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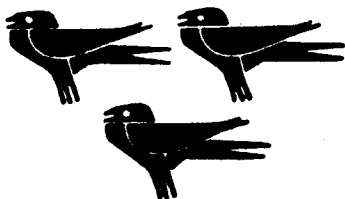
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McGILL JOURNAL of EDUCATION

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EDITORIAL

There has probably always been a discrepancy between educational ideals and practices, between professions of faith and performance in daily affairs, between teachers' stated goals and their achievements. This is not necessarily something to bemoan. Indeed, it could be interpreted as a hopeful sign, that people have been constantly striving for greater and better things. Comfort could be taken from the thought that, though they did not always succeed, at least they tried.

In contemporary society, failures to meet expected standards, to honour commitments, to live by espoused values are not always likely to be glossed over as partial progress or as worthy efforts unfulfilled. In this outspoken age, almost all commentators — whether they be political or journalistic phrasemakers, students, teachers, social scientists — talk unequivocally about hypocrisy, brutality, injustice. They call attention to the gap between what is and what might be. They write of the **Credibility Gap**, the **Generation Gap**, the **Communications Gap**.

In this issue of our **Journal** we look at some of the **Educational Gaps**. Louis Feldhammer explodes the myth of feminine inferiority and calls for a revolution to close the gap between the subservient position of women, especially of women teachers, and their real capabilities. He insists education should act as a constant guide in the process of social change. Sydney Lecker diagnoses the generation gap as the result of incompatible social systems within our culture and as adult guilt for forsaken ideals. His prescriptions for cure include some re-education for parents.

M. R. Lupul finds a dangerous hiatus between the values of the business world, now accepted by the schools, and those of true education. Ronald Wintrob, in the second part of his study, discusses the dislocation "Western" education can cause in traditional societies. Ann Diemer and M. L. Dietz show a gap perceived by Canadian students between Canadians and Americans. Laurier LaPierre considers current educational developments in Quebec and the "two solitudes."

We are particularly fortunate to have, among our other features, David Riesman's examination of some of the problems of higher education. And Jacques Brault's fine essay is the fifth in our series, "The Writer as Teacher;" it is the first in French. Jo McIntosh introduces a pleasant touch of humour to the school scene; while Mimi Vaselenak, C. A. Walsh and E. T. Hallberg provide the results of interesting, recent research projects.

M.G.

INFLATION

in

HIGHER EDUCATION

David Riesman

If one reads about the plight of our mental hospitals, our prisons, our inadequate welfare, and our other generally-starved public services, one sees that, by contrast, higher education has been the secular cathedral of our time. However, all such institutions are "service industries," and one characteristic of service industries is that with more resources, production does not necessarily rise; it may even fall. Indeed, in general, as academic salaries have risen, teaching loads have dropped (which of course does not necessarily mean that less work is being done). While the boom market for Ph.D.'s may be levelling off in the United States (if not in Canada), academic institutions have had to offer increasing amenities to Ph.D.'s in shortage fields in order to recruit and retain them. This is especially true if they want distinguished people who will attract others.

Faculty fringe benefits are said to rise even faster than salaries. Handsome fellowships for married graduate students with children start them up an inclined slope with a beginning income higher than in most other parts of the world. The financial gap between an Assistant Professor and a full Professor in America is much less than the comparable spread between, say, a Lecturer and a Professor in a British university, where the difference is of the order of 4-1, as against the American 2-1.

This general pattern of costs in North America exists at a time when students and communities are demanding more and more from academic institutions. The affluent students who often lead protests are persuaded that the society is full, abundant and that nothing really costs anything. The different views of scarcity and abundance are elements in the generation gap. I question the conclusion of the Cox Committee Report on the Columbia disorders that Columbia College students were angered when they came from wealthy homes to live in old-fashioned, slummy dormitories. Probably just such students would not like to live in any obviously luxurious way. They may register the standard complaints against institutional housing as they do against institutional food, but even so, I do not believe the condition of the dormitories had much to do with the demonstrations. The fact is that we have a standard of amenity, whether at Bloomington, Madison, or Urbana, which is pretty handsome and which sets a model by which public institutions do quite well in comparison with private ones. We have a sense of what is the right amount of space for the young to occupy physically. At the same time, what might be called the moral space is also enlarged. And more and more is demanded in the way of psychiatric and counselling services, resident R.A.'s, and the rest.

The Brink of Bankruptcy

In my opinion, the universities have overpersuaded many people about the contribution that academicians can make to the problems of contemporary society. Having responded to so many demands in the past, and having often made claims to justify themselves to Philistine critics, universities now may be driven to bankruptcy by the demand for urban studies, black studies, courses that will help students prepare for the Peace Corps — all the new relevancies — while neither outside constituencies nor the faculty are prepared to cut down on the older ones. Area studies programs and history may in time suffer because of the competition of programs in ethnic studies, but the rules of tenure make it difficult to eliminate unfashionable programs — in any case, one may hesitate to do so, if one regards present trends as wrong or evanescent. Similarly, after a point one cannot visibly do *less* for, let us say Italians, because one is doing *more* for blacks, for Spanish-Americans, and for other deprived groups.

William Trombley, the admirable former education reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*, in a series on black students and studies which he wrote last fall, quoted Jack Peltason, Chancellor of the University of Illinois at Urbana, as follows:

I am convinced that the program for black students is solid and the [black] students are making progress. The time and effort we are spending is also making people sensitive to improving instruction in the whole university. Faculty members used to say, "I am a good teacher, but the students are too dumb." You can't say that about these black kids, or anyway, they [faculty members] don't. They know they have got to find ways to teach them.

That costs money — it means more concern for helping the faculty members become less awkward teachers, and this, I think, often involves cutting down teaching loads so more imaginative teaching can be done. The demand for more imaginative teaching for some of the new groups coming into higher education tends to focus on small classes or even individual tutorials. But similar pressures in the general society tend to drive both students and faculty to demand small groups because of what I have come to think of as the contemporary cult of intimacy.

Faculty members don't want large captive audiences. It was recently proposed at the University of New Hampshire that every senior faculty member give a freshman seminar with fifteen or fewer students. That's fine, but where is the money coming from? Is there any educational reform which does not cost money and/or take its toll of faculty time? This is true of so-called independent study (which is cannibalistic of faculty time), of seminars, thesis work, and experimental courses. Even the efforts explicitly designed to save money, such as courses taught on closed-circuit television or programmed learning, seem to be fantastically expensive.

All this is happening in a society where it becomes increasingly easier to attend college than not to attend. As the realtors would say, many neighborhoods have been "tipped" in the direction of college. Alan Wilson did a study ten years ago of middle-class and working-class high schools in Berkeley, California. He found that, holding income and aptitude constant, a working-class youngster in the middle-class high school was more apt to plan on college than

had he gone to high school in his own neighborhood, just as a middle-class youngster in a working-class high school was less apt to plan to attend college. The peer pressure to go to college becomes greater and greater; more and more people turn up in the 13th grade who have been able to get through the 12th.

As studies have shown, black parents particularly believe that one needs college to get ahead, and this becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy; not having gone, thus becomes a sign of being odd. The draft, of course, furthers this impression. There is some discrimination against girls in American higher education, especially at the graduate and professional level, yet for many girls, college is a way out of an impossible home situation, as the Army and "running off" have been for boys.

In the 13th grade, the teaching load is apt to be half or less for faculty than it was in the 12th, the salary somewhat higher, and as one goes on to the postgraduate level, the span of control (teacher/student ratio) of faculty becomes less and less. The result is that, if the costs of higher education are projected even conservatively, as the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education has done, it looks as if they are going up about twice as fast as wages and maybe three times the rate of inflation. Meanwhile, as the taxpayers strike, the adult backlash makes it more difficult to finance even the essential state and local provision for education.

In addition to these escalating problems, an extraordinary tacit alliance between the right and left extremes is also exerting pressure on the universities — from both sides. Paranoia is a convenient state of mind because one is never disappointed. If one is on the left and can "prove" that "the man" or the "power structure" or "the Establishment" is invariably racist and Fascist, then one will never be surprised. And if the rightwing paranoids can "prove" that the lapse in authoritarian controls or getting rid of rules leads to excess and patently turbulent behavior, they need not distinguish between Mark Rudd and Clark Kerr.

The world, in fact, is perplexing and disorienting; hardly any of us understands it. Are we to interpret the war in Vietnam, the intervention in the Dominican Republic, or the hegemony over the budget that the military and their civilian allies, including the labor unions, possess as representing the true reactionary nature

of our society which can only be corrected by revolution? Or are we to see these as evils that can perhaps be moderated through the existing democratic and institutional channels?

Many young radicals are not certain of the answer to this, nor of their own courage and beliefs. By acting dramatically and decisively, they seek to persuade themselves of their solidarity with each other and of their mutual understanding; by getting a reaction from adults, they sometimes feel confirmed in what they are only tentatively seeking to become. The adults whom they confront in the universities are even more unsure of themselves; we often lack a feeling of legitimacy. In our defensiveness, we sometimes become overly gullible about the young and sometimes overreact to their defiance of us. While in all societies rapid change tends, as Margaret Mead has put it, to make adults immigrants in their own countries, the exceptional speed of recent changes has forced those of us who are now adults to see many idols overturned, many once far-fetched ideas confirmed: Picasso turns out to be a great painter, Bartok a great musician — and we are intimidated if we reject the art or politics proclaimed as *avant garde* even when it appears to be a “put-on” or an act of nihilism.

Overcommitment and Underfinancing

A consequence of these combined developments, in which higher education becomes more and more omnivorous of resources while it becomes less and less able to elicit enthusiastic community support, is the situation I have termed the collision course.* The most obvious casualties now appear to be those occurring in the great State universities where overcommitment and underfinancing go hand in hand, as bond issues are defeated and as State legislatures respond in often punitive ways to white and black student protests and to the alleged softness of faculty and administration in seeking to control these.

However, the private colleges are already facing at least equally severe financial pressures. Those that depend on tuition and have miniscule endowments are likely to be in the position of Sarah Lawrence College where students sat in to enforce their demand

*Watch for additional papers on higher education's collision course in the next issue of this Journal — Ed.

for lower tuition, the recruitment of more impoverished black and white girls, and the maintenance of small class size!

In all these situations in which our universities find themselves, the balancing act has to be performed by the administration; yet it seems to me that one of the consequences of what is going on is a loss of administrative flexibility. The faculty go on regardless: they assume the payroll will somehow be met and, in another remarkable example of self-fulfilling prophecy, faculty members have been right so far in thinking that (whatever hazards are faced in the legislature or with the alumni) their courses will not be cut down and the inclined plane on which they have been living will continue to rise. The libraries will continue to get journals, although I suspect that delayed purchasing and deferred maintenance may hit libraries as vulnerable targets, especially the great and costly research libraries.

It is difficult for universities either to economize or to demonstrate to various publics that they are seeking to economize. Consortia to do research and teaching in the more esoteric subjects might help a bit, but on the whole, every respectable college feels that it must present the full line of departments, and each department feels it must have the full line of specialties.

Top administrators would like to experiment with cost-cutting devices, but experience has taught many of them that what they may gain in dollar savings, they often more than lose in faculty and student morale. Indeed, departmental power, and now student power, tend to rob administrators of whatever residual room for maneuver they have to resist outside pressures and cope with budgetary stringencies. Whatever else may be involved in the democratization of higher education, one outcome is the proliferation of committees. (I have tried in vain to convince students that they are in college only four years, they should get an education and save committee work for the rest of the sixty years they will live.) Democracy does take more time and leaves the administrator with decreasing leeway to shift resources to meet the new and fashionable and the old and still important demands on higher education. To be sure, some extremely talented administrators can make use of their very lack of flexibility to put pressure on partisan regents or State officials to support traditional academic freedoms just because it is clear that the administrator lacks authority to interfere

with these. And of course I am not assuming that all administrators are talented or benign.

An extraordinary thing about higher education, and this always astonishes businessmen, is that there is no career line for the top jobs. A group of students at the Harvard Business School once asked me how to get into administrative work in higher education, and I said that you can't do it by training for it — you have to do it by training to be something else and then be *unlucky*. Student and faculty critics attack academic bureaucracy, but everywhere I look I see undernourished and understaffed administration. In a recent book, *Mirror of Brass*, Mark Ingraham points out that administrators do not have the fringe benefits of faculty: few vacations, no sabbaticals, and no graceful means of exiting short of retirement.

Educational Opportunity Bank

Are there ways out of the collision course? I am not sanguine about this. I think we are in for extremely difficult times in higher education — that's hardly news. But I would like to suggest one very partial and tentative prospect that might reduce some of the inflationary pressures, as well as make some sense in its own right. A number of economists and some panels of experts have proposed a plan for a Federal Educational Opportunity Bank from which students could take loans to finance their educational costs — loans which would not be mortgages but would be obligations to be repaid over a long period of years by adding an increment to their federal income tax. Thus, if someone took a loan to become a physicist or physician and struck it rich, he could pay off the money in inflated dollars without hardship, thus helping to subsidize the loans made to students who become school teachers or counsellors and whose tax burden would be much less. Such a plan would allow many young people to become independent of their parents and to make their decisions about where to be educated in a freer academic marketplace. For example, I have had students at Harvard College from Sacramento who could not afford to go to Sacramento State College or the University of California at Davis because, although tuition fees there are low, public institutions seldom pay subsistence costs. A student confident in himself or willing to gamble on the Federal Government's confidence could take a loan, go anywhere he wants, and feel that he is on his own, not dependent on his parents or on

local beneficence. Thus, he might be slightly less the resentful captive of a place he can afford and perhaps a bit more likely to be a happier customer of the place he presently has the freedom to choose. It should be noted that these loans are secured not by the possessions of the student but by the prospects of his future income, and any plan such as this has to be a Federal arrangement, because only the Federal Government is capable of spreading the risks and benefits widely enough so that the administrative costs and the subsidy to interest rates and start-up costs can be met. Yet it is difficult to persuade students from very low income families, and perhaps especially black students, that such loans would not in fact be mortgages or liens such as those their friends and families have suffered from when their cars or household furnishings have been repossessed. Such students would almost certainly need scholarships to get them into college initially, while at a later point they might be willing to enter the Educational Opportunity Bank program to help support them in graduate or professional study.

The Educational Opportunity Bank idea has met objection both in technical detail and in principle. As with the GI Bill of Rights after the Second World War, there is always the possibility that entrepreneurially-minded academic institutions will exploit potential customers. For many of the latter, opportunity for access to consumer research on higher education is often meager, dependent on poorly informed and overworked counsellors in colleges and secondary schools, and on the not always cogent advertising of academic institutions. Several of us in discussing the plan have used the term "negative dowry" to indicate our misgivings concerning the willingness of young women to take loans which might become a charge against their joint family incomes. However, because many parents will do less for the education of a girl than for that of a boy, I believe that such loans may add to women's opportunities in an area where they still suffer from subtle as well as visible discrimination. Perhaps most salient have been the objections in principle of some spokesmen for State universities who believe in tuition-free institutions as a democratic ideal and who fear that the availability of loan-bearing students will force tuition to be raised. However, as Christopher Jencks and I argue in *The Academic Revolution*, public low tuition institutions generally subsidize the

moderately well-off at the expense of the poor (whose children don't attend) and the very rich; hopefully, somewhat higher tuitions would be accompanied by greater resources for scholarship aid. More important in the short-run is the pragmatic argument that neither State nor Federal grants are likely to support the major State universities in the future as they have supported them in the recent past. It seems possible that, by shifting some of the costs of higher education to the young and away from resentful adult taxpayers, a plan like that of the Educational Opportunity Bank may, to some small degree, attenuate the tendency of the latter to want to repress students and institutions. While there is no guarantee that the Federal Government would not attach restrictive conditions to such loans, it has continued even up to the present to behave in a more enlightened way *vis-a-vis* higher education than many States have. Further, one could envisage a scheme managed by some kind of independent agency or authority, buffered against impulsive congressional vindictiveness, which would have a financial as well as a principled interest in bringing the largest possible number of students into the scheme so that it could quickly become self-liquidating.

A New Breed of Academic "Brokers"

I have already implied that the casualties of the collision course may be most serious among those private and public universities which are now also in the forefront of seeking to respond to the newer commitments which are sure to lead to many disappointments and to much community antagonism.*

In his much abused but penetrating book, *The Uses of the University*, Clark Kerr described a new breed of academic administrators who were in effect brokers among the various commitments and constituencies of higher education. He saw these men just as I see them, as having minimal power and limited leverage over their departments, their students, their alumni, and their sources of financial and other public support. If we are to get through the years ahead and to preserve some of the autonomous functions of the university where the commitment to action is oblique rather than direct, I think we will need to find a still newer breed of administrators capable of resisting some constituencies

in order to accept others. They will have to inspire students and faculty and others in the universities to accept their leadership in making choices — be it a persuasive rather than an arbitrary leadership. They will have to help institutions make a better division of academic labor: for example, to decide that a particular university will continue its mission to foreign students and to black students in medicine and health sciences, even if it is at the cost of the demanding and visible pressures to admit more black undergraduates. Still another administrator may say that he will defend concentrating on black undergraduates and their idiosyncratic problems as well as those they share with other students, and that he will resist pressure to do something for Chicanos for the time being; and so on around the map of possible commitments to education and to other ventures.

In general (and with many exceptions), the burden of maintaining our most distinguished institutions and helping make the hard decisions regarding which of the new claims to honour, while not destroying the old, fall on administrators. As a result, they are going to be even more unpopular than those who now wish they could step gracefully out of office. Yet, if we do not find the right administrators, we will see higher education spread increasingly thin over the landscape, seldom committed to reflection, often committed to impulse, often ending in the bankruptcy both of treasures and of hopes. But I do not know by what faith such potential leaders will live.

*For fuller discussion, cf. a recently published paper by Martin Trow, "Reflections on the Transition from Mass to Universal Higher Education," *Daedalus*, Vol. 99 (Winter, 1970), pp. 1-42.

Louis Feldhammer

The Liberation of Women and the Educational System

"There, there, don't cry about that paper. In a few years, you'll be washing dishes and you won't even remember this course."

— Professor to freshman student¹

I

Any discussion of the relationship between women and the educational system must begin by dispelling the tremendous edifice of erroneous beliefs regarding women in contemporary society. The mythology surrounding the socially normative definitions of women is enough to make any professional anthropologist think he has arrived in a society fraught with a peculiar tendency toward superstition and irrational mysticism. Of course, it should be clearly understood that social norms are not wantonly irrational but invariably serve clearly-defined purposes. As we shall see, the dominant ideology surrounding women functions to maintain a *status-quo* beneficial to those small social groups — invariably male-dominated — possessing a disproportionate amount of the economic and, hence, political power.

Women in our society are systematically exploited economically and systematically oppressed psychologically and sexually. This statement is a factual, empirically validated description of social reality. Studies on the exploitation and oppression of women would easily fill the proverbial "twelve-foot shelf."² Nevertheless, they have little effect on the majority of adults (of *both* sexes) who are

forced by the social system and its institutions to ignore this blatant social injustice, doubt its veracity, or accept a variety of pseudo-scientific justifications, usually based on biological or psychological grounds, so that they can avoid dealing with the reality, even if it is dimly perceived through the all-pervasive miasma of conventional doctrine.

In order to clear the ground of the accumulated nonsense so that we can proceed to deal seriously with the role of education *vis-à-vis* women, let us briefly note the major myths commonly associated with women:

1) *Women are biogenetically inferior.* This one is hoary with age, but is receiving considerable refurbishing with the advent of "pop-ethology" as applied to human beings. Since this topic has been dealt with in an earlier paper³, suffice it to say that there is no way to validate this myth since primates cannot alter their social organization; that the ethological evidence is either highly pre-selected or contradictory; that it dismisses the crucial distinction between biological and human evolution (humans possess culture and thereby "make themselves"); that it ignores the ethnographic evidence indicating a wide diversity of sex roles in various cultures⁴; and, finally, that the crucial underpinning for the wide acceptance of "biological" theories of female inferiority is primarily ideological in character. This is the case because it satisfies the obvious need to "explain" the persistence of female social subservience without having to pay the costs involved in recognizing the real socio-economic and political roots of the problem. As Prof. Tiger, in his catastrophically anti-humane book, *Men in Groups*, devoted to the ill-disguised thesis of biogenetic male supremacy, so aptly puts it:

It may constitute a revolutionary and perhaps hazardous social change with numerous latent consequences should women ever enter politics in great numbers⁵.

Exactly. But the real question is: Hazardous for whom? Can a social change which liberates 50% of the population, and thus must directly benefit the vast majority of the remaining population who cannot be free unless women are, be considered "hazardous?" The answer to this question will become clear below, but for the mo-

ment, it should be understood that the liberation of women will indeed be "hazardous" — for a select few.

2) *The female psyche is innately passive, dependent, nurturant, and supportive.* This one is pure, unadulterated mysticism dressed up with the intellectual trappings of psychiatrists and clinical psychologists all the way from Sigmund Freud down to Erik Erikson. As a sophisticated variant of the old "maternal instinct" school of thought it has probably caused more human suffering, agony, self-hatred, and insecurity amongst women in the Western world than any other socially accepted myth regarding the nature of human beings. Indeed, in its total lack of empirical evidence coupled with its reliance on "insight," "sensitivity," and "experience" it is remarkably analogous to another social phenomenon familiar to many anthropologists: the belief in witchcraft.

What makes this myth so terribly damaging is the constant, life-long, intense pressure which is placed on women to become what the myth says they ought to be — and to like it as well! If they don't, then they are "unnatural," "unfeminine" and most probably "neurotic." As one small example, think of the thousands upon thousands of women who have suffered, and still are, from false feelings of guilt, frustration, and "frigidity" because of Freud's classic theory on the sexuality of women, viz., the distinction between the clitoral orgasm, which he associated with adolescence, and the vaginal orgasm which he associated with "maturity." It took fifty years before it was actually tested physiologically and found to be just so much nonsense.⁶ Meanwhile, women are still trying to feel what they are told they ought to feel.

Typical examples of the belief in the psychological uniqueness of women stemming from some of the most eminently respectable figures in the field are:

Bruno Bettelheim (University of Chicago) —

We must start with the realization that, as much as women want to be good scientists or engineers, *they want first and foremost to be womanly companions of men and to be mothers.*⁷ (emphasis added)

Joseph Rheingold (Harvard Medical School) —

Woman is nurturance . . . anatomy decrees the life of a woman . . . when women grow up without dread of their

biological functions *and without subversion by feminist doctrine*, and therefore enter upon motherhood with a sense of fulfillment and altruistic sentiment, we shall attain the goal of a good life and a secure world in which to live it.⁸ (emphasis added)

Erik Erikson (Harvard University) —

[A woman's] somatic design harbors an "inner space" destined to bear the offspring of chosen men, and with it, a biological, psychological, and ethical commitment to take care of human infancy.⁹

Now, when one couples the above with the daily bombardments of the multi-million dollar businesses of clothing, cosmetics, and house furnishings, we can begin to get some feeling for the real horror and tragic crippling which this myth, and those who benefit from it, impose upon women. It is enough to make a man wonder how any women manage to escape and become real persons at all. What makes it doubly horrible is that after our social system demands a certain kind of behaviour from women and gets exactly what would be expected, we then turn around and point to that behaviour as "proof" of the validity of the original belief! No matter what one's personal biases are in this matter, it is simply impossible to designate this kind of theoretical speculation as "scientific."

Essentially, there are three fundamental factors which conclusively belie the validity of these psychological conjectures. Firstly, the theory regarding "the nature of female nature" completely lacks any supporting *empirical* evidence. As if this isn't enough, when empirical testing is applied, the results negate the assumptions upon which the theory is built. Expert clinicians cannot identify or diagnose sexuality, deviant or normal, within the conventional empirical testing framework one would apply to any other theory.¹⁰

Secondly, the specific assumptions about the psychology of women are embedded within, and dependent upon, general psychological theories which not only are without scientific basis — they don't even work. The classic study on this is by H. J. Eysenck whose findings have never been refuted. On the contrary, later studies have merely confirmed Eysenck's original results. Briefly, these findings are that, of patients who received psychoanalysis the improvement rate was 44%; of those receiving psychotherapy

the improvement rate was 64%; and of those receiving no treatment at all the improvement rate was 72%.¹¹ Kwakuitl shamans used to do better!

Thirdly, and finally, the entire mythology built up around this nebulous "female psyche" is an attempt to explain human behaviour completely divorced from social and cultural reality. It literally exists in a social vacuum. If there is anything in the social sciences we do know, it is that we simply cannot expect to understand the behaviour of human beings, or understand how or why that behaviour changes, unless it is studied as part of the larger social context within which it occurs. It is a truism to state that humans are social beings — and that includes the entire political, religious, and economic systems which make us the kind of human beings we are. Since we are here primarily concerned with behavioural differences supposedly due to innate sexuality, it is pertinent to note the work of Money and the Hampsons which demonstrates that parental role assignment of children into a particular gender, *even if gonadally incorrect*, assumes priority over any biological criteria.¹² This and the great diversity revealed in sex roles in the ethnographic data show quite conclusively that there is no such thing as "innate sexual behaviour"; there is only behaviour which is designated as socially normative with individual differences ranging around that norm.

3) *Women's position is rapidly improving and full equality will be achieved in the near future.* Interestingly enough, this one is so commonly assumed to be true that those who espouse it never even bother to go to the trouble of verifying it. And a good thing too — they would receive quite a shock. The fact of the matter is that the position of women in our society is worse now than it was forty years ago and is continuing to decline.

The unthinking acceptance of the notion that women are better off — even papers in this *Journal* have been known to express such views¹³ — is due to a) the concerted business campaign which wants both to exploit women as consumers, and producers, and at the same time conceal the reality of their subservient economic position, and b) the rapid increase in the number of women in the wage-labour force. Economically, of course, almost all women are in the labour force. It is simply that the majority of them are engaged in *unpaid* jobs as housewives and mothers; if their work were in-

cluded it would account for an increase of as much as 44% of the G.N.P.¹⁴ As any economist knows, should a man marry his housekeeper he would reduce the national income because the money he gives her would no longer be counted as wages. In short, almost all women are workers, but in a society based on commodity production for surplus value, i.e. private profit, most of them are not acknowledged as such. The latter factor (b) is the most important. In the U.K., the U.S. and Canada the number of women in the wage-labour market constitutes between 33⅓% and 40% of the total. This number is generally twice the number of working women during the prewar period and it is generally assumed to be an indicator of women's increasing emancipation.

Unfortunately, while the gross statistics are correct, what is consistently overlooked is the *kind* of jobs women have been entering: these jobs are low-paid, non-unionized, service and clerical positions. In Canada between the years 1921-1961, the percentage of women in low-paid industrial and clerical jobs increased from 5% to 35% while in the same period their representation in the professions declined from 19.1% to 15.5%.¹⁵ In the U.K., the situation is so similar that one researcher states: "We have in this country two labour forces, one male and one female . . . [these] two labour forces exist with little overlap between them."¹⁶ In the U.S. between 1940 and 1967, the percentage of women in professional and technical positions declined from 45% to 37%; meanwhile in the low-paying, low-status service jobs their representation rose from 50% to 55%.¹⁷ In fact, the economic exploitation of women has been increasing at such a rate that it is still not generally known that the median wage of working women in the U.S. is actually lower than that of black males — and the plight of the latter group is universally recognized.¹⁸

In short, the myth of the socially and economically emancipated female looming just over the horizon is either deliberately misleading or self-defeating wishful thinking. Women are less of a factor in managerial and professional occupations today than they were previously; their percentage of enrolment in professional and graduate schools is declining; and while more of them work, they do less important work. They are systematically channelled into their filing, typing, and assembly-line jobs and are blocked from advancing out of them. Even after marriage, hardly an "advance-

ment" as we shall see, they are increasingly stuck with the extra burden of two jobs: one low-paid and the other unpaid.¹⁹

4) *Stereotypes typically associated with minority groups.* These myths are a miscellaneous bag of nonsense not worthy of serious attention save for a short mention. For example, the notion of women being less qualified than men as a justification for their lower status makes as much sociological sense as saying that Canadian Indians or U.S. Blacks don't get good jobs because they don't enroll in universities. Another one is that women need less because they have a husband's income to rely on and their income is merely "pin-money." This one is pretty useful in keeping women "in their place," and getting a cheap worker as well. But 85% of the working women in Canada work full-time, almost 400,000 Canadian families rely exclusively on the mother's income, and when both parents work full time, why is the women's income necessarily a supplement to the man's instead of the other way around? Why is either income supplemental at all? One last cliché: women are transient members of the labour force unworthy of serious consideration because they are always quitting to get married and "have a family." This one shirks the whole issue by avoiding the fact that one of the key mechanisms in maintaining the subjugation of women is the institution of marriage (see below) while at the same time it manages to overlook the fact that more and more married women with children — almost 40% in the U.S.²⁰ — remain members of the wage-labour force. Indeed, this process is accelerating at such a rapid pace that in one job category in Canada — teaching — job tenure and the median years of experience for women is higher at all levels than that of men. Nevertheless, women are consistently paid less than men at the equivalent level and are practically nonexistent in the administrative levels.²¹

II

Having reviewed some of the major rationalizations which attempt to justify the exploitation, oppression, and sheer psychic mutilation of women in our society, we must now turn our attention to the underlying social structural basis for these phenomena. The society within which we live is based on an industrial economy in which commodities (in the broadest sense of the term) are produced

by people who sell their labour for a wage. In fully industrialized societies such as ours, the productive units tend to be:

i) *Single-purposed* — they are exclusively devoted to an economic function and one must usually go elsewhere for recreational, educational, sexual, religious, political or emotional activities of various kinds. Criteria of personnel center around economic skills.

ii) *Large-scale* — they tend to employ hundreds of people and the most important industries are almost all comprised of a very few gigantic corporations.

iii) *Non-reduplicative* — the productive units, being large-scale, do not duplicate the economic tasks of other units. For example, pottery manufacturing in a North England town takes place in a single factory whereas in a Guatemalan village it may occur in numerous kilns attached to individual households.

iv) *Non-kin based* — the people engaged in an industrialized productive unit rarely, if ever, have kin ties with each other. They are linked together by common economic interests and little else.

The point of the above is that in our social system there is a whole category of people — women — who are *normatively* defined as being primarily responsible for activities associated with the home and family; that is, *the household*. Note that the household is a productive unit whose characteristics are exactly opposite to those of an industrialized productive unit: it is multi-purposed, small-scale, reduplicative, and kin-based. While men are primarily defined in terms of their activities in the “real work” of commodity production, women — even though they may be wage-labourers as well — are perceived as being outside the world of the market-place. In a society where worth is determined by money, women, who are *normatively* perceived as engaged in work which is not paid are, naturally enough, not judged to be worth as much as men.

In anthropological terms, the normative ideal that “women’s place is in the home” (even if she’s a university professor or a cab-driver!) places women in a position structurally analagous, *vis-à-vis* the rest of society, to that of peasants or other groups outside commodity production. It is indeed striking to notice that the stereotypically expected behaviour of all economically dependent groups accords very well with the “feminine ideal”: docile, intellectually stultified, emotionally unstable, but also lovable, childlike creatures *if they know their place*.

An industrialized, *capitalist* social system has very strong reasons for maintaining the privatized, pre-industrial household and the ideology of women's inferiority which reinforces it. Firstly, those who own the means of production receive a tremendous amount of very real labour (child-rearing and housework) which does not have to be paid for — the wages pay for the labour power of two people. Secondly, in the present system women perform the crucial function of supplying a flexible, cheap reservoir for the wage-labour force and are always available to keep men's wages down in addition to taking those jobs, usually menial, when manpower demands are high — as in a war-time economy. Thirdly, women act as social stabilizers and ideological guardians of the *status-quo* as a direct consequence of their enforced parochialism and economic dependency. It is the wife who keeps the husband at his alienating job; it is the mother who forces the children to "behave" and conform; it is the wife who offers a refuge for the unhappy husband; it is the wife who urges the husband not to jeopardize his job by going on strike. And it is these same women who must receive all the brutalized frustration and sexual exploitation of men who also suffer from oppression and dehumanization — for both men and women live in a society which turns everything, including people, into commodities.

As the contradictions women face between their role as wage-labourers within the market economy and the sociocultural definition of them as primarily caretakers of home and family develop, we can expect the tensions and conflicts imposed upon women to become increasingly exacerbated and reflected in the growing movement for women's liberation. If our analysis of the structural roots of woman's subjugation is correct, then what is required is a radical structural transformation of the social system which would remove the home from private production, and free women from the very real constrictions of responsibility for cooking and children. That such changes cannot occur in a society whole-heartedly devoted to the pursuit of private profit by those in power should be obvious. To quote M. L. Benston:

Equal access to jobs outside the home . . . will not in itself be sufficient to give equality for women; as long as work in the home remains a matter of private production and is the responsibility of women, they will simply carry a

double work-load . . . this means that children should no longer be the responsibility solely of parents. Society must begin to take responsibility for children; the economic dependence of women and children on the husband-father must be ended. The other work that goes on in the home must also be changed . . . when such work is moved into the public sector, then the material basis for discrimination against women will be gone . . . *with socialized production and the removal of the profit motive and its attendant alienated labour, there is no reason why, in an industrialized society, industrialization of housework should not result in better production, i.e., better food, more comfortable surroundings, more intelligent and loving child-care . . . than in the present nuclear family.*²² (emphasis added)

That this change will be a change for the better is hard for most of us, especially women, to accept. This is partly a result of the ideological factors discussed above, but also because we do not separate clearly enough the emotional from the economic functions of the family. It is precisely the removal of the constricting economic functions that will allow much more rewarding interpersonal human relationships.

III

How does the preceding discussion on the problems confronting women relate to the educational system? It would be best first to dispel the natural tendency amongst professional educators that education is the crucially determining variable in the resolution of basic social problems. Education is essentially epiphenomenal in character and its role and significance is severely held in bounds by the concrete, structural limitations of the sociocultural system within which it operates. Thus, when we look at the kind of education which goes on in our schools we should not be surprised to find that, more often than not, it serves as a mirror reflection and reinforcement of the prevailing norms and dominant ideologies in our society.

Before they get to school at all, children are well aware of the differential behaviour expected from boys and from girls. The schools then play an important part in completing the socialization of girls (and boys) into the roles that they are expected to play later in life. From the earliest reader to the final guidance text-

book, girls are taught that the "natural" role should be that of a wife and mother. Boys are expected to be more aggressive in play and allowed much more freedom in large motor development; girls soon learn to be "little ladies," the importance of being "pretty" and wearing "attractive" clothes, and that all the exciting, active, creative jobs are reserved for boys. Boys grow up to be doctors, engineers, and architects, while girls can expect to fill all those jobs which are ancillary, supportive and "naturally nurturant," e.g. nurses, secretaries, teachers. If there is any doubt that schools socialize girls in this manner, one can always glance at the textbooks for verification.²³ At the very earliest development level in the school system — the kindergarten — there is a marked sexual distinction made in the socialization process, exemplified by the "doll corner."²⁴

What is so painful about the functioning of schools in the assignment of these arbitrary and damaging sex roles is that it is women themselves who unwittingly help to perpetuate this oppressive system. We have already noted that teaching as an occupation fits in perfectly with the conventional wisdom concerning women's "nature"; it is a supportive, nurturant, and child-caring activity — a surrogate mother — what could be more suited to the so-called female "instincts"? Women are encouraged to go in to teaching; their socialization adapts them to the role. We thus have a vicious self-selection process in education wherein women who are socialized to conform with the normative ideals of the social system enter an occupation only to transmit these same ideals to the following generation. In this manner, women are used by those in power to perpetuate their own oppression.

When one examines how power is really wielded and distributed within the teaching profession itself, the whole idea that we live in a democratic society begins to crumble. Democracy must mean, at a very minimum, equal access to information, equal opportunity, and majority representation: none of these minimal criteria is presently available to women teachers.

In Canada the majority of teachers, 62.4%, are women.²⁵ Yet it is the males who dominate the profession in everything but numbers. In 1966-67, 78% of those teachers earning over \$10,000 per annum were men; 80% of those teachers at the lowest income level were women. Access to administrative positions with authority

is extremely difficult if one is a woman. For example, in Vancouver the first woman principal since 1935 was appointed in 1969. It is extremely difficult to believe that for thirty-four years the entire Vancouver city school system did not have any women teachers competent to be a principal. In their own professional associations (Canada is one of the few countries left where one can find teachers still refusing to recognize reality by calling these associations what they are — or ought to be: unions) the same discrimination against women teachers exists. In British Columbia, 55% of the teachers are women, yet in the British Columbia Teachers Federation there is only one woman on the eighteen member executive, and all the committee heads are men.

The dismal picture revealed by these figures concerning the subservient position of women in teaching is merely a fragment of the whole position of women throughout the entire social fabric. It is particularly significant, however, because it shows that, even when women are in a majority, they are never allowed, *as a group*, to have control and hold the positions of authority which would normally be expected to accrue to them from their majority membership in the occupation. For women to have social, political, or economic power in our society would be in direct contradiction to the normative roles women are supposed to have.

In addition, it would also “cost” more. Think of it: what the social system gets is a vast army of cheap labour to run (but not control) a key social institution — the school system; an institution whose primary function is the transmission of those values and skills required to maintain the *status quo*. It’s really quite a bargain — if you’re a member of that class which controls the corporate economy.

The usual rationalization for the gross inequality of women in teaching is that women are less qualified than men. What is so interesting about this statement is that because it is true it has just the opposite effect of its intention. The fact that women teachers, on the whole, are less qualified than men does not serve to justify the inequality of women, but has the contrary result of showing just how oppressed women really are. For the crucial question is, “Why are women less qualified?” and the answer is “Because they are treated as second-class citizens all their lives.” When incentive is deliberately destroyed because administrative positions

(e.g. principalships) are reserved for males; when it is much more difficult to get jobs that will pay their way through four years of university; when elementary school positions are seen as more "womanly"; and when it is impossible to take those extra courses because of the additional responsibility of caring for their own children, it becomes very difficult to understand why people, who want to deny the unequal treatment women receive in teaching, persist in using an excuse which simply underscores the existence of this inequality.

IV

In recognizing that education cannot, by itself, resolve serious social problems and that real change can only come about when the structural, material causes of social injustices are removed is not to say that education is irrelevant. On the contrary, within its limited sphere, education is crucial in the process of social change. The major task of education must be to maintain a constant, critical attack on all the ideologies and norms which justify the exploitation of human beings. Education can, and should, act as a constant guide so that when structural change does occur it will do so within the framework offered by a humane education devoted to social justice, co-operation and liberation. In short, education is important and socially worthwhile only when it engages in a conscious and deliberate attempt to subvert the dominant ideologies of our society. *Education is subversive or it is nothing.*

One of the great weaknesses in educational theory today is the assumption that nothing much can be done in the way of social improvement until the "attitudes" of individuals change. This ignores the fact that social values cannot be transformed until social roles are redefined and altered. Since social roles are an integral part of the social structure within which they are rooted, the conclusion is obvious: a radical transformation of the social structure is necessarily prior to any real change in social values. (For example, racism as a "scientific" theory was conclusively invalidated over fifty years ago, but since the social structure of capitalism has remained basically unaltered, so have racist values remained undiminished.) It is necessary to repeat, however, that a critical, subversive education is of the utmost importance in main-

taining the necessary consciousness of the possibility and desirability of social change; education in this sense can be likened to a catalyst which can have profound and wide-ranging effects when the social and economic factors for radical change are present.

Women in the teaching profession are in a particularly significant position to work for their own liberation — and that of men (for none of us is free until all of us are free). The classroom can, and should be, used as a factor in social change which will be directly beneficial to the vast majority.

There are four key areas which must receive concerted and intensive attention if the education system is ever to perform the liberating functions it ought to, rather than the conserving functions it performs at present. It should not be forgotten that since most males receive some benefits (although they are extremely costly ones inasmuch as they ultimately serve to keep them exploited as well) from the fact that females are subservient to them, women will have to organize primarily *as women*. This in no way should be seen as a "feminist" or "anti-male" position, but merely a rational response to the social realities.

The four crucial areas are:

1) Curriculum — this must be changed so that it deals adequately and seriously with the historical role of women and the contemporary reality of their exploitation. A critical and questioning attitude towards the traditional role of women should be encouraged.

2) Textbooks — the subservient female sexual roles portrayed in the vast majority of children's books is a shocking assault on the defenseless humanity of children, as well as an insult to their parents. Sadly enough, many of these books are written by women.

3) Channelling — while discrimination on the basis of sex occurs in all areas of the education system, we are here primarily concerned with the necessity of challenging the power of guidance counsellors in job channelling. There must be free choice for girls and boys at all levels.

4) Democracy — women in teaching must organize to demand, and get, proportional representation in their professional associations, at all administrative levels, and in all Departments of Education.



The real tragedy of any system of oppression has been that, all too often, the oppressed come to believe they are fit for nothing better; they accept the socially-imposed definitions of themselves as inferior. As long as women consider men better than themselves there is no hope — for them, for my brothers, or for our as yet untainted children — male and female, humans all.

Notes and References

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Canadian University Students' Stereotypes of Canadians and Americans

A. H. Diemer and M. L. Dietz

The authors, who are American,¹ teach sociology and anthropology in a Canadian university. The location of our university on the Canadian-American border offers an excellent opportunity for cross-cultural research, as a teaching device, to facilitate the students' understanding of the dynamic interrelationships of social processes. To augment their understanding of the formation and functions of stereotypes, the students in an Introductory Sociology and an Anthropology Culture Change class were asked to describe the Canadian image of American and Canadian citizens. The responses to the assignment produced a surprisingly vivid description of the students' image of their neighbours across the river and of their national self-image. Although there is evidence to suggest that the attitudes of the students are shared by many Canadians, no claim for the universality of the results is made. No attempt was made to select a statistically representative sample of respondents.² Our concern was for the elucidation of specific stereotypes by the members of the two classes and the analysis of the factors that influenced their development and persistence.

Our method of analysis of these images consisted of (1) the schematization of the items that occurred most frequently in the students' reports as contrasting characteristics of each national group, (2) the construction of negative and positive images of each national character, and (3) a theoretical formulation of the historical development and function of the stereotypes.

Profiles of the Canadian Students' Stereotypes

The descriptive terms most often employed by the students to Americans and Canadians are listed below. We have juxtaposed contrasting traits to form sets of bi-polar qualities. Although pairs of opposed terms were not used as invidious comparisons in all the papers from which they were extracted, each term was applied only to the group indicated.

CANADIAN

underdeveloped, backward
 followers
 intellectuals
 thinkers
 pessimists
 realists
 mature
 sedate
 tradition-directed
 polite
 secretive
 slow
 negative
 uncertain
 self-deprecatory
 reserved
 consistent
 dull
 dependent
 submissive
 self-centred
 sincere
 self-satisfied
 critical
 cheap
 controlled
 peaceful
 defensive
 conservative³
 compassionate
 static
 quiet
 routine seekers
 careful, cautious
 neutral
 procrastination
 inferior feeling

AMERICAN

progressive
 leaders
 workers
 doers
 optimists
 idealists
 youthful
 boisterous, wild
 other-directed
 rude
 open
 fast
 positive
 confident
 cocky, boastful
 friendly, exuberant
 volatile
 exciting
 independent
 dominant
 socially responsible
 hypocritical
 discontented
 indifferent
 generous
 rebellious
 violent
 aggressive
 risktaking
 relentless
 dynamic
 loud
 action seekers
 impetuous
 intense
 immediacy
 superior feeling

The following profiles emerged as negative and positive images of the two national groups.

The American: He is aggressive, outspoken, manipulative, money-status-power hungry. He is youth-oriented, boastfully gregarious, idealistic, overbearing, patriotic, superficial, ethnocentric, generous, arrogant, and reckless. He wants to take over the whole world and cram the "American way" of government, industry, and social life down the throats of unwilling victims.

He is strong, energetic, and justifiably proud of his country, and its accomplishments. He is willing and capable of working hard to attain the very best of everything, and willing to assume the responsibility for seeing that others have the same things that he enjoys. He tends to be paternalistic, idealistic, and self-analytical (although not critical). He is outspoken, an active leader, united with his diverse countrymen by love of country and love of freedom. While he may be sometimes overbearing, sometimes hypocritical, he is a striver both for real and ideal goals, and it is this striving to have and be the best that makes him over-exuberant, apt to rush in where angels fear to tread.

The Canadian: He is ultra-conservative, uncertain, inhibited, and passive. He is reserved, self-conscious, intellectual, aloof, critical and dull. Although money and achievement oriented, he is cautious and not inclined to risk-taking. He is non-patriotic.⁴

He is thoughtful, courteous, and cautious; mature, well-informed, modest, quiet, compassionate, and reserved. He is a realist who recognizes the need for rules and abides by them; when he deviates, he does it quietly and with circumspection. He tends to be peaceful and sincere, to value intelligence, hard work, and success, as well as freedom and honesty. Freedom to him means the freedom to live his life within the rules with relatively little interference or aggravation. He is apt to be oversensitive and hypercritical of himself and others. He loves the vastness and privacy of his land and likes to hold himself aloof from both casual and intense personal relationships. He feels about equality as he feels

about freedom and many other things — "if they don't bother me, I certainly won't bother them."

Most of the students reflected what they describe as an "obsessive" concern among Canadians over the United States' domination of Canadian industry, tastes, and habits. The ubiquity of American radio, television, movies, and magazines poses a threat to the development of indigenous arts and manners, and a specifically Canadian national identity.⁵ Often implicit was a resentment of their own dependence and an ambivalence between blaming the "Yanks" and self-flagellation. They expressed admiration for the pride in country and accomplishments of the United States, although they deemed it "chest beating" and defended their own conservatism, humility, and neutrality.

The authors were particularly surprised at the almost universal assumption among the Canadian students that the United States desires and is conspiring to annex Canada. The current separatist movement in Quebec aggravates this fear because non-French Canada would appear more vulnerable to annexation if the French seceded. In our experience with American students, we have seen no evidence of concern or debate regarding Canada — only an extreme lack of interest and an abysmal ignorance of its history and political situation. American students who are aware of Canada usually display a pleasant, friendly attitude toward her. They characterize Canada as a vacationland replete with forests, mountains, wild animals (the untamed wilderness), and delightful old world anachronisms including colorful military rituals and titled personages. Contrary to the expressed fear of the Canadians, we would suggest that most Americans do not care whether or not Canada becomes American and that they might even view any change in that direction as a loss.

The students pointed out similarities between Americans and Canadians particularly in achievement orientation and materialistic acquisitiveness. Also comparable were the concerns in both countries for freedom and humanitarianism. They described both peoples as valuing honesty and ritualistic moral codes, while not observing them too closely. Some students stressed that the differences they noted in essential values and life styles were slight, more of degree than of kind.

Factors that Influenced the Development of Stereotypes

The people of Canada and America share many commonalities. Settlement of the two countries occurred in the same historical epoch, the settlers came from similar backgrounds and the indigenous populations they conquered were the same. Both countries hosted immigrants of diverse nationalities and enjoyed similar natural resources including vast frontiers of open land. The political experience of the two countries differed, however, and strongly influenced the development of societal self-images. The revolt of the American Colonies against the English King and the loyalty of the Canadians to the Crown were crucial in the social development of the two nations. They fought with one another and territorial boundaries were not secure until the end of the War of 1812. The English conquest of the French in Canada, and the subsequent emergence of dual cultural groups, has no counterpart in American history.

We suggest that the pattern of pluralism (resulting from the non-assimilation of the English and French) which was set during the formative stages of the Canadian nation, affected the cultural integration of immigrants who came later from countries other than England and France. In the United States, the second or third generation of foreign born groups moved out of the foreign language enclaves established by the early immigrants and were assimilated into wider strata of American society.⁶ In contrast, minimal assimilation of similar groups occurred in Canada.⁷ The experience of acculturation among the ethnic groups in the United States encouraged the emergence of a sense of national identity and an ideology of "melting pot" egalitarianism. Canadians, on the other hand, retained closer identification with their particular cultural heritage and only secondarily perceived themselves as French-Canadians, English-Canadians, *et al.*

The phenomena of the "melting pot" in the United States and the "mosaic" in Canada, as ideals, had ramifications in all segments of the societies. The social stratification system was more fluid in the States, less restrained by the European class structure that was a feature of the ethnic cultures which were not repudiated by revolution in Canada. The competitiveness, for example, that has

characterized American society results from the almost unlimited opportunities for social mobility. In the nineteenth century when the influence of English class structure persisted in Canada as a consequence of her colonial status, the "self-made" man was accorded prestige in the States comparable to that enjoyed by scions of upper-class Canadians.

Since the change to Commonwealth nationhood, Canadians have become concerned with the development of a uniquely Canadian identity. Recently this was exemplified in the struggle over the design of a national flag. The predominant themes during this period of self-evaluation include problems of biculturalism and bilingualism, a negative attitude toward the former British control, and resentment of the economic power of the United States.

The economic and political development of the two countries was influenced in subtle ways by the social patterns which were rooted in their value systems. The pervasive norms in the United States supporting the separation of church and state, universal free education, "rugged individualism" and competitiveness, and mass political involvement molded the social institutions that evolved into somewhat different configurations from those in Canada. The public and separate dual educational systems in Canada, for example, supported social separateness of ethno-religious groups. The public school system in the United States, on the other hand, was the principle vehicle for assimilation of the second generation immigrants who had ethno-religious backgrounds similar to those in Canada. Educational institutions are of primary importance in the inculcation of values and the distribution of individuals into economic, social and political roles. They also tend to be conservative and resistant to change as institutions designed to teach the new generation are expected to evince support for the norms of the old.

The complex interactions of the processes within the structural components of each of the societies during their formative years reinforced one another and increased the dissimilarity of the societies over the years. The tendency toward dissimilarity has been countered to some extent, however, by the physical proximity of the two countries, the open border and consequent frequency of

personal contacts, close economic relationships, and the similar ethnic formation of the two societies.

Functions of the Stereotypes

The psychological and sociological literature⁸ suggests that stereotypes function to organize into a kind of short-hand (by sorting out the salient features) the mass of data from the real world that confronts the individual. The literature also points out the self-enhancement function and suggests the self-actualizing propensity of stereotypes. Since stereotypes tend to "define" reality for us, the behaviour that is based on them affects the real situation and inclines it to conformity with our definitions. An understanding of the self-other definitions of various groups is, therefore, a prerequisite for the successful prediction and management of future interaction between them.

Evidence of the influence of national images may be adduced from the history of twentieth century Canadian-American relations where the predominant stereotypes have been ambivalent. Being neither wholly positive nor negative, a kind of "live and let live" policy has obtained between the neighbours. For example, the American tendency to spread the "American way" to all the world (which was a prominent theme in almost all the students' reports) may have fostered the Canadian fear of annexation. At the same time, the perception of America as a semi-admired, idealistic, over-exuberant, do-gooder may have mitigated the genuine hostility and aggressive behavior that fear of subordination would arouse in a threatened group who traditionally stereotyped the "other" in wholly negative terms.

Approximately four per cent of the students attending our Canadian university are American. All of the Canadian students participating in our study had had the opportunity to know individual Americans at least casually. Many of them expressed awareness that the image they described did not fit the particular

Americans they knew personally. The strength of the stereotype of the American among Canadians is evident in the persistence of it in the face of rather extensive interaction with the stereotyped group that does not lend support to it. Investigations in the field of intergroup relations have suggested the same phenomenon — that interaction between groups does not automatically produce a change in the perceptions of behaviors of the groups toward one another.⁹ It may even intensify negative attitudes if they are psychologically satisfying.

In the light of the historical development of Canada, it can be surmised from the students' reports and class discussions that the stereotypes have functioned in the predicted pattern, and therefore, have persisted and influenced the relationships of Canadians and Americans over the last century. They have provided a short-hand view of reality and have been psychologically gratifying in alleviating feelings of inferiority among the Canadians. The difference in size of the two populations (the United States is ten times as large), the affluence of American visitors to Canada, the ubiquity of the American mass media, and her industrial power, all contribute to the Canadian sense of "second place" status. The reaction to the psychological effects of this competitive disadvantage is apparent in the Canadian self-image which stresses maturity, conservatism, and moral and intellectual depth and integrity rather than the efficiency, opportunism and achievement orientation of the American.

The American stereotype and the Canadian self-image intermesh and tend to relieve the anxieties latent in a "Number Two" position. A certain stability is thus achieved in the relationships between the two countries that is satisfactory to both parties. When differences are not so rationalized and there are large discrepancies in power between the two groups, hostile attitudes tend to develop and intensify. The rare historical experience of amicable relationships between two countries, which share extensive borders and which were born as a result of an armed clash of political values, was influenced beneficently by the self-images and stereotypes of the other that emerged in the formative years of the two societies.

Notes and References

1. In this paper we use the term "American" to apply only to residents of the United States because we have found this usage not only accepted, but desired, by Canadians. Contrary to our earlier assumption that it was an example of "American" ethno-centricity — are not Canadians and Mexicans also American? — we discovered its use by Canadians to be deliberate and meaningful. The term includes derogatory connotations stemming from its application to the rebellious anti-British colonists in the eighteenth century. Canadians, today, do not designate themselves "American" and when the term is applied to them it is viewed as evidence of imperialistic attitudes and a disparagement of their national identity and independent status.
2. The sample consisted of fifty-two students in Sociology 12 and Anthropology 31. With few exceptions the students were native-born Canadians in their second or third year at the University. We are grateful to them for their help and interest in developing the material for this analysis.
3. This term was used more often than any other to characterize the "Canadian."
4. Some students also suggested that non-Canadians tended to define the Canadian image in terms of the Lumberjack and/or the Hockey Player.
5. The students mentioned the confusion over the flag and the national anthem as evidence of the search for an unambiguous identity.
6. Cf. Peter I. Rose, *They and We: Racial and Ethnic Relations in the United States*, New York: Random House, 1964. Also, Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation and American Life*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.
7. John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.
8. John Harding, Harold Proschansky, Bernard Kutner, and Isador Chein, "Prejudice and Ethnic Relations," in G. Lindzey and E. Aronson (eds.), *Handbook of Social Psychology*, 2nd edition, Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1969.
9. For example, Eugene L. Horowitz, "Development of Attitudes Toward Negroes," in T. M. Newcomb and E. L. Hartley (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1947.

Business and Education: The Ever-Growing Chasm

M. R. Lupul

On the surface, the above subject might appear a very strange – perhaps even ridiculous – one to write about at this time. Certainly the cooperation between business and the schools has never been closer than it is at present. Business education, for example, is firmly established in all high schools and schools of business administration or commerce abound on North American campuses. The enormous growth in the 1960s of vocational education programs to accommodate the needs of business (euphemistically termed “society”) also illustrates the close relationship which exists between business and the schools. And, of course, the equally close relationship between business and higher education, which observant university students have noted in recent years, is now conventional wisdom. Perhaps less well known is the relationship which has been shown to exist between the techniques of management and the symbols of success in business and the techniques of administration and pupil reward in the schools. One of the earliest scholars to delineate the relationship, in terms which are remarkably contemporary, was Ellwood P. Cubberley who wrote in 1916:

Our schools are, in a sense, factories in which the raw products (children) are to be shaped and fashioned into products to meet the various demands of life. The specifications for manufacturing come from the demands of twentieth century civilization, and it is the business of the school to build its pupils according to the specifications laid down. This demands good tools, specialized machinery, continuous measurement of production to see if it is according to specifications, the elimination of waste in manufacture, and a large variety in the output.¹

In recent years we have merely carried this relationship to its most sophisticated level, and thanks to the efforts of enterprising school administrators, terms common in the world of business management such as "input-output," "public relations," "hardware," "feasibility," "cost benefit," "systems analysis," "strategies," even "futurology" (i.e. long-range planning!) have entered the jargon of professional education. Even so, the struggle of managers of school plants to hold their own with managers of industrial plants has not been without its frustrations. As one writer (to whom I am also indebted for some of the above terms) has recently put it:

Out of World War II, the engineering schools, the space race, the mass-production factories, the think tanks and the advertising budgets of the computer companies came the several concepts of: operations analysis, automation-cybernation, communication theory, systems engineering, and a vast further infusion of the information technology that has grown up with, and around, the computer.²

Nor have social and behavioural scientists helped to ease the burden of the up-to-date student of school management with concepts such as "motivational research," "depth interviews" and "personality testing."

A recent addition to this battery of manipulatory devices is 'sensitivity training,' a sort of secular, emotional revival meeting where the participants are encouraged to shed their benevolent human masks and show their diabolical innermost selves, not to God but to the Organization.

And fittingly enough, "This witch-hunt of the psyche has already been recommended for all those coming into teaching."³

It should be clear, then, that at every level of the educational system, it is the business community which not only calls the tune, but through obliging school administrators ensures that its techniques and ethos permeate the entire enterprise.⁴ But if this is so, how then can one speak of a chasm between business and education? Everything hinges on one's understanding of the term "education." Once one accepts business "education" as trade training pure and simple, schools of business administration, and various vocational studies (including *all* specialized programs, however suffused with so-called broadening subjects - history, literature, philos-

ophy, etc. – which have mainly professional or commercial goals), the gap between business and education becomes painfully evident. And, conversely, once one appreciates that education is essentially an inquiry into the meaning of life or a study of the purpose of existence on a twirling ball suspended in space with a life-sustaining atmosphere, some ninety-three million miles away from an indispensable but not always benevolent sun, the gap widens into a positive chasm.

This is so because business is fundamentally not interested in metaphysics. Subjects like the purpose of life, God, evil, the after-life, the origins of the universe and life itself, the source of values, the just society, the status of minority rights are all controversial and everyone knows that controversy is bad for business. Men in the factory or office who ask fundamental questions about why things are the way they are, men who seek justification for society's customs, including the ways of business, soon gain a reputation of being "hard-to-get-along-with types," even negative thinkers, in a business world which draws its inspiration from the positive thinking of apologists like President Nixon's favourite, the Rev. Dr. Norman Vincent Peale. Naturally, the "difficult types" become promotion problems, when they are retained at all. They are too unpredictable to be trusted; and since business success, according to the sacred canons of that other oracle of modern business, Dale Carnegie, depends upon winning friends and influencing people, it is not good business practice to employ thoughtful people who on any given day might undo the hard-won gains of costly public relations personnel.

As a result, with all the blame which the educational establishment itself must shoulder for allowing the business segment of the community to set the major direction of schooling in the 1960s,⁵ the main responsibility for the predominance of job training in today's schools must still rest with the business establishment. For it is the latter which sets the dominant values of our society and thus the main tone and direction of such institutions as the school. Of these values, one of the most important is that the extent of public expenditure should either be minimal to discourage socialism or socialistic thinking, or that the burden of any public enterprise on the taxpayer be as light as possible. As a result, the costs of education are regular front-page headlines yet, paradoxically, busi-

ness is more than willing to absorb the far greater costs of job training in the schools with nary a murmur. For it is well-known that job training not only requires equipment which is far more expensive than the most extravagant of literary and audio-visual resources for a good liberal education, but job training is conducted with daily teacher-pupil ratios which seldom exceed one hundred as compared to the two hundred-odd pupils which the non-vocational teacher will teach in an average day. The cynic might be tempted to conclude that any enterprise supported out of public funds or, in the simple ideology of the Chamber of Commerce and the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, "socialism," is quite acceptable as long as it is socialism which aids the business community!

The dangers to a democratic way of life of the ever-growing chasm between business and education are practically self-evident. First, there is the question of an ignorant electorate, or at best an electorate which, when it is not indifferent or just plain cynical towards politics, sees the latter as a form of entertainment, sometimes as an absorbing drama in which the final outcome is an emotional elevation of a Big Brother-like figure — a political saviour, vague on specific policies but strong on charisma, on whom one can unload the country's troubles and go fishing. The last federal election in Canada was a good example of the latter.⁶ The phoniness of democratic politics, however, does not bother the business community, for most members pride themselves in being realists and as such have long ago written off political democracy as a form of government to be taken seriously. Not that any businessman would admit as much publicly. In business, it is best not to tamper with the sacred, except to praise it. Social democracy, on the other hand, may openly be criticized and resisted. It could lead to democracy in the factory — the surest road to communism, and one on which our society has already travelled, pretty far, thanks to teachers (and their "pliable young minds") under the misguided influence of CCF-NDP propaganda!

The fact that ignorant consumers are also the result of the school's failure to educate does not bother the business community either, for who needs consumers who can see through commercials, who understand the true cost of buying on credit, and who appreciate the ways in which tax laws subsidize the living standards of

the very businessmen who inveigh against the welfare payments made to the many categories of unfortunate non-businessmen?

The above are long-standing dangers which the business community has cleverly turned into assets. Political and economic illiterates are, in fact, essential if business pressure groups are to succeed at the centres of political power. However, of late at least a few high school students have refused to follow in the meek footsteps of their fathers. They have come to realize that they are not getting an education in the schools.⁸ Some drop out, but most realize that there is no place for them in a business society which has decreed that without a Grade XII diploma (or better), there is little work. So they stay in school and "raise Cain." That is, they listen to their seniors in the New Left movement at the universities, become half-educated about the world around them, and ask their embarrassed teachers impertinent questions, which are, of course, quite irrelevant to the main business at hand, namely, the acquisition of attitudes, skills, and paper qualifications needed to get a job.

All this is most unfortunate, for if there is any one thing which emerges from current student unrest, it is that students (particularly at the senior high school level) want to be taken seriously. That is, they want to know why men must continue to hate each other; why war seems interminable; why men cannot trust each other; and all the other "whys" associated with such peculiarly human institutions as marriage, law and order, social class, and the whole range of customs, morals, and taboos. In short, what they want is a liberal education, even if it begins and ends with the twentieth century, or even just the post-World War II world. They are particularly interested in and appalled by the gap which exists between democracy as an ideal and the "democracy" they see about them. And they want to know why the gap has to be so wide.⁹

The world of business had best be forewarned, therefore, that the weaknesses of today's public schools are readily detectable and that some high school students are becoming increasingly impatient with the manipulative techniques of school management. They also realize that they are being cheated out of a right as important as liberty itself, namely, the right to an education which justifies the ways of man to man and not merely sanctimoniously sanctions them. And when the dike does finally break (as it already has at

the universities), businessmen should know that the main responsibility will be theirs, for it is their values and techniques which the schools largely reflect and the narrow needs of their enterprises which the schools mainly serve at present.

Notes and References

1. E. P. Cubberley, *Public School Administration*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916, pp. 337-38, quoted in R. G. Corwin, *A Sociology of Education*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965, p. 80.
2. H. Hay, "How Is The Teacher To Do His Own Thing, Baked In This Structured Togetherness?" *Monday Morning*, Vol. III, 9, (May 1969), p. 31.
3. *Ibid.* For a more balanced, critical assessment of 'sensitivity training,' see T. Borton, "Reach, Touch, and Teach," *Saturday Review*, January 18, 1969, pp. 56-58+.
4. This point is well-developed in Corwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-81.
5. The writer has discussed this aspect of the question in "Commercialism and Vocationalism in Contemporary Canadian Education — A Criticism and A Plea," *Canadian Education and Research Digest*, Vol. VI, 4 (December 1966), pp. 331-41.
6. See D. Peacock, *Journey to Power: The Story of a Canadian Election*, Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1968, especially pp. 333-47.
7. Editorial headline in *The Edmonton Journal*, January 16, 1970, carrying in full the reply of *The Vancouver Sun's* editor to a mother's request for information on "How the United States is exploiting the resources and industries of Canada," assigned by a Port Alberni Grade XII teacher with an "apparent bias," an "assumption (which) is the stock-in-trade of the ultra left-wing Watkins faction in the New Democratic Party." After providing the usual defence of U.S. investment in Canada, the *Sun's* editor concluded: "Without that kind of exploitation, the Port Alberni school district would be hard put to pay the salary of the teacher who assigned the essay topic." The moral is as clear as it is old: "Do not bite the hand that feeds you."
8. On this subject, see almost any issue of *This Magazine Is About Schools*, published since April 1966 by the Everdale Place, a free school near Toronto. Valuable also is the 16 mm., half-hour movie, "No Reason To Stay," produced by the National Film Board of Canada from a script written originally by a high school student.
9. Based on the writer's participation in "The Forum Club," Strathcona Composite High School, Edmonton, Alberta, November 12, 1969. See also P. Goodman, *Compulsory Mis-education*, New York: Horizon Press, 1964, especially pp. 84-97 for an able analysis of the many questions and behavioural dilemmas which face today's youth.

L'École, le Changement, la Diversité

Laurier L. LaPierre

Notre propos concerne la signification humaine de la communication et le devenir collectif de communautés culturelles distinctes, partageant un même territoire, et disposant l'une et l'autre de ressources distinctes telles qu'elles sont appelées à durer dans l'histoire prévisible. Les relations diverses qui caractérisent l'existence commune des Québécois francophones et anglophones, la nécessité de leur rencontre quotidienne au travail, aux loisirs, etc. posent d'un manière pratique un problème universel; celui des rapports entre majorité et minorité, celui des rapports entre les cultures, entre les hommes. Ces rapports sont des rapports vécus. Il est bien inutile de les extraire du réel vécu pour les poser abstraitement hors contexte devant un quelconque tribunal. Dans la vie quotidienne, ces rapports sont ambigus. Ici la majorité a la vive conscience de sa position minoritaire; ce n'est que récemment qu'elle a pris conscience qu'au Québec, elle forme une majorité. D'autre part, la minorité anglophone se découvre, à l'occasion des débats actuels (Bill 63, Bill 62) comme une minorité disposant de moyens puissants sans doute, mais désormais obligée de penser son avenir dans des termes nouveaux, pour la première fois peut-être, obligée de

briser la bonne conscience et la sécurité d'une position sociale et économique, d'une influence politique disproportionnée. Le moment est venu, pour ce groupe, de rompre avec un univers, un domaine privilégié, et de prendre sa place qui est réelle et en même temps précise, au sein de la collectivité québécoise. Dans la nouvelle affirmation qu'elle fait d'elle-même, la majorité ne doit pas céder aux invitations redoutables d'une position de force en tant que groupe majoritaire ou au prestige temporaire d'élite sans racine profonde et qui a la malheureuse habitude de se prendre pour la nation. En organisant son existence collective, la majorité n'est coupable que d'un seul crime, celui de ne pas l'avoir fait plus tôt. Cette nouvelle organisation des rapports humains, des rapports entre la société et son avenir et la connaissance, bouleverse un "désordre établi" et risque de transformer la pratique sociale. Les aspirations sociales et économiques, les exigences culturelles de la majorité se modifient. A mesure que le changement affecte de nouvelles dimensions de l'existence collective ou individuelle, naissent en même temps la réflexion et la revendication figées quelquefois et des doctrines rigides, ou porteuses d'aspirations et d'exigences incompressibles.

Je me demande ce que l'Ecole dit de ces transformations. Sans en faire une servante de la politique, ce qu'elle n'est pas et ce qu'elle ne doit jamais devenir, on peut penser que sa fonction n'est pas étrangère à la présentation et à l'appréciation de la culture propre et des cultures autres. Ceci n'a rien à voir avec le régime politique. Le Québec pourrait être indépendant, souverain, province canadienne, le rôle d'analyse de la société qui est le sien, la fonction de révélateur des cultures qui est la sienne, ne changeraient pas. Je me demande ce que l'école française au Québec révèle des cultures immédiates, canadiennes-anglaises et américaines et ce que les écoles anglaises du Québec révèlent de la culture du Canada français. Jusqu'ici, ce que nous avons surtout vérifié, c'est l'incapacité des deux systèmes à enseigner proprement une seconde langue. La langue est un élément important de la mosaïque, elle en est comme la signification, mais elle n'est pas toute la mosaïque. Faut-il encore savoir ce qu'une langue porte et crée :

Nos systèmes scolaires sont bornés. Que disons-nous à nos fils et filles de dix ans sur l'Asie où vivra dans vingt ans (quand

nos fils et nos filles auront trente ans) la moitié de l'humanité? Que leur apprenons-nous sur les hommes et les femmes, sur les cultures immédiates qu'ils fréquenteront, avec lesquelles ils auront, dans la discussion et au sein de la pratique sociale, à vivre quotidiennement. Dans ces temps troublés et exaltants qui sont les nôtres, comment inventer l'équilibre personnel et collectif au sein du changement? Voilà une question qui concerne l'Ecole. Voilà une question qui concerne tous ceux qui, au Québec, ont fait l'option du raisonnable sur le fanatisme, de la justice sur les privilèges, du changement sur le statu quo.

Adolescence — A Cultural Dilemma

Sidney Lecker

Alienation, militancy, bizarre dress and drug abuse are four characteristics often associated with adolescents, as individuals or as groups. If these associations gel into a superordinate category of "Hippie" or "Yippie," the response of the adult world is, at least, hostile, if not frantic. What is it in current youth culture that so disturbs contemporary adult society? What is it in adult society that has given rise to a distinctive youth culture? What are the effects of two coexisting cultures on society, the family, and the individual? How are we going to cope with, if not integrate these two cultures? These are the issues addressed, incompletely to be sure, in this paper.

Parsons and Bales¹ presented a theory of socialization in which personality development was construed as a process of inner differentiation brought about by the child's participation in, and identification with, a system of intrafamilial social relationships. Their conceptualization of personality development complements those expounded by Freud, Erik Erikson, and others, using a psychoanalytical framework to understand personality development, in that the inner unfolding of ego potentialities must be facilitated by an interaction process with significant individuals in the environment. Whatever combination of theories one uses as a frame

of reference, the sequence of interactions between child and parent, child and family, child and peer group, child and outer world remains a consistent feature. If, as Erikson has said², there is a necessary cogwheeling of life cycles between the nurturing adult and the child, how has it come about that we have passed a cultural crossroads with a distinctive adult culture on the one hand and a strong and widespread youth culture on the other hand? That these cultures should be so inimical to each other can be understood in terms of the developmental process of adolescence — the adolescent needs to reject the parent in the process of denying his own weakness and searching for his own identity. That this rejection of the parent should have become as institutionalized in degree and extent that it has today, is a matter of deep concern and demands attempts at explanation.

The Family, Conflicts, and Communication

Consider the following imaginary, yet typical, vignette: A teenager is being driven to school by his father, a successful business executive. The youngster tries to use the brief ride to school as an opportunity for dialogue but can't seem to get around to saying something that is on his mind. The father, equally uncomfortable, retreats to a barrage of routine questions on the order of: "How are things going at school?"; "Why don't you get a haircut?"; "Do you know any pushers at your school?" By manner of delivery he conveys a message of: "Don't tell me anything I don't want to hear." If they discuss an issue like Vietnam, the father sympathizes with the anti-war posture but is quick to condemn equally the Yippies, S.D.S., and other militant youth factions.

The son escapes from this discomfort when they arrive at his high school — an institution of 2500 or more students. In his day at school, he rotates to many classrooms where he is lectured at by busy, underpaid educators who are finding it increasingly difficult to remember their students' names, let alone their individual differences.

In the routine of his daily work, the father engages in various tasks in the furtherance of his company's economic welfare. These

involve a sales campaign in which it is decided to sell the company's product by associating it with sex, the relief of anxiety, a well known sports figure's image, and the reckless pursuit of pleasure. If it is an automobile being sold, it might carry the name (as one automobile, in fact, does) "The Eliminator." If the product is a snowmobile, it might carry the name "T.N.T." If the item is an alcoholic beverage, or a tobacco product, freedom from loneliness could be emphasized, as in the commercial that says, "Me and my Winston, we've got a real good thing."

The profit picture of the company is further enhanced as father has an astute tax advisor who recommends that the company take advantage of depreciation tax shelters to avoid paying tax on the company's full income. If a labour negotiation makes up a part of the father's day, he, as a representative of management, is required to take a stand favouring the preservation of the company's profit margin, even if a price increase should result. This is contrary to the demands of labour for a larger share of profits combined with stable prices to preserve the value of the dollars earned.

Returning home that evening, the father finds his son and wife in a heated argument triggered off by the son's having been reported by the school to be a user of marihuana. Inevitably, the parents say, "How could you do this to us after all that we do for you?"

Although this example focused predominantly on the father's daily life in his work role, let us assume that mother and son conducted themselves completely in accordance with the demands of their own social systems. An analysis would then reveal three individuals, although living in the same family, existing in three separate social systems. The father, in the world of industry; the son, in the world of his peers and his high school; and the mother, in the world of her neighbourhood friends and women's organizations.

John Kenneth Galbraith³, in his description of the contemporary executive quotes one as saying, "How can you overwork . . . if your work is your life?" He goes on to demonstrate that behaviour like that illustrated in the above vignette is consistent with

current industrial needs and that the survival of a complex technological state depends upon the creation of reliable demand so that production levels can be assured and stable contracts with labour can be negotiated. If, in the process of creating this demand, it is necessary to abuse the emotions of love, anxiety, hero-worship, and so forth . . . is this not a small price to pay for affluence? The adolescent, I suggest, feels the price is too high. He enshrines these emotions by the creation of a youth culture which has, as one of its practices, the use of drugs to heighten the perception of emotions. If we look back at the process of our own adolescent development, we can recall that this was a time when, despite conflict with our parents, we sought out and tried to emulate adults. These might have been a sports figure, a politician, or a favourite aunt. In contemporary society (due to geographic mobility), the old friend of the family or relative may not live nearby. The "hero" is gone — his credibility lost for youth by his association with sales campaigns. Even credible heroes like the astronauts, have become tarnished by youth's resentment of the money spent on space exploration that could be used to relieve poverty. The contemporary teenager finds his peer group to be the only uncontaminated one.

The father typically espouses much higher moral values than the greed which underpins most of his decision-making at work. The adolescent equivalent of his use of legal tax loopholes would probably be branded "delinquent" or even "morally corrupt."

Kenneth Keniston⁴ has described the family of both the alienated and protesting youth as having a father who espouses certain values but does not practice them. The insistence of the younger generation that the adult society practice Christian values is no more than the completion of a feedback loop in the socialization process. The reluctance of parents, and particularly fathers, to become involved in community activities that emphasize the expression of feelings of a humanitarian kind, is a strong alienating force in the life of the teenager. The interruption of the socialization process comes about when the parent refuses to live by the values he holds up to youth. The rejection of adult society is then an outcome of the child's acceptance of values initially presented to him as ideals but not preserved as goals within contemporary adult society.

Had we extended the above vignette to include the mother's day, we would have been able to reveal similar major conflicts between the needs and goals of her social system, and the demands and practices of the father's. A specific example of this is the current demand in industry that a man be prepared to accept geographic mobility as "part of the bargain" of working for a company, if promotion and success are to be pursued as goals.⁵ In fact, there are definite correlations between economic success on the one hand and geographic mobility on the other hand.⁶ How then does this affect the mother's life? The evidence is that an important stabilizer for the woman in our society is her network of local attachments to people and institutions which correlates with length of residence in a locality or localized kinship.⁷ Young and Willmott have described the extended family as "the woman's trade union, organized in the main by women and for women, its solidarity her protection against being alone. It is, to judge by anthropology, almost a universal rule that when married life is insecure, the wife turns for support to her family of origin, so that a weak marriage tie produces a strong blood tie."⁸ Living far from relatives, and moving frequently, she cannot maintain or create these attachments that are necessary for stability in her life. The adolescent, in the process of developing social skills, also suffers in frequent family moves. His network of friends, which is all-important to him, is taken from him by the dictates of father's job. We can see, therefore, that the adult world as represented by the father's social system is in major conflict with the value system of his adolescent child and with the needs of his wife for a close attachment to kin and the community relationships. Moreover, it is significant that all three individuals, when moving only within their own social systems, can remain free of conflict and derive some measure of satisfaction. It is only when they communicate, that there is a chance that their behaviour, attitudes and feelings may come into conflict. A wife, wishing to promote her husband's success in business, may have to grow insensitive to her need for close kinship or friendship ties. If she remains sensitive to these needs, she must not express them lest they conflict with a promotive move for the husband. In the light of this, we should ask ourselves not why there are barriers to communication and "generation gaps," but why it is that people within a family communicate at all?

The School As An Agency of Socialization

It is incumbent upon those who are concerned with the development of the young to assess the educational climate of the school in the light of its socialization function. Some evidence would suggest that motivation⁹ and leadership ability can be affected by the structure and size of the school. Baird states, "It seems reasonable to think that talent will not develop unless it is used. If small institutions make accomplishment more accessible to talented students, it seems plausible to expect that these students would follow their talents. In addition, students who participate will have opportunities to explore their interests and talents."¹⁰ However, if we look at the current educational system, student interest seems to decline in proportion to the growth in the size of the educational institution with its attendant depersonalization. The school, as a representative of adult authority, can unintentionally foster the rebelliousness typical of adolescence and become a "protest-promoting institution."¹¹

Adult institutions provide targets for rejection and hostility and young people find within these institutions, reasons to rationalize their inner need to reject anything "adult." In addition to this predisposition for conflict, there is ample explanation as to why youth culture should have begun to flourish as it has in recent years. Underpinnings for its strength come from the attitudes which prevail within the youth culture. There is an unconditional acceptance of an individual by his peers and a reverent respect for another's autonomy. Emotional contact — which may be lacking everywhere else in the adolescent's world, is a high-light of interpersonal relationships. Within the group there is power to influence members, in contrast with the powerlessness that a youngster feels within his family or within his school, where he is often a non-participant in the decision-making process. There exists a value system that is idealistic and unchallenged by practical demands, in contrast with the parents' values which may have been compromised by the exigencies of "reality," greed, or neurotic conflicts. The peer group recognizes and supports the healthy aspects of the adolescent's ego rather than reminding him of his weaknesses. This is in contrast with parents who usually anticipate the worst and try to intrude and control; or a school system that is geared to reminding

a child of infractions of rules or academic short-comings, rather than to rewarding him for leadership or humanitarian potential. Based on the idealistic present, the youth culture promises the youngster a future which is happier than the life and community created for him by his parents.

Drugs and the Youth Culture

In the light of the cultural dilemma confronting youth, and the vicissitudes of development during the adolescent phase, one can explain why drugs fit so well into the contemporary youth picture.

1. By their pharmacological effects, many of the "soft" drugs relieve feelings of depression and anxiety, including those that adolescents feel in the process of giving up their parents as figures of identification.
2. The taking of drugs may symbolize the rejection of parental values but, at the same time, it is an imitation of parental behaviour which, in current society, is marked by the ingestion of tranquillizers and alcohol.
3. Another symbolic meaning to drug use is that it emphasizes the autonomy of the individual and the exercise of freedom from parental controls.
4. The psychedelic drugs, in particular, give intense feelings of significance to events that, without the drug, have little meaning. An alienated person may have intense feelings of meaninglessness than can be counteracted by the hallucinogenic group of drugs.
5. The setting for the use of drugs is usually in a peer group, in pleasant surroundings with appropriate music. The intense pleasurable feelings produced by the drug become associated with this setting, in contrast to other environments in which the youngster is involved. By comparison, all other experiences tend to take on a bland, meaningless complexion.

Bridges Across The Cultural Gap

If a cultural gap exists, it is an external projection of an internal discrepancy within the individual adult concerning his behaviour, attitudes and feelings. What he sees in youth that he cannot accept are the idealistic goals that he once felt were his but was later forced to abandon. Having buried them, he has been able to come to terms with the demands of his life as an adult. The adolescent reminds him of a conflict that lies buried within himself — the humanitarian striving versus the behaviour that has been chosen by him as expedient within his social system. Consequently, each individual has the potentiality for reducing the generation gap in terms of his ability to perceive and express his humanitarian instincts. When these have been reconciled, there is likely to be very little barrier between the generations. The adult would then likely find that youngsters reach out to him in hunger for healthy dialogue. Having been able to enter "the other world," the adult can assess his own abilities to develop the strengths within the youth culture. The positive interaction among the young, together with their tolerance for personal differences, is a potent tool they can use in support of each other, whether in school, recreational or clinical settings. Nothing is more illustrative of this than the numerous indigenous self-help clinics that have sprung up in the youth ghettos all over North America.

Current programs for youth must allow the young participation and access to power. Participation in the decision-making process need not mean domination by youth (as parents and authorities usually fear). Experience has already shown¹² that participation in the educational process can be a potent way of "turning on" young people.

If we use Keniston's data in a predictive and preventive sense, the way to avoid alienation in youth is for parents to involve themselves in community affairs in such a way as to demonstrate their humanitarian impulses through action as well as attitudes. A preliminary to a reconciliation of feeling, attitudes and behaviour often comes with involvement in programs stressing self-awareness, such as Encounter or T-groups.

Summary

If we look at our contemporary society, we find within it at least three coexisting social systems. These are centered around the father and industry; the mother, her family and community; and the youngster, his peer group and the school. In the current cultural climate promoted and sustained by the "New Industrial State," the goals and practices of these social systems are often incompatible in major ways. This leads to pressures towards alienation of youth and the reduction of dialogue between family members. Programs to reverse these trends would stress self-help and responsibility of young people for planning and accepting the consequences of their own behaviour. Such approaches would also encourage community participation and emotional sensitization for parents. These would reduce the gap between feelings, attitudes and behaviour, now revealed as a gap between adult and youth cultures.

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Rapid Socio-Cultural Change and Student Mental Health

Ronald M. Wintrob

PART II — A COMPARISON OF FINDINGS*

In order to clarify the data on inter-generational and identity conflict of Cree and Liberian students experiencing conditions of rapid socio-cultural change, comparisons will be drawn along three parameters: 1) attitudes toward education, 2) the influence of beliefs in witchcraft and spirit possession, and 3) defence mechanisms employed to cope with role conflict. Finally, the question of resolution of identity conflict is considered and hypotheses formulated for further study.

Attitudes Toward Education

A four-stage scale can be constructed to account for modifications in adult attitudes toward education under the impact of acculturative changes, ranging from strong opposition through stages of ambivalence and selective valuation of the student, to a final position of projective identification with the student. These stages may be seen to correspond roughly to the student's achievement level. It should be borne in mind, however, that while one particular stage may be characteristic of a society at a given point in time, there will inevitably be some degree of attitudinal variation within that society.

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The process of culture change is initiated by limited but increasing contact of one culture with another. Traditional societies begin to interface with, but not interact with, elements of the "Western" industrial society. This *interface* period is characterized by guarded exploration (and sometimes by bemused curiosity as well) about the attitudes and behaviour of the unfamiliar group, but meaningful communication and mutual learning are extremely limited. As culture contact increases and the system of education of the industrial society is introduced, conflict with the traditional enculturation process, its educational methods and its authority structure results in firm opposition to the encroaching educational system. This stage of strong resistance to children's breaking with tradition was representative of the Mistassini Cree until the present decade. It is encountered among some Liberian tribes, but is not characteristic of those coastal and interior tribes which have been exposed to the major thrust of recent developments in Liberia.

As socio-cultural change proceeds, the stage of opposition shades into that of ambivalence. At this stage, the adults of the tribe remain opposed to prolonged education and insist that children stop school after two, three, or four years, in order to fully participate in the traditional religious and economic life of the tribe. However, they recognize a need that some members of the tribe should be able to communicate effectively with representatives of the "Western" culture; government officials, potential employers, storekeep-

SCALE OF ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION

<i>Student Achievement Level</i>	<i>Stage of Adult Valuation of Student</i>
Limited Language Skills (Minimal Literacy)	Opposition (Initial Interface Experiences)
Advanced Language Skills (Fluency and Literacy)	Ambivalence (Cultural Broker Experiences)
Limited Occupational Skills (Trades)	Selective Valuation (Family Aggrandizement)
Advanced Occupational Skills (Management & Professions)	Projective Identification (Reflected Prestige)

ers, and others with whom there is increasingly frequent and meaningful contact. Students who have become skilled in speaking and writing English (or French) become valued as "cultural brokers," thus making it unnecessary for the adults of the interacting cultures to develop the kind of close contact that is anxiety-provoking to both.¹⁶ To the extent that the student's role as "cultural broker" arouses feelings of resentment and inadequacy in those adults of the tribe who become dependent on him, the intergenerational conflict is exacerbated and adult ambivalence toward the student and toward formal education becomes intensified. The feeling will then predominate in the tribe that a few years of schooling are useful, but that the student should return home in sufficient time to learn traditional adult roles. This is the position most characteristic of the Cree at present, and is seen with some frequency in Liberia as well.

The following stage of "selective valuation," widely encountered in Liberia, is just emerging as an important stage for the Cree. The student has achieved sufficient occupational ability to function as a skilled or semi-skilled worker, as a heavy-equipment operator or miner, draughtsman, carpenter, or electrician. Female students are able to fill jobs as office or store clerks, secretaries or nursing assistants. At this point geographical mobility often occurs, with a shift toward urban life style. The extended family begins to conceive of the student as an important source of material support. Parents begin to recognize the economic potential of education and urge their children to go to school so that they will be able to get a good job. A wide range of expectations is focused on the student as one whose level of interaction and integration with the dominant culture is such that he can arrange for employment, education, social welfare, and other services for any members of the family who call on him for assistance.¹⁷ The student feels obliged to comply with these family expectations which are often quite unrealistic. The anxiety aroused by this situation becomes incapacitating for those students who feel caught in a vise between the desire to pursue their education and the mounting demands of their family. However, there is a sharp distinction between Cree and Liberian students with respect to the motivation underlying their feelings of obligation toward family expectations. Cree students are motivated by profound feelings of responsibility toward

the kin group, based on the internalized culturally-shared high valuation of generosity. Liberian students, on the other hand, are primarily motivated by fears of retaliation by the kin group and the need to neutralize the threat of reprisal by witchcraft induced by angry relatives.

The final stage of attitudinal change is represented by "projective identification." At this stage the student has achieved a level of education that prepares him for managerial or professional status as well as integration in the urban industrial society. At the same time, continuing intercultural contact has encouraged a shift in values among the adults such that their status within the tribe, as well as their emotional gratification, is measured to an important degree by the acculturative success of their children. In Liberia this pattern is just emerging at present, while for the Cree it has not yet become identifiable in any meaningful sense.

The Influence of Witchcraft and Spirit Possession

Beliefs in witchcraft and spirit possession are fundamental to most Liberian tribes and play a decisive role in shaping behaviour. Fears of "being witched," or being "humbugged by geni" dominate interpersonal relations. These beliefs cross generational boundaries and are shared by virtually all members of the tribe. The desire to protect oneself from malevolent practices initiated by jealous peers or relatives encourages guardedness and inhibits cooperation. There is a strong tendency to interpret adversity of all kinds in terms of witchcraft.

Beliefs in witchcraft and spirit possession do not permeate Cree culture and shape interpersonal relations to the same degree. The fundamental difference is that the Cree do not attribute responsibility for witchcraft to their own kin, but rather to members of another band within the tribe or to non-kin within their own band. Such beliefs do exist, however, and come prominently into play when isolated hunting groups are faced with the threat of starvation. At such times it is often felt that malevolent shamans have invoked witchcraft to drive the beaver, moose, and bear away from the hunters.¹⁸ It is also believed that, when faced with starvation, some hunters would become possessed by the cannibalistic "Witiko" monster.¹⁹ Hallowell stresses that fear of serious illness or accident

occurring in the isolation of the hunting territory could generate intense anxiety, and that even slow recovery from minor illness tends to be interpreted in terms of witchcraft. However, the strength of these beliefs has diminished to the extent that adversity, illness and death attributed to external influence are far more characteristic of the older generation of Cree than of the student generation.

Role Conflict and Mechanisms of Defense

Differences in the cultural belief systems are reflected in the characteristic defense mechanisms utilized to cope with anxiety generated by role conflict. In Liberia, where witchcraft beliefs continue to play a dominant role in the psychic organization, intense anxiety is defended against by denial and projection.²⁰ Liberian students, who through their pursuit of Western education, come to identify with the value system of the urban, industrial society are acutely aware that they are defying tradition and drawing upon themselves the hostility of their elders and many of their peers. Owing to their dependence on group approval²¹ and their tendency toward superego projection²², this hostility is felt to be a grave threat to their physical and mental well-being. Fears of academic failure that would necessitate the student's return to a potentially hostile kin group and tribal authority structure are repressed and denied. Aggressive retaliatory impulses toward authority figures and competing peers rising from those fears of failure, are projected and emerge into conscious expression as convictions of witchcraft intervention or spirit possession. Fears of failure and of tribal retribution are thus re-interpreted in magical terms in accordance with an internalized traditional belief system, as evidence of external interference with the student's competent functioning. These projective mechanisms serve to arouse sympathy and support and neutralize hostility among family and peers, since the student's beliefs are readily understood and shared by the tribe.²³ This in turn may relieve the student's anxiety to the point that he may either become reintegrated within the family and tribe, or be better able to direct his emotional energies toward his academic goals. It is only if the student's identity conflict is of such magnitude that these defences are insufficient to cope with the anxiety aroused by it that the defences miscarry and ego regression follows.

For the Cree student, fears of being harmed by witchcraft do not assume a central role in psychic functioning. But individual competence, self-reliance, and sensitivity to the needs of the kin group are of major importance, and conflict in identity role brings with it considerable anxiety over these important elements of the student's self-image. Threats to the student's self-image, provoked by fears of failure and feelings of inadequacy in his educational aspirations, are reinforced by feelings of guilt over his continuing inability to contribute to the support of the family. His increasing reluctance to fulfill the traditional role expectations of his kin group exacerbates feelings of guilt and contributes to a growing fear of rejection by his family. The degree to which feelings of guilt and fears of rejection constitute a threat to the stability of the student's self-image will depend on the extent of family opposition to the student's aspirations. Aggressive impulses aroused by these threats to the student's self-image are dealt with by means of introjection, rather than projection as in Liberia. Spiraling feelings of guilt over insensitivity to the needs of the family, and anxiety about rejection by the kin group, give rise to a sense of hopeless isolation and to a complex of symptoms consistent with a clinical diagnosis of depression.

Where introjective defences miscarry, regression tends to follow a pattern of gradual social and emotional withdrawal, rather than the rapid development of aggressive, grandiose and paranoid manifestations typical of Liberian students. These differences in defence mechanisms and in manifest psychopathology reflect the essential distinguishing features of cultural emphasis on cooperation and responsibility toward the group on the part of the Cree, in contrast to the preoccupation with witchcraft and suspiciousness toward the group characteristic of Liberian tribes.

The Resolution of Identity Conflict

Is it possible, building on comparative descriptive findings on identity conflict for Cree and Liberian students, to advance hypotheses concerning the possible means of resolution of identity conflict among students experiencing conditions of rapid social and cultural change?²⁴

Preliminary analysis of available data suggests that attempts at an unconscious level to resolve identity conflict follow one of three major directions: 1) polarization toward the "acculturated" identity model represented by the working class or middle class individual in an urban, industrial society; 2) polarization toward the "traditional" identity model represented by the older generation of the tribe; or 3) a synthesis of the two models.²⁵ It is hypothesized that the factors determining the direction of conflict resolution in individual cases will be: a) the age at which the individual starts school, b) the extent to which the student has internalized feelings of rejection in family relationships during pre-school years, c) the degree to which he develops positive affective ties with teachers, counsellors, foster families, or other individuals who serve as identity models representative of the industrial society, d) the attitude of the kin group toward the student's educational aspirations, or otherwise expressed, the degree of inter-generational conflict over formal education, and e) the extent to which the student's aspirations are consistent with his potential to achieve them. Detailed information is presently being analyzed on these factors as they influence a group of 109 Cree adolescent students of the Waswanipi and Mistassini bands.²⁶

Preliminary analysis suggests that successful synthesis of identity models requires relatively conflict-free pre-school family relationships, parental support or at least absence of opposition toward the student's educational goals, positive affective relationships with individuals representative of the industrial society, and availability of resources that would allow for the achievement of occupational goals and for status recognition within the industrial society. This in turn depends on the degree to which the urban, industrial society is prepared to accord recognition and status to those tribal youths whose education and skills have equipped them for active participation, and on the availability of desirable employment possibilities within or close to the region inhabited by the tribe, so that status recognition will be possible within the context of the extended family and the tribe. Where these favourable circumstances are present, it is hypothesized that older siblings who have completed their education will increasingly serve as models for the successful synthesis of identity roles, and to the extent that these older siblings are able to work through the intra-familial

conflict generated by their own educational aspirations, siblings currently in school will encounter less family opposition.

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sented at the annual meeting, African Studies Association, New York, November, 1967), who considers identity conflict as one important variable influencing problem-solving among students in Nigeria and has developed a paradigm to explain "predispositions of modernizing youth to resort to political and criminal solutions to their plight."

25. A more complete discussion is contained in R. M. Wintrob & P. S. Sindell, "Education and Identity Conflict among Cree Indian Youth: A Preliminary Report," ARDA, Department of Forestry and Rural Development, mimeo., 1968.
26. This work on education and identity conflict among Cree youth is being carried out by the author in association with Peter S. Sindell, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, McGill University. Financial support for this research has been provided by the Laidlaw Foundation.

CONFLUENCES AND GAPS

Poverty has been discovered in affluent Canada. It is acknowledged that inequities exist in the "Just Society." There are significant differences between schools — from province to province; from inner-city, to suburban, to rural areas. There is a recognized gap between the opportunity, achievement, prosperity and longevity of the "average" Canadian and those of Canada's native peoples and of other Canadians who happen not to have white skins.

Some of Canada's "coloured" children attend regular schools along with other children of their neighbourhoods; some attend special schools. Most follow courses of study prescribed for all children in the province; some study special curricula. Some have teachers of their own race; others have "white" teachers.

Which is better?



Children and their teacher at Paladi Public School, Paladi, B.C.

Does a special curriculum doom these children to life outside the mainstream of Canadian society and condemn them to second-class citizenship? Or does it really recognize their unique needs?

Does a "native" teacher relate better to the pupils? Or does a "European" have more to offer?

Does the similarity or the difference make for greater equity?

Which helps to lessen deprivation?

How much do good intentions only serve to widen the gaps?



Leah, Eskimo teacher at Resolute Bay, N.W.T.



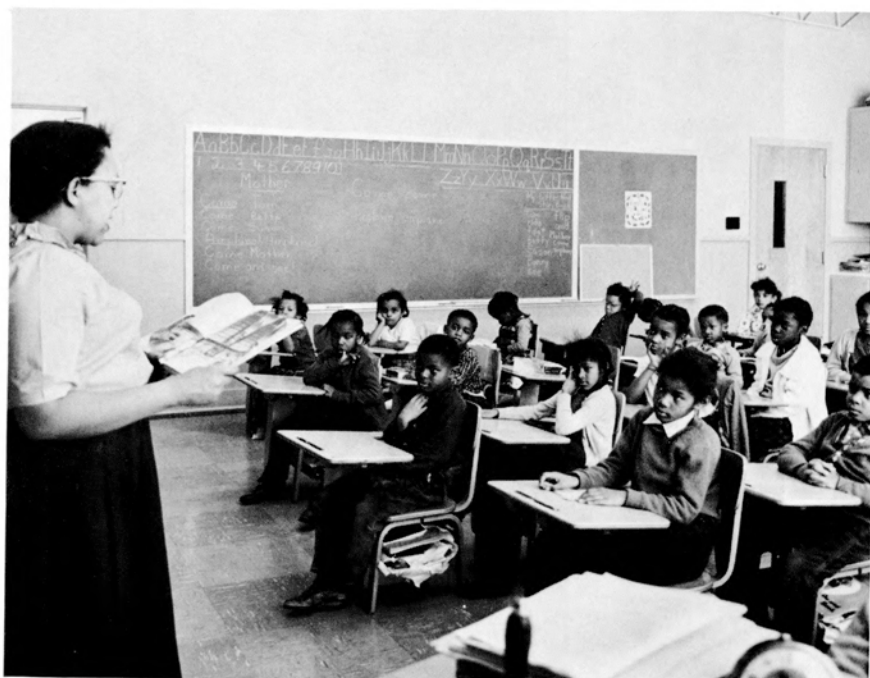
Students at the Japanese Language School, Vancouver, B.C.



In the above picture, young Eskimo and Indian children at the Federal School, Inuvik, N.W.T., seem happily unaware of a clash of cultures as they look, look and see Spot run with Dick and Jane.



Indian children at the Old Masset Public School,
Queen Charlotte Islands, B.C.



A classroom at Lucasville, N.S.

THE DROP-OUT

Jo McIntosh

Early morning sees the usual panic; five competing for occupancy of the only bathroom; boys declaring porridge is "euchh;" Father searching for his car keys. Why then this gloom, this sense of doom? Can it be Friday the 13th or the Ides of March?

Neither, smirks the calendar. It's observation day at the nursery school. The two year old is welcome but the dog is not.

One out of the house, now two — three to go. One eye on the clock; haul out snowsuits, mitts, hats, scarves, boots. The two year old won't wear "those" mitts. Scrabble for more in the all-sorts box. What are three shrivelled coconuts doing in there?

Two india-rubber offspring wrestle on the floor; call them to attention; announce we must hurry; produce the snowsuits; rigor mortis sets in. Mash arms and legs into snowsuits and feet into soggy boots.

Finished.

"I need to go to the bathroom."

Contemplate strangulation or a karate chop to the back of the ear.

Hurry! Scurry! Lug on the snowsuit a second time. The zipper's stuck. Wish I were a career girl.

Ready to leave.

Hell's delight! Freezing rain. Driving one and dragging the other, we slither across the park. At last the school.

"Why are you crying?"

"I lost my mitt."

Enter the building. Temperature 120°. I feel faint. Observe a gaggle of mothers on baby bear chairs. Sit down gingerly, expecting baby bear results. Place looks like a rummage sale; clothes up to the ceiling. Principal waves her magic wand and they all disappear.

"Good morning, children. Bonjour, mes enfants."

Dutifully, the children respond. Mothers smile fatuously at their progeny. My sons shape up well. Intelligent, healthy, kids to be proud of.

"Now we'll all sing "Baa-Baa Black Sheep," bleats the principal — "in our best voices for the mothers."

I grin, knowing my son's rendition.

Baa-Baa Black Sheep
Had a farm
Up above the world so high
Like a varmint in the sky.

"Baa-Baa Black Sheep" comes through loud and clear. Plugging his mouth with his thumb, my son surveys the ceiling, while his brother wanders off to another room.

"Children, would you like to be galloping horses this morning?"

A chorus of "Yes-es."

Clockwise, children and staff prance wildly around the room. My lulu gallops the opposite way, knocking 'em down like ninepins.

"Who IS that child?" whispers a mother.

I'm a deaf mute with a frozen smile.

For six months these children have been learning French. I didn't know. They've learned the "Lord's Prayer." I didn't know that either. It is now perfectly clear that my son knows neither French nor English.

"Sit down please, children."

Mine stands.

"Lie down on the floor."

Mine lunges across the room.

"Where's Scott?" he demands.

Now everyone knows whose child he is.

"Go back to your place," I plead.

"NO."

"Now we'll do some finger painting," authority commands.

Saved by the bell.

But finger painting! The mind boggles at the thought. A wet paper, three blobs of gloppy paint and they're away.

"Finger tips only," shrills the teacher.

Too late. My fellow's already up to his elbows. The work is displayed on the walls. Ours is the only unintelligible blurb.

Now to the playroom. My son is reborn. He hammers nails; hammers his brother, hammers everyone in sight.

The principal wants a word with me.

"I'm sure you must have noticed that your son is not really co-operating here. He doesn't appear to be *ready* for nursery school. But of course, he IS young."

I clutch at straws.

"That big boy over there doesn't participate much."

"Ah, he's retarded, you know."

Silence.

What conclusions must I draw?

"I suggest you send him to school only if he *really* wants to come," says the principal.

"You mean he's EXPELLED?"

"Oh, no, not expelled. But don't pressure him."

Well, I knew he was no Einstein, but a nursery school drop-out!

Mercifully, it's over.

"Lundi, mardi, mercredi, jeudi, vendredi, samedi, dimanche," burbles my idiot child. "Why do we die? When will I get dead? Are God's legs hanging out of the sky?"

Home.

I am depressed all day.

Écrivain et professeur

Jacques Brault

Oui, je crois maintenant qu'écrire et enseigner ne forment qu'une seule et même activité. Cette conclusion, propre à mon cas personnel, je n'oserais en faire une règle générale. La plupart des écrivains pratiquent le "second métier," ils sont notaires, médecins, diplomates, journalistes, réalisateurs de radio ou de télévision. D'autres travaillent ici et là ou s'emploient . . . comme professeurs, faute de mieux. Chacun sait que les conditions actuelles de l'enseignement ne favorisent pas toujours la réalisation d'une oeuvre littéraire; bien plus, le professorat détourne souvent de la littérature dans la mesure où celle-ci nécessite qu'on s'adonne au langage comme à une passion et non pas qu'on en use comme d'un gagne-pain ou comme d'une justification sociale ou comme d'un intérêt purement académique. Car la création, dans quelque ordre que ce soit, mobilise toutes les énergies diurnes et toutes les errances nocturnes, elle est jalouse et même tyrannique, elle ne tolère pas

qu'on perde son temps loin d'elle. J'aurai mis vingt ans à comprendre cela. Et à l'accepter. Depuis mon adolescence, j'ai cherché à concilier l'inconciliable. Ecrire, gagner ma vie en écrivain tel était mon rêve. Mais j'eus la chance d'éprouver deux passions-soeurs: la poésie et la philosophie. Or, aucune de ces deux "expériences" ne peut constituer un véritable objet d'enseignement, bien qu'il existe dans chaque université un lieu, un département, où l'on donne des cours, sanctionnés par des crédits et des diplômes, qui, paraît-il, rendent les enseignés compétents en matières poétiques et philosophiques. On ne s'avise guère, même de nos jours, qu'un poète et un philosophe n'ont dans la cité aucun statut social et économique. Quant aux fameux cours de création littéraire (les "creative writing" importés des U.S.A.), il me semble qu'ils ne servent qu'à donner le change: les questions de métier et de techniques mises à part, que faut-il pour être poète et philosophe, sinon une totale disponibilité ce que faute de mieux j'appellerai l'âme du monde? C'est là un point de vue romantique, j'en tombe d'accord. Je veux faire entendre que l'essentiel en poésie et en philosophie ne s'enseigne pas, de quelque façon qu'on s'y prenne. L'interrogation métaphysique naît de l'étonnement, et pour s'étonner, rien ne vaut la méditation profonde, le doute radical, la mise entre parenthèses de tout le grouillement quotidien. L'expression lyrique, elle, s'appuie sur la même base: elle nie la grammaire, contredit le code des échanges langagiers, et avec elle rien ne va plus de soi.

En de telles dispositions, que pourrais-je donc enseigner? Une chose, une seule, fort simple, et qui correspond à l'acte d'écrire: la lecture. Mes étudiants ont gagné des crédits et reçu des diplômes comme les autres étudiants, ils ont parcouru un *cursus* normal d'études universitaires, mais je ne leur aurai enseigné qu'à répondre aux écrivains (surtout aux poètes et aux philosophes), et cela aussi n'a guère de statut social et économique. Mais au moins, cela est un objet d'enseignement réel et sans fausse représentation. Oui, j'entends l'objection des "macluhaniens": la lecture n'a plus d'avenir (ni l'écriture), à quoi bon mener ce combat d'arrière-garde, si ce n'est pour notre propre satisfaction, ou pour légitimer notre activité de professeur-écrivain? La question est vicieuse. Car elle fait bon marché autant de l'avenir que du passé. Quel médium électronique nous donnera mieux accès aux *Dialogues* de Platon et à la *Divine Comédie*? Ou encore à *Ulysse*, au *Procès*, à la *Recherche du temps*

perdu? Et qui décidera (et au nom de quoi?) que demain plus aucun homme n'aura envie d'écrire là où les paroles ne suffisent plus? La nouvelle orthodoxie des *mass-media* ignore ou méconnaît la différence essentielle de l'écriture et de la parole, sous le prétexte en partie justifié que depuis la Renaissance on a entouré l'écriture d'une espèce de révérence aristocratique et qu'on a abandonné la parole au menu peuple et aux professionnels de la politique. Le développement des moyens de communication me paraît avoir réussi à montrer par la négative que la littérature, justement, n'est pas un moyen de communication, du moins dans son projet fondamental. Et qu'inversement la lecture ne s'inscrit pas dans un réseau de dialogue fonctionnel, à l'instar du téléphone. Je fonde ces assertions sur ma double expérience d'écrivain et de professeur. D'ailleurs, je vois que l'erreur grossière de ces prophéties "macluhaniennes" s'enracine dans une fausse conception de la poésie et de la philosophie, fausse conception à laquelle le manque de savoir-lire donne bonne conscience. Ni Villon, ni Donne, ni Hegel ne sont réductibles à la culture de leur temps et de leur pays. L'essentiel de chacun d'eux voyage en notre monde et y habite plus authentiquement que beaucoup d'entre nous. L'écriture, certes, se transforme à l'image des langues, mais son rythme évolutif ne coïncide nullement avec celui de la parole. Un soir de désœuvrement, j'ai pris les *Lais* de Marie de France, j'ai ouvert au hasard et j'ai lu. Le miracle, une fois encore, a opéré. De cette femme inconnue, qui vécut au douzième siècle, qui avait la voix rauque ou douce (je ne sais), les yeux noirs ou bleus (je ne sais), qui fut jolie ou laide (je ne sais), amante ou fermée aux amours (je ne sais), de cette femme disparue sans laisser de trace, me venait par la médiation de l'écriture, une émotion, une chaleur, une intimité, bref une présence indiscutable de quelque chose qui n'est ni elle ni moi mais un fragment de langage, une parole décantée des paroles, impérissable jusqu'à maintenant, chercheuse d'avenir, révélatrice d'un ailleurs en ce monde actuel, bref une réalité langagière dont ni le cinéma ni la radio ni la télévision ne peuvent aujourd'hui se porter garant ou acquéreur. Cette lecture, j'en ai par la suite fait un objet d'enseignement qui je crois a porté fruit.

Il n'empêche que je demeure perplexe au sujet de la relation écrivain-professeur chez un même individu. Pendant des années, pénibles, angoissées, je me suis appliqué, sur le conseil de Rimbaud,

à "dérégler tous mes sens". Je veux dire que j'essayais de me déstructurer, de me défendre des habitudes mentales qui président à l'enseignement traditionnel, plus communément nommé "magistral", et où le professeur donne un cours à la manière d'une causerie ou d'une conférence, avec ordre, clarté, une pointe d'élégance dans l'expression et une légère teinte d'ironie, histoire de détendre les fidèles auditeurs. C'est du moins le style qu'impose l'université d'inspiration française et latine. A vrai dire, je n'ai jamais très bien réussi dans ce genre poli-pédant et volontiers jargonnard. Pas une seule fois je n'ai pu écrire mon cours avant de le donner. Résultat: je multipliais les parenthèses et digressions où dans le feu de l'improvisation je m'abandonnais sans frein à la passion d'écrire . . . oralement. Puis vint le temps des séminaires, des travaux pratiques en groupes restreints, des ateliers de recherche commune. Alors, l'écrivain en moi a cessé de nuire au professeur. C'est ainsi que l'an dernier j'ai consacré avec une dizaine d'étudiants un semestre entier à la lecture des poètes français du vingtième siècle. Sur la table, aucun commentaire, aucune biographie, aucun livre d'histoire ou de technique; uniquement des poèmes. Nous les lisions à haute voix et nous échangeions librement autour de nos lectures. Cette petite aventure m'a débarrassé d'une illusion.

Un écrivain n'a pas à changer de personnalité (ou de peau) quand il fait fonction de professeur. Ni un professeur quand il se met à écrire. Car l'engagement, au fond, reste le même, et aussi total. S'il y a des choses qui ne s'enseignent pas, il y a aussi des choses qui ne s'écrivent pas. Par exemple, la réaction toute vive d'un groupe à la lecture d'un texte ou encore mieux: le rapport qui s'établit entre un texte et son lecteur, car *la véritable lecture ne peut être que silencieuse* (certains critiques l'oublient trop souvent!) même si elle s'opère à haute voix. Ensuite, un écrivain gagne énormément à sortir de son univers, à se purger de sa schizophrénie latente. L'enseignement, qui repose sur le dialogue, offre le meilleur remède à ce mal. Et un professeur qui s'adonne à la création littéraire en arrive tôt ou tard à pénétrer plus vite et plus fidèlement l'enjeu formidable de la partie qui se joue chez chacun de ses étudiants (du moins en littérature et en philosophie).

Mais je persiste dans ma perplexité. L'université d'aujourd'hui a beau être l'endroit qui reflète le plus clairement l'évolution de

notre société et surtout les mutations qualitatives du savoir, je me demande si pour vivre intégralement l'aventure poétique et philosophique je ne devrais pas me libérer des contraintes du professorat. Comment protéger, comment aviver une certaine sauvagerie intérieure sans laquelle on étouffe la fraîcheur native de l'écriture? Le métier de professeur exige qu'on s'informe, qu'on réfléchisse, qu'on soit "dans le coup" de l'actualité. Et que cet acquis incessant passe au crible de la conscience critique. Quand j'écris un poème (ou quand je le laisse s'écrire), j'oublie tout, y compris le dictionnaire, j'oublie l'entourage et surtout je m'oublie moi-même. Cette absence peut se prolonger plus longtemps qu'il ne faudrait, et déjà les étudiants sont là, pleins de questions auxquelles on ne peut aucunement se dérober.

La condition d'écrivain-professeur reste contradictoire (comme beaucoup d'autres conditions). Quitter l'enseignement ne résoudrait rien, puisque la contradiction est inhérente à la vie d'écrivain et au métier de professeur. Dans les deux cas, l'essentiel nous échappe. D'une part, nous ne pourrions jamais *enseigner* l'unique nécessaire de l'écriture (pourquoi vivre?) d'autre part, nous ne pourrions jamais *écrire* ce bel objet d'enseignement: la grammaire.

Pourtant, j'affirmais d'entrée de jeu qu'écrire et enseigner ne forment qu'une seule et même activité. Pourquoi la vérité de tous les jours ne serait-elle pas contradictoire? Et heureuse par cela même qu'elle n'est pas comblée que son double, négatif ou positif, la rappelle au devoir d'aller de l'avant, d'explorer l'inconnu, de trouver son repos dans une nouvelle espérance: celle de l'autre?

Group Counselling, Role Perceptions, and Career Plans

C. A. Welch and E. T. Hallberg

Young women enrolled in teacher education and about to enter their first teaching positions generally face a number of questions concerning their roles as teachers and their commitments to the profession. As they approach applying for their first positions, they are likely to wonder about their self-confidence and teaching skills, become dubious of their preparedness, and ponder the importance of the profession to them as persons and as women.

With this as background, researchers in the McGill Faculty of Education invited selected students in their second year of the two-year Diploma program to participate in group counselling sessions to discuss their present interests and concerns as well as their plans for the future. Late in 1968, counsellors attempted to help experimental subjects in small groups develop an atmosphere that would encourage them to think about and discuss their interests, concerns and aspirations.

The project had two objectives. The first was to discover the major topics of interest and concern expressed by these women students in counselling groups. The second objective was to evaluate the effects of the group counselling in terms of the participants' changes in their concepts of the role of the teacher and in terms of their plans for employment and/or education after completing the program.

Method

The subjects were the top twenty-five per cent of 195 second-year female students in the Class II Diploma program in teacher preparation at McGill University. They were selected for the study

on the basis of academic grades plus professional performance in teaching methods courses and in practice teaching. Those included were all volunteers.

The program in which they were enrolled is designed to meet requisites for the Class II teaching diploma in the Province of Quebec. The admission requirement is a Quebec Junior High School Leaving Certificate (Grade XI) or its equivalent. The two-year curriculum offers six academic subjects, and courses in educational psychology, history of education, general approaches to teaching, special courses in curriculum and instruction, and student teaching experiences.

Forty-seven subjects were randomly assigned to counselling groups or to non-counselled groups in a Solomon four-group design.¹

RO ₁	X	O ₂	(N=17)
RO ₃		O ₄	(N=10)
R	X	O ₅	(N=10)
R		O ₆	(N=10)

This design allows for statistical analyses of the main effects of the treatment (X), the effects of testing (O), with pre-test and post-test measures, and the interaction of testing and the treatment.

The subjects receiving the counselling treatment were assigned to groups of five or six persons. A qualified counsellor worked with each group. The treatment involved one session per week and covered a period of six weeks in February and March 1969.

The participants in the groups were told that the counselling experience would afford them an opportunity to discuss their roles as future teachers, their future educational and career plans and any other matters of personal concern to them. These students were at a "decision point," a period of time when the press of potential discontinuities must be considered. Employment, for example, was likely to present them with many questions about their own capabilities, and about the educational systems they were entering. As persons who had performed well compared to their peers, they had increased motivation to examine their commitment to professional careers in education and to consider alternative educational or employment opportunities.

The Major Topics of the Group Counselling Sessions

Each counselling session was recorded on audio-tape. The recordings were subsequently reviewed to determine the major expressed concerns and interests of these selected teachers-to-be. The following six common themes were evident from the reviews of the recordings:

1. "Sometimes I feel that I am a second class citizen!"

Many of the group sessions opened with this topic and it recurred in every session in some way. From the data provided by the group discussions, diploma students feel less than first class, in their status at the college they attend, in the schools where they did their practice teaching, and in the occupation of teaching. It seemed to them that students in degree programs were given preference over them.

2. "I really doubt that I can cope with older children!"

These students felt confident in dealing with primary age children, but were threatened by the tasks involved in teaching above grade three. This threat was generally expressed as doubts of adequate knowledge in subject matter and a worry of being "stumped" and not knowing the answers to pupils' questions.

3. "I would like to have a broader preparation for becoming a teacher."

The students felt that their program placed adequate emphasis upon teaching methods, but that they were deficient in areas such as psychology, sociology, and in academic subjects that they might be expected to teach. This topic, of course, is closely related to the lack of confidence in dealing with older children, and the less than adequate feelings about themselves.

4. "I'd like more opportunities for self-expression and experimentation."

Members of the groups felt that seldom did they have the opportunity or expectation to experiment in their methods of teaching and to implement their learnings in their own way. Student teaching is a beneficial experience, they seemed to say, but they thought that they were being impelled to become stereotype performers, often like their assisting teachers. While methods courses did provide many suggestions, there seemed little opportunity to incorporate the ideas and plans experienced in the practice teaching into their own personality framework.

5. "What possibilities are there for further education and specialization?"

Each of the counselling groups discussed this topic and group members exchanged information and ideas about the opportunities and desirability of furthering their education or thinking about specialization in the field of education. They generally felt uninformed about these matters.

6. "How committed should I be to the teaching profession?"

At the onset of counselling, many of the participants viewed teaching as a two or three year venture. However, the students' discussion showed an increasingly positive consideration for remaining longer in the teaching profession, and showed some recognition that teaching can be compatible with marriage and raising a family. These were attitudes openly expressed in the group discussions, and they corresponded to responses made later in a follow-up questionnaire regarding future plans. The questionnaire findings are discussed below in this report.

The analysis of audio recordings of group counselling sessions is only one of several ways of determining and studying the concerns of a particular group of students. However, the six topics reflect interests and concerns that have a logical and rational relationship to the nature of the group. The topics are similar in tone to Rogers' description of the counselling process. In the present study, the topics first dwell upon the shortcomings of the system (in this case, the subjects' own college curriculum), shift to their own feelings of inadequacy and lack of confidence, and then carry a slightly more positive tone about the future in terms of their own aspirations and commitments to teaching.

Effects of the Counselling Treatment

Two instruments were selected to evaluate the effects of the group counselling. One was a nine-item questionnaire concerning the educational and occupational plans of the experimental and control subjects. The items centred upon the students' plans after graduation and for the future. Four dealt directly with future educational plans (whether the subjects planned upon further education on a full or part-time basis, enter a B.Ed. program, or change to another

field); five dealt with occupational and career decisions (relative to immediate employment and longer range commitments to education as a professional career).

The questionnaire was given on a pre- and post-test basis to seventeen counselled subjects and to ten non-counselled subjects. Scores on each questionnaire were determined by the degree of difference (change over counselling period) between pre- and post-test responses. For each item there were three possible responses — “yes,” “undecided,” and “no.” A shift of two places was scored with a three, for example a “yes” to a “no,” or vice versa. A shift over one place was scored with a two, and no shift was scored as one. Scores were summed for the four educational items and also for the five career items, resulting in two scores from each questionnaire.

Table I shows the mean scores of counselled and non-counselled subjects for changes in educational plans and in career plans. The scores were analyzed by the *T* test for differences between means. Inspection of the table shows that the experimental subjects showed greater change in educational plans and in career plans over the counselling period than did the non-counselled students. The difference in career plans is higher than could be expected by chance, according to the *T* test.

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF MEAN CHANGE SCORES FOR EDUCATIONAL PLANS
AND CAREER PLANS OF COUNSELLED AND NON-COUNSELLED
SUBJECTS

	<i>Counselled</i> <i>N</i> =17		<i>Non-Counselled</i> <i>N</i> =10		<i>T</i>
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>S.D.</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>S.D.</i>	
Educational Plans	5.65	1.23	4.80	1.06	.17
Career Plans	7.71	3.03	5.90	1.51	2.26*

*Significant at .05 level

The second instrument used to evaluate the effects of the treatment was the “Teacher Role Description Questionnaire,” Form I (Horowitz).³ This was selected to measure attitudes towards teaching and the system in which employment was to be obtained. The instrument provides scores for the three scales labelled *nomethetic*, *ideographic*, and *transactional*. The student at this stage of her

training with a high nomethetic score tends to conform to the requirements of the institution at the expense of her individual personality and need satisfaction. A high ideographic score indicates she would place individual requirements before her occupational requirements. A high transactional score indicates the student could reconcile the conflicts between the requirements of the system and her own personal needs.

The "Teacher Role Description Questionnaire" was given to all subjects according to the plan of the Solomon design. An analysis of variance was used to determine whether differences between group means were attributable to the experimental variables. Table II shows the *F* value of differences between means according to the three scales, according to groups which had the pre-test or no pre-test, and that were counselled or not counselled. The results indicate that differences in mean scores between the groups are attributable only to chance and to the effects of pre-testing on the nomethetic and ideographic scales of the instrument. The group counselling did not have a significant effect upon the scores of the experimental subjects.

TABLE II

F VALUES OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEAN SCORES FOR ROLE
VARIABLES ACCORDING TO EFFECTS OF TREATMENT, TESTING
AND INTERACTION

	<i>Nome- thetic</i>	<i>Ideo- graphic</i>	<i>Trans- actional</i>
A. Counsellled vs. Non-Counsellled	.19	1.29	2.32
B. Pre-test vs. Post-test	8.24*	14.21*	1.96
A x B Interaction	2.50	.60	.29

*Significant at .01 level

Summary Discussion

The major topics of the group counselling sessions indicate some of the concerns that high-achieving women in a two-year teacher education program have about themselves, their preparation and their selected profession. They suggest issues that will interest those involved with revision of curricula in teacher education.

The major positive effect of the limited counselling experience was the subjects' tendency to become more committed to the teaching profession and to be aware that the profession can be pursued within the context of a broader commitment to marriage and family rearing.

References

1. Donald T. Campbell and Julian C. Stanley, *Experimental and Quasi Experimental Designs for Research*, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1968, pp. 24-25.
2. Carl R. Rogers, *Client Centered Therapy*, Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1961, pp. 132-136.
3. Myer Horowitz, *Teacher Role Description Questionnaire, Form I*, 1965.



Beginning teachers are sometimes advised by older colleagues to forget all they learned in training because it is "theoretical" and does not work. The impression that there is a gap between teacher training and what happens in the classroom is often confirmed by the teacher's own experience.

Much of what is done in the training of teachers is lost because of misunderstanding as to how the training is to be applied. There will certainly be a "gap" if people go out into the schools expecting their lecture notes to describe the conditions which they will encounter, and to give instructions as to how to proceed. This interpretation is analogous to taking the history notes from your university lectures as lesson notes for your first form.

Margaret Mackie, **Educative Teaching**,
Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1968, pp. 280-281.

Admission of Mature Non-Matriculated Students into a Degree Program

Mimi Vaselenak

The admission of mature non-matriculated students into degree-granting programs in Canadian universities is a fairly recent innovation. The mature admission privilege appears to have been used very sparingly when it was first introduced in 1965/66. The number admitted was small and few, if any, records were kept. The 1968/69 calendars of twenty-four Canadian universities listed a special admission privilege for mature non-matriculated students.¹ However, it should be noted that the requirements for admission and the definition of the term "mature" vary, not only from one university to another, but within a given university from faculty to faculty. This article will review briefly the admission requirements, the number, background and level of achievement of mature non-matriculated students working towards a Bachelor of Education degree at the Faculty of Education, the University of Calgary.²

In the early part of 1969, a questionnaire was sent to the registrars of the twenty-four universities with adult admission privileges. Unfortunately, only incomplete information was made available. However, several of the registrars contacted expressed an interest in a study of mature non-matriculant admission and their co-operation made some of the present findings possible. Table I is a summary of the information obtained.

TABLE I

REGISTRATION OF MATURE NON-MATRICULATED
STUDENTS AT TWENTY-FOUR CANADIAN
UNIVERSITIES

(NUMBER ADMITTED — REQUIREMENTS FOR ADMISSION)

Name of University	Age	Pre-Test Required	Course Pre-required	Number Registered			
				1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69
Alberta	Mature	Yes	Eng. 30	7	31	34	62
Brandon	21	Yes	—	—	—	17	—
Brock	25	No	—	—	48	17	53
Calgary	23-25	Yes	Individual case	—	50	144	262
Carleton	23	No	—	—	28	33	—
Guelph*	21	No	Ontario resident	—	—	—	—
Lakehead*	21	No	—	—	—	—	—
Laurentian*	Mature	No	—	—	—	—	—
Lethbridge	21	Yes	Individual case	—	—	23	60
Manitoba	21	Yes	—	—	—	277	800
Memorial*	25	No	—	—	—	—	—
Mount Allison	Mature	No	Individual case	No. so small, no records kept			
Mount St. Vincent*	25	No	—	—	—	—	—
Ottawa	21-23	Yes	Individual case	—	—	—	814
Prince of Wales	Mature	No	Individual case	2	3	2	3
Queen's	23	No	Eng., Math, or lang.	—	—	143	240
St. Francis Xavier	Mature	Yes	—	—	6	5	5
Simon Fraser*	25	Yes	—	—	—	—	—
Sir George Williams*	21	Yes	—	—	—	—	—
Trent	25	No	1 Gr. 13 course	—	3	8	7
Waterloo	Mature	Yes	—	—	64	57	168
Waterloo Lutheran	23	Yes	Individual case	—	3	5	4
Windsor*	Mature	Yes	—	—	—	—	—
York*	23	No	—	—	—	—	—
Total Number of MNM students registered				9	236	765	2478**

*These universities did not volunteer any information on their MNM students.

**The totals are only approximations. However, they indicate a definite trend.

As already noted, the figures in the above table are only approximate and unfortunately incomplete. Eight universities did not provide any information and several registrars could only state approximate totals because no records of mature non-matriculated students had been kept. However, the tremendous increase in the number of mature non-matriculated adult students into Canadian universities seems to indicate that a definite need is being met and also to warrant an examination of the background and achievements of these students.

Adult Admission at the University of Calgary

The Faculty of Education at the University of Calgary has made a special study of the admission and performance of the students admitted under adult privilege. The remainder of this paper is a short synopsis of this information.

In January, 1965, a joint meeting of the Faculties of Arts and Science of the University of Alberta, Edmonton, approved the recommendation of the Joint Curriculum Committee that, in exceptional circumstances, admission would be granted to persons lacking the full matriculation requirements. The only criterion specified was that the candidate must produce evidence that he could benefit from university studies. The recommendation was later submitted to and approved by General Faculty Council and the Coordinating Council of the University of Alberta in the following form:

In exceptional circumstances a person who lacks formal matriculation may petition the Arts or Science Faculty Council for special permission to enrol for a degree in the Faculty of Arts or Science respectively, on the grounds that he or she can profit from a university education. Each application will be considered on its own merits by the Council of the Faculty. Successful completion of the normal first year of university work or five courses will stand in lieu of formal matriculation.³

The University of Alberta at Calgary, at first a branch of the University of Alberta, became completely autonomous as the University of Calgary in 1966. The new university in Calgary adopted, with variations, a number of the regulations laid down by the former parent body, and the policy towards admission of

mature adults is one of these. The University of Calgary's calendar states:

Mature non-matriculated students: A student of mature age who is unable to present complete matriculation, and who realizes a need for a university education, may apply for admission under special conditions. Each application will be considered on its own merits by the Dean or Director of the Faculty or School concerned. Such students may be required to provide evidence of ability to undertake academic studies, such as a recent matriculation or correspondence course taken, and to undergo special entrance examinations.⁴

This is a general regulation; each school and faculty may have special requirements to be fulfilled within this general framework. The Faculty of Education states its requirements for adult admission in the 1968/69 calendar:

Certain mature adult students who can give evidence of being able to profit from university studies, may be admitted as provisional students by making application to the Faculty of Education Council through the Dean. The records of such students will be examined at the end of the first year, and if satisfactory, their matriculation will be waived retroactively.⁵

Procedure for Admission into the Faculty of Education

The term "mature student," as defined by the Faculty of Education, means that the student must be at least twenty-five years of age in order to be considered for entrance into the Faculty.⁶ The next part of the statement, "who can give evidence of being able to profit from university studies," involves three considerations. First, the candidate is interviewed by an assistant to the Dean; during the interview, the candidate's background is noted, and arrangements are made for the submission of documentary evidence of courses previously completed. Second, if the background indicates that the candidate may be able to study at the university level, an appointment is set up for a series of tests with the University's Student Counselling Services. Third, the test results are forwarded to the Dean's office and a second interview may take place. The interviews and test results may indicate that the candidate has

ability, but that he needs upgrading in certain areas. He may, as a result, be required to take one or two Grade 12 courses as a preparation for entrance into the university. The successful completion of these courses will then become a requirement for entrance.⁷

Terms for Acceptance

The successful candidate is admitted with the understanding that he must complete one full academic year's work, that is, five courses with a C average or 2.0.⁸ The five courses do not have to be completed within a chronological year; they can be done on a part-time basis. However, the mature non-matriculated student is required to attend intramurally for one full academic year in order to be recommended for certification. Normally, he is expected to take at least one course per year. After the five courses are completed, the student's record is reviewed by the office of the Dean and, if it is found to be satisfactory, the matriculation requirements are waived and the student receives credit for courses taken. The student is henceforth treated like any other second-year student.

Student Counselling Tests⁹

The test battery that the candidate is required to complete before admission is not an entrance examination. The test results are used as indicators of the strengths and weaknesses in the candidate's background. If the results are disastrously low, unless special circumstances are involved¹⁰, they may indicate that the applicant's expectations are unrealistic. In such a case, he will be advised to seek some other avenue for self-improvement. The tests administered by the Student Counselling Services are:

- (1) Student Biographical Inventory
- (2) Cooperative Academic Ability Test
- (3) Iowa Tests of Educational Development
 - interpretation of reading materials in the social studies,
 - interpretation of reading materials in the natural sciences,
 - interpretation of literary materials.

The results of the tests are confidential and are placed in a closed envelope in the student's file. If the test results appear to be inconclusive, or perhaps an indicator of special problems, the candidate may be invited to complete more individualized testing by the Student Counselling Services. However, it should be noted that the scores obtained on Student Counselling tests have not proven to be a reliable predictor of the adult student's performance in university studies.¹¹ The Iowa Tests of Educational Development (ITED) were dropped from the test battery in 1968 on the basis of the data collected during the first two years of the program.¹² The Test of Adult College Aptitude (TACA) was adopted in the fall of 1968, and the result of these tests will be under examination for the next year or so.

Number Admitted

The 1966-67 academic session was the first year that the mature non-matriculated program was implemented. The Faculty of Education admitted thirty-two students — fourteen females and eighteen males. Fifty-six students were admitted for the academic session 1967-68 — twenty-nine females and twenty-seven males. The total for the first two years of the program was eighty-eight students.¹³ For the rest of this paper, the mature non-matriculated student will be designated MNM, and the grade point average as GPA.

An Analysis of the Calgary Data

The data were obtained through interviewing, through completion of a questionnaire, and by the submission of documentary evidence of academic courses successfully completed. The data were then compiled and arranged into tables for the purpose of describing the population.* Out of the data, seven "models" were chosen, each being used to test a specific hypothesis concerning predictors of GPA from the variables, the GPA being that obtained after the first year of university study. The predictor variables used in the respective models were:

*Copies of the individual tables are available from the author. They have been omitted here due to space limitations.

- Model 1: Age in Years
 Model 2: Years of Formal Schooling
 Model 3: Standing Obtained During the Last Year of
 Formal Schooling
 Model 4: Type of Work Experience
 Model 5: Social Background
 Model 6: Matriculation Courses Taken
 Model 7: The Total Data.

Method of Analysis

For each of the seven models, a regression coefficient was calculated, the criterion being the grade point average. The R^2 obtained was tested for significance at the .05 level using the formula:

$$F = \frac{R^2}{1 - R^2} \cdot \frac{N - k - 1}{k}$$

where N is the number of cases and K is the number of predictors when entering the table of F , $df_1 = k$, and $df_2 = N - k - 1$.¹⁴

The results of the calculations for each of the seven models are summarized in Table II:

TABLE II
RESULTS OF THE CALCULATIONS

<i>Models</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>R</i> ²	<i>F Ratio</i>
1: Age in Years.....	88	1	.0078	.6761 N.S. ^a
2: Years of Formal Schooling.....	88	1	.0031	.2674 N.S.
3: Standing Obtained.....	88	5	.1319	2.4918 S. ^b
4: Student's Occupation.....	88	10	.1089	.9410 N.S.
5: Social Background.....	88	10	.0579	.4732 N.S.
6: Matriculation Courses Completed prior to admission.....	88	1	.0005	.0430 N.S.
7: Total Data.....	88	31 ^c	.3473	.9612 N.S. ^d

a Not significant

b Needs 2.33 to be significant at 5% level

c Three models: No. of dependents: No. of pre-school children; and No. of courses taken during the first year of university were not dealt with in this brief review. The findings did not influence the calculation.

d Needs 1.67 to be significant at 5% level.

The average GPA of all students was 2.38 on their work during the first year. They took an average of 3.5 courses. There was no relationship between the number of courses taken and the GPA. That is to say, a student did not seem to perform better if he only studied one or two courses rather than if he took a full year.

Model 1: Age in Years — The age range of the eighty-eight students was from twenty-four to fifty-five years.¹⁵ The mean was 35.7 years. As shown in Table II, the age of the MNM students was not related to their first year success as measured by GPA.

Model 2: Years of Formal Schooling and GPA First Year University — The number of years of formal schooling ranged from eight to thirteen, with the mean being eleven years. Again, the relationship to GPA is non-significant.

Model 3: Standing Obtained During the Last Year of Formal Schooling — Fifty-one of the eighty-eight students obtained B or C standings (50-64%; 40-49%) in formal schooling. No data were available for thirty-five of the remainder, as many of them did not finish a final year. Standing obtained, however, related positively to GPA in first year university (see Table II).

Model 4: Type of Work Experience and GPA — Of the forty-three female students, twelve had been secretaries, eleven teachers, eight skilled labourers, the rest being clerks, housewives, and so forth. Seventeen for the forty-five males were teachers and thirteen were clerk-salesmen.

It is worth noting, in female occupations, that teachers had only a slightly higher GPA than former secretaries, with teachers placing at a GPA of 2.73¹⁶ and secretaries at 2.68. The highest GPA was made by the one male who had formerly been a secretary. Males who held clerk-salesman (GPA - 2.46) and teacher (GPA - 2.39) positions placed next highest. Those who had been self-employed placed lowest (GPA - 1.45). Skilled labour and managerial backgrounds produced an equal GPA of 2.26.

Model 5: Social Background — The student's social background was determined by his father's occupation. It should be noted that approximately 80 per cent of the students came from a social background which, according to Blishen¹⁷, is below the status of a teacher; 9.09% skilled labour; 22.72% unskilled; 17% self-

employed, mainly farmers; 15.9% clerk-salesmen; and others 12%. Only approximately 20.0% came from professional or managerial social backgrounds. Social background apparently has a very low relationship to GPA as shown by the R^2 of only .0579 in Table II.

Model 6: Matriculation Courses Completed Prior to Admission — Many MNM students are expected to take a Grade 12 level course as preparation for admission into the Faculty of Education. English is most frequently required. If one or more additional courses are needed, they are usually in preparation for specializing in a given major field. For example, a MNM student who wishes to teach mathematics will need Mathematics 30 and 31. Out of the total of eighty-eight students, fifty-six took matriculation courses in preparation for admission.

Model 7: The Total Data — As shown in Table II, the full set of predictors does not significantly relate to GPA.¹⁸

Discussion

Examination of the above data seems to indicate that the traditional admission requirements may not necessarily be valid as far as the mature person is concerned. This applies particularly to students enrolled in Arts courses, or courses that do not require a specific prerequisite. Few MNM students elect a major field of study which requires mathematics. Most of them lack the prerequisites, and they tend to score lower than regular students on the mathematical part of Student Counselling tests. However, the scores achieved on the tests did not prove to be predictors of the GPA achieved in the first year of university studies.

The individual's school achievement gives an indication of later-life performance level only on the positive side. The poor or indifferent young student may become a good student when he matures. The individual may need to reach a stage in his development where he is psychologically prepared and willing to pursue disciplined studies. When compared with a young student, the mature student is less timid of seeking counselling if he finds himself in a difficult situation. He tends to be better organized in his studies and time allocation. He is, in short, very strongly motivated to succeed because he is usually at the University because *he* wants to be there, because he has reached a stage where he accepts the

need for higher education in order to reach his goal in life. This may be one of the keys to academic excellence; namely, that the clearer the goal, the more dedicated and the better organized will be the behaviour devoted to reaching the goal.

Some positive factors in the findings should be noted. The eighty-eight MNM students examined achieved a GPA of 2.38 in their first year of study at the University. The regular student body achieved a GPA of 2.16. Only four MNM students withdrew from their studies. Forty successfully completed five courses, or one full year's work, during their first year at the University. Thirty-nine of them are presently enrolled either part- or full-time.

The lack of predictability of GPA is perhaps a credit to the screening procedures used for such applicants. Those accepted seem to do better than regular freshmen, and the lack of relationships noted above might imply the existence of motivations and drives which do not show up in our equations. It is suspected, however, that if all mature NM applicants were admitted, the GPA's would be much more predictable.

More generally speaking, the admission privilege has some built-in fringe benefits: First, it enables people to get a second chance at achieving higher education. Thirty out of the eighty-eight students examined claimed that lack of financial resources had prevented them from finishing high school and going on to university. Second, the program encourages adults to strive for self-improvement, when they can achieve a degree eventually. Third, it has led a large number of people to seek guidance on educational requirements. In many cases, they find that the preparation needed is within their reach, or they receive expert advice on how they can improve their socio-economic status in areas other than university studies. Fourth, it has added a new dimension to adult education. To be able to work towards a university degree has great status value; it provides a vertical mobility channel and a challenge to the adult learner. Fifth, it enables the university to admit persons from other academic jurisdictions, persons whose academic qualifications may be difficult to equate with the local requirements. Finally, it enables society to utilize more readily the accumulated skills of its population and, at the same time, it provides an avenue for adding to and making more sophisticated this skill and knowledge.

Notes and References

1. *Commonwealth Universities Year Book*, Edinburgh: R. R. Clark, Ltd., 1968, pp. 2423-2459.
2. This paper is a brief synopsis of some data compiled for an unpublished study ("An Innovation in University Adult Education") which was completed in May, 1969 by Mimi M. Vaselenak.
3. "Information for Individuals Seeking Admission as Non-Matriculated Degree Candidates," *University of Alberta Bulletin*, Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1969.
4. *Calendar*, University of Calgary, 1969, p. 36.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 115. It is interesting to note that the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta has adopted somewhat similar regulations for the admission of mature non-matriculated students. In 1969, that Faculty issued a leaflet which sets out the admission regulations and programming of mature non-matriculated students. It states in part: "The candidate must normally be 25 years of age or older; he must be interviewed and tested; he will be required to present English 30 and one other Grade XII examination subject appropriate to his major field of specialization with an average of 60% or better in the two subjects. The candidate is admitted as a special student and he is required to successfully complete five courses — two compulsory and three chosen from specially defined areas of discipline. The candidate must pass all five courses without repetition with a minimum grade of 4 on each subject and with a grade point average of at least 4.5. Subsequently, the matriculation requirements are waived and the student is henceforth considered a regular second-year student."
6. All other faculties and schools at the University of Calgary define a mature student as a person twenty-three years of age or older. Some deviation is, however, allowed.
7. Many applicants are required to take English 30 and one additional course pertaining to the major field they wish to specialize in as teachers. The additional course may be a prerequisite for future courses. A good example would be mathematics.
8. The grading system is as follows:

A = 4.00
B = 3.00
C = 2.00
D = 1.00

D is a conditional pass which allows the student to proceed to the next level. To graduate, the student must obtain a 2.00 average on the last ten courses.

9. Since 1967, all mature non-matriculated students are required to take a battery of tests.
10. For example, an applicant with a non-English background.
11. A study done at the University of Lethbridge with mature non-matriculated students arrived at somewhat the same conclusions. S. A. Perkins, *An Examination of Five Different Groups of First Year Students at the University of Lethbridge on the College Qualification Test and Grade Point Average 1967-68*, Research Bulletin No. 1, the University of Lethbridge, 1968.
12. See R. C. Conklin, *Facts and Figures Concerning Mature Non-Matriculated Students at the University of Calgary*, Calgary: The University of Calgary, 1969, p. 10.
13. For the academic session 1968-69, the Faculty of Education admitted 105 mature non-matriculated students. The background and performance of this group is presently under study.
14. H. J. Hallworth and A. Brebner, *A System of Computer Programs*, London: British Psychological Society, 1967, and George A. Ferguson, *Statistical Analysis of Psychology and Education*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966, pp. 401-411.
15. The age requirement (25 years minimum) was waived in two instances.
16. Out of the twenty-eight MNM students who claimed teaching as their main work experience, fifteen held interim teaching certificates based upon one year of Normal School. Thirteen had been teaching in institutions which did not require certification. Since 1968, all teachers in Alberta who are not teaching under permanent certification are required to upgrade their academic backgrounds. For certification requirements see *Regulations Governing Certification of Teachers*, L. S. Wall, Queen's Printer for Alberta, 1968.
17. Bernard R. Blishen, *A Socio-Economic Index for Occupations in Canada*, cited in *Canadian Society*, B. R. Blishen, et al. (eds.), Toronto: Macmillan, 1968, pp. 741-753.
18. While sex differentiation and the GPA were not indicated in the total data, it may be observed that in 1966-67, out of a total of 32 MNM, 14 females achieved a GPA of 2.68; 18 males a GPA of 2.35; in 1967-68, out of a total of 56 MNM, 26 females achieved a GPA of 2.52, and 27 males a GPA of 2.09.

REVIEWS

H. J. Butcher. HUMAN INTELLIGENCE. London: Methuen, 1969, 343 pp.

Intelligence is a topic which evokes strong emotions; at Berkeley, for instance, students recently agitated for the removal of A. R. Jensen from their faculty because he wrote in the *Harvard Educational Review* that Negroes do less well on intelligence tests than comparable members of other ethnic groups. Again, in some quarters, schemes of compensatory education for deprived children, such as Project Headstart, have been immoderately criticised because they failed to produce worthwhile increases in I.Q. of the children involved. One reason for this over-reaction is probably ignorance, even among well-educated lay people, of the present state of knowledge about intelligence. This is not surprising, for a study of most of the important problems connected with the subject calls for expertise in a number of disciplines as disparate as genetics, statistics, cybernetics, computer-technology and neurology as well as psychology and psychometry. Few people have broad enough backgrounds to encompass the whole field and to integrate the findings from all parts of it into a coherent whole. Of the few capable of so doing, none has felt it worth-while to communicate the results of his syntheses in a form which is readily assimilable by relatively unsophisticated readers such as doctors, administrators or teachers; or by students at undergraduate or master's level.

This new book by Butcher goes a long way towards meeting a need in that it provides a comprehensive survey of most of the significant aspects of the nature, development and measurement of intelligence at a level much above that possible in a general textbook of educational psychology but below that of a specialised technical work like Guilford's (1967), *Nature of Human Intelligence*. It is commendably eclectic, and is impartial in those areas where, traditionally, American and British psychologists have placed different emphases and interpretations. The characteristic British slant towards biological rather than sociological interpretations, for example, is to be found here in a chapter on "The Influence of Heredity and Some Related Questions" but it is balanced by another on "Social and Cultural Influences." Only an extreme hereditarian or environmentalist will complain of the way Butcher uses the conceptions of Hebb and Cattell to provide labels for genotypic and phenotypic intelligence.

The first of the eleven chapters starts with an historical account, based on the well known writings of Burt, on the development of "Intelligence" as a scientific concept and goes on to show how, in spite of controversies about it, the enormous importance of intelligence as an indispensable variable in psychological and educational research re-

mains. The second chapter examines the various classificatory schemes put forward by factor-analysts to illustrate answers to the question, "One intelligence or many abilities?" The author finds the hierarchical pattern of factors associated chiefly with the work of Burt and Vernon to be superior to the others for most purposes, saying, "Other things being equal, measurement of a general factor will account for more variation in performance and provide prediction over a wider range of tasks than measurement of a major or minor group factor."

Chapter 3 stresses the relevance of the thinking of such workers as Eysenck, Klausmeier and Harris, and Gagné in the study of individual differences in relation to learning processes. The next discusses reactions against the limited range of types of cognitive tests used until fairly recently and the attempts to establish genuine differences between creativity and intelligence. This is a most valuable chapter; the author is very familiar with the field and has sifted the voluminous literature very effectively. Many students find the analogies which people like Pribram have drawn between the operation of electronic computers and the 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic' areas of the brain difficult to follow. The chapter "Brains and Machines" gives an unusually lucid account of this whole area and shows how a kind of thinking has developed which is influencing research and study in many other fields of cognition.

It seems a long step from computers to Piaget, but Butcher makes it easily, even pointing to connections between the two. He gives a succinct summary of the relevant

work of the Geneva school and its adherents. Readers who have not studied developmental psychology will, however, need also to refer to some of the other sources listed. The same is true of the section on psychological measurement and test evaluation and of the survey of intelligence tests.

The last chapter, headed "Ability, Personality and Achievement," outlines the findings of Terman's monumental 30-year follow-up study of gifted children showing that intelligence, as measured by conventional tests, is still the most stable, predictive, psychological variable which can at present be measured, in spite of considerable individual fluctuations. It then goes on to discuss the attempts to relate individual differences in motivational and other personality qualities to intellect. This is an area where Butcher himself has been particularly active but, in spite of exhaustive discussion of the main research literature, he is forced to acknowledge that, while only about half of the variation of intellectual performance is accounted for by measured intelligence, we have as yet little equipment which will help us account for the other half.

This is an excellent book for the level of reader for which it is written, clear, concise and lacking in jargon. It has a first class bibliography and sets of recommended references listed in order of priority. For the student who wants to know what factor analysis is about, but who is not going to work in the field, there is a lucid, explanatory appendix.

L. B. Birch

Lillian M. Logan and Gerald T. Rimmington. **SOCIAL STUDIES — A CREATIVE DIRECTION.** Toronto: McGraw-Hill of Canada, 1969, 304 pp.

In this text, the authors attempt to outline "a framework for helping prospective teachers and teachers-in-service to provide youth with the tools, values, and content which will give them an understanding of the nature of the world in which they live, and to enable them to develop those competencies required for effective citizenship in a world of shrinking boundaries and multiplying population." As Neil Sutherland pointed out in this *Journal* a year ago,* such objectives seem to have been designed to make teachers and especially beginning teachers feel completely inadequate no matter how hard they work! Indeed, this book calls for the Social Studies teacher to have considerable expertise in oral language skills, a firm foundation of content knowledge and to have "experienced and found himself stimulated by life in far away places among people different from himself" (p. 153). One wonders how realistic this is.

The book provides an overview of the theories, models and varied practices in the Social Studies as derived primarily from U.S. sources; although there is no mention of Fenton's *The New Social Studies*, perhaps the most important work in the field. The examples are in the main restricted to the field of Geography and are derived chiefly from British sources. This reviewer was disappointed that the authors (both at Brandon University, Manitoba)

had evidently not taken note of Canadian materials such as Ginn's series *Canadian Sample Studies*, Blair and Simpson's *The Canadian Landscape*, Winter's *Urban Landscapes* — to name a few.

The authors urge teachers to adopt the "Unit" approach, but some of the units reproduced here are particularly unfortunate. The Grade 8 unit ("Teenagers — Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow") includes sections on "Hairstyles, Make-up and Accessories" which can only reinforce those critics who question the validity of Social Studies as an academic discipline worthy of inclusion in the school curriculum. One could seriously question the intellectual honesty of the Grade 1 "Easter" unit and one is appalled that the unit on "Japan" contains so many misleading and inaccurate statements. One would also question the section on "Child Development" (5-13 years) on the ground that a brief acquaintance like this can do more harm than good.

The author combination of Language Arts specialist and Geographer does not really gel, although there are some interesting insights into how Drama, Music, Reporting and Discussion skills could be used in the Social Studies curriculum.

It is a pity that the brown ink and yellow pages (sic) used for this publication have the effect of blurring the photographs into Victorian-type, sepia snapshots.

Donald Burgess

* Vol. III No. 2, "The 'New' Social Studies and Teacher Education."

Frances Webber Aronoff, MUSIC AND YOUNG CHILDREN. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969, 192 pp.

Knowing Frances Aronoff to be a dynamic and exciting teacher of little children, my happy anticipation of her book was somewhat sobered by the first three chapters. In them she develops the relationship between music education and today's theories of learning and curriculum structure. However, it becomes clear that what is propounded here and in subsequent chapters is supported by philosophers and psychologists of the stature of Bruner, Torrance, McLuhan and Phenix. If your interests lie in these areas, read the first three chapters and the last one. They may throw interesting light on the cognitive and affective growth of young children.

If you are a teacher of young children and wish to give them the fullest kind of learning experiences, involving minds, feelings, senses and whole bodies as instruments of perception and response, then read the summaries at the end of the early chapters and dwell at length on the content of Chapters IV and V. Here Aronoff works through, in delightful

detail, the planning of music experiences for young children, examples of the forms these might take and the response to them she has had. Of course, no other group of children will respond verbally or musically just as hers did, but many of her descriptions will serve as jumping-off places for you with your own group.

If you are a music educator then Chapters VI and VII are of particular interest. Here Aronoff describes some good techniques for evolving music terms and notation with young children and some excellent ways of evaluating musical learnings. At the end of this book is a brief appendix on the work of Emile Jaques-Dalcroze, the Swiss musician and teacher who provides the foundations and inspiration for Dr. Aronoff's work.

Perhaps you will be sufficiently intrigued to want to know more about this remarkable man who once said: "I love joy. I teach joy!"

Joan Haines

Esther M. Lloyd-Jones and Norah Rosenau, (eds.). SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF GUIDANCE: A SOURCEBOOK. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968, 626 pp.

This book of readings comes as a welcomed contribution to the literature at a time when many are talking about the importance of interdisciplinary study but few are acting to break down the artificial divisions of academic disciplines. The editors, recognizing the immense importance of the social and cultural influences on students, schools and colleges, have brought together

material from the behavioural sciences frequently omitted from consideration by educators and guidance personnel. Their premise is that culture and environment have all too often been taken for granted.

The book is organized into three parts and presents fifty selections by sixty-two authors. Written specifically for this publication, the first chapter outlines the way in which

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perceptions of educational systems effectively determine concepts of guidance. Chapter two sets forth the basic approach to understanding human behaviour from the standpoint of the anthropologist, and the social psychologist. This first part provides a conceptual background for the remainder of the selections and emphasizes the relevance of the social-psychological sciences for guidance work.

The other two sections present the schools and colleges as social systems and focus on the individual in his society and culture. Included are chapters on the social system of an educational institution, the school in the community, the family, peer groups and socialization, cultural dimensions of personality, cultural variations, roles and role conflict, and social change. The presence of such esteemed authors as Newcomb, Waller, Gordon, Miles, Dahl, Newgarten, Diamond, McLelland, Merton, Cartwright, Bennis, and

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One of the chief faults of most books of readings is the disjointed nature in which contributions are tied together. Such is not the case with this publication. The editors have prefaced each of the eleven chapters and fifty selections with introductions which serve both to pinpoint the salient ideas and provide unity to the book with frequent cross references. A section on questions and implications for practice is attached to each chapter.

In short, here is an excellent piece of work that has overcome, for the most part, the drawbacks of a book of readings. The material should be of interest to all guidance personnel and educators who seek a broader base from which to understand the educational setting and the individuals with whom they work.

James K. Fraser

C. B. Cox and A. E. Dyson, (eds.). **FIGHT FOR EDUCATION: A BLACK PAPER and BLACK PAPER TWO: THE CRISIS IN EDUCATION.** London: The Critical Quarterly Society, 1969, 80 pp. & 160 pp., 5/- & 10/-.

Once upon a time it might have been possible to consider education a dull subject. It is possible no longer: in some circles education has become more exciting than politics or sex. A casual glance at the **Black Papers** might well give the impression that even the British have lost some of their traditional cool. One is reminded of a story in W. Rudy's *Schools in an Age of Mass Culture*, in which an American teacher, after visiting some British schools, declared, "Your system produces snobs, ours slob!" This is amusing, as far as it goes, but

how far does it go? It would be inaccurate to dismiss the **Black Papers** as superficial backlash; they broach, in a lively fashion, some of the most important questions in British education. It is a pity therefore, that the subject-matter is often obscured in clouds of rhetoric or emotional half-truths.

Much of the blame for this rests with the editors. The first of the pamphlets, *Fight for Education*, is described as "a number of articles, quotations and anecdotes to illustrate a thesis." Not all the items are of the same quality; there is a great

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Once upon a time it might have been possible to consider education a dull subject. It is possible no longer: in some circles education has become more exciting than politics or sex. A casual glance at the **Black Papers** might well give the impression that even the British have lost some of their traditional cool. One is reminded of a story in W. Rudy's *Schools in an Age of Mass Culture*, in which an American teacher, after visiting some British schools, declared, "Your system produces snobs, ours slob!" This is amusing, as far as it goes, but

how far does it go? It would be inaccurate to dismiss the **Black Papers** as superficial backlash; they broach, in a lively fashion, some of the most important questions in British education. It is a pity therefore, that the subject-matter is often obscured in clouds of rhetoric or emotional half-truths.

Much of the blame for this rests with the editors. The first of the pamphlets, *Fight for Education*, is described as "a number of articles, quotations and anecdotes to illustrate a thesis." Not all the items are of the same quality; there is a great

deal of needless repetition; there is barely a semblance of organization. **Black Paper Two** is an improvement in some respects, but it takes twice as long to make many of the same points.

The thesis involved consists basically of two propositions; "There is a great danger that the traditional high standards of English education are being overthrown," and that "This danger stems from the ascendancy of what is variously (and often loosely) referred to as progressivist, equalitarian and political ideas."

North American readers need to approach both of these propositions with caution. In the first place they have, of course, to be considered within the British cultural context. I believe it was a Canadian novelist who recently remarked that, "When the British go on about an increase in violence what they really mean is that there has been a bit of shoving in the bus queue." Likewise what is sometimes denounced in Britain as the direst socialism in education, turns out to be nothing more than the proposal of the Labour Party to turn selective state secondary schools into comprehensives, a prominent feature of education in capitalist America. In the second place a careful reading of the various "articles, quotations and anecdotes" collected in these famous or infamous **Black Papers** reveals that they in no sense add up to an all-embracing educational philosophy or program.

It would be most un-British if they did of course. Sometimes, in fact, the items contradict each other. G. H. Bantock for instance, in one of the most valuable of all the articles — a lucid analysis of *Discovery Methods* — concedes that such

methods "constitute an important but limited addition to the vocabulary of teaching." On the other hand Angus Maude, a Conservative M.P., in the course of a mostly rhetorical tirade against somebody he calls "The Egalitarian," roundly states that "the new teaching methods . . . absolve anyone from teaching." Now if there is one point on which both traditionalists and radicals agree, it would be that modern teaching methods demand more, not less, from the teacher. That is, in fact, one of the strongest arguments against their wholesale adoption. But, in any case, when Conservative M.P.'s indulge in a defense-of-traditional-values set-piece it has to be remembered that it was the Conservative Party which brought the civilized joys of commercial television to the British, and which now proposes to visit the cultural blessings of commercial radio upon their countrymen.

Timor Szamuely, another contributor, is positively vitriolic on the subject of comprehensive schools, which he regards as a menace to the "educational standards, civilization and well-being" of his adopted country — an amusing example of how to be more British than the British. He is refuted by the writer of the following article, Rhodes Boyson, who happens to be the headmaster of an apparently flourishing and highly civilized comprehensive school.

Yet there is no doubt that what unites the contributors and editors of the **Black Papers** is a most sensible apprehension — namely that the present context of cultural change, democratic rhetoric and often uncritical liberal anti-authoritarianism poses great challenges to those concerned with education. The fear that

"progressivist" notions of one sort and the other may be ossifying into dogma and bigotry is a very real one. The history of education is replete with similar examples. Progressivist ideas, however defined, were themselves partly a protest against narrow pendency and obscurantist pedagogy. It is doubly ironic, but highly instructive, that many of the neo-traditionalists in the *Black Papers*, like the early progressivists, seem to know better what they are against than what they are for.

Many — but not all — and herein lies the value of the pamphlets. The authors can roughly be divided into

three groups: the scholars such as Bantock, Burt, Walsh; the outright rhetoricians such as Maude, Szamuely, McLachlan; and the rest who come somewhere in between. It is regrettable that the serious points raised by the former should be undermined by the hyperbole or irrelevancies of the latter who sometimes reduce the discussion to the 'snobs or slobs' level.

Nevertheless, the *Black Papers* deserve to be read by anyone seeking insight into the contemporary British political and social, as well as educational scene.

Trevor Burridge

Eric Winter. URBAN LANDSCAPES. Toronto: Bellhaven House, 1969, 148 pp., illus., \$3.95.

The myth of the pristine innocence of the countryside and its obverse, the evil of the city, are part of the anti-urban bias in our Western tradition. This bias is very evident in our social studies curricula where the city, if considered at all, is often perceived from a rural viewpoint. The sanitized suburbia portrayed in Dick and Jane readers reflects most of all the middle-class North American's desire to turn his back on the city and find refuge in a cottage more likely to be covered by a mortgage than by the roses of which he dreams. Curriculum builders and text book writers have understandably shied away from dealing with the city's complexity, often complaining that materials for urban study are hard to come by.

For Canadian teachers, there will be less excuse for neglecting the study of the city as more books like Eric Winter's *Urban Landscapes* make their appearance. The first of a

three-volume series, this attractive little book seeks to define the field of urban studies, to help the student develop hypotheses and points of view and to experiment with analytical and descriptive tools. A second volume will attempt to develop similar skills with respect to social science methodology and a third will examine operations (i.e., data handling, design, etc.) in urban social engineering. The series is not oriented to a particular discipline and thus provides another portent of what I believe is a developing trend in "Canadian Studies," that of a topical, thematic or "problems" approach using analytical, inquiry-centered teaching models much more rigorous than anything seen in the older social studies of the 1930s. Winter's chapter-end "Investigations" and "Things to Do" and the frequent opportunities he provides for the pupil to reflect on what he has read, to study maps, diagrams

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and photographs, make this an inquiry-oriented book useful for both the theoretical and value-laden questions it raises about the urban landscape.

A long first chapter entitled "General Perspectives" gives an introduction, historically slanted, to several major Canadian cities, thus providing a national frame of reference and, by also treating a number of smaller centres (from a prairie village to Brockville, Ontario) permitting some appreciation of the varying scale of urbanization as a phenomenon. A remarkable economy in writing style, combined with a wealth of varied illustrations, gives the student a compact, readable and simple introduction to a complex subject.

The succeeding three chapters, respectively entitled "Places of Residence," "Places of Production," and "Places of Service," treat the major dimensions of the urban scene. "Places of Residence" opens with four photographs showing a high-rise, a group of detached homes built half a century ago, low-rise garden apartments and a group of suburban cottages. The student is invited to suggest, with reasons, which offers the best environment for living. The author proceeds to observe that the techniques and choices of building materials are no longer limited as they once were and yet, (by using new materials and construction methods to build traditional houses), "we pretend that the building revolution simply hasn't happened."

In Chapter 3, Winter points out that "the landscape of production is a landscape of fixed sites and buildings in an environment of shifting opportunities." The places of production do not change as easily as the opportunities that create them.

Opportunities can be viewed in two sets — those for producing and those for selling. "Both of these change with time as the technologies of production and marketing change." That such change can be even more rapid than Winter suggests is indicated by his observation that, "Whatever the state of technology there are locations which are suitable for an industry and locations which are not suitable — the prairie would clearly not be a suitable location for a fish processing plant." In fact, experiments presently under way in which fish are being very successfully raised in prairie farm dugout lakes give promise of a significant new source of revenue for hard-pressed wheat farmers and of the likely future location of fish processing plants within the shadow of grain elevators.

The historical approach is maintained in the discussion of industrial location. Major concepts in economic geography, particularly those relevant to location theory, are skillfully dealt with. Thus the notion of basic urban functions, i.e., those on which a place's economy depends because they support all other activities, is developed by studying a hypothetical fishing community. In Chapter 4, "Places of Service," the notion is developed that shops selling high-value items and those needing little space locate near the centre, while those selling low-value items or requiring large areas are further from the centre. Like all the ideas referred to, this is developed in terms of concrete examples, usually involving reference to well-chosen, interesting photographs. The earlier influence on commercial location of street car routes and the later traumatic effect of the automobile are lucidly presented. Under "Investigation," many

valuable urban field activities are suggested, inviting pupils to "check out" the location theories discussed by making surveys of such phenomena as store types, pedestrian traffic densities, shopping habits, public facilities and advertising media.

Communications and transportation are considered in Chapter 5 entitled "Linking Networks." The final chapter, "Problems and Prospects," emphasizes the timely topic of pollution.

Urban Landscapes is simple not lavish. It is to be hoped that the uncritical predilection some teachers have for colored textbooks will not deter favorable consideration of this book for classroom use. The quality

of a few of the black and white photographs might have been improved, and cropping has removed significant details in a few cases. The numbers referred to on the interesting historical maps of Winnipeg and Brockville are difficult to read. In some other cases, fuller use of the materials could have been made, and considering the inquiry orientation of the book, more questions could have been interpolated in the written text. These minor criticisms aside, Eric Winter has provided a new dimension for urban studies in Canadian classrooms.

George S. Tomkins
University of British Columbia

BRIEFLY NOTED

Canadian Public Issues Through Inquiry — a new periodical for use in schools; edited by George Munro, Co-ordinator of Social Sciences with the Halton County Board of Education, Ontario; published by Macmillan of Canada, Toronto; designed to provide, in readily accessible form, items from the current Canadian press dealing with significant social controversies. Vol. 1 no. 1 (October 1969) focuses on "Justice: The Case of the Canadian Indians." Promised later topics include "Individual Rights: Crisis in St. Leonard," "Violence in Society," "Is Canada a U.S. Satellite?" "Affluence and Unemployment." The aim is to encourage students to think critically and to act constructively about such issues. **C.P.I.T.I.** will be published in November, January, February, April and May each year. It seems as if it will be a worthwhile tool for all teachers interested in the "new" approach to social studies. (Subscription inquiries should be addressed to the publisher).

An Associate Committee on Instructional Technology has just been established by the National Research Council of Canada.

The committee will study, coordinate, and promote research concerned with the application of technological developments in instruction. Dr. F. E. Whitworth of Ottawa, Director of the Canadian Council for Research in Education, has been selected as the first chairman of the committee. It is hoped that work of the committee will provide the communication between the educational and industrial communities essential to the development of needed technological aids to learning.

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STOCKTAKING

As we embark on Volume V of the **McGill Journal of Education**, we are happy to report that interest in our publication is healthy and growing. We measure this in several ways:

- by the number of papers received, both unsolicited and invited
- by the excellent co-operation of our authors and reviewers
- by the increasing number of subscriptions, both in Canada and abroad
- by the special or bulk orders for certain issues
- by the appearance of references to our **Journal** in footnotes and bibliographies
- by requests from editors of books and journals to reprint our papers.

The following papers have been reprinted (or permission to reprint has been granted) in publications in Canada and the United States:

- Marshall McLuhan "The Crack in the Rear-View Mirror"
- Wayne Hall "The Teacher in the Activist School"
- R. J. Wensley "Activist Teaching and the Organization of Historical Ideas"
- John Porter "Social Change and the Aims and Problems of Education"
- C. Hawkins "Miss Brown's Two-Minute Drill"
- Gordon W. E. McElroy "Teaching Written French"
- Eric Winter "Towards the New Geography"
- Donald Kingsbury "The Systems Analysis of Learning Environments"
- Jeannette Veatch "The Spoken Language and Literacy"
- W. H. Lucow "School Marks and Professional Integrity"*
- Neil Sutherland "The 'New' Social Studies and Teacher Education"
- W. J. Gushue "Marshall McLuhan: Educational Implications"
- John E. O'Brien "The Impact of Mass Media on Education"

*Reprinted in three different professional journals.

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Jacques Brault, né à Montréal en 1933. Etudes aux Universités de Montréal, de Paris, de Poitiers et de Harvard. Professeur (Etudes Médiévales) depuis 1960. Auteur de "Mémoire," un recueil de poèmes; "Alain Grandbois," Collection Poètes d'Aujourd'hui.

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M. L. Dietz, Ph.D., Wayne State University, is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Windsor. She teaches Social Psychology and Deviant Behaviour.

Louis Feldhammer, an anthropologist, is now in the process of being fired (with seven other colleagues in the Political Science, Sociology and Anthropology Department) from the faculty of Simon Fraser University. He is now actively involved in the new Community Educational and Research Center in Vancouver. "The purpose of the Center is to help meet the real needs of workers, native peoples, the unemployed, women, youth, people welfare, and all other powerless groups in Canadian Society."

Ernest T. Hallberg, Ed.D. Arizona State, is Associate Professor, in the Department of Counsellor Education, McGill Faculty of Education.

Laurier LaPierre, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History and Director of the Franch Canada Studies Programme, McGill, is well known as a broadcaster and author.

Sidney Lecker, M.D., C.M., C.R.C.P.(C), is Director, Mental Assessment and Guidance Clinic, Montreal Children's Hospital and Assistant Psychiatrist, Montreal General Hospital. Dr. Lecker's paper is based on an address delivered to the National Conference of Jewish Communal Services (Montreal Chapter), December, 1969.

Manoly R. Lupul, is currently professor in the Department of Educational Foundations; University of Alberta, Edmonton. Dr. Lupul's field of specialization is Canadian Educational History.

Jo McIntosh, aspiring author and mother of three boys, speaks for that neglected segment of the education scene — the parents.

David Riesman, of Harvard University is author of the modern classic, *The Lonely Crowd* (Yale University Press, 1950). Dr. Riesman developed the present paper from an address entitled "The Collision Course of Higher Education," which he gave to the American College Personnel Association in Las Vegas, March, 1969.

Mimi Vaselenak, M.A., is Assistant to the Dean of the Faculty of Education, University of Calgary. She expects a full report of her study on MNM students to be published later this year by the Canadian Council for Research in Education.

Cecil W. Welch, is a doctoral student in the Department of Counsellor Education, McGill.

Ronald M. Wintrob, M.D., formerly of McGill, is now Assistant Professor of Psychiatry and Assistant Professor of Anthropology (Psychiatry) at the University of Connecticut.

