in their infant stages. That is, conceptually differences may be apparent, but the operational separation of behaviours unique to philetics, didactics or heuristics and those behaviours which they possess in common, may be somewhat more difficult.

To summarize, it appears that "successful teaching" may be composed of a number of components but we are uncertain about what they might be or about the manner in which they may interact with one another. Further, since the technology for the analysis of human interaction is either too imprecise or the nuances of human behaviour are too subtle to be detected, it appears unlikely that we can untie the Gordian knot, at least for the present.

Interaction analysis systems are usually concerned only with overt, observable behaviour, without taking into account the differing intentions that may underlie such behaviour. It is expressly concerned with what can be 'categorized or measured'. It may, however, obscure, distort, or ignore the qualitative features which it claims to investigate. It focuses on 'small bites of action or behaviour rather than global concepts' which may be much more subtle and difficult to perceive. By placing arbitrary boundaries on continuous phenomena, category systems may create an initial bias from which it is extremely difficult to escape. Development of audiovisual techniques has meant that much classroom research can work from recorded rather than 'live data'. While this allows for post hoc analysis, it has the disadvantage that much of the contextual data normally made available to the on-site observer may be lost. The technological sophistication threatens to increase the flow of data without adding to our understanding.

(Amara, 1976)

However the author is prepared to concede this may not be a universally accepted position. Obviously, at least some administrators in Newfoundland feel that they are capable not only of differentiating good teaching from bad but also of identifying the critical elements when present or when absent. Perhaps, in all fairness, this is a distortion of the facts. Nevertheless, the type of evaluation used almost universally throughout the province suggests this is the case.

A study by the American Association of School Administrators (1972) identified teacher observation as the principal means of teacher evaluation in the United States. Although no similar study has been conducted in Newfoundland, the author has no reason to believe the procedure differs significantly. Many boards have attempted to develop rating sheets (for example Labrador East Integrated Board). Here, at least a primary aspect is observation of the teacher in classroom settings.

What does research have to say concerning either the validity or reliability of teacher observation as a means of evaluation? First, it appears to be unreliable in that evaluators are unable to rate consistently the same teaching performance, when viewed more than once via videotape. Similarly, panels of raters have been unable to agree when viewing the same videotapes as to whether the teaching performance was good, bad or indifferent.

With ratings (evaluation on the basis of professional attitude, loyalty, etc.), evidence about teachers' actual classroom performance usually is lacking...And no research has yet shown that ratings improve teachers' performance.

(Olds, 1974:14)

Seventy-five years of educational research efforts to isolate the teacher traits essential for an effective classroom performance have produced little that is conclusive.

(Rosenshine, 1970:283)

What this suggests is that evaluators of teachers tend to compare teaching performance against their own subjective preconceptions and obviously these differ from rater to rater.

One evaluation plight is caused primarily by our erroneous notions that there is such a thing as an ideal teacher and that one can systematically screen a group of teacher candidates to ascertain the "best one". This error forces us to use the set of criteria we can agree upon — middle-class social values.

(Drumheller, 1974:19)

Further, even where boards have attempted to standardize, to some degree, rating scales, it has yet to be determined that some, or even many, of the items rated in any way relate to successful teaching. Perhaps an example will serve to illustrate. Listed below are a number of items from a teacher rating sheet currently in use in Newfoundland. In each instance, supervisors were asked to rate teachers on the basis of above average, satisfactory or needs improvement.

1. Discipline and Control in the Classroom.
2. Teacher-Staff Relationship.
3. Assessment and Follow Up of Student Assignments.

Once again it would be difficult to support the contention that any one of these three dimensions of teacher performance is directly related to teacher success.

To conclude, what can be deduced from research literature on the subject of teacher evaluation? First, there appears to be no generally accepted definitions of what constitutes successful performance in the classroom. Secondly, even if the latter were not true, human behaviour appears so complex and our technology is so imprecise, it is unlikely we could identify it if we saw it. Thirdly, teach, observation, in either the broad or narrow senses, is at best, both invalid and unreliable. As a consequence, it seems unlikely that teacher performance will be enhanced in any way, given the present state of the art.

It is then necessary to offer an alternative and this is what the author will attempt to do. First, a number of distinctions appear necessary. Coleman (1973) suggests that there are three forms of evaluations; predictive, which attempts to forecast whether an individual is likely to perform successfully as a teacher; formative, which strives to improve actual teacher performance; and summative, which provides information relative to whether a teacher should be retained (tenured), promoted or not. If one accepts the foregoing arguments, then either predictive or formative evaluation appear to be a waste of time. Similarly, if summative teacher evaluation is conducted through observation, it is not only a fruitless pursuit but is, in all likelihood, capricious and unfair.

It is the opinion of the author that focusing on process is concentrating on the wrong aspects of performance. Given how little we know about the process and the nature of observational techniques, we should probably be concerned with the quality of the product. This is most certainly student growth. At the same time, such a focus necessarily limits what evaluation may be used for. Evaluation of student growth permits only summative evaluation. That is, we are capable of saying students exposed to teacher A seem to achieve a greater degree of growth than those exposed to teacher B, but are unable to say why. It also seems probable that the number of teachers under whose tutelage student growth is at an unacceptable level is probably so small as to render any other evaluative techniques a patent exercise in futility. Product evaluation allows us not only to weed out incompetent teachers and reward successful ones, but to utilize supervisory talent in areas where their performance is more likely to have some real influence on the quality of instruction. Supervisory personnel might better be assigned in such activities as curriculum development and dissemination, becoming familiar with the latest educational hardware and software, and designing and carrying out teacher in-service activities based on their expertise. Not only do such undertakings appear to have a better chance of improving performance in that the teacher is able to broaden his choice of alternatives, but it appears philosophically consistent with the concept of the teacher as a professional. What follows is an alternative approach to teacher evaluation based on the notion of student growth.

Universals of a Sound Evaluation Plan

The development of any comprehensive system for evaluating student growth is necessarily dependent on the ability to measure what the student has acquired. Educational measurement is unlike linear measurement in that it is indirect. That is, we observe performance, generally test performance, and infer something about the internal state of the individual. Additionally, although we may be approaching constancy of units, "constant" in education is a relative term. As a consequence, it is necessary to recognize that error is present, as it is in all scientific endeavours. Further, because of the quantification problem, educational measurements are relative and not in any sense absolute. There is no real unit of accomplishment in social studies comparable to absolute zero. Standards in educational measurement are based on comparisons with a typical group.

Finally, it must be recognized that we are more successful in certain kinds of measurement than others. If one accepts the position of Parsons (1951), then education is much more than the acquisition of substantive knowledge. The school is a pattern-maintenance institution which is charged not only with imparting "book learning", but the norms and values of the society which legitimates it. Clearly it is easier to test computational skills than it is to test values. First, values may take years to develop, to be brought to test and must therefore be considered a longer range proposition. Secondly, the testing procedures for examining substantive learning, especially lower order learning, are probably more exact and less controversial (see Bashook 1969). However, even within what might broadly be termed cognition, we have experienced differential success in measuring outcomes.

In a similar vein, the complexities of attempting to specify what it is we are trying to measure are illustrated in the Taxonomies of Educational Objectives of Bloom (1954) and Krathwohl (1964). In the Cognitive Domain, the author presents a general outline of major categories of instructional objectives. Bloom categorizes these as (1) Knowledge, (2) Comprehension, (3) Application, (4) Analysis, (5) Synthesis and (6) Evaluation. Each such major category is further subdivided. For example, some further breakdown under knowledge would include knowledge of specifics such as the recall of atomic weights, knowledge of criteria such as the criteria necessary to judge a testing program and knowledge of principles and generalizations such as Newton's Laws of Motion. Krathwohl has performed a similar analysis for the Affective Domain.

The point is that the development of objectives is a rather intricate procedure. Owing to the inevitable complexities involved, objectives need not be formulated by an individual teacher. Rather it

makes sense to attempt to develop or secure sets of objectives at the provincial, system, school and class levels, recognizing that individual teachers may also have some objectives unique to themselves.

Yet for any school board contemplating a plan of product examination for teacher evaluation, the development of specific, measurable objectives appears imperative. Teaching may be said to include five essential processes. (Noll and Scannell 1972). These include defining goals or objectives, choosing content, deciding on methods of instruction, the instruction itself and measuring results. To attempt to teach without defining objectives could be likened to starting on a journey without knowing where you want to go. Further, if no objectives are developed, then the task of determining how well the teacher has performed becomes an impossibility.

The other aspect of prompt examination is to develop the necessary skills and instrumentation to determine to what extent the objectives have been achieved. Ponder (1976) has hypothesized that most teachers in Newfoundland do not now possess the necessary skills for such an undertaking. Measurement skills appear to be similarly neglected for in-service programmes.

In particular, the area of educational measurement is sadly neglected. That is, teachers may simply be unaware of what they are doing when they are engaging in educational measurement. Or, perhaps of even greater importance, they are unaware of the limitations which should be placed on such measurement owing, at least in part, to the nature of the process itself. Such an analysis, if valid, suggests that teachers could be making decisions, which may vitally affect the future of their students, on the basis of somewhat questionable evidence.

(Ponder, 1976:1)

To conclude it can be stated categorically that the three universals of any successful teacher evaluation plan based on student growth are the development of specific measurable objectives, the upgrading of the measurement skills of teachers in the system and the construction and selection of valid, reliable instruments to determine to what extent objectives have been attained.

Some Elements of the Plan

A successful product-based teacher evaluation plan is not developed overnight. It must be constructed over time. This author estimates a period of not less than five years is required to bring it to fruition.

The first step is the development of measurable objectives at all levels. In many instances, at least some objectives are provided at the provincial level. However it remains for the system as whole to supplement these with objectives of its own. This would include objectives not spelled out at the provincial level and possibly unique to the system itself. Individual schools' objectives may differ significantly so some input appears appropriate at this level. Similarly, at the individual class or subject level objectives may vary. Finally, teachers themselves may differ, to some degree, in their own objectives.

The skills necessary to develop measurable objectives are not necessarily provided in teacher/preparation programs. Thus some in-service work in this area is probably necessary throughout the system. At the same time, the measurement skills of teachers probably need upgrading and provides an additional area for in-service work.

Measurement for such a system is provided by three types of instruments. These include teacher made tests which are presumably more valid and reliable owing to the upgrading of teachers' measurement skills; system wide tests, developed by subject specialists and measurement experts; and standardized tests developed by experts and providing norms for comparative purposes.

Standardized tests provide a more general approach to measurement but provide norms against which the performance of students in a system may be compared. System wide tests give educators an opportunity to measure more specific objectives. Additionally over time, system, school, ability grouping and even class norms may be developed for various within-system comparisons. Finally, teacher made tests provide individual teachers with some feedback concerning their own performance.

It must be recognized that the norms provided by some standardized tests may be inappropriate for Newfoundland schools possibly because they are not culture fair. Thus it may be necessary to develop system norms for these tests.

The next step is the development of system wide tests and the selection of standardized tests for use throughout the system. The construction of system wide tests requires the close co-operation of both measurement personnel, subject experts and individual teachers. At the same time, system wide tests provide measurement for more specific, possibly unique objectives not covered by standardized tests.

The selection of standardized tests is best carried out by examining what is available within each subject and grade level. Some test batteries are also offered. These include a group of tests in a number of subject areas. The Canadian Test of Basic Skills, administered to virtually all students in Newfoundland, at the grades four and eight levels, is an example of such a test battery. Some criteria for judging the tests might include how closely they measure the system's objectives, validity and reliability and the availability and appropriateness of norms. Tests in Print (Buros, 1961) and the Mental Measurements Yearbooks provide a list of the available tests and where they may be secured. In addition, critiques are provided for most of those listed.

Next comes the development of system norms. These are developed by collecting student performance data for students over time. It must be recognized that norms cannot be universally applied across a whole system. For example, the abilities of students in different schools within a system may vary for a variety of reasons. (This subject has been investigated thoroughly by Dr. G.L. Parsons in a series of papers. See Parsons and Singh (1974) Parsons (1975), Parsons and Parsons (1976), Parsons and Senior (1975). As a consequence, it may be unrealistic to expect a similar average growth pattern for all schools, classes or ability groupings. Thus both school and ability grouping norms appear necessary as well. These norms will also take several years to develop. Finally, teacher made tests provide teachers and administrators with data concerning the degree of success experienced by individual teachers in their subject or class areas.

The development of norms provide a basis for comparison of student growth and, just as importantly, teacher performance. Naturally comparisons between teachers' performances must be done with extreme caution. But properly exercised, they appear to hold promise for teacher evaluation. It may be recalled earlier the author suggested that product evaluation would only identify very weak, average and outstanding teachers. Thus, over time, teachers whose students failed to achieve an acceptable level of growth might be reassigned or, in extreme cases, possibly even dismissed. However this would probably be an extremely small percentage of the teaching force. At the same time, teachers whose students consistently achieved above average growth patterns could be rewarded. An additional positive by-product of such a system is that it provides an excellent profile of individual student growth which could be of great value to both teachers and counsellors.

Summary and Conclusions

Clearly such an evaluation system has obvious disadvantages. Our measurement skills are definitely more refined for measuring cognitive outcomes. Additionally, since the development of values and attitudes is both a long term proposition and difficult to measure, this aspect of teaching performance may be overlooked. It is possible that teachers who are specially competent at fostering the affective outcomes could be passed over.

The development and use of norms must be carried out with caution. It is important that teaching performance (student growth) be compared to an entirely appropriate set of norms. Even then, the results must be interpreted with reservations.

Since the development of norms may take several years, the plan appears appropriate only for school districts in which the teaching population is rather stable. At the same time, given the present financing formula and decreasing school population, it appears the lack of a choice of positions may make all boards' teaching populations somewhat more stable.

On the positive side of the ledger, several advantages present themselves. First, properly applied product evaluation gives all teachers an opportunity to be evaluated on a genuine criterion, student growth. Thus teachers, whose methods may be somewhat unorthodox or inconsistent with the views of administrators, have an opportunity to be vindicated.

Secondly, such a systems renders classroom observation unnecessary and frees both administrators and supervisory personnel from time consuming and apparently unproductive classroom visitations. Both the quantity and quality of in-service work and professional development could be increased.

Finally, in terms of the systems' relations with both the public and the politicians, it provides information for both the schools and their critics. It yields data concerning both strengths and weaknesses and, in many instances, will protect the schools from the subjective evaluations which generate a lot of heat but little light.

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EDUCATION AND ALIENATION

Dr. Phillip McCann

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Everyone has a store of ideas, abilities and knowledge which is peculiarly his own.¹ It may include the making of model ships or the most intricate crochet work, the ability to remember accurately and at length the words of poems or forgotten popular songs or a knowledge of esoteric theories or beliefs. All of us know quite "uneducated" people who are adept, for instance at the often complex mathematics of card games, billiards or the statistics of various sports or who can propound, in an erudite fashion, the theory and principles of various political or religious ideologies.

The most remarkable aspect of this kind of knowledge is that none of it was taught to us or learned by us in a formal manner; we learned it effortlessly and enjoyably by ourselves without the aid of study, drill, examination or any of the apparatus usually found in educational institutions. This circumstance alone should begin to make us think seriously about the validity of the procedures which go to make up what we call the educational system. What we "learned" at school, of course, was undertaken for purely instrumental or utilitarian reasons — to obtain the necessary skills or accreditation by which to earn a living. Dewey's observations on the subject, written three-quarters of a century ago, have lost none of their force today:

"... by far the larger number of pupils leave school as soon as they have acquired the rudiments of learning, as soon as they have enough of the symbols of reading, writing, and calculating to be of practical use to them in getting a living. While our educational leaders are talking of culture, the development of personality, etc., as the end and aim of education, the great majority of those who pass under the tuition of the school regard it only as a narrowly practical tool with which to get bread and butter enough to eke out a restricted life."²

It is the conditions of work which do most to restrict life, particularly in urban areas. In the vast majority of cases a person's job fails to sustain and promote what Georg Simmel, in his studies of city life, called "the autonomy and individuality of his existence".³ Work is something we endure with the minimum of self-committment, while the real wealth of our personality is poured into our leisure time, which as Bernard Shaw pointed out, is what we have come to live for.

It hasn't always been so. Before the rise of industrialism in Western Europe some two hundred years ago, work was largely familial, personalized and fulfilling, in the sense that the worker could "put himself into" the productive process by which he and his family maintained their existence. An artisan, for instance, owned the tools of his trade and could not only carry through the whole process necessary to make a loaf of bread or a chair but also claim the product for his own use. But as Adam Smith correctly predicted and Karl Marx analyzed in detail, the advent of factory production destroyed for the great majority of people the possibility of personal involvement in their work. Marx argued that the fundamental reason for this was that industrial production was organized on the basis of a capitalist owning the means of production of commodities (i.e. capital, factories, machinery) whereas the worker owned nothing but the ability to work. As both the physical plant and the product belonged to another person, work was thus "external to the worker". It was not "part of his nature", nor did he "fulfil himself" in his work; it was forced, not voluntary and did not satisfy a need but was merely "a means for satisfying other needs". Its "alien character" was clearly shown by the fact that as soon as there was no physical or other compulsion it was "avoided like the plague".⁴

The concept of alienation based on this model has in recent years become popular in intellectual circles. This is partly the result of the vogue for Existentialism, particularly that of the French Marxist-Existentialist Jean-Paul Sartre, partly because of the recent upsurge of interest in Marxism among Western academics. What is of interest and importance to educationists is that the above analysis of alienation in the work process could apply equally well to the educational process, as exemplified in the school systems of industrial nation states or those modelled upon them.

For most people the most important question about school, it has been said, is not **what** they get out of it, but when they get out of it. Formal education, to borrow Marx's phrase about labour, seems to stand "opposed to the individual as an autonomous power".⁵ School is what children are forced to attend and its practices and procedures are not primarily concerned with fostering personal fulfilment. The goals are set by others and subjects and courses are there to be "taken", without the need for any more emotional involvement than that brought to bear on the selection of items at a supermarket. Despite the lip-service paid to "the development of the individual", everyone knows that it is not interest in learning that matters but marks and grades. By the accumulation of high marks and good grades the pupil advances through the system, and the higher the level of education the greater the ultimate material reward.⁶ Thus schools satisfy "other needs" than those of human self-realization and their alien character receives silent but eloquent testimony in the empty classrooms and deserted corridors of every school at five minutes past four each day.

The mechanics of the alienation process can best be seen by examining in detail a Weberian "ideal type" of school derived from the educational systems of modern industrial capitalist nations. (Many non-industrial societies, of course, have educational systems modelled upon this type, which reproduce many aspects of the alienation process; therefore much of what I have to say applies to Newfoundland schools. The degree to which alienation is generated by Newfoundland society, is however, a matter for discussion.) This ideal type has five main elements: the building, the teacher, the class, the curriculum and the time-table. In practice these form an interlocking, interactive, mutually supportive system which generates an alienated form of education. In the first place, the architectural design of the typical school exercises a limiting influence on the learning process. Classrooms are square, of a size to hold thirty or forty desks, either fixed or virtually immovable, set out in rows facing the teacher's desk and the blackboard. Such a disposition will ensure that the average lesson, from Toronto to Tokyo, from Birmingham to Baltimore, is of the unilinear kind, with the teacher expounding or explaining and the pupils listening or copying. Silence, acceptance, a tepid compliance is the norm; questioning or genuine disagreement "disrupts the class"; noise and activity are signs of incipient if not actual rebellion.

The teacher's role is to exercise authority and to teach a subject. In fact the teacher derives much of his authority from his subject. It legitimises his position by giving him the standing of an expert who knows all the answers, or at least all the right answers. The time-table gives institutional reinforcement to the situation by providing a frame-work in which each subject receives an equal share (or what has come to be regarded as a fair share) of time, i.e. a period of 45-50 minutes in which the teacher is in sole possession of the classroom, free to deliver his material undisturbed.

In this way the locus of educational activity is removed from the pupil and fixed upon the teacher, and the latter's task is further facilitated by a fairly recent development — the provision of a homogeneous class, or as near homogeneous as testing, grading, streaming, tracking or selection in one form or another can make it. The efforts of psychologists and test constructors who accept the assumptions of the system have persuaded most teachers that by eleven years of age or so the ability or capacity of the pupil has virtually reached its peak and is unlikely to develop much further. The teacher can thus act on the belief that his job is not to develop the varied individual potentialities of his charges but to deliver a body of knowledge to a group of children whose level of receptivity is given, and who are collectively labelled, officially or unofficially, as "bright", "average", "slow", or "dim", or whatever the current jargon happens to be.

The role of the pupil is on the one hand passively to accept his status in the intellectual hierarchy (thus fulfilling the prophecy of his teachers) and on the other to take delivery of the classified knowledge, standardized opinions and second-hand ideas that are handed out to him. The latter operation in itself would render difficult the internalization by the pupil of almost any body of knowledge, but the actual content of the curriculum intensifies the sense of alienation. Subjects have not been chosen in relation to what Dewey called "the child's own social activities"⁷ but in conformity with the aims of past administrators and educators and the demands of the labour market (the list of subjects shows a remarkable similarity in most of the developed industrial economies, if my experience of England, Canada and Japan is any guide). The most striking characteristic of the average curriculum is the omission of precisely those subjects which relate to social and humanistic activities: sociology, psychology, political science, anthropology, archaeology and the comparative study of religions (as distinct from indoctrination in one).

Thus the actual content of the material, the artificial division between subjects, the unilinear method of teaching, the classification of the pupils and their position vis-a-vis the teacher all conspire to make learning a task rather than a pleasure; the whole structure seems arbitrary and external to the children, "dropped on them from above like a great glass box", in John Holt's expressive phrase.⁸ The general picture of school work is thus a very great deal of activity for no very clear objectives, beyond the gaining of marks. This instrumentalism, which Douglas Holly defines as "the elevation of otherwise meaningless activities into worthwhile goals because of the rewards which successful performance brings",⁹ is at the heart of alienation.

Reward, by the very nature of the system, must be tangible; successful performance is measured in marks, which can be granted only on the basis of some form of examination, verbal or written. Thus the extent of the pupil's knowledge is measured against some "objective", arbitrary, external standard rather than against his own previous attainments. Lessons thus often degenerate into guessing games in which finding "the right answer" — i.e. the answer the teacher requires — becomes the dominant activity. As John Holt has shown brilliantly in **How Children Fail**, children soon develop all sorts of strategies for finding this elusive **ignis fatuus**, to the total neglect of the mastery of knowledge by discovery and self-appropriation. The North American habit of answering questions in an interrogative tone of voice — "Australia?"; "Boyle's Law?" — is symptomatic of this approach. The pupil is in effect saying "Tell me if I'm right or wrong"; the significance of the answer itself is subordinated to its possible mark-winning potential.

In written examinations, even where the rubric requires "free composition", a standardised or at least very limited range of response is required. The student who might argue that Shakespeare was something less than a great dramatist would fare very much worse (though he might draw on Tolstoy and Shaw in support) than a less able pupil who reproduced the "correct" but perhaps inferior replies "wanted" by the teacher. In any case examinations measure little more than the ability to memorize, often very little material at that. So-called "objective tests" (a misuse of the English language!), in which one question out of four is indisputably "right", and the rest "wrong", represent the **reductio ad absurdum** of the examination fetish. Despite the fact that critics have pointed out that a chimpanzee with the ability to make check marks could score 20% in any objective test, they are still set, incredible as it may seem, in some university courses.

The end result of alienation in education is familiar — pupils who have "completed school" but who have not made a single idea their own, in the sense of integration with their developing knowledge and experience or of weaving new concepts into the web of their own emotional and affective responses. In higher education a similar phenomenon can be observed: the student of sociology, for example who has "taken" ten or a dozen courses in the subject but who cannot expound the simplest concepts, much less explain the structure of the society in which he lives. The meaning of the activity he has undertaken has become separated from the activity itself. Unlike the British Army, whose time-honoured regulations enjoined that each recruit should every morning "shave or go through the motions of shaving", schools by the very concept of education they embody virtually ensure that it is the motions of learning only that shall

be gone through; learning in the humanistic sense, as I suggested at the beginning, is largely an extra-curricular activity.

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1. The use of the masculine gender implies no disrespect for the aims of Women's Lib, which I support, but is used partly for grammatical ease until a better alternative is found, partly because much of the material derives from my own experience as a teacher.
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3. G. Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life", in E. & M. Josephson (Eds.), *Man Alone: Alienation in Modern Society* (1962), p. 151.
4. K. Marx, "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts", in T.B. Bottomore & M. Rubel (Eds.), **Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy (1972)**, pp. 177-78.
5. **Ibid.**, p. 178.
6. In the U.S.A. it is estimated that the life-time earnings of college graduates are three times as great as those who leave elementary school after 8 years (H.P. Miller, **Rich Man, Poor Man** (1964), p. 148.)
7. J. Dewey, "My Pedagogic Creed", in Dworkin, **op. cit.**, p. 25.
8. J. Holt, **Freedom and Beyond** (1973), p. 19.
9. D. Holly, **Beyond Curriculum** (1974), p. 27. My indebtedness to Holly's works particularly **Society, Schools and Humanity** (1971) will be obvious to those who know them.

*(In future articles I hope to deal with ways in which alienation in education may be overcome.)

Section VIII Some issues in education in Newfoundland

IMPRESSIONS OF BEGINNING TEACHERS IN SMALL ISOLATED NEWFOUNDLAND COMMUNITIES

Dr. Amarjit Singh and Dr. Ishmael J. Baksh

In this article we would like to suggest that the programme of beginning student teachers needs to be supplemented more and more with "knowledge of" teaching and learning situations in small, isolated communities rather than be based upon knowledge about these communities and teaching/learning situations in them. This makes sense to us because eventually many prospective student teachers in Newfoundland are going to be in classrooms and schools in small communities. There they are going to face concrete teaching situations. What we find is that at the present time the beginning student teacher approaches the classroom, the school, and the community in smaller and isolated areas in Newfoundland as a stranger.¹

As a stranger the teacher finds himself in a situation where he is attempting to interpret the cultural pattern of a social group which he is approaching and within which he is attempting to orient himself.

In our opinion the beginning teacher who is going to teach in a small isolated community in Newfoundland is a "stranger" on three accounts. Firstly, the teacher has probably spent between four to five years at the University located in the "big" city and we assume that by virtue of his/her being at Memorial he/she has acquired the cultural pattern of a social group which will differ from the cultural pattern of a social group living in small communities. Secondly, we have assumed that those teachers who come from the "larger" communities in Newfoundland and get teaching jobs in smaller and relatively isolated communities in Newfoundland have also acquired the cultural pattern of their own group and not the approached group, and therefore, they by definition are the strangers. Thirdly, we have assumed, those potential teachers who come from the smaller and isolated communities in Newfoundland and who spend between four to five years at Memorial also have acquired the cultural pattern of a social group which is different from the cultural pattern of a social group living in the community from which they came.

These teachers as strangers belong to outside groups and know only about the approached group. The social group he is approaching possesses knowledge of its own social world. Teachers, by virtue of their education and training in the university setting tend to see themselves as the disinterested scientists — i.e., as psychologists, sociologists and experts of all kinds in other areas — and not like the man who acts and thinks with the cultural pattern of his group. The image of a scientist is that he is a disinterested observer of the social world.² This image which the beginning student teacher seems to acquire by spending four to five years at the university does not seem to help him in acquiring the 'taken for granted' knowledge possessed by the members of the in-groups in small communities whom he is approaching and whose children he is going to teach.

Not being well equipped with the "taken for granted" knowledge, beginning teachers often find themselves disoriented when faced with concrete situations in the communities, in the school and in the classroom. These teachers find that the knowledge they acquired at the University did not necessarily aid them in coming to grips with the new reality in isolated and small communities. For example, when we ask such teachers: What did you do when you were faced with a problem in the classroom or in the school — a typical answer was:

"At first I was out of my mind. They were saying do this and do that at the University, and I couldn't do it! I went to the Principal and thought I was going to quit.. .

The Principal would come in and say that I should just forget everything I had learned at university and start from scratch. I was used to saying that you've got to have a certain thing in a small group and cover this much and make sure you explained this or that. But you didn't have the time to make sure that every student understood everything. You

didn't have time to sit down at someone's desk individually and talk with him and say that this was what he should do...The principal at all...

When I was in here (Memorial) nobody prepared me for a principal being over me like that; nobody told me exactly how I was supposed to react to him or anything like that. I thought he was more or less treated like one of the staff. I didn't treat him like one of the staff. He made us know he was superior and that was the end of it."

Here is another example in which one of the beginning teachers is reflecting on the experience of one of his peers:

"He came out of university and he had ideas about a lot of projects and a lot of group work being good. And he also had the idea that a classroom should be something informal. Students should be allowed to do what they like. In that particular case, the students were not used to this. By the end of the year he lost control of the class; the class was just taking over and doing what it liked. He tried to get projects off the ground...he did succeed in getting some projects off the ground...But he gave the pupils too much leeway which they weren't used to and couldn't handle. At the end of the year he told me he didn't feel that he had accomplished anything at all that year and what they had taught him at university was all bosh... foolishness. It just couldn't be put into practice."

(We are not suggesting that all new teachers are unable to apply the ideas they acquire at university. We are raising the possibility that some new teachers are unable to do so, one likely reason being that in small isolated communities the "taken for granted knowledge" regarding education was likely to stand in the way of the implementation of ideas the teacher brings into such communities.)

The above person summed up his own feeling as follows:

"One of the biggest problems is that the things we get at conferences and workshops (organized by the university) are not relevant to our situations."

Another beginning teacher described his experience this way:

"Well, I found myself in some interesting situations. When you begin there's the tension. I mean, all you've got is some theory...no matter how many courses you've done...some theory and some knowledge of the way your own teachers taught you. When you come into university, you were told that what your teachers did was wrong. You had no way of really practising many of these new ideas."

And another beginning teacher said this:

...Then of course, I didn't know how to plan the work that well, you know, and I tried to get some of the ideas that I was taught in the university but I found that they didn't work."

Besides falling back on the experience these teachers had at the university, they also fell back on other experiences which they had acquired in their own communities. Some student teachers were happy to go back to their own communities to teach and felt more confident and at ease when they knew that they were going to teach in communities like their own. Other students were apprehensive of going back to their own communities to teach. The typical ways these beginning teachers expressed their feelings are illustrated below:

"Yes, I kept thinking of my own experiences and how I was taught and the things that I had learned here at the university in my method courses of the things that might crop up. These situations — what are you going to do? And I was always thinking about this so even the first week, from the first week I got into the school all the way down...because I had a situation the first week. They wouldn't allow the children to go to the bathroom."

The typical way these teachers expressed their feelings of satisfaction is illustrated below: "Yes, the same type of settlement — small farm area — roughly 25 homes. So I was used to the type of community that I was going to see...the physical appearance. And when I saw it I was really happy because it was located around a bay. A lot of people were settled around this bay so it was quite nice. The appearance of the school — a brand new school was what I anticipated because they said it was a new school. We had water works and what not."

And the same person continues:

"Well I expected more when I got there, I expected going into the community because I had come from a small community and I know how small community thinks basically anyway and they like a good time, they like bingo and movies, which was absolutely nil. I was fallen down by this in my mind and I was questioning it to a degree that people whyed to us and they gave me all the 'whys'."

And when we pointed out to him that what in fact he wanted to do in the community he was teaching was to approximate it to his own community, he replied:

"Yes, I would have liked to see the things done there in this community by the people because they were so energetic; this is the whole thing. I had experience in doing things in five, six other communities as such, on the mainland. I mean, this isn't just traditionally a small community here in Newfoundland — I mean some of the smallest communities on the mainland are smaller than this that don't have any hydro at all..."

Those beginning teachers who were apprehensive of going back to their own community responded this way:

"I am going back home. But I don't consider it.. in one way I don't feel happy about going back there because I sort of got to like St. John's since I have been in here almost three years right now. But like I say I am going back home sort of thing. And first year of teaching. I don't anticipate any criticism from them regarding my teaching. Really I don't. Because I think I can do a good job of teaching. I think I can. I am going to hope anyway. It's not my teaching I am concerned about. It is my outside affairs."

From the above examples we gather that the beginning teachers teaching in the isolated and small communities, in order to gain understanding of each of the situations and to be understood in each of the situations, look back to two sources of knowledge: (1) the university, i.e., they look back to their educational and social experiences at the university, and (2) their own community, i.e., they look back to the experiences they had when they were growing up in their own communities and were attending the school in the community.

The fact that the student teachers fall back to their university and community experiences when faced with the concrete situations in the isolated areas is understandable. Schutz points out that:

"To the stranger the cultural pattern of his home group continues to be the outcome of an unbroken historical development and an element of his personal biography, which for this

very reason has been and still is the questioned scheme of reference for his 'relatively natural conception of the world'. As a matter of course, therefore, the stranger starts to interpret his new social environment in terms of his thinking as usual. Within the scheme of reference brought from his home group, however, he finds a ready-made idea of the pattern supposedly valid within the approached group — an idea which necessarily will soon prove inadequate." (op. cit., p. 34.)

Schutz further points out that:

"The stranger, approaches the other group as a newcomer in the true meaning of the term. At best he may be willing and able to share the present and the future with the approached group in vivid and immediate experience; under all circumstances, however, he remains excluded from such experiences of its past. Seen from the point of view of the approached group, he is a man without a history." (p. 34.)

In our interviews we find time and again among the beginning teachers the feeling of being a stranger. Here is one of them who is going back to his own community after staying in St. John's and attending Memorial for five years describes the situation:

"Well...I left when I was sixteen...Well, first of all I think that they have learned to respect me even more so. Even I have only been back there for about two or three days at a time since I have come in St. John's. Probably every three or four months I might run down. But every time people always treated me a bit different. A bit different at me. Maybe it is the reason why they know that I am going to be a preacher and teacher. Maybe that is one of the reasons why. But on my part I am going to be like the rest of them, you know. Knock around with the rest of them and everything else. I will be one of them."

And he continues:

"Sometimes I think I am not going to be there very long. I have got a funny suspicion that I may not hack it out until Christmas. I may not be able to do it. I don't know why. Sometimes, well, I hear people talking, backbiting and you know talking about so-and-so. This gets on my nerves. I can't see that all. People are like that and well, you know..."

Well, it's my wife that I am concerned about. She's not from the community. She can't stand this sort of thing. The least little thing gets on her nerves. It wouldn't take much to upset her. So this is the sort of thing that I am concerned about is moreso her because they are not going to say it to me. I've already treated me differently. I don't know whether they would say 'Well he is a son of a bitch or something because he got his degree'. But..."

And talking about the school and the classroom, he said:

"I went down to the school and walked in there and met the teachers. I was...I liked the setup...they only had 11 kids. They weren't emotionally disturbed. They were only just slow learners and they had all the facilities there. They had all the equipment. But I'm half scared, not half scared, I'm concerned about how the kids are going to treat me moreso than the people."

Another student teacher described his experience the following way:

"At first, I had to leave everything go. It was terrible really. I had to sit there. I feel guilty, myself that the things they said about the children and the parents...I used to get up and go to my room and just leave..."

The people have reacted differently as I said because of the way I taught and the way I was used to doing things. More progressive...

It is really hard to explain their way of thinking. They don't think in the positive. They think of just a stagnation of living today and tomorrow. Not tomorrow but living today and enjoying today."

And in trying to become a member of the in-group the same person suggests to his peers how to approach the people living in the community:

"But the only thing I can say for a teacher going up there that you have got to be flexible, really flexible and think about the community you are working in and their idea of thinking and just take it easy and have the people come in and and have a meeting immediately and tell the people what you are trying to do and what you expect of them. And tell them immediately that it is their community not yours. I am just invited into the community. That's what I told them: you invited me, you are paying the taxes for me to be here. I said, 'I don't own the community, I don't own the school. Its yours. You should be telling me what you want done to a degree'. This was never done and they thought I was just giving them a line... Actually, as I say, they figured that we were just after the money and not to help the people. ...(They told me that) You'll down up and talk about us and that sort of stuff..."

We have analyzed many other situations as described by beginning teachers whom we have interviewed. What we gather, no doubt in a tentative way, from the analysis is that in each situation the student teachers found themselves as a stranger. As strangers, the teachers continuously found themselves in a process of negotiation with their pupils in the classroom, older teachers, principals in schools; parents, and other members in the community. In defining the situation and in their attempt to understand the social world of the people living in the isolated and small communities, these teachers depended on their knowledge about these communities. This is understandable as, it seems to us, these student teachers have acquired the attitude of a disinterested observer because they attended the university where this kind of "scientific" attitude is commonly nurtured.

But obviously, these student teachers lacked the knowledge of ("taken for granted") communities — and they soon found this out for themselves. This awareness is reflected in the statements they made again and again: "...what they had taught (me) at university was all bosh...foolishness. It just couldn't be put into practice".

Our analysis of the interview data also suggests that in order to gain understanding of each of the situations and to be understood in each of the situations, teachers resorted to "recipes", "graduated knowledge" and "thinking as usual".³ But in doing so they typically looked back to their experiences at the university and in their own communities. When they found that their own "recipes" and "thinking as usual" didn't work, they realized that they had to see reality from the viewpoints of members of the community in which they were teachers and not from the viewpoint of a disinterested observer. What they came to realize was that they were no longer so much interested in the "expert knowledge" or "scientific" knowledge that they had acquired from their methods and other courses at the university. What they needed, they thought, was insight into the social world of the individuals living in small and isolated communities. They needed "graduated knowledge of relevant elements" and "knowledge of trustworthy

recipes" which would give them a reasonable chance of understanding and of being understood. The student teachers felt that they needed to know the 'thinking as usual' from the viewpoint of the individuals living in the smaller and isolated communities in which they were teaching.

FOOTNOTES

1. Here we are using the term stranger as used by Schutz: "the term 'stranger' shall mean an adult individual of our times and civilization who tries to be permanently accepted or at least tolerated by the group which he approaches". See A. Schutz "The Stranger: An Essay in Social Psychology", in **School and Society: A Sociological Reader**, Open University Set Book, p. 32.
2. Schutz draws our attention to the different interest of the scientist (sociologist) and the private man this way: "He (sociologist) is disinterested in that he intentionally refrains from participating in the network of plans, means-and-ends relations, motives and choices, hopes and fears, which the actor within the social world uses for interpreting his experiences for it; as a scientist he tries to observe, describe and classify the social world as clearly as possible in well-ordered terms in accordance with the scientific ideals of coherence, consistency, and analytical consequence. The actor within the social world, however, experiences it primarily as a field of his actual and possible acts and only secondarily as an object of his thinking. Insofar as he is interested in knowledge of his social world, he organizes this knowledge not in terms of a scientific system but in terms of relevance to his action. He groups the world around himself (as the center) as a field of domination and is therefore especially interested in that segment which is within his actual or potential reach. He singles out those of its elements which may serve as means or ends for his 'use and enjoyment, for furthering his purposes, and for overcoming obstacles. His interest in these elements is of different degrees, and for this reason he does not aspire to become acquainted with all of them with equal thoroughness. What he wants is graduated knowledge of relevant elements, the degree of desired knowledge being correlated with their relevance. Otherwise stated, the world seems to him at any given moment as stratified in different layers of relevance, each of them requiring a different degree of knowledge".
3. Here again we are referring to Schutz's article mentioned earlier. According to Schutz "the knowledge of a man who acts and thinks within the world of his daily life is not homogenous; it is (1) incoherent, (2) only partially clear, and (3) not at all free from contradiction". "The system of knowledge thus acquired.. takes on for the members of the in-group the appearance of a sufficient coherence, clarity, and consistency to give anybody a reasonable chance of understanding and of being understood. Any member born or reared within the group accepts the ready-made standardized scheme of the cultural pattern handed down to him by ancestors, teachers, and authorities as an unquestioned and unquestionable guide in all the situations which normally occur within the social world. The knowledge correlated to the cultural pattern carries its evidence in itself — or, rather, it is taken for granted in the absence of evidence to the contrary. It is a knowledge of trustworthy recipes for interpreting the social world and for handling things and men in order to obtain the best results in every situation with a minimum of effort by avoiding undesirable consequences. The recipe works, on the one hand, as a precept for actions and thus serves as a scheme of expression; whoever wants to obtain a certain result has to proceed as indicated by the recipe provided for this purpose. On the other hand, the recipe serves as a scheme of interpretation: whoever proceeds as indicated by a specific recipe is supposed to intend the correlated results. Thus it is the function of the cultural pattern to eliminate troublesome inquiries by offering ready-made directions for us, to replace truth hard to attain by comfortable truism, and to substitute the self-explanatory for the questionable."

Schutz further explains that "this 'thinking as usual', as we may call it, corresponds to Max Scheler's idea of the 'relatively natural conception of the world',...it includes the 'of course'

assumptions relevant to a particular social group which Robert S. Lynd describes in such a masterly way — together with their inherent contradictions and ambivalence — as the 'middletown-spirit'."

AUTHORS' NOTE

The above article is an excerpt — with minor modifications — from a Working Paper presented by the authors at the Annual Conference of the Atlantic Education Association held in St. John's, Newfoundland, on October 24 and 25. The authors do not claim that they have provided indisputable evidence of anything. In the paper an attempt is made simply to explore the potential usefulness of applying a specific perspective to analysing the reported experiences of beginning teachers in small communities. A considerable amount of research still needs to be done in this field. One reason for including the article in *The Morning Watch* is to encourage suggestions and comments from teachers and others regarding aspects of teachers' experiences in small communities which the authors might have ignored. These will assist the authors in the planning and execution of appropriate research. It is the authors' feeling that information in this field is likely to be useful in designing appropriate teacher education programmes and in pointing out areas where teachers in the schools may find assistance useful.

TRENDS IN NON-URBAN SCHOOL SYSTEMS

Dr. P.J. Warren

Introduction

One of the most difficult tasks encountered in discussing "non-urban" or "rural" is that of definition. Although most people claim to understand the concept, they can seldom define it precisely. It has different meanings when viewed historically, statistically, or philosophically. For the purpose of this discussion, the Statistics Canada definition of rural has been accepted: namely, that Canada's rural population includes all persons other than (1) those living in incorporated cities, towns and villages with a population of 1,000 or more, (2) those living in unincorporated places of 1,000 or more having a population density of at least 1,000 per square mile, and (3) those living in built-up fringes of (1) and (2) having a minimum population of 1,000 and a density of at least 1,000 per square mile.

Using the Statistics Canada definition, rural Canada obviously exists. But rural-urban differences have been greatly eroded over time. Rural residence is no longer necessarily related to farming and fishing occupations. While there are many people migrating to urban areas, there are some moving to rural areas to get away from urban living. They commute daily to their work in urban centers and may even transport their children to schools in these centers. For these and other reasons, there are people living in urban areas who exhibit behaviors traditionally associated with rural residence, while there are others living in rural areas who possess characteristics which are quite urban-like. Therefore, there can no longer be any general definition, pattern, or stereotype of rural lifestyle. Rather, it is a matter of emphasis.

The same answer may be given to the question: Is there such a thing as rural education? Urban and rural education are so related and rural conditions vary so widely that there can be no general stereotype of a rural school system. The rural educational scene is very much affected by what is happening elsewhere. We are inhabitants of a global village where urban problems are linked to the rural, and rural linked to the urban, with national, even international, developments affecting the domestic rural and urban situation.

I have assumed in this presentation, however, that there is some utility to using the rural label: that there are certain educational needs, problems, and trends that are unique to those areas defined as rural. After sketching very briefly some relevant parameters of rural Canada, I shall outline a number of trends in rural school systems and make certain suggestions for the future. Relatively few statistics will be used.

Selected Educational Trends in Rural Areas

In this discussion of trends I have tried to avoid the pitfall of being too specific, and confined myself to more general possibilities. Some of the trends reflect continuing developments, while others may more properly be categorized as anticipated shifts.

Continuing Concern for Rural Educational Inequalities

Today, we can see some indication that the needs of rural areas and smaller communities are being moved down the list of national priorities and concerns. The sheer magnitude of urban problems looms so large on the national horizon that they cannot be ignored. By contrast, the dispersed nature of rural areas has tended to dilute the urgency of rural needs. This has been particularly so in education. Whereas in the 1960's, education was a recognized and even respectable component of development plans and strategies, particularly in disadvantaged areas, this no longer seems to be the case. There are

fewer claims that education is the key to economic development or the primary means of solving many of the other basic social problems.

I do not think, however, that there has been a loss of interest in rural education. There is widespread concern over the quality of rural schools in this country. The reasons for this are more basic than the need for more economic activity and employment in the rural areas. They relate to the importance of providing equality of educational opportunity as a human right. Supported by court decisions, we can expect to hear more demands for such equality in the future.

It is now fully recognized that any attempt to change the educational scene in rural areas, without concurrent efforts to affect change in the social, economic, and political areas of community life, will have very limited impact. The socio-economic levels of the homes of rural students, for example, tend to limit educational and occupational perspectives. Parents who themselves have limited educational and occupational experiences are likely to be equally disadvantaged in providing guidance to their children. Possibly related to socio-economic status are other attitudes found among rural children which may further hinder their progress: relatively low self-esteem, feelings of helplessness in the face of seemingly difficult environmental handicaps, and a low level of confidence in the value of education as an answer to their problems.

Developing Educational Programs and Practices Unique to Rural Areas

Educators developing programs for schools in rural areas have faced a real dilemma. On the one hand, they have been called upon to design a curriculum adequate for entry into post-secondary institutions or employment in urban settings, while, on the other they have been asked to respond to the needs of those who plan to live in rural areas; to "ruralize" the curriculum by giving students the kind of training that would be of immediate benefit for their environment, particularly agriculture, homemaking, and so on. This is a tall order. Educators attempting to meet it have often been charged with ignoring the rural component; of seeking to have smaller, rural schools mirror larger, urban ones in programs, practices, procedures, and outcomes. They have been accused of providing urban solutions to rural problems; of preparing children for lives in the urban environment they see as being inevitable; of aiding, and perhaps hastening, the process of decay of our rural communities.

As I mentioned earlier, finding an answer to this problem is a major undertaking. Some rural youth need special skills to permit them to be productive in farming, fishing, or other extractive industries. Others will be competing for jobs in the business, manufacturing, and governmental sectors. For both migrants and non-migrants, higher quality education is the route to higher incomes and greater personal satisfaction.

In a recent speech to the Halifax Conference on Education and Underdevelopment in Atlantic Canada, M.P. David MacDonald claimed that one prerequisite to autonomous self-development in the region was the confidence to act. In this context he quoted Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania, that education was a process of "mental liberation" which freed one from the habit of submitting to circumstances without first considering if they were immutable. For Nyerere, mental liberation was the first vital step on the way to full freedom or autonomy, that allowed one to explore alternatives and make critical choices unhindered by the mentality of dependence.

I believe that those responsible for planning education in rural areas are attempting in some small way to meet this challenge. They must develop programs that equip young people for modern living and at the same time provide the critical abilities and the confidence to develop in rural areas progressive communities that give inhabitants the opportunity to achieve a reasonable standard of living in return for their labour. Students should be helped to deal effectively with their environment, be it rural or urban.

Promoting Community Education

While community education is not unique to rural areas, it is seen as a mechanism with great potential for revitalizing rural education and rural society. This approach is being advocated as a means whereby rural people themselves identify needed change, initiate that change, and utilize a broad range of resources that already exist within the community itself to implement it.

From a review of the literature, the following are proposed here as the major components of community education.

1. An educational program for school-age children. This component has been the primary concern of school districts in the past. Today, however, there is increased emphasis on using the resources of the community (human and material) to enhance regular classroom teaching.
2. Additional programs for school-age children and youth. These include enrichment and remedial programs, as well as recreational, cultural, and vocational programs.
3. Programs for adults. These include basic skill courses and high school completion programs as well as recreational, cultural, and vocational programs judged to be important by the adults themselves.
4. Delivery and co-ordination of community services. There appears to be a great need for improved delivery of social services, relating problems to resources and making referrals to the appropriate agency.
5. The promotion of community involvement. The idea here is to help people who live in an area to identify local problems and to develop the procedures for attempting to solve these problems.

There are some who claim that the most important components of community education are those dealing primarily with process (Item 4 and 5 above) rather than programs (Item 1 to 3). They suggest that the ultimate goals of community education are: (1) to encourage co-operation and co-ordination among individuals, groups, and organizations to avoid unnecessary duplication of services and efforts, (2) to develop processes through which individual and community needs are identified, and (3) to provide an opportunity for groups, organizations, and institutions to meet together in a concerted, co-operative attack on the problems facing them. My view is that both program-oriented and process-oriented components are interrelated and important. The program-oriented components might be the first to be implemented, leaving the process components until later. The ultimate goal would be to achieve the total concept by maximum development of all components.

A variety of community education programs are being devised across Canada. Provinces that have demonstrated special interest in the concept include British Columbia, Alberta, Ontario, and Prince Edward Island.

Regionalization

One of the most significant developments in rural education over the past two or three decades has been the consolidation of school districts and schools. With the help of fleets of school buses, reorganized districts and reorganized schools have made expanded educational opportunities available to many young people who otherwise would have been denied them. In a long-term comprehensive study of consolidation, Kreitlow (1971) concluded that reorganized districts provided more learning opportunities, the students had consistently higher achievement test scores, and they completed high school with a six — and a thirteen-month advantage in mental maturity for boys and girls respectively.

Despite progress in the consolidation of school districts, many rural children are still provided with a limited set of educational services. As a politically-acceptable compromise to further consolidation, the intermediate or regional unit is being proposed as a means of providing on a shared basis programs and services which local districts and other agencies are unable to provide independently. Included in the services that may be co-operatively provided for children are special education programs, vocational programs, health programs, transportation services, and psychological services. Those relating to teacher personnel generally include curriculum development, the design and production of instructional materials, the provision of audio-visual services, and the development and implementation of in-service programs, while services to administrators may include comprehensive planning, planning school facilities, research and evaluation of programs, and centralized purchasing. Services to the community could include social services to families, programs of cultural enrichment, and adult and continuing educational programs.

No single type of intermediate unit or regional service agency has developed in North America. Multidistrict units range all the way from those which provide purely a planning function to those operating specific programs. Local conditions and needs do and should form the basis upon which a regional organization is established. In Canada, regional offices of various types exist in Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland. Offices in Alberta have been the subject of considerable study and evaluation.

Revitalizing Small Schools

For many years, small schools have been the centre of considerable controversy. Most of their critics have had a singular solution to the problem — that of consolidation. They claim that larger schools have more diversified curriculum offerings, more up-to-date instructional materials and supplies, better laboratories and libraries, broader student services such as guidance and counselling, and more specialized staff.

In some cases, however, consolidation has proved to be only partially successful. There are areas where geographical limitations make it physically impossible to consolidate. Long bus trips are the order of the day for many students who travel to consolidated schools. Students claim that they have become alienated from large schools. Some parents, too, have claimed that education has become big business, foreign to the local community.

Although genuine problems and disadvantages exist in small schools, educators have begun to rediscover the inherent strengths and values of such schools. They suggest that in a small school individualized instruction is possible and there can be a greater sense of togetherness among students, parents, teachers, and the community. It is thus possible to have students develop and grow within their own natural setting, under the control of local citizens. They claim that innovations can be more easily implemented, that there are fewer problems of student discipline, and students may participate in more extracurricular activities. Finally, it is claimed that the small rural school can greatly contribute to rural redevelopment and the enrichment of rural life through the process of community education.

In the United States, many small school projects and organizations have been established as a means of improving the small school. Examples include the Western States Small School Project, the Texas Small Schools Project, the Oregon Small School Project, the Rocky Mountain Area Project for Small High Schools, the Upper Midwest Small Schools Project, and the Alaska Rural Schools Project. The Rural Education Association has also given leadership in the improvement of small schools.

While we have not experienced the same degree of concern about small schools in Canada, certain studies and projects have been undertaken. Studies include these by Downey (1965), Scharf (1974), and a British Columbia Special Committee (1974). The Manitoba Department of Education has set up a program called Rural Education Alternatives Program (REAP) to enable small schools to enhance their advantages and offset their disadvantages by strengthening school-community ties. This

program represents the kind of initiative that should be taken throughout the country (CEA Newsletter, 1974).

Undoubtedly, there are many small schools that should not continue to exist in their present form. Their students would get a much better education if they were consolidated and merged into larger units. But there are materials, organizational structures, and strategies that may make educational opportunities much improved for those who are forced or choose to attend such schools, including greater use of technology, more flexible grouping of students and teachers, greater use of community resources, the use of paraprofessionals, and work-study programs.

Fiscal Reform

Typically, rural school districts have consistently spent less money on education than have urban districts. Because of this, various disadvantages have emerged. A cyclic effect has materialized which perpetuates the problem. The differential in fiscal ability to support educational programs is reflected in less than adequate facilities and instructional materials, a high rate of teacher turnover, fewer and less effective special services, and ultimately a higher dropout rate. This has helped to contribute to high unemployment and underemployment rates and, in turn, to fewer taxable resources.

There is little doubt that comparable, high-quality programs in small schools require higher student expenditures than in larger ones. Add to this the fact that rural areas have long suffered deprivation and the need to discriminate positively in favour of rural areas becomes even more essential. In my view, an equitable financing system is one in which greater educational resources are allocated to those students who come to school with the greatest learning problems and the greatest social disadvantage.

Some provinces have attempted to provide greater equality of educational opportunity by moving towards full provincial funding of education. A few have changed financial formulas to weight for specific groups of students such as the handicapped, the culturally disadvantaged, students in small schools, and students being transported. What remains now is for the federal government to become more fully involved in the provision of greater equality of educational opportunity for elementary and secondary students in all parts of the country. The time has come for the federal government to place a financial floor under an adequate system of elementary and secondary education that assures every Canadian the right to a basic education.

The Recruitment and Retention of More Qualified Teachers

The decline in school enrolments and the graduation of large numbers of teachers have combined to increase the ability of rural schools to recruit and hold more qualified professional personnel. While the disadvantages of isolation, restricted cultural and entertainment-oriented opportunities, and the lack of professional growth provisions continue to contribute to the reluctance of some to locate in rural areas, many well-qualified teachers are now found in schools which may be classified as rural.

It should be noted, however, that there may be problems associated with the fact that some highly qualified teachers accept positions in rural schools because jobs are not available in an urban system or larger school. The simple fact that rural positions are "least preferred" by some does not contribute to an enthusiastic atmosphere or real commitment to the community. Often, the main goal of such teachers is to get experience and obtain employment elsewhere. These teachers do not promote continuity and stability as far as their rural school involvement is concerned.

There have also been increased efforts to provide more adequate in-service education programs for teachers in rural areas. The relatively low rate of teacher mobility, particularly among the less qualified, has underlined the need for such programs.

Conclusions

There are a number of conclusions that may be drawn from this discussion of educational trends in rural areas.

These include the following:

1. There is continued interest in and concern about the plight of rural education by society in general. Schools in rural areas continue to educate significant numbers of children. The widespread belief that sooner or later everyone will move to urban areas and live happily ever after is factually false and morally offensive.
2. Policy must be developed which will be specifically geared to the unique problems of rural education. The solutions proposed for urban and suburban schools are not always applicable or susceptible to direct transfer to rural areas. If rural solutions are to be guaranteed, there must be adequate mechanisms for policy input from those persons most directly involved at the community level.
3. There are some potential strengths inherent in small rural schools that should be analyzed. The redesign of small schools should not be used, however, as a defense against school district and school consolidation where such consolidation is clearly in the interest of children.
4. Extensive school district and school reorganization, often prerequisites to improved quality, are not of themselves sufficient guarantees that small, isolated schools will offer high-quality, comprehensive educational programs for all children. Creative educational leadership, well-qualified and committed teachers, and widespread community support are essential to the progress of rural education.
5. Rural education needs special research and development attention. While special studies may be undertaken to identify the needs and priorities of small schools, to propose pre-service and in-service education programs for small school personnel, and to outline research needs related to the small school, this matter should be the continuing concern of research institutes generally and provincial departments of education. To help focus on the needs of rural education, provincial departments could establish rural education divisions. Perhaps we can look forward to the time when the federal government will develop and adequately fund a national center for rural education to promote research and experimentation across the country.
6. To have any hope of success in improving rural education, we must be prepared to work across a number of fronts simultaneously, including resource development and the provision of improved social conditions as well as better education and manpower training.

What is needed most is for all levels of government and all development agencies to make an explicit commitment to rural Canada and to adopt policies that would permit fuller development of rural resources and opportunities and the revitalization of the rural socio-economic structure. One of the most important elements in such a commitment is the recognition that rural people should have the opportunity to enjoy an acceptable standard of living. The commitment of the federal government is particularly important.

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DENOMINATIONAL EDUCATION IN NEWFOUNDLAND (Or, Why Exercise a Friendly Ghost?)

Dr. Romulo F. Magsino

I. Introduction

Dr. Fred W. Rowe, former Minister of Education, once described the Schools Act of 1969 as "a demonstration of the art of the possible" and as an act which "represents an attempt to reconcile conflicting views and interests") A truly commendable attempt under the circumstances of the period of its passage, the Act, and the one preceding it (namely, the Department of Education Act, 1968), seems to have failed in at least one respect. One ticklish problem they hoped to resolve — the issue of denominational education — still plagues us.

In this article, my concern is to show that the issue persists because it has been approached by both secularists and denominationalists from the wrong perspective. In my view, such an approach has inevitably resulted in an unsatisfactory — in fact disturbing — statement. Demonstrating that neither the secularists nor the denominationalist arguments are decisive, I shall suggest a principle which I believe should influence the direction of change in the denominational set-up.

II. Denominational Education as an Either-Or Issue

Numerous accounts of the historical circumstances leading to the issue of denominational education in the Province of Newfoundland are readily available,² and there is no need to reiterate what they have admirably expounded. What needs to be noted, however, is the tendency to regard the issue as one requiring an affirmative or negative stance. This is evident in the several articles published during the period immediately before and after the submission of the Warren Commission Report, particularly those that appeared in **The NTA Journal**.³ More recently, the issue was debated spiritedly — in the same vein — at a seminar on "The Future of Denominational Education in Newfoundland" sponsored by the Faculty of Education Seminar Committee at Memorial University. The issue has become a debating topic: Should denominational education give way to secular public education?

Unfortunately, as in most debates, the defense of a preferred position and the attempt to demolish the opposing viewpoint leave out of consideration compromise positions that could prove more justifiable and, in the long run, viable. That this has been true so far in the case of denominational education may be illustrated by the way each of the opposing sides argues its position.

A. The Pro-Denominational Position. In a very real sense, the pro-denominational position is a safe one. Its protagonists may not join the debate because the matter was resolved favourably for them in 1948. Section 17 of the Terms of Union, agreed upon by Newfoundland and Canada on December 11, 1948, states that

...the (Provincial) Legislature will not have authority to make laws prejudicially affecting any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools, common (amalgamated) schools, or denominational colleges, that any class or classes of persons have by law in Newfoundland at the date of Union...⁴

Thus even if the denominationalist were to fold his arms, amused by anti-denominationalist attacks, he would have nothing to worry about. Since Section 17 is part of the British North America Act, and since this Act vests in the provincial government a strong supervisory jurisdiction over education,⁵ the cumbersome mechanism required to revise the status quo makes improbable any change not agreed to by the denominations.

What may be constitutional or legal may not be desirable or moral, however, and in recognition of this point, denominationalists have taken pains to show that the constitutional or legal support for the denominational set-up is an appropriate one. They have raised, among others, two important arguments.

1. The denominationalist maintains that the basic questions underlying education (such as "What is man, and what is society?" and "What are our goals for man and society?") are essentially of a religious nature. That is, correct answers to them can be provided only from a religious perspective. To eliminate religion from education is therefore to distort the nature and enterprise of education.⁶ A corollary to this argument is that the secularist is fallaciously maintaining neutrality by promoting a non-denominational system which in fact favours another world-view, namely secularism, and discriminates against the established denominations.

The corollary claim⁷ has a ring of truth in it. For in a world replete with competing viewpoints — and ours is such a world — to prevent one from presenting his viewpoints is to allow the presentation (and oftentimes the acceptance) of the contrary ones. Given the strongly secular orientation of the communications media and of the many aspects of our social life; and given that the exercise of religious beliefs and convictions requires going against the human tendency to follow what is most convenient and pleasurable, can we doubt the claim that the elimination of the denominations from the educational enterprise places them at a great disadvantage?

The denominationalist is thus being realistic in resisting the transformation of denominational schools into secular ones. But so far, the truth of the corollary claim does not justify a completely denominational education. We are brought, then, to the main argument that all education has a religious premise,⁸ and that consequently, all schools should be religious schools.⁹ If I am not mistaken, the spirit of the claim is this: Since education is concerned essentially with the formation of man and society; and since it is only the positive religions (not the negative ones like atheism, humanism, agnosticism, or secularism) which can provide an appropriate world-view that should guide us in the forming of man and society, then schools (which are educational agencies) should not be separated from the religious influence of the denominations.

The claim, everyone realizes, is an involved and a controversial one. It requires considerable discussion about whether God exists, how we know he exists, and whether a set of value judgments forming a world-view is true or good only because God has indicated so. These are large issues which cannot be discussed here. But clearly, the denominationalist has the burden of proof in showing that his views on these issues are unassailable. In all candor, unfortunately, it must be noted that men of good will have cast damaging doubts on these views. Perhaps more than at any other time in history, the issues are, today, wide open.

When it is understood that the relevant issues are by no means resolved, it becomes plainly presumptuous to assert that the denominationalist viewpoints about what world-view to uphold are the only correct ones. The presumption becomes even more evident when we see men of good will who have lived exemplary moral lives even if they, like Bertrand Russell, have categorically opposed (positive) religions. Further as Hirst has maintained,

certainly it is false to suggest...that outside of the Judaeo — Christian tradition men have no genuine moral knowledge because they lack the revelation of God's will. How is it then that one can find the highest moral understanding in other traditions?

...It is indisputable that they (e.g., Socrates and Aristotle) had a very great deal of...moral knowledge, and that it rested in fact not on religious revelation but on rational judgement.¹⁰

2. The second denominationalist argument hinges on the claim that ultimately, "the primary responsibility and fundamental rights in their children's education lie under God, not with the government, not even with 'educators', but always with the parents".¹¹ Insofar as parents belong to a denomination, and insofar as their denomination engages in the educational enterprise, their continuing church attendance or membership is an implicit indication that they are passing on to their church the rights and responsibilities associated with the education of their children. In response to Pastor Shaw's claim that 99.95% of Newfoundland people indicated church affiliation in 1961, Dr. G.A. Cooper had this to say:

claiming or acknowledging denominational affiliation in a census report or attending church services does not automatically delegate to a church one's parental responsibilities in educational or other matters.¹²

That there is no necessary connection between church affiliation and educational decisions of parents may be gleaned from the history of education in the Province. At various points, for example, church memberships have expressed their inclination towards non-denominational education which has been opposed by their churches. Thus, Dr. Rowe has observed that the

opposition to non-denominational education came chiefly from the top, for even Howley, who considered it, for Roman Catholics, with the same abhorrence as Bishop Fleming, admits that in the 1840's the sentiment of the people seemed strongly in favour of non-denominational education.¹³

But while church membership may not imply the members' judgements on the education of their children, the denominationalist can employ (and have employed) a technique of going around it. The strategy is to resurrect the claim about the essential bond between education and religion and the need to have religion taught in schools. The question then could be raised: "For any group of children, what ought to be the religious context of their schooling?" Considering that the religion of the parents is clearly the religion of the church or denomination with which they are associated, the implication is seen as self-evident.¹⁴

One must confess that this is a convenient way of skirting the issue of parental delegation of rights and responsibilities. Convenient, but at a price. This strategy clearly makes a mockery of the principle of parental responsibility which the denominationalist professes to uphold. When the denominationalist says "You are a member of X church and therefore your child ought to go to X school", he effectively pre-empts the right to decision-making on the part of the parent. The principle of parental responsibility, in this case, gives way to the denominational creed: "Go ye therefore and teach all nations...."

The denominationalist would certainly want to make clear which version of the second argument he means to pursue. Yet either way is littered with pitfalls. Should he choose the latter strategy which skirts the delegation of parental right, he should be able to show that church members do not have the right to bring their children elsewhere, or that non-members do not have the right to have their own convictions taught to their children in government-supported non-denominational schools. On the other hand, should he choose the principle of parental responsibility, he is forced to ask parents whether they might opt for a non-denominational schooling. But surely, asking for their decision on the matter does not make sense unless, in principle at least, he accepts the establishment of non-denominational schools. This, no doubt, undermines his position.

B. The Secular Position. If the constitutional provision is not invoked, the case for a completely denominational education in the Province does not seem to be decisively justified unless, of course, stronger arguments, which do not seem available, are introduced. This situation should not be perceived, however, as establishing the case for the transformation of our denominational set-up into a secular one.

For if the denominationalist position is shaky, so is that of the secularist. An examination of the secularist arguments will reveal the weaknesses of the position.

1. No doubt the major argument for secular public education was the need for consolidation of numerous school boards that served small members of students because of the independent, uncoordinated activities of various denominations.¹⁵ Denominationalism blocked the way towards making provisions for more effective schools with adequate facilities, plants, equipment, and curricular offerings.

The reorganization of the educational set-up following the Department of Education Act, 1968, and the Schools Act, 1969, has virtually de-fused this argument. Consistent with the Warren Commission recommendation "that the province be divided into approximately 35 consolidated school districts",¹⁶ the former Minister of Education and Youth, Hon. F.W. Rowe reported in 1970 as follows:

...this past year, the school board consolidation which started some years ago was completed and over three hundred school boards were consolidated into thirty-five.¹⁷

This consolidation was achieved largely through the decision of the Anglican, United, and Salvation Army churches to integrate their educational services — a move which is within the limits of the principle of denominational education in the Province.

2. The more current argument for secular public education rests on a view of education which is presumably more in line with a democratic way of life. On this view, education aims at the development of individuals who have independence of judgment needed for responsible membership in an open, pluralistic society. If this is accepted, what is needed is a system of schools that encourage a critical scrutiny of beliefs, values and attitudes based on evidence, not faith.

My democratic sympathies incline me to agree. Yet, I find it difficult to accept the blanket conclusion that the government ought to withdraw support from denominational schools on the ground that it is not the business of any civil government to underwrite financially any denominational attempt to pre-empt individual beliefs. The reasons for my hesitation goes back to the difficulty, if not impossibility, of maintaining neutrality in a world in which actions are bound to have consequences.

Pastor Shaw seems to be quite right in pointing to the unfortunate consequences flowing from an assumed neutral position which in fact has led to a definite discrimination against religious believers. That the U.S. courts are genuinely concerned with preserving a wall between the Church and the State does nothing to eliminate the reprehensible practice of subjecting the believers to unfair double taxation (i.e., parents paying taxes for public education and at the same time paying fees for the private education of their children) and of constraining children of believers to attend second-rate private schools not enjoying government support. I am sure we would NOT want in this Province either positive discrimination favoring secularists or negative discrimination against denominationalists.

There are some, however, who would not mind these forms of discrimination on the ground that they are justified. The justification is based on a conception of equality conceived as impartiality, that is, treating things or people differently when they are different in relevant respects, and treating them similarly when they are similar in relevant respects. Thus in a classroom, you exhibit the principle of equality when, for example, you assign for study, materials of similar difficulty to pupils A and B who have just about the same mental ability; you go against the principle when you assign the same material to pupil C who is clearly retarded or slow. Impartial or equal treatment requires you to assign less difficult material to C because of a relevant consideration — his lack of ability to deal with difficult study material.

This conception of equality might be employed to give respectability to a differential treatment between secular and denominational schools. The first step in doing so is to note that a democratic government is committed to support only those activities that tend to foster the democratic way of life. Thus, the relevant criterion for the extension of financial support to schools is whether they promote a way of life characterized by the free exercise of individual judgments based on a rational examination of different beliefs and their evidence and arguments. The second step is to show that under this criterion, only secular schools qualify; denominational schools fail, because they aim at instilling faith in a set of beliefs, values and attitudes to the exclusion of all others, and because to achieve their aim, they utilize learning contents consisting of unproven beliefs and values.

This argument is a powerful one. Nevertheless, several points can be raised in response to it.

(a) While it is true that ideally, democracy encourages an open competition of beliefs that can be subjected to a rational evaluation of their evidence, it is also true that basic to it is respect for individual judgment irrespective of how such a judgment is arrived at. The democratic state does not demand that all human decisions and actions be rational, nor does it penalize people for being eccentric, peculiar, or irrational. For the state to do so would be to justify withdrawal of its protection of and support for the young, the aged, and the mentally-handicapped individuals. Rational or irrational, provided an individual or class of individuals do not harm¹⁸ others or society at large, they are entitled to governmental support and protection, as well as to unhampered self-perpetuation through transmission of their beliefs and values to their young. This entitlement is certainly compromised when a government starts saying, "I prefer to support only those group and activities that measure up to my rational standards".

(b) But of course, believers can rightly oppose any suggestion that they are eccentric or peculiar, and that their beliefs are non-rational if not irrational. At this point, we are caught in the tangled web of epistemological considerations pertaining to the nature of knowledge and beliefs.

Since the advent of the scientific revolution what has gained increasing acceptance is the view that for a claim, a proposition, or a statement to count as knowledge (or at least as a justified true belief), it has to be backed up by publicly verifiable and testable evidence. Presumably, one is rational if his beliefs are evidenced-based in this way. Conversely, one is not rational if he holds beliefs for which no empirical evidence can be produced, e.g., that God exists.

Unfortunately to hold this view is to say that much of what we engage in life is not rational. People decide and act in so many areas of life based on unproved presuppositions and assumptions that if one is charged with being non-rational in many of his actions, he might cheerily respond, "So much the worse for rationality!" But flippancy aside, the scientific view discriminates not only against religion as a set of claims, but also against moral knowledge, philosophy, literature, the fine arts, and much of history.

The matter is a complicated one. Debate on it ranges among philosophers, and it is safe to say that the issue is largely unresolved. But one point is clear. It is being arbitrary to make the claim that to be rational is to hold only those beliefs that are supported by empirical evidence or by the test of experience. The appropriate conclusion to be made, therefore, is that we ought not to pre-judge the matter. After all, it is a democratic tenet that we do not condemn where the evidence or argument is inconclusive.

(c) The argument for secularism and against denominationalism can, however, be slanted somewhat. The charge against denominationalism is made that whereas religious beliefs are not conclusive, at least according to scientific standards, denominational schools teach as if they had the corner on knowledge or truth. This cannot but aggravate division in a pluralistic society.

History is littered with examples of strife-ridden societies marked by jealousies and hatred among their denominational groups. The secular concern for social unity is therefore understandable. It would be naive to presume, however, that the division derived from the fact of religious differences alone. There is

much evidence to show that some societies have split along religious lines because social and economic injustices coincided with such lines, and that it is the injustices, not the mere fact of religious differences, that have sown the seeds of strife.

In any case, commitment to democracy carries risks within itself. The democratic creed involves a respect for diversity and an abiding faith that in the long run, such diversity will contribute positively to the enrichment of social life. Consequently the democratic way supports and encourages peoples' commitments to their differing beliefs and values. Again, short of producing definite social or personal harm, it allows people to think and act as if they had the truth on their side.

III. Some Real Problems

I have attempted to show that arguments for and against either denominationalism or secularism in education are not decisive either way. The conclusion that can be made is that unless we can definitely discern that the denominational principle in education is doing harm to our children and society, there is no need for us to talk as if it were the source of all our educational ills. To do so is to divert us from the real sources of the problems within our society and schools.

We do not have to pretend, however, that the present denominational set-up is problem-free. Let me cite two major ones.

1. Both parents and teachers may sincerely adhere to non-denominational views or values contrary to those accepted by the various denominations in the Province. They may be convinced that they are entitled (and indeed they are) to live according to their sincerely held convictions. Yet our denominational set up leaves them without any choice at all, except to send their children to, or to teach in, any of the denominational schools. For the non-believer, this amounts to having no choice. Within the Province, there is just no place for him or his children!

The recent controversy over the morals clause brings this problem into focus. There is no doubt that, as Dr. Kevin Tracey noted, "There would be little point in having Catholic school boards or a Catholic school system if there were teachers in the schools who did not share our goals or even worse, who actively worked to undermine them".² There is no doubt too, that school boards have the right to select teachers according to their denominational standards. What is so disturbing, however, is that this involves penalizing persons of differing yet sincere convictions who do not wish to teach outside the Province. In the morals clause, we have a classic case of lawful, yet unjust, action. I am sure the Catholic school board does not find this action palatable at all.

2. On the opposite side we have to understand the dilemma the denominations find themselves in. Operating in a democratic society and wary of being labelled doctrinaire or narrow-minded, the various denominations might well have experienced pressure to downplay the teaching of religion and morals. The perceptive shift from teaching religious doctrines and moral beliefs to the comparative study of religions and moralities could well be an attempt to pacify public criticism. But this shift does no good to the **raison d'être** of the denominational principle. In fact, the shift undermines it.

I suspect (and I could be quite wrong about this) that the various denominations have at some time or another felt like charting a course between Scylla and Charybdis — between on the one hand, a desire to instill effectively in children religious doctrines and values, and on the other hand, a desire not to arouse reaction against denominational education on the part of a secular-minded portion of the general public. If this is true, it should be no wonder that pertinent studies reveal the ineffectiveness of religious education in denominational schools.

IV. Taming the Ghost of Denominationalism

The correct solution to the problem under consideration will not be achieved by answering the question: denominational schools or secular schools. In a democracy where pluralism with respect to deeply-held convictions is recognized and protected by law, the either-or attitude is itself divisive. If we are to take the democratic way of life seriously, then we must respect the right of different groups of people to ensure the continued existence of their values and beliefs. Quite clearly, no reason at all could be found in the democratic creed which would justify discrimination against a group in favour of another; every reason could be given for fostering harmonious co-existence among men of diverse faiths.

If this view is accepted, we have a principle to work within the educational enterprise: Persons of diverse faiths — religious or secular — should find in the Province schools that foster their values and beliefs.

As a philosopher of education, it will be presumptuous of me to tread where others walk more warily. The principle suggested here involves administrative, economic and social considerations better left to experts in these fields. I would venture to say just the same that ideally, the principle calls for not only the retention of the denominational school boards but also the formation of that school board(s) which will represent the secular viewpoint. No doubt this entails a consideration of the provincial resources, and present circumstances might not allow implementation of this proposal. In that case, the principle enjoins those concerned to explore the possibility of implementing it in imaginative, unorthodox ways, without compromising the principle itself.

To conclude, I should like to stress a few points.

(1) I think that we all — secularists and denominationalists — can see that the present set-up is intolerable because it denies a significant segment of our population any effective expression in schools of the non-denominational viewpoint. I believe that there is no legal barrier against setting up a non-denominational school board, since the Terms of Union does not say that the provincial legislature may not expand the educational systems in the Province. Opposition could come from denominationalists. Yet in a democratic society, could they consistently claim financial support from the government and at the same time maintain that the unbelieving group(s) does not equally deserve the same thing?

(2) To imagine the denominationalists opposing the formation of non-denominational schools is unjustly to attribute malevolence on their part. I am inclined to believe that since schools are more the reflection of society than its moulder, the role of denominational schools in dividing Newfoundland society in the past is greatly exaggerated. Whatever division they might have caused, they merely exhibited the divisive forces that were already operating in their respective communities. But I would like to believe that Newfoundland society as a whole has grown in social maturity and tolerance; I would like to believe also that economic differences among religious groups have largely vanished. If this is the case, there is no real reason for pessimism or fears. In any case, I would like to see the different denominations as positive forces in the development of a harmonious society. We must admit that the ideals of the various denominations are quite consistent with, if not conducive to, the promotion of democratic goals. I am sure the various denominations join with the Ecumenical Council (Vatican II) when it proclaimed that

We cannot in truthfulness call upon that God who is the Father of all if we refuse to act in a brotherly way toward certain men (i.e., non-Catholics of different race, color, condition of life, etc.)...A man's relationship with God the Father and his relationship with his brother men are so linked that Scripture says: "He who does not love does not know God". (1 Jn. 4:8)

The ground is therefore removed from every theory or practice which lends to a distinction between men or peoples in the matter of human dignity and the rights which flow from it,²²

3. Certainly, however, the implementation of a principle that allows different denominational and nondenominational groups to pursue energetically their respective goals poses a real challenge in practice. While the ideals may be commendable, there is always the danger that one or more groups may be tempted to produce individuals with closed minds. Surely, democracy cannot afford a whole mass of them.

The problem of closed minds²³ is one which all groups must share — the secular group(s) no less, because secularists can, and do, produce closed minds too. Yet men of sincere and deep convictions can understand, and respect, and live in harmony with other men of contrary convictions. Ultimately, the task of any school system therefore is to promote the growth of committed but caring and understanding persons. A difficult task for each system indeed. But if we are to be faithful to our Christian and/or Democratic ideals, we cannot but accept the challenge.

FOOTNOTES

1. Frederick W. Rowe, in **Legislation Passed 1968 and 1969 relating to the Reorganization of Education**, Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, p. 19.
2. Among others, see C.B. Sissons, **Church and State in Canadian Education** (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1959), pp. 391-407; F.W. Rowe, **The Development of Education in Newfoundland** (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1964), pp. 75-103; G.A. Frecker, "Origins of the Confessional System in Newfoundland", a paper presented at the Learned Societies Conference in St. John's in 1971.
3. Of interest are the following: Geoffrey Shaw, "Church Schools or State Schools?" February, 1967, pp. 16-24; G.A. Cooper. "Church Schools or State Schools II", April 1967, pp. 116-23; Noel Veitch, "Some Comments on The Minority Report," February 1968, pp. 7-9; Whitman LeRoy Goodwin "Education: The Church, the State, the Town", December 1968, pp. 24-28.
4. Appendix C in S.J.R. Noel, **Politics in Newfoundland**, (University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 300.
5. Ronald I. Cheffins, **The Constitutional Process in Canada**, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Company of Canada Limited, 1969), pp. 35-36.
6. These views may be attributed to Pastor Shaw's article cited in footnote 3, pp. 17-18.
7. The claim employs an odd usage of the word "religion". Thus Pastor Shaw says "We teach religion in the schools whether we would or not." This involves the conception of religion as any set of beliefs and commitments, and allows such statements as "Person X is religious although he is an atheist", or "One of his religious commitments is the elimination of all religions."
8. Shaw, p. 17.
9. If we are to use Pastor Shaw's definition consistently, schools for atheists are also religious schools or have religious premise. But he would not have them because only Christianity has absolute truth, and because 99.95% of Newfoundlanders are Christians. See p. 19.

10. Paul Hirst, "Morals, Religion and the Maintained School", in **Let's Teach Them Right**, ed. Christopher Macy (London: Pemberton Publishing Company Limited, 1969), p. 11.
11. Shaw, p. 19.
12. G.A. Cooper article cited in footnote 3, p. 20.
13. Rowe, **The Development of Education in Newfoundland**, p. 82.
14. Shaw, pp. 19-20.
15. F.W. Rowe, **Education and Culture in Newfoundland** (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1976), p. 155; Philip Warren, **Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth, Vol. 1, 1968, 76.**
16. **Ibid**, p. 84.
17. Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1970, p. 17.
18. The concept of "harm" is not an easy one to pin down. But see Joel Feinberg, **Social Philosophy** (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1973), pp. 25-31.
19. Several issues of **Educational Philosophy and Theory** deal with the problem of knowledge, particularly in relation to Hirst's views on forms of knowledge. See Paul Hirst, **Knowledge and the Curriculum** (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), Chapters 3, 4, 6 and 10.
20. Quoted in "Record Set Straight for Catholic Teachers", **The Evening Telegram**, November 22, 1976, p. 2.
21. See, for example, G.A. Cooper, "Some Effects of Denominational Schooling" in **The Morning Watch**, Vol. 3, Nos. 1 and 2.
22. **The Documents of Vatican II**, ed. Walter M. Abbott, S.J. (New York: The America Press, 1966), p. 667.
23. For a brief but good treatment of this issue, see I.A. Snook, **Indoctrination and Education** (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972).

THE FUTURE OF DENOMINATIONAL EDUCATION IN NEWFOUNDLAND

Dr. Phillip McCann

(The text of a talk given at an Education Faculty Seminar in March 1976)

It seems idle to speculate on the possible future course the denominational system might take and distasteful to suggest what course the denominations should follow. Instead, I shall attempt to do two things: first, to present the case against denominationalism and for secular education; second, to demonstrate that social developments are leading, and will lead, larger numbers of people to accept these arguments and, in the not too distant future, to demand the separation of religion and education.

I shall begin with some definitions. A denominational system of education is a network of state-supported sectarian schools, each teaching a different and exclusive version of one religion — Christianity; a sectarian school is an instrument for indoctrinating children, and this is the only or major reason for its existence. It is naive of the clergy to maintain that this is not the over-riding purpose of a sectarian school. The leaders of the Newfoundland School Society (who may be said to have laid the foundations for religious education as far back as 1824) insisted that though non-Anglican children might attend, secular knowledge was entirely subordinate to the word of God in all their schools. Bishops of all denominations, throughout the nineteenth century, in both Newfoundland and Britain, took the view that if the poor were not to be indoctrinated in their own brand of Christianity it were better they were not educated at all. Bishop Feild maintained that the main aim of the school he founded and financed (later to become Bishop Feild College) was to educate disciples in his own particular doctrine, namely Tractarianism. Dr. F.W. Rowe, in his **Development of Education in Newfoundland** (1964), cites five contemporary denominational leaders, three of whom proclaim the teaching of their beliefs to be the prime purpose of their schools.

In plain terms, denominational schools see as their duty the inculcation of the doctrines and propaganda (plus the appropriate mental attitudes) of their own sect, and the prevention, as far as possible, of interaction with children and teachers of any other sect. Apart from the fact that these positions are socially divisive and productive of the unnecessary duplication of schools (which in themselves are sufficient arguments against denominational education), they have the object of preventing a child from ever developing the faculty of making his own free decision whether or not to contract out of the sect. It is a peculiarity of those who propagate Christianity that they have always made faith in it a virtue and fostered the concept that unbelief is wicked, wrong or disloyal. In my view this is nothing less than a deliberate attempt to buy a child's belief in advance of hearing the evidence for Christianity and in advance of his arriving at an age when the evidence can be weighed. Why, if this were not so, is Christianity universally taught to the very youngest children? Why do the denominations not wait until the child is fourteen or fifteen years old?

After all, we do this with no other subject in the school. We do not teach that it is virtuous to believe in Newtonian physics and that therefore we shall teach it and continue to teach it, and that if some pupils prefer to believe that it is outmoded by Einstein's theories they are disloyal or wicked. Yet we do precisely this in the case of Christianity. If the Churches wish to pre-empt a child's belief in this fashion it is, of course, their own responsibility. What many people find difficult to accept is that this responsibility is actually supported by civil government, not only morally but also financially.

Look at it this way, I happen to be a paid-up member of the New Democratic Party. But the last educational fate I would wish any child of mine, or anyone else's child, is that it should attend a school exclusively for paid-up members of the N.D.P., there to be saturated with N.D.P. propaganda. Were I suddenly to start demanding that I did want just that, I would rightly be derided for my folly and presumption. Were the N.D.P. to endorse my position and demand the creation of exclusive N.D.P.

schools, it would be a cause for public concern. Were it to go further and demand that these be set up at the public expense, it would be considered an intolerable imposition on the public purse and the public conscience, and an even worse imposition on our children's right to the fair presentation of facts and their right to free and equal access to varieties of belief and opinion.

Yet we do precisely this in setting up denominational schools at the public expense. In fact we do more; for it can be argued that the policy of the **N.D.P.**, as of every political party, is grounded in social realities (though adherents of other parties may, of course, find these distasteful or unacceptable), whereas a good deal of Christianity consists of unlikely and unproven stories, in support of which no empirical evidence can be supplied nor any rational argument adduced, quite apart from the fact that it is disbelieved by sincere people of other faiths. Yet the civil authority, in upholding the right of denominations to utilise the schools to teach Christianity, is in effect underwriting their claim that Christianity, or various versions of it, must be accepted without question. No government has the authority to support such a position and no citizen should accept the pretension of any government to subscribe to it.

No one, on the other hand, now or in the future, would wish to deprive religious sects of the opportunity to propagate their doctrines. They have their own premises - the churches — and may do what they can to attract children to them or to persuade parents to bring the children. There are 187 days in the school year; this leaves 178 days clear for parents to take their children to church and have them indoctrinated, by full-time profession ministers. The Churches cannot maintain that they need to move into the schools and run them as additional, part-time places of worship, or that if schools were to use their 187 days per year for the urgent necessities of education they would be infringing the Churches' freedom and opportunity to carry out their mission. Preservation of the faith, in other words, is not co-determinate with the preservation of a denominational education system.

In my view, the mission of any group or individual to propagate any particular doctrine should be respected and guaranteed in law. What I find difficulty in agreeing with is the claim of the Churches for public money to teach their doctrines, to the exclusion of all others, in public schools. One's faith may tell one that one's children must not mix with children of other faiths or of no faith; but the state has no moral right to abet one in effecting segregation. To do so would be acting unfairly towards others and towards the best interests of the community as a whole.

The question is often asked: if religion is not taught in schools, what happens to morality? It is asked solely because we have been conditioned to believe that morality and Christianity are inseparable. Seriously to maintain this is not only a libel on the majority of the human race, but also ignores the evidence that millions of atheists live perfectly moral lives. In addition, it has its dangers; for if we teach our children that we must love our neighbour because God says so, then if a child should conclude that there is no God (which is always a risk), then he may also assume that there is no need to love his neighbour. Morality can best be taught by developing in children an imaginative awareness of and concern for other people, which is best aroused by a wide-ranging, humanistic curriculum. In other words, morality is developed by education, and that education should include a critical and objective study of all religions. If Christianity is what Christians assert it to be, then it has nothing to fear from this process; if it is not, then it is desirable that children should be able to discover this for themselves. Such is the case against denominational education. It is a fairly standard one and I do not claim any particular originality in stating it. What I do maintain, however, is that increasing numbers of people in Newfoundland are becoming and will become receptive to it, because social developments are creating the conditions in which scepticism grows. Increased provision of and improvements in education are giving the younger generation a more rational, critical and independent outlook, making them less likely to accept without question the arguments for denominational education, or the abuses which such a system engenders. In addition, the growth of urbanization and industrialism inevitably leads to loss of belief in religion; Harvey Cox, in **The Secular City**, showed that belief varies inversely with the degree of urbanisation. In England

for instance, the oldest industrial country and by far the most urbanized, only 6% of the population attend the Easter service of the Church.

In Newfoundland, urbanization is proceeding apace, and the population of the capital continues to grow at a rapid rate. Industrialisation, though its fortunes are chequered, can hardly be said to be on the decline. Since 1949, education at all levels has taken a great leap forward, with up to 8,000 students attending University. Recent research by Dr. G.A. Cooper has shown that the religious beliefs of these students are at a low level; doctrinal orthodoxy was evident in no more than 27% of his sample, and only 8% declared a belief in the denominational system of education. These students are the future leaders and opinion-makers of the province.

More evidence could be brought forward, but I have done enough to demonstrate that if present trends continue (and there is no reason to doubt that they will) then the future of denominational education in Newfoundland is not very bright. But those who support it may console themselves with the following thought: if, after 133 years of denominational education only 15-20% of the most intelligent section of the population (according to Dr. Cooper's figures) hold orthodox doctrinal beliefs, then a system of secular schools might produce a better result. At least, it could hardly produce a worse one.

Afterword

I would like to add that the above arguments correspond very closely with those communicated to me at various times by many rank and file members of at least four of the denominations. In my view the feeling against denominational education and in favour of a secular system is probably much stronger than official attitudes would lead one to believe.

P.M.

EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Dr. G.B. Inglis

When I was a young teacher in British Columbia in the 1950's, I used to get very tired of being lectured about the "tremendous responsibility" I carried as an educator of the young. People were forever assuring me that the future of the world was in my hands, and it seemed an unfairly heavy burden to foist off on a young chap with twelve years of schooling and a year at Normal School.

Now, having reached an age nearer to that of the people who used to irritate me with such talk, and having been invited to write an article about Education and Community Development that will be read by teachers, many of them young, I find that I have to fight down an inclination to do some moralizing of my own about that "tremendous responsibility".

There are many reasons for this, including the fact that it is much more pleasant to tell other people about their responsibilities than it is to have one's own discussed, but if I can point to any single thing that has had a major influence on my change in attitude, it would be my perception of the role of the teaching profession in the so-called "Quiet Revolution" in Quebec. I'll try not to moralize, and I'll come back to that remark about Quebec.

There are many obvious ways in which teachers and the schools are related to Community Development. There exists in the province a vast and diversified institutional structure through which a tremendous amount of money, effort and energy is being expended in pursuit of that almost mythical goal. Money is pumped in by the Federal Government in loans, grants, transfer payments, and development programmes. The Provincial Government participates in these and matches the effort with programmes of its own, borrowing money at an alarming rate to do so. The province is seething with agencies to foster development: The Department of Rural Development, the Newfoundland and Labrador Rural Development Council and its member organizations, the Memorial University Extension Service, the Centre for the Development of Community Initiatives, L.I.P., L.E.A.P., O.F.Y., D.R.E.E., Manpower, the Department of the Secretary of State, The Company of Young Canadians, Frontier College, The Newfoundland Development Corporation...the list stretches on and on. A brief examination of the membership of town councils, fraternal organizations, service clubs, and local development associations will show that teachers play a full role in these organizations. The concept of the "community school" is attracting more attention all the time (and I hope the **Morning Watch** will give us an article on the subject sometime soon).

If this vast development-oriented structure exists, and if teachers are taking a full share of it, what remains to be said? First, I would suggest that it is not working. The development scene in Newfoundland at present is confusion of organizations, objectives, and techniques that actually impedes constructive change. Second, I would suggest that there is an almost total absence of critical examination of what it is all for.

There is a difference, in my mind, between development in Newfoundland and development of Newfoundland. By my definition, development of any system is something that comes from the inside. If a system or a country or province changes only in response to influences and pressures from outside, then it is not developing. Development is taking place somewhere else, and the system under consideration is responding to it. Most of the changes that have come to Newfoundland in this century have been the result of development that has taken place elsewhere. In the modern world, of course, some such change is not only inevitable, it is also desirable. Much benefit is to be gained from it. But if any society is to retain the things that make it a society — the things that hold it together and give shape and meaning — it must, as a collectivity, take charge of the process by which outside developments are integrated into its own fabric, and it must generate real development inside itself.

In order for this to happen, in my opinion, then, must be more than a long list of development agencies. There must be, fundamentally, a body of people who have a clear idea of who they are and where they are and why they want the things they want. And this is where I begin to think about that "tremendous responsibility" that rest on teachers.

Margaret Atwood refers to "a deluge of values and artefacts flowing in from outside" — television and radio programmes, movies, books, magazines, textbooks, and so on, This flood of values and artefacts, she says, implies

... that "there" is always more important than "here" or that "here" is just another, inferior, version of "there". They render invisible the values and artefacts that actually exist "here" so that people can look at a thing without really seeing it, or look at it and mistake it for something else. A person who is "here" but would rather be somewhere else is an exile or a prisoner; a person who is "here" but thinks he is somewhere else is insane.

But when you are here and don't know where you are because you've misplaced your landmarks or bearings, then you need not be an exile or a madman: you are simply lost (1972:18).

That is what a colonial education system does to people, too: it makes them into exiles in their own country — people who believe that what is good and right and desirable is always centered somewhere else — or it leaves them "simply lost".

In my own childhood, the British Columbia school system was very British — we studied British (i.e., English) history, recited Kipling, sang "Rule, Britannia", and read John Buchan. Outside of school we watched American movies, listened to American radio programmes and read American comics. My generation has gone on to sell out Canadian resources more quickly and enthusiastically than any before it.

By the time my children went to school, Canadian school systems had become very American. In Toronto, for three consecutive years, my eldest son studied the history, geography, economics, and politics of the New England States. I found that he didn't know exactly where Winnipeg was, but he was a child expert on Maryland. When we came to Newfoundland, much of the "social studies" he got in his first year at Junior High School came from a magazine called **Junior Scholastic**, published in Chicago and filled with lots of well-written articles on "our system of government" (the congressional system) "problems in our cities" (blacks and Puerto Ricans) and so on.

Well, I needn't belabour the point. I believe that an important function of any school system is to help its pupils toward a realization of who they are and where they are in relation to the larger world — of the distinctions, differences, possibilities and prospects of "here" in relation to "there". In the old days before the advent of radio, television, and movies, good schools fulfilled this function by providing a window on the large world — by expanding pupils' horizons so that they could see themselves in relation to other times and other places. Now, with the great metropolitan centres bombarding us continuously with instant communication, it may be that too many of us are left with our horizons expanded to the limits of our vision, but with no charts or compass — no means of locating ourselves and our communities within it all. If this is so, then the function of a good school would be to turn inward again and focus on the question that Atwood phrases "where is 'here'?".

I have been pleased to see in past issues of **The Morning Watch** a heavy stress on what is distinctive about Newfoundland but this by itself is not enough, for it is possible to glorify a traditional past or an idealized future without saying anything about what is here and now. For generations the schools of Quebec focussed inward, all right, but they fostered a romantic image of their province that became more remote from reality with each passing year. While we may not like many of the things that have happened

there since the so-called Quiet Revolution, and although there are many undesirable and even frightening aspects to Quebec society, it seems to have now a vitality and sense of purpose that the rest of us can only envy. Educators at all levels played a major role in the changes.

In summary, then, it is my belief that the most elaborate structures, organizations, and plans for development, be they at the community, regional, provincial, or even national level, have no hope of success without a body of people who are secure in their own identity: a body of people who can face the paralysing dilemmas of change with a confidence born of knowing who and where they are. We are getting very little help from radio, T.V., movies, and the rest of the media. If the schools can't do it, we might as well forget about development.

LEARNING TO MEDIATE SOCIAL CHANGE:

Interviews With Two Community Leaders

Is Newfoundland society changing? Is it going to change? In what direction is it going? Who are the change agents? What are their perspectives on society, culture and change? What is the scientific, cultural base of perspectives held by change agents? Who initiated the research? Who financed the research? What are the functions and structure of the organization in which researchers and research projects are located? What affiliations do the sponsoring agencies have with the larger social structure? What are the interests and ideologies of those who have the power positions in the organizations? How do their interests and ideologies differ from other groups in society? Who are to be changed? For what purpose are they to change? Who is going to evaluate whom, how and on what criteria? Who is to benefit from change? What is the price of change? Who is going to pay what price in the change process? What are the long term consequences for the life chances of various groups of people in Newfoundland society? Is the biography of Newfoundland society, culture, and individuals in it to be compared with the biographies of other societies, cultures, and individuals in them? These are some of the questions which have been raised by many peoples in the world when confronted with schemes of planned change.

Any scheme of planned change involves conflict of human values. There are various factors of change associated with political, economic, and socio-cultural aspects of change. Each aspect of change is based upon certain images of progress. The images of progress provide a source for defining obstacles to progress in various aspects of change. There are then political considerations, economic considerations, and sociocultural considerations for overcoming perceived obstacles to progress.

Change can be brought by force or cooperation. If change has to be brought by cooperation, then human values must interact with politics, economics, and culture. That is, people caught in the process of change must mediate politics, economics and culture.

The failure of many schemes of planned change is often due to a lack of a viable concept of community and society. The planners generally do not listen to the people whose life they propose to plan. Many of the problems of change arise out of the insensitivity of professional planners to incorporate the ideas and expression of people involved. It is not unusual to find out that the professional planners are too much flattered by their neat techniques of social engineering and evaluative procedures. This is not to say that professionals and technicians do not play a useful role in planning change.

At the time when various agencies (The Department of Rural Development, the Newfoundland and Labrador Rural Development Council and its member organizations, the Memorial University Extension Service, the Centre for the Development of Community Initiatives, L.I.P., L.E.A.P., O.F.Y., D.R.E.E., Manpower, the Department of the Secretary of State, The Company of Young Canadians, Frontier College, The Newfoundland Development Corporation) are involved in bringing about change in communities in Newfoundland, it seems appropriate that we opt for community development thinking which incorporates the ideas, expressions, and values of those people whose life is directly involved. With these thoughts in the back of my mind, I had the opportunity to interview two community leaders — Mr. Jack Bart and Mr. Bill Edmunds. I believe that mediating the change is a learning process, and that much can be gained in the area of cooperation by listening to others.

A. Singh

INTERVIEW WITH MR. BART JACK

- S. Bart, you are president of the native people. You are in St. John's attending the Conference On The Potential Impact On The Province Of Future Commercial Oil And Gas Discovery Off Newfoundland. I would like you to tell us something about what you think are the educational, social and research needs in your area.

- B. First of all, I would like to comment on the conference. I think it's not focusing too much on the local needs as such. I think it's only a conference on stocks and bonds and whatever you can get out of it. Well, that's the main thing as far as these people are concerned. As far as we are concerned, the native people, we feel that much will be changed when this oil discovery goes in. For instance, the way of life will be changed. For many years the native people on the coast have been dependent on the land and on the sea, fishing and hunting. All this will change dramatically as the years go by — when oil discovery goes into full swing. The education, I guess, will change, too. For the good or for the bad, I'm not the judge for that at this moment. At the moment the educational needs in Labrador are very tremendous. There's only one high school in Labrador which is central. The coast doesn't have any high school. They have to send their people to Northwest River, which is about 100 miles from Makkovik, where the actual oil discovery is. If the industry moves into Makkovik they will supply a school. But that's not the answer to the whole problem because this oil industry will create some problems as well as probably solve a few. They will be able to solve the problem of communication; they will be able to deal with education; but in the process they will create more problems than there are right now in the community. They will create problems in regards to the people's traditional hunting and fishing way of life.

There'll be disruptions in the general overall way of life in the community and at this moment I don't think the people in Labrador are ready. It was pointed out by some here the rate of progress in regards to industry may be expressed as 'slow', but for Labrador this kind of "slow" is actually a fast pace of life and I don't think that the community can grasp this at the moment.

- S. You said that you had one high school. Do you think one high school is sufficient? Do you think the high school is serving the needs of the area? Obviously university is involved, high school is involved. What role do you think university or school play? What kinds of programs should be introduced? What are they not doing?
- B. First of all I'll start from elementary level. In the elementary school age, there should be programs relevant to the communities. What I mean is that no person or no children on the coast should study about New York because there's gonna be no place like New York on the coast. This is irrelevant. They should study about their own environment, their own history and their own way of life because that's the life that they've understood and have lived and their parents have lived for so many years. Then we go to high school. They should try to establish right now programs that are practical to the students because high school students are very rare in Labrador. There's no need for me to mention the scarcity of university students from Labrador. Not very many achieve university status. Therefore, I think, they should generate and accelerate development right now from elementary to high school. They should introduce programs, relevant and practical to the students. By practicality I mean they should start teaching them their own way of life. The students should have an option regarding what he or she wants to learn. Right now, there's no option. They have to learn exactly what the people in Toronto do; they have to learn exactly what the people in St. John's do — which is to me, very very impractical at the moment.
- S. Would you like to see your people coming to universities? Or would you want them to go only as far as high school?
- B. Well, we'd like to see them coming to university but the way of the university is not always to learn about big cities, big towns and big industry. You can make your way to university in learning what you want to learn. University can be a good thing for the people of Labrador, but at first there should be programs that they understand in order for them to get ready for university. University prepares you for a way of life.

- S. Another thing. I was in Labrador, south coast. There people were talking about the oil discovery. In fact, many people in Newfoundland are talking about Labrador. Also, they are talking about the oil discovery and the impact of oil on Labrador. What is the feeling in terms of separatism? Is there any movement in which the people of Labrador are saying: "we want to be separated from Newfoundland"? Newfoundland, of course, is taking much of the resources from Labrador. Shouldn't the benefits go to Labrador rather than Newfoundland? I hear some people get into this kind of discussion. What are your feelings and attitudes towards this?
- B. Well, there is no doubt that there is a feeling like this and there has been for many years and probably will continue to be because of the way the Newfoundland province treats Labrador. I can see myself now in the same situation if Labrador was getting all the revenue and Newfoundland was depleted of resources. The reason for that is, I think, the people in Labrador had been neglected for so many years. This neglect is still predominant in the communities, especially the coastal communities, not very much in the inland communities like Goose Bay, Happy Valley and Wabush. The coastal communities have been far more neglected than any other community on the island of Newfoundland. The reason for this is, I think, very simple. The people in these communities have not, up to this time, or with very little effort on their part, tried to fight for their rights. It's just like an ostrich — if an ostrich is attacked by an animal, it puts its head in the sand — it doesn't want to defend itself. Well, it's the same thing with the people in Labrador. I think they have to learn now, I think they have started to learn now, to demand things. For example: as we heard at this meeting here, the Labrador delegation — of which I am part — have demanded a meeting in Labrador such as this, to have a meeting on the impact of all industry in Labrador. I think the people in Labrador have to learn to do that right now in order for them not to be swept under the carpet.
- S. I see a parallel between the way things are happening in Labrador and Newfoundland and the way things are happening in Quebec where they are building hydro dams. There the conflict has been between the people whose land is going to be covered with water. The same thing is happening in Manitoba and British Columbia and other parts of the world where these big industries move in and the people whose life is going to be influenced somehow are unable to influence this trend in their favour. What do you think can be really done to stop or at least to negotiate with these forces in such a way that the benefit goes to the people who have been living there for so many years?
- B. First of all, I am not so certain what you mean when you talk about benefit. Are you talking about whether the people on the Labrador coast are really concerned about what jobs they are going to get out of this, or what other benefits they are going to get out of it? I think what more concerns them right now is how will their way of life be changed in regards to their hunting and traditional fishing life. In regards to your question about James Bay, I think Newfoundland can avoid this by more consultation with the native people which I think they have started to do right now. In Quebec this was never done. The people were never informed of this hydro development. The government just moved in there and started building dams. Now, the government here has shown at least a bit of concern. They had this meeting and I hope they will continue to have these meetings so that people will be informed. The other probable solution that can be gotten out of this is to encourage the government to give the native people some money to do their own research, to find out for themselves what kind of impact this oil industry will have on them. In that way we'll have a two-way educational system. The people will be able to educate the government on their own way of life and then the government, in turn, will be able to educate them about the impact that it is going to have on their way of life.
- S. If you have to say something to the young people in Newfoundland, especially those who are going through high school and who one of these days will be working for the government and

other industries, what would you say to them? What kind of attitude should they develop at this point?

- B. I think the students at present — I was a student only four years ago — should be involved right now with community projects or groups or whatever you want to get involved in because I feel there is nothing to be criticized about. Being involved you get to know the environment you live in; you get to know the people. Like four years ago I was a student. I didn't know anything about my community and right now I seem to know almost exactly what is going on in my community and probably the future of my community, which is far more important than not knowing anything at all.
- S. Thank you very much. Next time you come here, we will get a chance to see you again. If I happen to be in your area, I will be in touch with you again.

INTERVIEW WITH MR. BILL EDMUNDS

- S. Mr. Edmunds, I think your first name is Bill. Is it all right if I call you Bill? My name is Jit Singh. You are here attending this Conference On The Potential Impact On The Province Of Future Commercial Oil And Gas Discoveries Off Newfoundland. You were listening to us as I was talking to Bart Jack about his area in Labrador. We can continue to talk about that sort of thing. You would like to elaborate on the educational part in this area and you can perhaps give us a good insight into the communities of Makkovik to Nain. Would you please say something about education?
- E. First of all, I would like to speak about education and how it is handled on the Newfoundland-Labrador coast. What I mean when I say Newfoundland-Labrador coast is Northern Goose Bay. I came to a committee here years ago and we spoke about education and we talked about education and what was going on along the Labrador coast; at that meeting we spoke about the problems in regard to education. One guy from St. John's gets up and he says, "You got high school in Labrador — you got everything in Labrador, as far as we can gather". I said, "Yes, we have it in Labrador, but you, who are talking now, have never been up to Northern Labrador, and you are saying these things". I pointed out to him that from Nain, Labrador, to Goose Bay is 240 odd air miles, and the high school is in Goose Bay not in Nain, Labrador. There's another one in Hopedale, and a couple in other places. So when I told him that he was shocked after hearing that Labrador is like this. To go on, today, in Labrador, they have a little better facilities than what they had — say six or seven years ago. The only thing I don't go along today with in the education is that when you reach a certain grade in education you are shipped out from Labrador to Goose Bay. Myself, like all others don't go along with the situation because in some parts of Labrador, there you are with your kids in grade 7, 8, etc. — they're being shipped out to another community altogether and to me they're not mature. They could at least go as far as grade nine. Then they're more mature to be shipped out and leaving their family. It's kind of tough to see your daughter or your son at grade 7 or 8, who's not mature, being shipped out and you know she's going to a completely different community where she doesn't know anybody other than the ones who are being shipped out with her. How can you expect that girl or boy to get educated? Because she's not mature, she doesn't know. So these things have been going on and we've been trying to arrive at some kind of solution for this problem. Now, they will remain to do up to grade 9 and I'd like to see all the communities on Northern Labrador to go at least as high as grade 9 before they are shipped out from their families. University students are very aware that since the kids don't want to leave home at such an early age there are many dropouts. We have one or two people with university experience. When they come back to Labrador coast, what are they? They are low-scale labourers with university experience. By this time, your kids, and their kids, are thinking — why should I go and get my education, why should I go and get my university? Why should I get my degree? Here I am looking at somebody with a degree and still a

low-scale labourer. To look at it from my point of view — it's not always going to be like this; there are going to be industries coming up. Then, I think now is the time to change the pattern -- try to get our kids educated. Explain the future to them. I have had no degree, no education and I've still got none and I never will get any. The only thing I'm working on is a bit of experience. I don't think it should be like this today. I think they should go to university and I think their parents should encourage them to go and get their degree because they're looking forward, not only to 5 or 6 years but they are looking well ahead to 30, 40, 50 years to come — the third generation, the next generation and their generation. I think education should be regarded very highly, regardless of who they are or what they are even the parents, I think, should really demand that their kids get an education. I'm speaking of myself again right now; I could kick myself so many times that I haven't gotten an education. When I was going, to school I never had the chance to get a good education. I went to school at Riverhead for 9 months and you can't learn anything in 9 months. So I don't want those kids, mine and theirs, to be in my boots to look at the world today.

- S. This is very interesting. When you talk about children going to other communities, parents expecting their children to go to school, the school boards come into the picture. Now, to what extent do you think the people have been capable of influencing the school boards to change their policies in regard to busing children? Is there any dialogue between the parents and the school boards, the schools and the school boards so that the interest and concern of the parents are incorporated into the policies? Do you think that people have been able to do that? Or do schools and school boards still impose their own rationalization and say, well, because of this and that the kids have to be shipped?
- E. Well, I really don't know because I don't get involved too much with the school boards. But speaking from what I've heard about the school boards on the coast they're trying every year to have meetings with the school boards, and people coming from other parts of the province are trying to extend classrooms in the community. By more classrooms I mean that if you go as far as 7 or 8 why not go as far as grade nine? Another thing is the lack of teachers. I believe that it should be advertised more than it is now. A person coming from, say, England, Canada, or Newfoundland, hearing about a teaching position in Labrador imagines it to be as it is advertised in books, i.e., living in snow houses. For this reason I think it should be advertised more. Like anyone else, we are Canadians, we have schools, houses, running water. I think, therefore, it should definitely be advertised more.
- S. That's right. May I make one comment? Like you said, you never had any education yourself, but I think by that you mean you never went to school. Obviously you know more about the area and you have more experience than many people can get by coming to school. Schools do not educate people for all the experience which you have and I will say that although you never went to school that doesn't mean that you are not an educated man. Of course, you know a lot of other things and perhaps the young people, in my opinion, are hung up too much on what they learn from school. It doesn't give them any idea about real situations in the community and in the area. This is lacking. In my opinion students should have more opportunities to go into the communities and see how the life is in actual conditions.
- E. Very true. Yes, I go along with that 100% because you're in the classroom and you don't learn everything. I think there should be more exchange of students, e.g., from Labrador coming to St. John's or other places. That's where experience comes in. You can educate yourself more in the outside world. So I really believe in student exchange.
- S. Thank you very much Bill. If you are in St. John's again, I will try to see you. If I am in your area, I will contact you.

FORMAL AND NONFORMAL EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENTS AND THEIR IMPACT ON TEACHING AND LEARNING

Dr. James R. Owen

In a recent discussion about the impact of cable television on the Newfoundland culture, one of the discussants claimed that television was a powerful educational media and could prove to be instrumental in undermining the Newfoundland culture, especially because of the Americanizing influence of the major United States networks. He went on to say that he considered all educational experiences to be similar, in that he saw learning from television in the home no different from learning things in the school setting. The first argument is questionable but the second argument has some serious errors that lead to further complications in teaching and learning. It is quite possible that cable television will influence the Newfoundland culture, but just how is clearly open to speculation. It could be argued that cable television will make the Newfoundland culture more Canadian, seeing that about 80% of the Canadian population has access to American networks now and only living in "remote areas" from this "common Canadian experience". While control of cable television is a crucial cultural and educational question, this paper is primarily concerned with differentiating between learning that takes place within the formal structure of the school and learning that takes place outside the school. A clear understanding of the structural restrictions inherent in each of these environmental settings is important for making intelligent comments and criticisms about education in each particular context.

It is only common sense to say that education takes place outside of the school as well as inside, but as is the case with most common sense notions, they are not very helpful until they are analyzed to help specify and clarify the problems being considered. Obviously, we learn many intellectual and social skills outside of school. In fact, many have argued that most of our learning takes place in some setting other than the school. We learn to speak the language, play complex games, develop work skills and internalize the various norms of our particular culture and social stratta outside of the school. If these things are so effectively and efficiently learned why do so many people have difficulty learning in school? While this question has plagued educators for many years, Dewey's insistence upon the compatibility between school and community has inhibited the clarification of these environmental differences. The separation of in-school and out-of-school learning he came important when the school was trying to withstand attack from various advocates of affective education who suggested that all education could take place outside of the formal school and therefore schools should be abolished. The de-schooling notion of Ivan Illich not only put forward the radical notion of non-compulsory schooling but it called into question the very functioning of the school.

Illich was primarily concerned with education in the developing nations where there was a well developed tradition of out-of-school learning. His concern about the cost of formal education and its contingent effectiveness in keeping the underdeveloped nations in a subservient position provided new impact for the affective education critics who were arguing for the reduction of schooling because of its dehumanizing effects on children as well as its inability to teach the 3 R's.

One of the most effective responses to these critics was the structural distinction between the two learning environments described as formal and nonformal education. To make this distinction stick it was necessary to come up with a definition that could be understood and accepted by all parties concerned, and some basic characteristics that clearly distinguished formal from nonformal education. There are various definitions separating formal and non-formal education, and some which further dissect nonformal education into more precise categories. But for the sake of clarity and expediency I have chosen Harbison's definition.

"Human resource development is concerned with two systems of skill and knowledge generation; formal schooling and nonformal education and training. In most countries formal education connotes age specific, full time classroom attendance in a linear graded

system geared to certificates, diplomas, degrees or other formal credentials. Formal education is thus easily defined — its administration and control in most developing countries is lodged in a ministry of education; its costs are measurable; and its outputs are easily identified.

In contrast, nonformal education, which is probably best defined as skill and knowledge generation taking place outside the formal schooling system is a heterogeneous conglomeration of unstandardized and seemingly unrelated activities aimed a wide variety of goods. Nonformal education is the responsibility of no single ministry; its administration and control are widely diffused throughout the private as well as the public sectors; and its costs, inputs and outputs are not readily measurable. Nonformal education is perhaps one of the most unsystematic of all systems, yet in most developing countries its role in generating skills, influencing attitudes, and molding values is of equal, if not greater, importance than formal schooling. Indeed, perhaps most of man's development takes place routinely and often unconsciously through learning — by-doing, being instructed or inspired by others to perform specific tasks through association and communication with others or simply by participation in a community or in a working environment."¹

After viewing this definition, the distinction between formal and nonformal education makes more sense and furthermore has some practical implications which are not otherwise so obvious. When viewed from this frame of reference, education becomes much more contextual and the kinds of situations that shape teaching and learning in one situation may have an entirely different effect in another situation. Let's look at some of the structural factors that shape education in each of these settings.

Formal education is basically an effort to provide knowledge and information through some form of vicarious experience. Much of schooling involves ingenious means of teaching children things that will not make it necessary for them to actually experience the situation in order to learn. Schools are set up by adults to pass on their experiences so that each generation may benefit from the experiences of previous generations without having to go through all of the same experiences. This simplistic and straight forward notion has dramatic implications for the structuring of the formal school.

First of all the school is separated from the rest of society. It is not meant to be more of the same kind of out of school experiences but something that differs in kind not only in degree. For instance out of school learnings are more actively participated in and the rewards for learning are often immediate and material. On the other hand, learnings that are encouraged in the school are usually more abstract and therefore require more passive attention and the rewards are often remote and not concrete. For example, we might be concerned with teaching our child how to skate and doing it in a nonformal educational setting. We buy the skates and introduce the children to a patch of ice. Undoubtedly a great deal of active participation will ensue, reinforced by many immediate and concrete rewards. However, if we encourage our high school students to read some of the classic works in the History of Western Civilization we do it not so much because we think they will receive immediate and concrete rewards, (even though we may consider the experience pleasurable) but rather because we believe that they will benefit from an understanding of this work and eventually be better able to make intellectual decisions for having had this experience. We believe that only in this way can they gain the necessary understandings that will lead them to making valid judgments in the future. We may tell them that they should read to pass the test, or that they need this information to graduate and therefore get a better job; but in all of these instances the goals involve some form of delayed gratification and rewards are less immediately concrete.

A second consideration is one concerning the artificial construction of the formal school environment. We have gathered children together in an institution which separates them from the family, the workshop and even to a large extent from their leisure activities. This separation is compounded by

the way we collect all children of a similar age into a single class and then put one adult in charge. Furthermore, we require that all children, by law, attend school. In effect, we have gathered a gang of kids together in a confined situation and placed a single, often unarmed, teacher in charge. It is small wonder that so much of the teachers time and effort is expended in keeping control. There is no nonformal learning setting that places a single adult in charge of a similar collection of learners, and there is no nonformal learning environment that so completely segregates present learners from previous learners. We have artificially established these constraints on schooling for the purpose of teaching and administering, but not for learning which is the primary focus of the nonformal situation.

A third basic consideration that separates formal from nonformal education is their relative emphasis on literacy. The school has as its heart the ability to manipulate literacy skills. Nonformal education does not require literacy as a prerequisite for developing other nonformal learnings or skill development. It is difficult to imagine a school that does not emphasize literacy but it is quite common for us to learn many skills outside of school that don't require the ability to read or write.²

There are other examples that could be given but these should serve to prove the point that education in formal and nonformal settings is not the same nor should we expect that the same kind of teaching and learning activities are equally adapted to each of the settings. For example, perhaps the learning of vocational skills that are particular to a certain job are better learned on the job, and it is more functional to teach the value of work and work values in the school. While there is not a clear cut distinction between formal and nonformal education in all settings there is enough of a discrepancy distinction to make us wary of the critics that advocate the introduction of nonformal teaching techniques into the formal school structure.

How can these concepts be applied to Newfoundland in order to make education more efficient and effective? Initially, it should be mentioned that Newfoundland has many different programs that fit under the general heading of nonformal. The College of Fisheries is internationally known for its excellent formal educational program but in addition it provides workshops for fishermen throughout the province. Memorial University has dozens of nonformal education programs in the fine arts, areas of community interest, and even in seafood preparation. The Extension Division has an international reputation in nonformal education primarily because of the Fogo Process that was initiated and developed here in Newfoundland. Business and industry provides various programs for people involved in on-the-job training and the schools have often cooperated with industry through work-study programs. In addition there are various radio, television and stage presentations that pertain directly to the education of Newfoundlanders about their culture and society. It should be obvious that the clear cut distinction between formal and nonformal education has been greatly eroded in Newfoundland. A primary concern will be the future development of nonformal education in Newfoundland especially considering the rapid development of mass media in the province.

Newfoundland is in a unique position in North America because it has no system so well developed that it is locked into a particular way of educating. We still have the opportunity to direct education in the nonformal as well as formal sphere. Compared with other provinces Newfoundland does not have the extensive network of community colleges that lock persons into the traditional formal education molds, so we can still choose. Newfoundland does not have an extensive industrial complex that requires the schools serve as selection and training instruments of industry so perhaps we can avoid that problem. Newfoundland does not have the extensively developed road network that often works more like a one-way street running the young and able out of the rural areas into the cities, so perhaps we can devise programs to encourage the development of a high quality of life in rural areas. There is also an ethos in Newfoundland that emphasizes that there are certain intangibles in the life style of rural island dwellers that allows them to pause and enjoy life, or at least, live a pace of life that is envied by many urban dwellers on the North American continent.**

Newfoundlanders can still be masters of their own destiny and the kind of future development in nonformal education will be fully as important as the future development of the formal school system. The area of creativeness and innovation in the nonformal sector is bounded only by imagination, and Newfoundland has held a leading role in nonformal education in the past. Future development in the mass media, communications and economic areas are inevitable so the primary question is one of intelligent control. Education must be used to help the people develop the skills and understandings necessary to control the future development of the province. Education, both formal and nonformal, has never had a greater challenge nor a greater opportunity to serve the people of Newfoundland.

FOOTNOTES

1. Harbison, Frederick, "Human Resources and Nonformal Education" in **New Strategies for Educational Development**, ed., Cole S. Brembeck and Timothy J. Thompson (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1973) p. 5.
2. For a further explanation of this position see Cole S. Brembeck's "The Strategic Uses of Formal and Nonformal Education", pp. 53-63 in the book referred to in footnote one, and Marvin Grandstaff's **Alternatives in Education: A Summary View of Research and Analysis on the Concept of Nonformal Education**, (East Lansing, Michigan: Institute for International Studies in Education, 1974).

For a more extensive view of implications and advancement in the Newfoundland culture see "The Use of Post-literate Technology in a Pre-literate Culture. Examples and Implications", *Canadian and International Education*, Vol. 6, No. 1, June 1977, by James R. Covert.

BILINGUALISM — BI-CULTURALISM IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND A MODERN EMERGING THIRD CULTURE GENERATION OF STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

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A society in the process of modernizing may be distinguished not only by the amount of change taking place but also by the efforts of its members to control change, as well as to invent and design new futures for present and oncoming generations. Few would argue that teachers, students and many other segments of the population in this province are in the process of planning new futures.

At the same time we realize that Newfoundland has a rich unique past, of interest and value not only to historians and large numbers of tourists, but an immeasurable resource for designing possible or alternative futures for those who live here.

For example, bilingualism and bi-culturalism, referring to the English and French-speaking populations and their way of life, are historical factors which have deep roots in the history of this province. However, because the population of Newfoundland is 98% + English-speaking, the French presence here, until recently, has been largely ignored or assigned to history books. The 1961 census however, demonstrated that 13% of the population of the district of Port Au Port was French-speaking, or Francophone. This district thus fulfills requirements (a minimum of 10%, according to the 1968 Official Languages Act of Canada and Newfoundland) for an area to be officially designated as a bilingual region. Three other main centres of French-speaking Newfoundlanders are St. Georges, Stephenville, and Labrador West, the latter with an approximate population (1973) in the Wabush-Labrador City area of 13,620, 1,455 of whom had French as their mother tongue. An inspection of the map of Newfoundland reveals such French place names as Rose Blanche, Baie Verte, Jacques Fontaine, Isle aux Morts, Port aux Basques, Baie l'Argent and other traces of the French heritage. In addition, Newfoundland adjoins the French-speaking province of Quebec and the French territory of St. Pierre and Miquelon.

Now, it has been established, very briefly, that the living French fact is visible in and about this province.

The question naturally arises — what does all this have to do with English-speaking Newfoundlanders, with our education and especially with our futures, planned or unplanned?

First of all, there will be no attempt here to predict the future of this province or the society, (this will be left to the Club Of Rome, Herman Kahn, and other August personages and organizations better equipped to do so). If we cannot foresee the entire future for ourselves here in Newfoundland, we certainly may think of creating desirable alternative futures with which we can live under varying sets of conditions.

In terms of Newfoundland's bilingual, bi-cultural past, therefore, it would be safe to speculate that the life-chances or alternative futures of bilingual Newfoundlanders will be considerably increased in comparison with those in the province who speak only English or French.

Several recent studies, both published and unpublished, in Newfoundland and in New Brunswick, a truly bilingual province, indicate the emergence of a third culture population which is learning to bridge traditional, well-defined regional and linguistic divisions and is, in fact, in the process of forming new Canadian self and social identity patterns. The third culture is an empirical concept developed in long-term, cross-cultural research studies by the sociologists John and Ruth Useem (1963). The concept of the third culture, as developed by the Useems, refers to the cultural patterns created, learned and shared by the members of different societies who are personally involved in relating their societies, or sections thereof, to each other. Many different kinds of third cultures are evolving, the Useems have noted, because of the expanded linkages, both conflicting and cooperative, among societies of the world.

Nevertheless, each third culture produces a composite of values, role-related norms and social structures which distinguish its patterns from any of the societies it spans. This is especially true in the case of emerging Newfoundland and Maritime Canada third cultures, as I will discuss shortly. It should be noted that the most visible feature of third cultures is the rational effort on the part of its bearers to create a common ground for living and working together.

Now, a brief description is in order of an alternative future, described above as an emerging third culture, for Newfoundland teachers and their students who are keen to be on the cutting edge of human resource developments in this province.

Sister Esther Moore, in an unpublished Memorial University paper (1972) entitled "Bilingualism in Port-au-Port District (Cape St. George)", has stressed that "Because of the communication explosion of the past 25 years, the problem of the efficient running of Canada as a bilingual state has become crucial, and bilingual personnel have become a premium requirement. In such a case Port-au-Port has a mine of human talent that should be developed from a Canadian point of view, here is a valuable human resource that should not be wasted". The point at issue here is that the formerly disadvantaged Francophone Newfoundlanders (disadvantaged by definition because he spoke only French, is not only learning English but he/she, most importantly, is learning to bridge the cultural boundary between the two language groups. In essence this is the core of an emerging third culture in Newfoundland. Even before the publication of the Royal Commission Report on Bilingualism and Bi-culturalism (1967-1968), recognizing French and English as the two official languages of Canada, Francophone Newfoundlanders who visited the Canadian mainland, the U.S., or went abroad, according to Sister Moore, were pleasantly surprised and enthused by opportunities which were available to them because they were bilingual. I encountered quite a few of these bilingual Canadians who were working for NATO in France and Germany, or other international organizations a few years ago. I don't believe I have ever seen a more satisfied or self-actualized group of people. Bilingual and third culture, these Canadians were so involved bridging the cultural gaps and boundaries among Americans and English who spoke no French, French who could not or preferred not to speak English, Germans who spoke French as a second language, but little or no English, and many other European groups who spoke French as a second language but not a word of English, that their self confidence in themselves and pride in their unique bilingual Canadian identity was established and validated beyond any doubt. Again, it should be noted, not only were these Canadians bilingual, but of central importance for a valid third culture, they made a conscious and successful effort to create a common ground with other cultural groups, for living and working together. This rationalization process which enables one not only to speak a second language (many people can do this successfully) but also to comprehend, emphathize and interact with another cultural grouping (most people cannot do this successfully), is what distinguishes a third culture Canadian from a bilingual Canadian. If you want to test this third culture concept here in Newfoundland, it is not necessary to be on M.U.N. campus to do so; just start looking at your students, friends and acquaintances in the light of their third culture potentialities. Because of Newfoundland's rich cultural heritage, you will no doubt find that you have more third culture types in your school, neighbourhood, or town than you had imagined.

One more example of an emerging third culture is a nearby province needs to be described, since this pattern may represent an alternative future for an on-coming generation of Newfoundland students. New Brunswick, with approximately a 60% Anglophone and 40% Francophone population, most closely approaches the overall Canadian linguistic mosaic. It has often been described as a truly bilingual, bi-cultural province.

Lois Russell, Consultant in Second Languages, New Brunswick Department of Education, writes of English as a second language in the French-language schools of that province, in the **Canadian Modern Language Review** (1972). A modern third cultural pattern of learning is taking place among a group of students unintentionally, as far as teachers and school authorities are concerned. The standard bilingual program for New Brunswick students, according to Miss Russell, functions in the following manner — "Most English pupils who begin French in Grade 3 have had little, if any contact with this

second language — there are also those French pupils who being 'Anglais' in grade three with no command of that language; for both groups, a program with primary emphasis on aural-oral skills, followed by an introduction to reading and writing, seems to be quite appropriate". Another group of New Brunswick students, which definitely represents an emerging third culture, but is not recognized as such by school authorities, is described by Miss Russell: "There is, however, a certain group, of pupils who are almost bilingual when they enter school — They may have learned both languages at home or perhaps they acquired some proficiency in the "milieu". Sometimes it is really only a flip of the coin as to which school they will attend, an English one or a French one.— Sometimes these children may start out in one system, only to switch over after a few years to the other system". These children are frequently bored by second language programs, Miss Russell notes, and present problems for teachers, counsellors, principals and others who cannot bridge the gap between the English and French-Canadian cultures.

It is this group of "problem" children in New Brunswick, and we have similar patterns among minority group children here in Newfoundland, who represent an important, emerging third cultural grouping of central importance for the harmonious development of Canadian society. Newfoundland, in comparison with New Brunswick, has a relatively small bilingual population although immigration from Francophone Quebec into this province is a factor of growing importance. At the present time, for example, the French section of the school system in Labrador City uses the curriculum of the province of Quebec. In other words we have not yet-capitalized enough on our cultural heritage here in Newfoundland to meet this particular demand of modernization, especially in Labrador.

In summary then, we may pose the question once again — Are there alternative futures for Newfoundland students and teachers who either possess or intend to develop their bilingual, bi-cultural capabilities and who will take that further step into the uncharted region of the third culture? The third culture, it has been noted, consists of more than the mere adaptation or blending of two separate and adjacent cultures; in fact, this type of fusion is strongly rejected because of inseparable assimilation connotations, by French and English-speaking sectors of Newfoundland and Canadian society. Rather, a third culture consists of individuals or groups in a multi-cultural, pluralistic society who can function as mediators in the interstices and along the interfaces of two or more distinct cultural groupings. Inherent in third cultural patterns of behaviour is the learned capacity to be a cross-cultural communicator (being bilingual is helpful but does not insure that one can communicate across cultures), as well as to be able to rearrange one's self-system in such a way that a mutually acknowledged set of shared expectations are incorporated into social and work patterns.

It must be acknowledged as well that since the majority language group is English-speaking in this province that the working language will continue to be English. However, this does not mean that bilingualism and biculturalism are dead or dying nor that an emerging functioning third culture does not have an increasing role to play as the process of modernization increases in tempo in our province.

Teachers, by the very nature of their roles must be able to communicate across cultures and surely some will find it necessary or even advantageous to accommodate to bilingualism and the new patterns of thinking and behaviour which emerge in this milieu.

The on-coming generation of Newfoundland children are already accustomed to at least a partial exposure to a second language and many young students are opting for total immersion courses, especially in French, in order that they may function at an early date as bilinguals.

In the Labrador City-Wabush Area, on February 1, 1974, for example, M. Enguehard, French Consultant for the Department of Education, stated that the reason for introducing French to students at the grade one level was the fact that these children were already exposed to oral French by living and mixing in a diversified community where French is spoken. In her study of bilingualism in the Port-au-Port district several years ago, Sister Moore found that more and more families were anxious to retain their

French language, not to the exclusion of English, but on the contrary "as a valuable advantage, to be bilingual in a bilingual country".

Probably, the unique contribution of an on-coming third culture generation of Newfoundland youth and their teachers will be in the area of bridging many of the traditional cultural differences which separated Canadians in the past, and of generating new cross-cultural patterns which will highlight and demonstrate possibilities for alternative futures for people in this province.

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MULTICULTURALISM, EQUALITY, AND SCHOOLING IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETIES

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Many societies in the world are ethnically, linguistically and culturally plural, e.g. Canada, the United States, the Soviet Union, India, Nigeria, and many more. Almost everywhere, schooling has become central to the development of societies and is directly or indirectly associated with such key social indicators of "equality of results" as wealth, occupation, residence and voting.

In the past, social rewards — food, clothing, shelter, professional skills, prestige, income, occupation, education, etc. — have been distributed unequally among various ethnically, culturally and linguistically different groups. The differential distribution of socially valued goods and services has generally been justified by tradition, by resort to religion (e.g. inequality was the will of God or the Gods), by the development of rational and functional explanations of differences (e.g. success in a competitive society is the result of merit and hard work, along with a good deal of luck).

For a long time these and other similar explanations were adequate for people to tolerate inequalities. But in the contemporary era, various groups have become conscious of their relative position vis-a-vis other groups in society; ethnically, culturally and linguistically different groups now find justification of inequalities based on rational and functional explanations inadequate. In this context, concepts of multiculturalism, equality, discrimination, group differences and schooling have acquired new meaning. The underlying questions now are: What kinds of differences among people will a contemporary society and modern minds be able to tolerate? How should social reward come to be distributed among various groups? What kind of society — "cultural mosaic" or "melting pot" — is more desirable? To what extent should government and other private institutions be required to overcome inequalities among various ethnic and cultural groups on the ground of preferential treatment? In this article I shall briefly discuss the significance of this ongoing intellectual debate for education in Canadian and other plural societies.

In the mid-nineteen-sixties, various groups in North America and elsewhere became very conscious of inequalities of all kinds. This gave rise to various political and social movements which made inequalities a public issue rather than a private one. Under increased political demand the prevailing concept of equality acquired different meaning. The focus shifted to the elaboration of two notions: (1) equality of opportunity, (2) equality of result. The first meant equality before the law or formal public equality. It included the freedom to vote, to enter public places without stigma or limitation, to enter schools of one's choice, to organize politically without fear of economic and physical reprisals. It also meant banning of discrimination on account of race, color, religion, and national origin in various spheres of society. This was achieved by passing radical legislation in many societies.

But the passing of legislation in multi-ethnic societies did not automatically bring about equality in terms of socially valued goods and services, e.g. education, occupation, housing, etc. Several court actions followed. In this process, the meaning of equality of opportunity changed from public equality to concrete-or actual equality, i.e., equality of results. This meant that the right to enroll in schools without discrimination should also have secured the right to equal test scores and equal achievement. Similarly, the right to employment without discrimination did not automatically imply that the average income of each group or its distribution within occupations would match that of every other group, and so on.

Why did not equality of opportunity automatically bring about equality of results? This question turned the focus of the debate on the assumption underlying anti-discrimination laws as elaborated by government agencies and the courts. It was pointed out that at the base of the government approach was the notion that all groups would, in the absence of discrimination, be distributed equally in all realms of society. This principle rests on the statistical principle of normal distribution which meant any deviation

from statistical parity could, and should, be interpreted as owing to unconstitutional discrimination. Thus, those who formulated public policies decided to take all evidence of differences as a signal of possible discrimination. It was thought that if there were more people of one group employed in some occupation than their numbers in the population made plausible, this would indicate the actual and concrete discrimination or, failing that, the heritage of past discrimination.

Critics pointed out that the above approach ignored any possibility of group differences due to other factors such as religious, ethnic or racial ones. Moreover, any kind of rational, systematic, and functional explanation which justified differences among groups was simply ignored by the public policymakers and the courts, charged the critics.

This criticism of public policy was based on the counter-argument claiming that there is adequate evidence to prove that differences between groups do exist and are real. The purpose of the counter-argument was to convince policy-makers and law-makers that inequality of result was not necessarily due to discrimination practiced by social institutions and lack of governmental and court actions. The major efforts of those who argued in this way was to bring to light other explanations which were supposed to account for group differences. Four main explanations that have been put forward are that group differences may be due to (1) genetic inheritance, (2) cultural differences, i.e., transmission of custom, practice, values, ideals, rather than genes, (3) differences in the general environment, and the most recent explanation (4) family size.¹

In this century, several theories were put forward which attributed group differences to genetic inheritance. In the mid-nineteen-sixties the genetic explanation surfaced once again and became quite forceful. Most textbooks and popular magazines carried discussions of the possibility that significant differences of achievement in education, the professions, and income may have a genetic basis. In education, the genetic explanation became central to the so-called I.Q. controversy in several countries.

In North America, the I.Q. controversy was revived with the publication of an article by Jensen in the **Harvard Education Review**.² In this article he asserted that his analysis of psychometric data suggested that school achievement is determined largely by genetic factors and is thus inherited. He further implied that blacks in the United States were innately less intelligent than the whites. Following Jensen's hypothesis, several other studies were carried out which explicitly or implicitly implied that children of other ethnic and cultural groups scored lower on I.Q. tests when compared with middle-class white children. It was further implied that the poor people in general, including the white poor, were innately less intelligent than middle class whites. Earlier in the colonial period, many scholars, educators, and administrators who allied themselves with colonial empires argued in a similar way that non-Europeans were genetically inferior in intelligence to white European. It is not surprising, then, that genetic explanations have been often associated with racist theories.

The rejection of biological theories of group differences earlier in this century gave rise to cultural theories of group differences. Now the focus was on the concept of "culture" and not the genes. Distinguished anthropologists such as Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict were among the pioneers who attempted to explain group differences on cultural grounds. At the time when social scientists were fighting the racist theories of Nazism, cultural explanations were tolerated by those who were seeking greater equality because cultural theories implied that group characteristics could change as rapidly as environment, incentives, and policy change.

Today, even cultural explanations for group differences are not accepted by much of educated opinion as legitimate. Instead, explanations based on public or private discriminations are preferred. In fact, one can detect a tendency in much educated opinion to deny the existence of group differences or consider them inconsequential.

There are several approaches taken to deny group differences and its significance for policy formation. The first approach labels all those theories which stress group differences as racist. Racism is intolerable to the modern mind. The second approach is to argue that group differences, whatever they may be, are too insubstantive to account for, or justify, differences in education, occupation, and income. Differences in non-essential areas of achievement, e.g., development of charm and wit in social situations, elegance and physical capacity in spheres such as entertainment and athletics may be tolerated, but differences in essential areas of power and prestige (i.e., education, income and occupation) cannot. The third approach is based on the theory of justice as formulated by John Rawls.³ This approach neither denies nor depreciates the significance of group differences. It asserts that there is no legitimate theory of justice by which group differences, whatever they may be, and whether they are biological, or cultural, or based on effort, or on luck, can be used to reward individuals differently. According to this theory rewards or return must be separated from efforts, merit, intelligence, motivation (i.e., all the traits which are generally used as grounds for differential rewards in every traditional system of morality) unless it benefits the least advantaged. Any theory which expounds this point of view has been enthusiastically grasped by those who have a passion for egalitarianism.

The issues of pluralism and schooling, among other things, are intricately related to within group and between group opportunities for social mobility and institutional barriers to them. They are also related to pluralist belief-systems and intergroup acceptance; assimilation of minorities or encouragement for minorities to develop their own identities; and the issue of patterns of participation of minorities in various institutions of society.

The preceding discussion of the changing concept of equality and explanations of differences between groups have a significant bearing on the issues of pluralism-and schooling, especially issues related to social mobility. I have discussed the relationship between schooling, occupation, income, and the general topic of social stratification, in previous issues of the **Morning Watch**.⁴ Suffice it here to point out that ethnic groups tend to use cultural means to achieve economic ends by ensuring high achievement for their members in educational systems. This is true both for the minority as well as for the majority groups. Therefore, the explanation that the failure to achieve in schools is due to the inherent group differences in intelligence is not acceptable to the minority groups.

It is not difficult, then, to realize that ultimately the basic question of economic inequalities between groups is at the center of multiculturalism, (i.e., the recent demand for cultural pluralism in many societies, e.g., Canada, the United States, India). To be sure, this is not the only factor which impinges on the demand for special treatment on the ground of unique cultural characteristics and experiences.

Various studies indicate that schooling has different consequences for children belonging to different ethnic, race, caste and social class. Similarly, an enormous number of studies have shown that occupations are not equally represented by different cultural groupings in modern societies, and thus, their income also varies greatly.⁵

One could hypothesize that the extent to which cultural pluralism becomes a burning issue may depend on the concrete condition of a society. If in a society, for a particular ethnic group, integration into the mainstream of society has reached its highest level and further perceived social mobility is thwarted, the demand for cultural pluralism will become intense. On the other hand, as long as there are no barriers of any kind to the total integration of minorities into the mainstream of society, the demand for cultural pluralism will be considerably reduced. Thus, the intensity with which the demand for special treatment, on the ground of cultural differences, is made, will oscillate between the above two poles, i.e., open integration and closed integration. However, the demand for social privileges by using cultural means may backfire, I will later discuss this aspect of multiculturalism.

Since there is conflict in modern societies over the issue of unequal distribution of socially valued goods and services, the overcoming of this conflict is mutually beneficial to all groups and is desirable. In

the resolution of conflicts, choice of weapons is important. Despite the mounting evidence that education does not serve as a panacea for social inequalities in the long run,⁶ it remains true that in most modern societies schools have facilitated occupational and socio-economic mobility for various cultural groupings? For this reason, at least, educational systems have been invariably chosen by the contesting groups as a weapon to achieve economic ends and social power.⁸

For further understanding of the interaction among various ideas discussed above, we will need to reflect on (1) the evolution and function of bureaucratic, centralized, large scale, professionally-oriented, state-financed, highly selective school systems in modern societies, and (2) the evaluation and function of schools which preceded them.

In Canada,⁹ as in many other modern societies, a number of historical trends have contributed to large-scale public education. Industrialization, urbanization, population growth, the demand for specialized and technical manpower, and professionalization are among the most important forces shaping the evolution of the modern educational system.

The outcome of the operation of these forces has been that the educational system became an integral part of the modern economy. By mandate and scale public education strives for a culturally common denominator found in scientific or technical disciplines and skills. In modern societies public education systems have become great agents of homogenization, standardization and conformity. They play a powerful role as a socializing agent in inculcating in youngsters the values of rationalism, secularism and humanism, and the values of the dominant ethnic traditions. In the sphere of social stratification, as pointed out earlier, educational achievement has become closely linked to social mobility via the attainment of different kinds of occupations, especially in the secondary and tertiary sector of the economy. The fact that the uneducated cannot be employed in a modern industrial society is a twentieth century phenomenon; this has not been the case in pre-industrial times.

The schools before the middle of the nineteenth century in Canada had a different character and function from the twentieth century schools. At that time schools were established to serve "the vested continental or eastern interests through the extension of a containing institutional framework." Schools were the instrument of spreading the power and influence of the religiously, and economically powerful and influential groups located in the cities. These schools were essentially apologetic, conservative, and elitist in the sense that they served the interest of the rich and the powerful. They were also instrumental in fulfilling the needs and aspirations of their ethnic and religious communities. As a social agent, these schools were totally committed to the inculcation of linguistic and religious values in youngsters. The school facilitated the maintenance of distinctive sectarian linguistic and cultural identities which characterized "the disorderly mosaic of cultural groupings." The provincial public education systems were superimposed on this kind of educational mosaic. The public education systems were designed to serve the need of a national and a changing society under the impact of science and technology. As pointed out earlier, the modern public schools were organized on the new values which challenged the values of schools which were designed to serve the ethnic and sectarian linguistic interests. This created tensions between the schools designed to perpetuate the interest of a cultural grouping and the public schools which were driven away, by mandate and scale, from precisely such functions.

The public schools, under the framework of egalitarian ideologies, as opposed to elitist ideologies, were supposed to ensure access to students from all minority groups and from all levels of socio-economic status background, and were expected to be democratic, open and ameliorating. Thus, "from the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the present, the outstanding recurrent public issues in Canadian education, perhaps, have been those expressive of conflict between the emergent large scale, centralized public educational systems, and the interests of religious, linguistic, regional or socio-economic minorities."¹⁰ In this respect Canadian school systems are similar to their counterpart in the United States, and perhaps, school systems in India.

What is important for our discussion here is that by the nineteen-sixties a number of national and international studies of school systems in several countries found out that the public school systems did not bring desired equality among children of various ethnic and cultural groupings. The minority groups in many countries realized that they could not enter into the mainstream of society due to institutional and psychological barriers; that schools were perpetuating the interests of the dominant groups) that they were instruments of social control, and so on.¹ This consciousness on the part of minority groups was translated into political demand and social action. The result was that schools and society came under increased pressure to change. The question raised was: Why did the public education systems fail to achieve their proclaimed goals pertaining to the issues related to social mobility in open and democratic societies? There were several explanations. Some argued that schools were never designed to bring about equality among various cultural groupings; in fact the public school systems have always been selective, class biased, and have focused mainly on the processes of labeling, streaming, and grouping in order to assign differential slots to children in their early school years according to children's socio-economic status and cultural background. But others argued that the public school system did provide the equal educational opportunity to all. However, only some were more successful than others because of the inherent group differences. Thus, the issues of equality, multiculturalism, and schooling in plural societies are inseparable and are intricately related to the stratification ideologies operative in a society at a particular time.

At another level of analysis, that is, at the level where the focus is on what keeps society together, the idea of group differences acquire different meaning. Some have observed that in a homogenous society within group differences are used as a justification for the differential distribution of socially valued positions, goods, and services. Thus the within group inequalities are relatively more tolerated than the between group differences. The school system which preceded the public education systems perpetuated the within group differences and thus were able to keep their social groupings together and loyal. But the integration of the "disorderly mosaic of cultural groupings" into a national unit was never complete; on the contrary it tended to introduce competition among groups under the national ideology which included such ideas as fraternity, liberty, and equality. Liberty and equality proved to be incompatible values, and it seems that the public school systems failed to inculcate the feeling of fraternity among various ethnic and cultural groupings. The antagonism among various ethnically and culturally different groupings and the social chaos which accompanied such antagonism turned out to be mutually destructive. The dilemma which the public policy makers face in many plural societies is: Should they pay increasing attention to the inequalities among ethnic groups, and encourage governments and private institutions to come up with programs to overcome such inequalities at the national and regional levels, and at the individual level provide preferential treatment to persons on the ground of their race, color, ethnic, and national origin? Or should they encourage public policies with the purpose of establishing institutions and mechanisms which will create a more homogenous society in which different groups will perceive themselves as a member of one large national grouping, and thus, will be more inclined towards tolerating within group differences?

In Canada, public policy has favoured the maintenance of distinctive linguistic and cultural identities, often with a strong territorial and institutional base. "Recent enactment of 'third language' rights into legislation by the federal government, following upon the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission's acknowledgement of the contribution of Canada's non-charter groups to this society, testifies to the temper of this attainment to an ethnic mosaic."¹² As opposed to Canada's acceptance of a "cultural mosaic", American public policy has favoured the "melting pot" ideology. It is said that the American society has created an American people through its melting pot ideology. That is to say that Irish immigrants in America have become Irish American who are perhaps different in many respects from Irish people in Ireland today. It is implied that this is the case with other immigrants who came to America.

One can learn from the American experience that the melting pot does not necessarily reduce antagonism among groups and does not bring about social harmony by reducing chaos and inequalities in a society. It remains to be seen whether Canadian society with its ideology of a cultural mosaic will

overcome group antagonism and social chaos in the long run. It may, however, for a short period of time, contain conflicts among different groups by opening up within group opportunities for social mobility, as pointed out earlier in this paper. On the other hand, it is more plausible to suggest that neither of these ideologies is capable of bringing about social equalities, the goal which contradicts the actual functioning of advanced modern industrial societies and the goal of their prototypes. It is also problematic whether the modern school system will promote inter-group tolerance on an equal footing in various spheres of social life. Under these circumstances, at least an individual teacher, no matter at what level he/she is teaching may sensitize his/her class to the general issues of new world economic order,¹³ and to the issues which constitute the contemporary intellectual debate on equality, schooling and multiculturalism in plural societies.

FOOTNOTES

1. Glazer, Natham, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity — and Ethnicity", *Daedalus*, Fall, 1976.
2. For complete references, see my two-part article "The Critics of the School..." in the previous issues of *The Morning Watch*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1974, pp. 9-12; Vol. 1, No. 4, 1974, pp. 8-13.
3. Rawls, John, *A Theory of Justice*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1971).
4. See my article "Sources of Inequalities...", *The Morning Watch*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1974, pp. 11-16.
5. Porter, John, *The Verticle Mosaic* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1965.)
6. Bowles, Samuel and Herbert Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and The Contradictions of Economics Life* (New York: Basic Books, 1976).
7. Carlton, R.A.; L.A. Colley, and N.J. MacKinnon, *Education, Chance and Society: A Sociology of Canadian Education*, (Toronto: Gage Education Publishing, 1977), p. 121.
8. See Raddell Collins' review of Bowles' and Gintis' book in *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 46, No. 2, May, 1976.
9. Carlton, R.A., et al., op. cit., pp. 118-123.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
11. For complete references, see my article "The Critics of the School...", op. cit.
12. Curtis, James, at al. in Carlton, R.A., et al., op. cit., p. 125.
13. See my article "The New Economic World Order...", *The Morning Watch*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1976, pp. 12-15.

CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATION IN A MULTICULTURAL INTERDEPENDENT WORLD

Dr. Amarjit Singh

The complex economic, political, cultural and ideological relationships that have emerged in the last three decades among nations have perhaps made them more dependent on each other than ever before in the history of mankind. Interdependence is a fact of life now. But the contemporary interdependency is unique in the sense that it has made the educated and informed public all over the world aware of (a) the unequal and unjust basis of the relationships among nations, and (b) the similar nature of the relationship among various social and cultural groupings within many pluralistic societies. The informed public is now aware not only of the lopsided economic development of the world, but also of the unjust treatment of various social and cultural groupings which have minority status in many countries. Interdependency also has made us realize that issues such as population control, energy crisis, food shortage, human rights, and the like are related to the larger problem of survival and as such can be solved only by countries and people working together in a cooperative spirit. Consequently, different groups of people (diplomats, students, international civil servants, employees of multinational corporations, and educationists) from various countries have begun to work together; contact among people from different cultural backgrounds has been steadily increasing. This international exchange of people and the impact of the world economy on the domestic social structure have once again created an interest in multiculturalism and differences among various cultural groupings.

In previous issues of **The Morning Watch**, I have already discussed issues associated with (a) the reorganization of the economic world order and schooling; (b) multiculturalism, ethnicity and schooling, and (c) the “equality of opportunity” and the “equality of results”.¹

In this brief note I would like to suggest that emphasis on cultural differences among various groups may in fact undermine genuine interaction among people working together to solve more pressing problems facing mankind, divert their energy to trivial and inconsequential problems, and hinder cooperative efforts and cross cultural understanding.

Over emphasis on cultural differences may also encourage people, through scape goat tendencies and self-fulfilling prophecies, to shy away from more the serious problems of making sound judgements and decisions.

To be sure, the idea that people belonging to various cultural and social groupings are different from each other within their own groups, and as a group are different from other groups, is an old one. Plato's idea of a just society and his system of education is based upon identifying, selecting, training, and placing people in the right slot in the social structure. In the framework of the caste system in India, the division of people into four broad categories is similar in principle. In industrial societies the notion of class has a similar effect. Social Darwinism also emphasized differences among groups and individuals in order to legitimize the then prevailing social relations. Nazism was based upon presumed differences between the “pure” race and the “impure” race. Colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism and other systems of domination and exploitation were partially based upon the assumption that the colonizer was different (superior) from the colonized; the oppressor was different from (better than) the oppressed.

The idea that the stronger eat the weaker is so pervasive in many cultures that in everyday conversation we say: “Isn't it natural that this happens?” To support our feelings we give examples from the animal kingdom. For a moment we forget that there is much cooperation in animal kingdom. Besides, we fail to recognize that human beings are qualitatively different from animals.

The notion of the survival of the fittest is still very much alive in our culture and some prominent contemporary thinkers do not hesitate to use this idea to justify the existing social, political and economic

world order. For example, what would you do, asked one contemporary thinker, if there is only one boat left in the ocean with a hundred people in it and the boat is sinking. The answer was that you start throwing the others (weaker, different, important peoples) in the ocean until you and people like you (who by implication are stronger and more important) are the only survivors. This is justified by asserting that this is human nature.

Interpreting the concept of human nature in terms of the animal kingdom and survival of the fittest undermines the creative imagination so badly needed to face seriously the problems created by humanity.

For example, when poverty became a social problem both at national and international levels, the victims of poverty, i.e., the poor themselves were blamed for it on the grounds that they had a "culture of poverty". It is claimed that the "culture of poverty" is different from the culture of the "leisure class". Describing differences between the two groups does not by itself solve the problem of poverty; it only helps us to label the poor and to expose their life styles in great detail.

Similarly, the reason for lopsided economic, social, political development in various societies of the world is believed by many to be due mainly to cultural differences among people in the developed and underdeveloped nations. If members of various ethnic, social and racial groups do not experience a similar degree of success in schools, at work, in getting jobs, etc. the explanation is that they have a different level of ability, intelligence, motivation, aspiration, self-esteem and ambition. This kind of logic leads us to justify the given and encourages us to shy away from more deeply rooted causes of social, political and economic problems facing mankind.

A detached, purposeless, one-sided description of the behaviour of a person or a group is socially annoying, irritating and insulting. Annoyance, irritation and lack of genuine respect as social-psychological factors seem to have negative effects on cross-cultural interaction, cooperation and decision making. People like to work together in a situation in which there is mutual respect, liking and trust. Of course, there is genuine liking and disliking of people. But generally, in the absence of the above factors, interaction becomes repressive as the communication among individuals becomes distorted. People end up talking to each other rather than with each other. The main purpose becomes to discover various labels in order to prove that the other person or group is different. Interestingly enough the person doing the labelling is often, if not always, in a more advantageous position which allows him/her to control the behaviour of the person being labelled.

Associated with distorted communication are other factors which are related to the labeler's style. This includes the labeler's (a) way of presenting facts and making generalizations, (b) body movements, i.e., "silent language", (c) choice in making a point (i.e., whether a labeler uses offensive, disrespectful, trivial, out of context anecdotes and analogies to make a point), (d) mental set, i.e., "technocratic", "humanistic", "social engineering", "Scientistic", (e) pushing one's view point (f) impatience with the listeners, (g) insensitivity to the presence of others, (h) defensive and nervous postures indicating inability to interact in an equal situation, and (i) general attitude towards the situation. These can be seen in whether the labeler takes his task seriously or simply justifies his behaviour by pronouncing in a cynical and condescending manner such phrases as: "I am just doing my job", "I am playing a game like anybody else", "After all, power decides", "Some people have tough luck", and "Some have bleeding hearts".

There is no denying the fact that people are different. What is problematic is the purpose, meaning and significance of identifying and describing inter and intragroup differences. In what areas is identifying cross-cultural differences mutually consequential? What is the purpose of describing the differences between rich and poor? Are we to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor? Or are we to maintain, perpetuate and even increase the gap between the two?

Similarly, what is the purpose of identifying the differences between I.Q. scores of two groups of people and people within a group? Are we to use these differences to justify the unequal distribution of social rewards, (i.e., occupation, power, income, status, prestige, etc.) among various cultural and social groupings? Or are we to rearrange the opportunity and reward systems in order to make it more equitable? These are some of the serious questions.

As I have pointed out in one of my earlier articles in *The Morning Watch*, one can detect a trend towards accepting differences in non-essential areas of achievement, e.g., development of charm and wit in social situations, but differences in essential areas of power, prestige, status, education, income and occupation are not acceptable to the educated and informed public in many societies. Some thinkers have asserted that no group differences can be used to reward individuals differently. According to these thinkers, rewards or return must be separated from efforts, merit, intelligence, motivation unless it benefits the least advantaged.

This kind of theory of justice seems to draw our attention to the common problems facing mankind. Are the needs of the two hungry people, regardless of their background, basically different? To be sure there might be some differences between the behaviour of two poor people from two different cultures or nations. But these differences may be trivial in the context of the total situation. Similarly, are the differences between two families in two societies whose houses have been destroyed by bombing, war or natural calamities significant? Are the differences in response of two parents living in two societies whose children are dying due to the lack of medical facilities significant?

The habit of describing the minutest differences in —the behavior of others during normal interaction situations (say, in schools, universities, classrooms, international conferences, multinational corporations, factories, courts, hospitals, immigration and employment offices, families, and welfare agencies, etc.) will destroy the cooperative spirit so badly needed when people from various backgrounds work together.

The meaningful interaction is further hindered when one party (a) describes differences in the behaviour of the other party involved in the interaction without taking into account the total cultural context; (b) ignores the significance attached by the other interacting parties to a concrete socio-cultural milieu, and (c) substitutes for (b) a supposedly detached observation of some third party who is actually not involved in the interaction, but whose authority may be used by one party involved in the interaction to influence the direction of the outcomes of interaction.

Insistence on the self-evident truth that people are different will not enhance the much desired cooperation among people of different background.

FOOTNOTES

1. See my articles in *The Morning Watch*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1976 and Vol, 4, No. 3, 1977.

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CULTURAL ASPECTS OF NON-FORMAL EDUCATION
(4 — 14 Age Group)
A CHALLENGE TO EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

*Dr. N.K. Ambasht**

Up till the 1960s it was generally thought that economic and social development will automatically occur in a nation if that nation could develop an educated and skilled labour force. Within this framework formal education was considered as an "investment" item rather than a consumption item in the equation for economic planning for development. Economic development was often seen in terms of urbanization and industrialization on a large scale. The importance of rural development and small scale industrialization was not fully realized. Thus formal education was not related to rural needs and life styles — although several strategies and varieties of specific long-term and short-term "man-power" and "human resource development" plans were formulated and implemented in many countries to bring about urbanization and economic growth. The result was an "education revolution" on a world scale, i.e., a rapid expansion of formal schooling and school educated population at all sectors of formal schooling (primary, secondary and university education). But expected economic and social development did not follow. Instead these plans precipitated unanticipated problems of educated unemployment and under-employment, over-educated population and "brain-drain", and the like (i.e., relevance and accountability of schools). It was further realized that investment in formal schooling not only did not aid expected economic, social and political development, but it also did not bring about equal education opportunities and social mobility. The gap between the rich and poor increased, rather than decreased as was expected. This experience on the part of policy makers led them to re-evaluate investment in the area of formal schooling and its relationship to the economic and social development and to the above mentioned unintended problems. The process of re-evaluating the role of formal schools in society gave rise to a new kind of thinking which focused on finding alternatives to formal schooling. Thus, the notion of "non-formal" education was developed. Several scholars developed theories of "non-formal" education and economic and social development and produced models of planned change using various new concepts. While others carried out experiments and pilot studies. Dr. Ambasht's article is an example of such effort.

Last year Dr. Ambasht and I worked together in this area at the East-West Culture Learning Institute, Honolulu, Hawaii. It is my opinion that his article has special relevance to the educational and economic situation in Newfoundland at this time, and therefore it is being published in *The Morning Watch*. I hope that his article will stimulate enough interest among those who are seeking complementary models of formal schooling and its role in social change.

— Amarjit Singh

India, being one of the largest democratic countries, faces the challenge of having a hundred percent educated citizenry in order to be an effective and successful democracy. In spite of tremendous governmental efforts it has not been possible to attain more than 5% literacy in the last three decades, despite the Constitutional directive of providing compulsory education up to the age of 14. Population explosion has again led to slow growth in this rate of literacy because even with a growing rate of literates the percentage has remained static or has shown very slow growth.

Another major reason for lower enrolment in the school has been the basic characteristic of education itself. The education that was devised for India during the British regime was intended to produce the manpower that was necessary to man the lower cadres in the British bureaucracy to run their administration. The education was never designed to produce an educated mass able to have a decent livelihood through their efforts and to produce enough to contribute to nation's prosperity. The result was that education was never related to the life needs of the people.

Education, as it came to be, was again never related to rural needs. It was certainly urban and elitist in character because it suited the design of the rulers. The educational objectives were so designed

as to produce people who could obey instructions without using their own judgements. Instruction in schools was essentially information based and very little or no stress was laid on other aspects as development of skill, habit, attitude and values. The result was that education produced a population which could only fit in administrative jobs at the lower echelons. This led to unemployment of an immense order in this country as whoever was educated was made unfit to work with his hand. So much so that education created a negative value towards work, be it in the field or industry.

In spite of concerted effort in the field of education not much change could be brought in as it needed a drastic change in the entire approach to education. The process of education is such that it cannot be changed overnight. Conscious and deliberate efforts were needed to make it related to life needs of the people.

The Problem

In India, there are myriad societies, each having a distinct cultural pattern, though having a basic unity. There are rural societies practising different types of agriculture, trade and varieties of activities. Among these rural societies are tribal societies, some practising settled agriculture using plough and bullock or buffalo, some practising slash and burn cultivation of hill slopes, some even engaged in hunting and food gathering stage. Besides these tribal societies, there are other sections of the population who were stratified by the caste and sub-caste divisions with which various occupations were attached, like the scavenger, the barber, the blacksmith, the carpenter. To all these, education, as it existed, was irrelevant as it never tried to improve their life by its very characteristics mentioned above. Rather it made those who went through process of education unfit to carry on their traditional profession and at the same time not able to get any "white collar" job due to extremely competitive conditions. As such these "educated" became a liability on the society instead of an asset.

The parent, who was not exposed to elitist values, despised education for it alienated the child from its own society and parents. The values that the child adopted — especially towards work — were contrary to those cherished in the particular society. Those parents, who were exposed to elitist values did and certainly do crave for the education of their children because their "ideal-type" was the well established bureaucrat who did no manual work and yet enjoyed the comforts of life which were normally not available to an ordinary person. It may be mentioned here that the 'ideal-type' set by these parents as a frame of reference consisted of those educated persons who could find coveted white collar jobs. As such all the attributes that were ascribed to education were the qualities or acquisitions, both materialistic and ideational, of this 'ideal-type'.

In order to rejuvenate education and relate it to the life needs of the people it was thought that education would have to be different from the existing formal system of education. This education would have to be purposive, deliberate and different from informal education which is largely the result of incidental learning. It was considered to be a desirable change and "Non-Formal Education" was considered to be the most suitable form of education.

Even in the formal school system the objectives were reconsidered and national consensus was arrived at which has been adopted as a national policy of education. The following aspects have been considered and suitable guidelines have been evolved from these:¹ (a) Flexibility within a framework of accepted principles and values, (b) Curriculum related to the Life, Needs and Aspirations of the People, (c) Science and Mathematics for productivity and rational outlook, (d) Work-experience as a source of learning, (e) Concern for Social Justice, Democratic Values, and National Integration, (f) Three language formula, (g) Artistic Experience and Expression, (h) Physical Education, (i) Character building and human values, (j) implications of the process of learning, (k) Drop out and Multiple entry, (l) Semester system, (m) Units within semester courses, (n) Core curriculum and beyond (o) Evaluation, (p) Textbooks and supplementary material, (q) The need for coordination and collaboration and (r) Development and research.

Non-Formal Education

Non-Formal Education has a wide range of educational activity for the entire range of man's life. It may start with the children in 0-3 age group where nutritional aspects are impressed on their mothers for a balanced growth, 3-6 years for pre-school educational activities as this period is not covered in school education (formal education) in some places; 6-14 years for those children who have either dropped out of the formal system or have never been to school; 14-25 onwards for those who are not literate or those who want to acquire skills for certain profession, 25 and above who want to gain literacy and improve their skill for their trade/occupation etc. It may involve the women in various aspects like child-care, their nutrition, care and nutrition of expectant mothers, etc. Non Formal Education has been defined as "any organized educational activity outside the established formal system — whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity — that is intended to serve identifiable learning clientele and learning objectives."² This definition perhaps is broad in scope. For our purpose and with reference to our area of study this definition is sufficient.

In this paper we shall limit ourselves to activities in the age group 6-14 years where the efforts concentrate on the children who have dropped out of the formal education or have not been able to enrol at a proper time and have remained out of school.

The Challenge:

The reasons for non-enrolment or drop out can be categorised as economic, social and educational. In the economic category it has been found — mainly in rural and tribal areas — that children are required to supplement the family's income by contributing their labour either in the form of babysitting, collection of food from the forest, collecting firewood from the forest, helping parents in the farm, grazing cattle and the like. The child is required to stay away from the formal school for he goes out for the economic activity when the school is working. Again, as discussed earlier, formal education has not been relevant to their immediate needs. It is least concerned with the immediate economic betterment of the community and the child.

There is also a fear lurking in the mind of the rural or tribal parent that education will alienate the child from the family, or it will make him unfit to earn his livelihood through the use of his hand. The one and only channel open to him for settling in life is service, which is so scarce.

In quite a number of tribal societies, there existed traditional institutions which performed the functions of transmitting the culture from generation to generation. On an analysis of their functions it has been found that these institutions were based on many sound principles of learning,³ though it was not deliberate. These institutions could also be called Non-Formal Education Centres as they performed some of the functions, not all, as envisaged under our definition.

In order to really assess the educational requirements of children in any area, and to meet them, it is essential to know the minimum essential learning needs. Therefore, we have to find out what educational needs should be fulfilled by those Non Formal Education Centres so that the children are fully prepared to assume their role as a useful productive adult member of the community. Some of the functions to be fulfilled by the Non-Formal Education Centres have been given by Coombs, Prosser and Ahmed and are:⁴

- a) Positive attitudes towards cooperation
- b) Functional literacy and numeracy sufficient to read with comprehension (material) useful for agriculture, health (etc.)
- c) A scientific outlook and elementary understanding of the process of nature in the particular area
- d) Functional knowledge and skills for raising a family and operating a household
- e) Functional knowledge and skills for earning a living

f) Functional knowledge and skills for civic preparation.

From the above it is apparent that the activities involved in establishing or organizing a Non-Formal Centre essentially required leadership with a view to rejuvenating faith in the educational system (whether formal or non-formal), organising activities in the centre that may satisfy immediate economic needs of the community and yet provide skills to the children (not only of the economic⁴ activity but also of functional literacy and numeracy), educating the community about the entire process and how can it solve their problems etc.

This then is the challenge before the educationists. They have to provide educational leadership and yet at the same time have to take into account the cultural aspects of different communities before planning a non-formal education programme of the particular community.

The Challenge Answered

We in the National Council of Educational Research and Training took up the challenge and tried an experiment initially in a hilly area where the community was mostly working as day labour at a town about 10 kms. away. The Town, Nainital, was a tourist attraction during summer as it was a hill resort where these people worked as load carriers. The challenge was difficult as none was prepared to even listen let alone understand what was being planned. The detail of work done by the N.C.E.R.T. is available in the "Report Non-Formal Education (Adopting Multiple Entry and Part-time Education) — A Pilot Project".⁵

In this particular area the challenge was the total apathy of the community towards educational programmes. The ingenuity of the educational planners lay in motivating the community to participate and let their children participate in the activities of the Non-formal Education Centre.

The role of the educationists immediately changed. They had to acquire the roles of social worker and educationist for here they had to think of, devise and establish activities that could lead to economic improvement of the community, relate these activities with the learning process, foster the acquisition of skills both in terms of knowledge and economy, develop instructional materials around these activities and the environment, and impart basic educational concepts and skills thereby developing attitudes, habits and positive values.

To illustrate, a rural area which is connected by a dirt road was chosen in Aligarh district. The name of the village is Barsuli. A survey was undertaken which revealed that the total population is 3018, the number of families is 357 and the population in the age group 6-14 is 685. Out of this only 360 are on the rolls of local primary schools. As many as 325 are such who either never attended the school or have dropped out at some stage before completing the primary stage of schooling.

Total number of literates in the village is 1087 and that of illiterates is 1931. The total number of families is 357. Out of these 113 are such who are mainly dependent on agriculture, 27 on petty business, 49 on small cottage industry or a profession like carpentry, cobbler etc., 77 on service, 80 on labour and 11 on miscellaneous works. Total number of landless families is 184.

This being the background of the village, a meeting was organized to which the members of the community were invited. The needs of the community were assessed in terms of Agriculture, Health, Village Industry and Education. Since the community members were enthusiastic, a strategy was developed and sub-committees were formed wherein the officers of different departments and the community members were kept to design and develop programmes for the Non-Formal Education Centre. A very small capital expenditure in the initial stage was made to the tune of Rs.500/ — (approx. \$55.5) for raw materials for work experience programmes. Out of this jute cloth and polythene were purchased and the local block administration placed an order for 2,000 bags of jute cloth with polythene lining for packing

10k.g. of dry food to be distributed to different centres under their Applied Nutrition Programme. This work is being executed by the Non Formal Education Centre and the children are preparing these bags. This is expected to bring in enough return to keep the work going as well as providing some economic returns to the children leading to the economic betterment of the family.

This is not only an economic activity but essentially an educational activity. For example, a child who is just a beginner may learn the numeracy by counting the number of bags, the one who is a little advanced may be made to measure the length and breadth of the cloth required, the more advanced ones may work out the dimension of the bag for holding a particular quantity of material, others could calculate the area, the volume etc. etc. The knowledge about cultivation of jute, the climate congenial for its growth, its uses, the processing method, etc. were all matters that could be covered through the teaching learning process. Thus children not only work but also learn simultaneously. Again, besides these the educational activities do include classroom teaching of the alphabet and numeracy for those who are illiterate or beginners. Those who are drop-outs of formal schools and have the skills of numeracy and literacy are grouped into different groups according to their level of competence, which is assessed by administration of reading tests in order to categorize them according to their reading ability, reading comprehension, etc. Once they are categorised they are given graded learning or instructional material. Environmental approach to learning is the most important approach that is adopted in this process.

In the process of development of instructional materials the approach is to provide academic leadership by the educational expert but the actual material will be developed by the teachers, the village community members, and the agriculture and health experts who are working in the block or village. This is because the reading or instructional material is to emanate from the cultural and economic needs of the area. This is why it is necessary to involve the members of the community. The local health official will be aware of the general health problems of the particular area and he can advise on what content should go into the instructional material of the children so that they could be aware of the problems and the preventive measures. Similarly the agriculture man could advise as to what material could be included in the instructional material depending upon the soil condition of the area, the crop pattern, the irrigation needs, the fertilizer needs etc. The members of the community could advise on the inclusion of cultural aspects, the family and village organization, the cherished values, etc. The greatest advantage is that the community gets involved in the entire process of education and as such a great motivational force is generated in favour of education.

It may be seen that Non-Formal Education programme has a strong cultural aspect to take into consideration. For example in a society which is matriarchal or matrilineal, as the Garo of Meghalaya, the role of the women will be more pronounced than that of the men. The social organisation will be entirely different from what is generally taught under the teaching unit of "Family". The agricultural practices will have to be differently tackled in areas where soil conditions, irrigation practices, or facilities are different. In some areas the slash and burn cultivation is practised. The people have to be exposed to methods of improving their agricultural practices within their own ecological limitations.

Thus it becomes necessary to relate education to socio-economic needs of the particular community and as such it involves cultural aspects, because the basic function of education has been recognised as transmission of culture. In short it can be said here that these Non-Formal Education Centres have been able to meet the challenge of relating education to the needs of particular culture. Flexibility has been the spirit of Non-Formal Education models. The cultural fabric of a particular society is reflected in each of these models, as these centres provide the base for its exposition and also for its development.

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