THE SOCIAL STUDIES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA SCHOOLS: EDUCATION OR ALIENATION?

by

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ABSTRACT

The study views political learning as having two divergent components, political education and political socialization. Political socialization is a process of values allocation in which beliefs are transferred from one generation to another. Political education concentrates on questioning values through critical inquiry in which social issues are viewed as subjects for analysis. Political education concentrates on subjective analysis while political socialization is more inclined to be objective in nature and presents society as a mechanism to be learned about.

It is suggested that as an objective exercise, political socialization is a process which could be inclined to alienate its recipients. In presenting the society and in particular its political aspects, as a set of established values to be learned and understood, political socialization discourages participation in the political sense. This is accomplished when participation is circumscribed by socialization to certain activities, principally, voting. Due to this limited understanding of participation political activity beyond voting is less likely and politics becomes increasingly incomprehensible. Citizens are removed from active participation to become, in effect, an audience. This lack of involvement can lead

to apathy or confusion towards political matters. The study posits that such political behaviours are manifestations of alienation.

These theoretical considerations provide a framework for the examination of social studies curricula in British Columbia. These curricula may be agents of socialization and hence conducive to alienation in students.

The study provides an analysis of three curriculum documents according to a framework which ascertains the degree to which a curriculum is inclined to political socialization or political education.

The analysis undertaken by the study determined that since 1950 British Columbia has had in place social studies curricula which have been inclined to political socialization and were, therefore, conducive to political alienation in students. The study indicates a 1979 draft curriculum presented by the Ministry of Education is a curriculum of political education. It was concluded that this curriculum is different in orientation than the two previous social studies curricula prescribed in British Columbia.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

A) Background to the Problem

In the 1960's and early 1970's the development of social education curricula and materials was primarily guided by a belief that the key to understanding society and to teaching social studies was an appreciation of the academic disciplines that constitute the social studies. Once students understood how geographers, for example, examined the human landscape, it was assumed that they, as citizens, would then be able to make more responsible decisions based upon a disciplinary form of inquiry. In the courses which taught the inquiry approach to learning, the emphasis tended to be on the processes of the subject's study rather than on the content of the course.

Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977) contended social studies courses emphasized the social science disciplines and a form of the scientific method. The new courses of the sixties and seventies were concerned with the how and why of learning, whereas earlier courses most often emphasized only content or the what rather than the why. These content oriented courses are described by Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977) as having a primary concern for citizenship transmission.

This study contends that in terms of citizenship training both the transmission approach and the inquiry method may in fact be means of socialization. In other words social studies curricula have been more

concerned with passing on political standards and beliefs to students than they have with the more purely educative processes of critical inquiry, enrichment and self awareness. The inquiry approaches popular in the sixties and seventies tended to scientific inquiry, avoided critical approaches and emphasized the process of learning. Older courses were more concerned with information and answers or more recently, scientific inquiry. As a result they avoided critical approaches to social issues.

Political education and political socialization are the two terms this study uses to differentiate between traditional content or process oriented courses in social studies and those which emphasize critical inquiry. Political education is a process of critical inquiry which emphasizes citizenship as a participatory activity. Political socialization is the conventional orientation of the social studies which provides information and answers. Through a process of passing on normative standards and beliefs poltical socialization encourages citizenship based on obedience and tradition.

As distinct forms in social education political socialization and political education provide political and social consequences. For example Tomkins (1977) suggests a consequence of political socialization to be the strong regional sense of identification and weak sense of national identity among Canadian students. Tomkins refers to such political socialization as a social cleavage effect in Canada. Moreover he wonders if the knowledge acquired by Canadian students has any effect on their political attitudes. Perhaps the parochial attitudes of Canadian youth of concern to Tomkins are a result of our approach to political learning, which simply does not challenge attitudes and only presents knowledge as facts and information.

Although avoiding allocation of values, political education considers learning as a process of challenging beliefs and making choices. This could well have the effect of breaking down parochial attitudes. It may not address Tomkin's specific concern about lack of national identity but the point remains that the worth of a national identity becomes open to question if political learning is a process of education and not socialization. In this respect then the political consequence of the learning may be quite different and could in fact be contrary to a national concept. A rationalistic rather than critical orientation to society typical of political socialization emphasizes the complexity of social and political affairs and consequently disinclines citizens from action. Either of these orientations then has obvious implications for social education and its citizenship component.

The approach to political socialization used in this study is somewhat atypical in that the concept does not refer to all political learning. Viewed as a specific type of political learning it is a process which brings individuals to accept the conventional morals and values of the political system. Patrick (1977) points out that there is a distinction rather than an equation between political socialization and political education.

A basic premise of this study, is that the failure to distinguish between political education and political socialization prohibits an examination of the conflicting forces of maintainance and change in schools. Attempts to keep things as they are and learning experiences geared to develop human capabilities to initiate and manage change have distinct political and social implications which a comparative analysis

of political socialization and political education should identify.

The crucial difference between political education and political socialization is that the former is much broader in scope. Learning experiences in political education can be designed to foster critical and independent thought which could lead to a rejection of conventional political beliefs. Political socialization on the other hand pertains to learning experiences aimed at shaping human potentialities for supporting the political order.

Alienation is another concept which is central to the study and underlines the significance of the matter. A curriculum which is oriented to political socialization is one which is more inclined to be alienating, because it presents society and its institutions as things to be learned about rather than as a dynamic structure in which citizens can act to change and modify structure. An alienating curriculum presents society as a complex structure, the effective control of which is beyond the actions of individuals. Such a curriculum nurtures a citizenry which is unable and disinclined to act politically.

Alienation can be viewed as a disinclination to act in a social and political sense that is the result of an estrangement from contemporary society caused by that society's complexity. (Habermas, 1976). A curriculum which deals essentially with knowledge about the complexities of society therefore could be described as one conducive of alienation. As society progresses in contemporary modes of complexity, such as increasing divisions of labour, the less rooted society will be in the knowledge and conscience of its citizens. Curricula which focus upon complexities adopt a rationalistic orientation which emphasizes increasingly complex processes of

research. As such, these curricula protect societies' institutions from a critical examination on the part of citizens who often are too enraptured of rationalistic processes to be astutely critical.

A lack of understanding by citizens due to societies' overall complexity compounded by a deficient critical orientation toward society has obvious implication for social education and its citizenship component. Citizens who are disinclined or unable to criticize, and hesitant to act politically, often become alienated in a political as well as a social sense. Political alienation then is a consequence of the citizen role which is communicated through political socialization. This is essentially objective in nature, and because of this is an alienated role.

The intent of this citizenship education is to have students learn an objective citizenship role. The possible consequence of this education then is the concern which motivates this study. If political behaviour in our society is conveyed to students as an objective and rational operation, and is defined in terms of rules, then it would seem that more subjective, critical action is beyond those rules. If critical action is not defined or communicated as part of citizenship education, opportunities for fundamental change are quite limited.

T.S. Kuhn's (1970) explanation of change in science and nature serves well in illustrating how change in society is particularly difficult to accomplish. The existing paradigm for examining society will, of necessity, carry on for a long time, for unlike science, society is not subject to accident in quite the same way. Phenomena are human, not natural, and therefore always defineable in psychological terms or terms which are always debatable. Since little can be conclusively proven in social and political

terms, there is a certain inertia which inhibits social change. This state of inertia in citizens is essentially a condition of alienation, an inability and an unwillingness to act. It is the purpose of this study to determine if this alienation is fostered by social studies curricula.

There is implied here a notion of citizenship which goes beyond the position that a good citizen is one who is a law abiding person and is politically active within a well established set of parameters. These conditions designate legitimate citizenship and tend to be activities which perpetuate and legitemize the political system.

The concept of citizenship adhered to in this study follows naturally from the process of political education. In other words citizenship is not determined by parameters. This is a citizenship which is essentially a critical consciousness that leads to questioning the established parameters of citizen actions.

This notion is implied in Laski's (1938) definition of citizenship as the "contribution of our instructed judgment to the common good. It may lead us to support the state; but it may lead us also to oppose it." (1938,p. 42).

The concern which motivates this view of citizenship and points out its significance is offered by Pranger (1968) when he explains that as western democracies evolve and become more complex, citizens are less able to effectively participate and are most often in the role of occasionally participating spectators removed from the exercise of power. For Pranger (1968) power removed from the citizens in this way takes on many of the characteristics of authoritarianism. Typically democratic values such as individual dignity and liberal education become more and more purely mythical, contrived and tenuous in the world of real action.

Such an evolution of heirarchical authority removes power from citizens and diminishes opportunities for citizens participation in politics. This can signify the loss of key political values that can be sustained in practice only when there is someone to practise them.

The implication of significance to social studies educators here then is the nature of the citizenship role conveyed by the social studies curriculum. If it is a role which is determined by parameters, does not admit the possibility of opposing the state and portrays citizens as only occasional participants in political activity, then the role alienates citizens from politics. Instead of education providing an intellectual foundation for a democratic citizenship, it is more likely to encourage the growth of authoritarian power.

B) Statement of the Problem

The problem of this study is to examine whether the forms of a curriculum in a particular subject area tend to foster a state of alienation in students. This of course assumes that alienation does exist and is reflected in a notion of citizenship conveyed by a curriculum which considers the citizen as a participant activist.

In addressing the problem the study considers two questions:

1) To what extent are social studies curricula inclined either to political socialization or political education?

2) What curricular forms can be identified as alienating?

C) Major Concepts

The first research question addresses the extent to which a curriculum is oriented to political education or political socialization. Pranger (1968) defines political socialization as inclined to alienate because it objectifies

the political culture. That is, it presents an image of citizenry where it is only possible to act within the system rather than to act on it. The system is an object reality, rather than a collection of questionable philosophical propositions. The political system therefore is an object to which citizens must relate their actions, and as such are removed from it in the sense that they must accomodate the system rather than the system accomodating their diversity of views.

Opposite to political socialization, Pranger (1968) posits political education as subjective in nature, and consequently does not present any concept as truth. As a result political education provides points from which one can analyze and criticize all concepts. In political education beliefs are presented "cafeteria style" for consideration. The artificiality of a political order is emphasized and the citizen is depicted as a creative participant within the political order.

In determining whether or not a curriculum has a political education orientation or one of political socialization the second research question examines how a curriculum form suggests the existence of alienation with those who study it. This, in effect, is an attempt to link objectification and socialization to alienation.

The examination of alienation in particular forms of curriculum will be based on an expanded notion of political socialization and political education as it has been advanced by Pranger and described in the conceptual framework.

The study will analyze three British Columbia curriculum guides for social studies. The three curriculum guides are those introduced in 1950 and 1968 and the draft version of the guide for the curriculum to be in place by 1982.

The analysis of each curriculum guide will be carried out using a framework based upon Patrick's (1977) "Dimensions of Political Education" applied to his "new themes in social studies." Patrick's work is of particular relevance because the dimensions can be related to Pranger's conception of political education and subsequently to the notion of alienation in this study.

Patrick's "dimensions" and "themes" can be formed into a series of questions which will be used to analyze the selected curriculum guides.

a) Is the knowledge in this curriculum based on social science concepts? Is there knowledge in the curriculum which is relevant to the analysis of public issues? Is there knowledge which is related to the legal system?

b) Are there intellectual skills which concentrate on:

   i) empirical inquiry?

   ii) normative analysis?

   iii) moral reasoning?

c) Does the curriculum provide opportunities for social action projects which involve students in attempts to change institutions and their policies?

d) Does the curriculum contain some conception of a society which is in some respect better than the present society?

These questions will be used to provide a description of each of the three curricula. The determination as to whether or not the curriculum is one of political education will be made according to the degree to which it is affirmative in terms of these questions.

The matter of degree will be established by comparing the number of political education concerns or aspects of the curriculum with other concerns which could be described as being more in the realm of political socialization. Each description of a curriculum will be presented as a profile drawn from Patrick's dimensions.

D) Limitations of the Study

This study provides a document analysis of three provincial Social Studies curricula. The examination is based on an analysis of what a curriculum declares should occur. There is no analysis of what actually goes on in a classroom.

This type of an analysis suggests that in the area of curriculum studies the intents of a curriculum are of crucial concern simply given their moral implications. A curriculum is a direct attempt to influence the thinking of its recipients. As such, intents ought to be the subject of some analysis or critical scrutiny. Students must take social studies courses throughout their schooling. The curriculum in these courses is entirely prescriptive, it allows for few options. The view of the world conveyed by such social studies courses must be scrutinized if for no other reason than the monolithic nature of their mandate.

Another limitation of the study is in its assumption that alienation is a human condition. There is no attempt to prove its existence or magnitude. The study accepts Habermas' and Marx's descriptions as indicative of the condition. A description of alienation is therefore detailed using conventional definitions. The study then posits that a curriculum of a certain type could bear some responsibility in enhancing alienation in its subjects.

Another aspect of the study which should be recognized as a limitation is that it will analyze a given subject area. Under consideration is the Social Studies curriculum in British Columbia since 1950. The conclusions of the study, therefore, will only be applied to this jurisdiction. No attempt is made to generalize about curriculum either in place or across subject areas.

Similarly the study considers only the secondary social studies curriculum. In focussing on intents in curricula the study is ultimately concerned with a question of principle. That the elementary curriculum is not considered does not devalue the concern that a curriculum which sets out to socialize also alienates. If even one curriculum in British Columbia can be identified as an agent of alienation a fundamental weakness in social education in this province has been laid open to question.

E) Summary

By adopting a non-conventional view of political socialization and by elaborating on the concept of political education, this study analyses a series of social studies curriculum guides to determine whether or not those guides could be described as being conducive of political alienation.

Alienation can be derived from a citizenship role which is limited in the degree to which citizens perceive they may participate in the exercise of political power. The circumscription of effective citizenship participation and its implicit consequences supplies the purpose of this study. Hopefully it will offer some reflection on the role social studies educators might have in enhancing what may be a process of alienation rather than education or awareness.

This study is primarily interested in examining critically the purposes of social studies curricula intended to develop citizenship. Such an examination suggests there is a need to view citizenship as emphasizing a sense of critical awareness on the part of citizens towards the state. Social studies in school programs more than any other subject, can create critical awareness. To ensure that, there is an obvious need for educators themselves to be critically conscious of what they are doing.

The following chapters provide a framework for and application of, the concepts and problems introduced in this chapter. Chapter two sets out a framework for understanding political education particularly as it relates to political socialization and alienation. Chapter three describes a procedure for document analysis and chapter four undertakes the analysis.

Chapter Two

A FRAMEWORK FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

This chapter begins with a discussion of the various ways in which political socialization is discussed in social educational literature. This is necessary because it is through political socialization that the notion of political education can be clarified. Pranger (1968) posits a definition of political socialization which distinguishes it from political education. In effect he offers two views of political learning. Political socialization is described as a process of allocation or transferance of political values. Political education, for Pranger, avoids this traditional approach to political learning. One of the purposes of the chapter is to explain in detail the differentiation between political socialization and political education as suggested by Pranger. The focus on political alienation is then set out as it relates to political education and political socialization. The chapter also presents a consideration of literature relevant to political education and socialization. The survey is intended to provide elucidation of the concepts central to the study as well as some theoretical support for the contention political alienation could be a consequence of political socialization.

A) Views of Political Socialization

Political socialization is a central concept of the study. This notion forms the foundation because it is from the traditional definitions

of political socialization that the study is able to focus on alienation and particular social studies curricula.

Dawson and Prewitt (1969) posit political socialization as the process through which a citizen acquires his own view of the political world. This commonly accepted notion considers the process as a way in which one generation passes on political standards and beliefs to succeeding generations.

This notion of political socialization is used by Zureik (1975) to outline a range of approaches for socialization that are based on an allocative model of politics. Research studies based on such a view of political socialization are concerned with how support for a political system is generated.

Zureik outlines three other approaches to political socialization which along with the allocative model provide a convenient framework for an analysis of the concept. Two of these other approaches are labeled "psychological" by Zureik. Finally he outlines a "social" perception of socialization which equates with this study's concern for the implication of the allocative mode.

The allocative model is specifically criticized by Shiry (1976) when he suggests that the concern for the persistence or allocation of political systems pays too little heed to the consequences of the socialization process. The concern of this approach to socialization is entirely with the matter of process.

For educators such a view of political socialization should be of concern for it implies socialization is primarily a process of legitimization. Shiry (1976) points out political socialization

in this sense carries an implied theory of politics which he calls a "citizen input assumption". This means political socialization has tended to depict the common man as an occasionally participating by-stander whose primary legitimate political activity is voting in a system which is assumed to be legitimate.

In addition Zuriek (1975) posits that the systems persistence role of political socialization does not allow for an expansive analysis or understanding of the political system. Typically the concern is with decisions and decision making. This tends to cause citizens to disregard all of those activities in a political system which are not decisions.

Of equal concern to educators should be what Zureik describes as the psychological approaches to political socialization. As a matter of psychological process it is also clear that political socialization is open to serious questioning. One aspect of the process is direct learning that leads to acquisition of information but is generally devoid of critical evaluational thought. There is no real opportunity to question the political system, the preoccupation is simply to learn about it.

Related to the psychological approach to political socialization is the notion socialization is a process of interpersonal transfer. The assumption is the child becomes socialized through experiences in correct behaviour which are eventually transferred to the larger social arena. This type of socialization is learned from role models such as parents, teachers and eventually heads of state.

The psychological and interpersonal transfer approaches to socialization can be criticized on the grounds they encourage affective rather than cognitive political affiliations. A child is considered to be socialized before any critical capacity is developed. Ethical or moral questions may more likely be answered on the basis of affiliation or tradition rather than any critical sense of right or wrong.

A third psychological interpretation of socialization comes from Piaget and is based on his theory of cognitive development. This process considers political socialization occurring as part of a universal sequence in the development of the child's thought process. As a child progresses through the stages of development a communal view of society eventually emerges. The emphasis in cognitive development tends to be on the independent development of thought with little regard for the relevance of social and environmental factors. There appears, for example, to be little consideration for the importance of teaching method and course content.

Zureik (1975) describes an alternative approach to political socialization which provides part of the theoretical foundation of this study. This is called the social approach to political socialization and unlike the allocative or psychological perceptions of socialization it is more concerned with the consequences rather than the process of socialization. A typical concern of the social approach is the role of the school in political socialization, the issue often being the legitimizing function of schools and the effect of this on society.

It is a central contention of the study that closely related to

the process of political socialization is the human condition of political alienation. Before elucidating this relationship it is necessary to set out what is meant here by political alienation.

B) The Concept of Alienation

For the purpose of this study alienation is treated in a particular sense which in some ways differs from the classical definitions of alienation as set out in critical social theory. Generally, alienation has, as with Marx (1844), been viewed as a social-psychological condition characterized by mens' inability to relate to other men other than as "exchange values" in the competitive capitalist system. A refinement of the concept is offered by Habermas (1973) when he suggests that alienation is a gap in consciousness brought on by the complexity of industrially advanced societies which makes it impossible for humans to understand society as a whole and thus has them living in a state of continuing perplexity. This is enhanced by a divided society in which they are even less rooted and ever less capable of acting effectively in a socio-political sense. (Habermas 1973).

Alienation then is seen by Marx as primarily a problem of social relations brought on by economic relationships. For Habermas it is created by the technological complexity of the society. Alienation of citizens from the political system of the society, is most easily understood as being caused by the economic and technological nature of the society. The political structure is inherently alienating because it serves or relates to the forces of alienation described by Marx and Habermas.

This is not to diminish the significance of political alienation,

for in and of itself the political system may be alienating, and as an element of society it can play a part in fostering the processes of alienation.

As a seperate concern political alienation is more often described expressly in terms of behaviour than the social alienation which is the focus of critical social theory (Habermas, 1973). Political scientists often describe alienation as a negative attitude toward the political system. This attitude is manifested as a feeling of powerlessness and a resentment of powerlessness. This resentment distinguishes the politically alienated from the politically apathetic. The suggestion is the alienated may not necessarily be disinclined to act politically (Skogstad, 1975).

This view of political alienation is decidedly less workable for it only applies to a specific relation, that of a citizen to a particular political system. It does not allow political alienation to be anything more dynamic than disenchantment. It does not for example accommodate Habermas' observation that alienation is more a matter of perplexity and subsequent inability to act accompanied not so much by feelings of frustration, but more characterized by unquestioning obedience and lack of understanding.

This "narrow" view of political alienation can best be understood as part of a tradition in democratic theory which assumes the legitimacy of democratic systems and then defines such features as alienation in terms of those assumptions. This means that, for example, alienation and apathy can be described as separate problems when they may in fact be one in the same.

Traditionally alienation has been described as a condition brought on by a lack of power. That is, if a democracy is viewed as a power seeking process the answer to one seeking to solve the problems associated with that process is to obtain more power. At the same time, a reluctance to become involved in power politics is a matter of apathy. The apathetic differ from the alienated because they are not interested in power (Bachrach, 1967).

Alternatively, however, it should be observed that the pursuit of power through democratic processes is only one aspect of life in a political system. Alienation may not only be a matter of frustration at a lack of power but also a feeling of confusion brought on by the complexity of the system. Confusion may be manifested as an unwillingness to become involved or as apathy or frustration. In any event both are political alienation because they are characterized by an unwillingness or an inability to act which is a result of the perceptions held by citizens of the political system. Thus the alienated citizen may out of frustration act illegitimately or withdraw and in effect become a non-citizen because of confusion and a resulting disinclination to act.

C) The Relationship of Alienation to Political Socialization

To come to a more specific focus, this perception of the political system which is the real cause of alienation could in large part be created through the communication of the political system. In other words the recognition citizens have of a system depends upon a process of communication. The way in which communication is carried out is as crucial as the content of the communication. This concept which

emphasizes the importance of communication and its relationship to alienation is well described by Pranger (1968) in his essay The Eclipse of Citizenship. Pranger has, in this work differentiated two forms of communication as it related to the political systems. These are political education and political socialization. Each describes an approach to bringing about "understandings" of the societies political processes and structures. ("Understandings" here is being used synonomously with "perceptions").

Differences between socialization and education for Pranger (1968) are derived from a conception of politics that distinguishes between the politics of power and the politics of participation. To Pranger they are not compatible. Instead they represent two "ideal types" of political culture. Pranger's concern is that the politics of power removes citizens from meaningful decision making. Citizens in effect give up power to a few elected or appointed government officials. The politics of participation is the opposite of this in the sense that it retains power for the citizenry.

> The politics of participation gives the citizens primary responsibility for governing themselves directly. The politics of power grants the most important governmental responsibilities for making authoritative decisions to a select few acting in behalf of, or in spite of, the citizen body (Pranger, 1968).

Pranger's notion of political socialization is a refined view derived from a critical perspective. He considers political socialization either as a process of shaping and transmitting a political culture or a method of passing on political standards and beliefs to succeeding generations. As such political socialization only allows citizens to

function within existing political structures. As Dawson and Prewitt (1969:12) suggest, this "is the way in which nations perpetuate their political standards by inducting new generations into established patterns of thought and action". For Pranger political socialization is to be criticized because it does not allow for the consideration of alternatives to existing political structures.

The relationship of alienation to political socialization is elucidated by Pranger (1968) through his contention that political socialization is a process of objectifying the political culture by means of power politics rather than participatory politics. Analysis of this concept of power politics as compared to the subjective politics of participation clarifies the concept of alienation for the purpose of this study. In other words, how political socialization as an exercise in objectifying the political culture, is conducive of political alienation.

Pranger (1968) contends that an objective political culture is one which demands attention from the citizenry. Such a culture is characterized by certain "political objects" which serve to demand citizens' attention. The most obvious of these are the political actors who are politically prominant. A political culture which emphasizes the importance of actors necessarily creates an audience made up of citizens. As an audience citizens are only indirectly involved in politics and in terms of decision making are less significant than the political actors. This relationship to politics on the part of citizens could well be as responsible for many citizens' unwillingness to be involved as the common

explanation it is not human nature to be politically active. The involvement which our contemporary political culture allows is so circumscribed that it is likely of little significance to most citizens. The fact that the allocative approach to political socialization does not address this development indicates a weakness of the model.

Pranger (1968) considers participation in representative democracies an insignificant act because it involves only voting for most citizens. The idea that the citizen jealously protects his individual freedom is a myth because, as Pranger contends, voting is meaningless in terms of the actual decision making processes of the political system. Vital political decisions are rarely made by citizens but rather by the political actors. In this sense then the act of voting only enhances power and as an act of participation is almost farcical.

Another aspect of a political culture which further objectifies it in removing meaningful participation in it from citizens is what Pranger (1968) refers to as political settings. These settings preserve the power of political actors and participatory politics which are out of context in terms of crucial issues. The best example of this is the realm of international relations. In contemporary global politics the primary objectives are to protect and/or enhance national power. The accomplishment of this requires an expertise beyond that of most citizens. Such expertise enhances the power of those political actors involved in international relations. Furthermore when national power and prestige are at stake hierarchical power is especially easy to rationalize. The setting of international politics is one in which citizens are very

obviously in an audience role.

Another object which enhances power and objectivity in a political culture is the language of politics. Certain expressions and descriptions used to communicate political concepts can in Pranger's view, orient citizens to either the politics of power or the politics of participation. In objective political cultures the language of participation is most often viewed as idealistic, utopian and beyond practicality.

Opposite to socialization for an objective political culture is education for a subjective political culture. This is the political culture where the emphasis is not on citizens relating to the objects of politics but rather on the citizen as a partipating individual. To this end political education does not allocate attitudes but simply presents values and beliefs "cafeteria style" for the consideration of citizens. The concern is with the making of citizens.

Because it is a process of induction or allocation, political socialization as a form of communication, makes citizens less able to exercise independent judgment about political conduct and has them "accept as inevitable and universally natural the kind of politics they experience locally...this communication process rules out independent questioning about the problem of political obligation." (Pranger, 1968, p.44).

Communication through political education, on the other hand, allows the citizen to become a creative actor able to make independent judgments. It is by way of political education citizens come to raise questions about their political obligations. Questionning is an essential part of participation, by its nature it challenges power and

characterizes a subjective political culture.

Political socialization in objectifying the political culture is conducive of alienation because of the manner in which it delimits the citizens' political role. Pranger (1968) contends the citizens' role conveyed by political socialization is essentially an alienated one. In communicating the complexity of a political culture and objectifying the relationships within it, political socialization removes citizens from an active part in the political culture.

D) The Role of Social Education in the Process of Socialization

A key concern of this study is whether or not the conceptions of political socialization and political education are applicable for analysing social studies curricula and hence whether curricula can be considered agents of alienation. A central issue then is the efficacy of social studies curricula in civic education. It is clear from the various studies related to citizenship education that there is no consensus among researchers on the effectiveness of social studies in citizenship training.

Hess and Torney (1967) with their often cited work, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, are perhaps the leading proponents that citizenship education does effect the political attitudes of children and these effects are of political significance. Their study suggests the school (and school curriculum) stands out as the central, salient and dominant force in the political socialization of children.

A number of their conclusions are of direct relevance to this study's contention that social studies curriculum documents can be agents of alienation. Using a large sample of American children they found schools

reinforced early attachments of the child to the nation. They further concluded the attitudes toward the nation most frequently fostered were submission, respect and dependence. In general political socialization at early age levels emphasizes behaviours which relate the child emotionally to his country and impresses upon him the necessity for obedience and conformity. Of particular interest in the work by Hess and Torney is that the citizen's right to participate in government is often not emphasized in the school curriculum.

In contrast to research by Hess and Torney, Langton and Jennings (1972) concluded that civics courses have practically no effect on students' political attitudes at the high school level. In fact, Langton and Jennings found the effect of these curricula to be so miniscule that they questioned the utility of courses on government at the high school level.

Inherent in Langton and Jenning's findings is the suggestion that a curriculum may not be alienating because curricula in general have been found to be ineffective in terms of their effect on political attitudes. Ineffectiveness in this sense could be extended to cover alienation if it is understood that curriculum simply has no effect on students' attitudes. That is, if a curriculum is ineffective, it has no effect either to educate or alienate.

It is interesting to note, however, that Langton and Jennings were seeking what might be described as positive manifestations of the socializing effect of school curricula. They were measuring for feelings of political efficacy, civic tolerance, and political interest. Their findings may be as much a comment on the content of the curricula

as on the general enterprise of citizenship education. It could be the nature of the courses makes them have few positive effects on students. They may, alternatively, be negative or indeed alienating because they foster an antipathy towards politics. In effect, what civic education encourages is a disinterest in politics. This contention is fortified by Langton and Jennings (1972) when they comment that one of the reasons why there appeared to be little difference between the attitudes of students who took civics courses and those who did not may be that the courses told students little they did not already know. This might suggest the courses offer little in the way of intellectual challenge or critical inquiry and are more likely a bland recitation of information which only discourages students from developing political interests.

A.B. Hodgetts' (1968) study of the teaching of history in Canada lends credence to a criticism of social studies curricula as adversely affecting student attitudes to social issues. Hodgetts found social studies courses in Canada generally discouraged student interest by relating Canadian history only as "a record of the dead past" (Hodgetts, 1968, p.22) and "a story told without controversy...as nice neat little acts of parliament" (Hodgetts, 1968, p.24). Hodgetts would likely explain the disinterest in politics on the part of students found by Langton and Jennings as a result of social studies courses making no attempt to relate events of the past to the problems and concerns of today.

Of concern equal to the content of the curriculum in the transmission

of a political culture is the attitude of teachers to the curriculum and the degree of responsibility they feel when involved in implementation. The actual effectiveness or the alienating force could be largely determined by the communicating medium, in this case the teacher.

Two comprehensive reports of classroom instruction in social education concluded that teachers are quite defferential to centrally prescribed curriculum. The British Columbia Social Studies Assessment (Aoki et al, 1977) and Case Studies for the National Science Foundation (Stake and Easley, 1979) both report that there is a conviction among teachers that the curriculum is to be taught not manipulated by teachers to suit their own views or professional abilities. The B.C. Assessment commented that in many respects the curriculum became a reason not to innovate or change. This is reflected in a statement in the summary report of the B.C. Social Studies Assessment (Aoki et al,1977) which suggests teachers are very much influenced by curriculum guides and the selection of course content.

> The meanings teachers assign to the elementary and secondary provincial curriculum guides generally reflect the 'what', 'how' and 'why' of Social Studies...They tend to view themselves as professionals whose role is to teach curriculum content according to these disciplines (History and Geography). (Aoki et al, 1977, p.30)

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> The teacher mobilized a daily effort to bring youngsters along to a maturity, to a socialization that that teacher admires. We found in all our sites teachers pass on the values of the society...Schools and curriculum are creatures of the social system rather than of the academy. (Stake and Easley, 1979, Chap. 16, p. 26)

The relationship of citizenship training to political socialization is explored somewhat unconventionally by Tapper (1978) in his work Education and the Political Order. Tapper criticizes the concern for "neutral" curricula on political or moral issues. He contends that neutral approaches are not possible. Moreover, Tapper (1978, P.11) demonstrates that so called "value free curricula only maintain a status quo by avoiding controversy and discouraging questionning or critical inquiry". Tapper is interested in change, in particular change in education systems. If education is essentially unchanging Tapper argues this can be partly explained by relating the education system to the political system. The political system can be preserved by a neutral education system that discourages challenges to the political status quo.

Tapper's notion suggests that education systems presuppose the legitimacy of a political system and in so doing reduce a citizen's options for political involvement. The fewer options for political involvement a citizen has the more likely they are to develop an alienated attitude. If a political system is perceived as not changing then one's reasons for participation are necessarily limited.

A similar concern for the relationship of education to social control is expressed by Michael Apple (1976) in his article "Power

and School Knowledge" (1976). Apple is primarily concerned with power: who has it, how it is manifested in schools and school curricula, and who benefits from it. Apple describes a connection between knowledge and power exercised through social control. In our society human relations are determined by the way the society is organized. Social parameters give a scope to human relations and determine the degree of freedom humans have in the society. Apple suggests that parameters for human relations are primarily conveyed through the school system particularly school curricula. This process cannot be neutral for only certain forms of relationship are described as normal or socially acceptable.

Apple (1976) sees school curricula as having specific social purposes for the power structures within society. He is most concerned with why a curriculum exists, and what are its social motivations. For the purpose of this study, Apple's notions are helpful for they attach a significance to school curricula beyond simple communication. As such, curricula could be capable of an alienating affect for this in itself is a social purpose which can be related to power structures in the society. It is a contention of this study that the status quo in social and political terms is well served by a school curriculum which is by way of its design and content, an agent of alienation.

Another way of describing the social parameters which underlie a curriculum is by applying Fred Greenstein's (1965) term "experiental filter" to those impressions of a society which are purposely transmitted to children in school. Greenstein's report, on an extensive research

project found childrens' political perception to be idealized, particularly their attitudes toward politicians who were often idolized by the subject children. Greenstein describes these perceptions as being based on first impressions of the political system. The political system is idealized when it is communicated to children and fallacies in the system are "filtered" out. Greenstein notes, however, that establishing parameters for political behaviour based on this idealization of the system tends to reduce citizens' political effectiveness. As people mature they realize the socialization they were subjected to has little relationship to reality. The political system does indeed have inadequacies. The political cynicism Greenstein finds in American adults he attributes in part to the fact that there is such a wide discrepancy between the idealized political frame of reference they receive in schools and the political realities Americans experience as adults. This political cynicism perhaps can be viewed as an aspect of alienation which dis-inclines citizens from political activity.

Nimmo's (1972) idea of political images is similar to Apple's concern for the social parameters of a curriculum and Greenstein's experiental filter. Nimmo sees as fundamental to political and social order the communication of images which allow for common understandings related to politics and political order. In short, images are the currency of political understanding. It is through images that parameters are set.

An example of this is the term "Canada" which might convey the image of a large unified nation state. This image of a country is one

of the first political images children receive. It becomes a kind of currency because it is a common understanding and as such is removed from other considerations. Canada then becomes the image around which political structures are organized. The status of the image removes it from any questioning. The image is presented as a reality which exists beyond other considerations.

Nimmo (1972) argues that the use of political images in developing political understanding should not leave a citizen less than able to be meaningfully involved in his society in the political sense. If the images conveyed constitute most of the political landscape in a society and they are generally beyond questioning, then citizens' involvement in politics is obviously limited to those activities which will maintain the images.

As a solution Nimmo (1972) advocates "adaptive political imagery" which would allow citizens to change political images according to the needs of new experiences and situations. This implies active participation beyond system maintenance. It requires adaptive behaviour which will not accommodate all political symbols or accept unchanging images.

Newmann (1975) describes the necessity of students learning how to exert an impact on political reality in moral terms. For Newmann (1975) the less ability one has to influence the world the more difficult it becomes to consider one-self a moral agent; that is, one who deliberates on what ought or ought not to be.

Newmann's conception of morality being dependent on assertive political behaviour is, like Nimmo, derived from a conviction that the present

orientation of school curricula tends to emphasize the importance of students learning to understand, describe or explain reality rather than act upon it. Nimmo's adaptive political imagery and Newmann's morality perhaps describe an outcome of a process of political education which could successfully discourage alienation.

E) Summary

The central focus of this chapter has been an attempt to develop the concepts of political socialization, political education and political alienation within a theoretical framework which allows an analysis of social studies curricula. It has been contended that as a process of values allocation, political socialization has the capacity to be fundamentally alienating.

The degree to which social studies curricula have the capacity to communicate political standards and affect political attitudes has been the subject of studies by Hess and Torney (1967) and Langton and Jennings (1972). Given their differing conclusions there does appear to be some justification for pursuing an inquiry on the effect of political communicating on political attitudes. The fact there are doubts about the effectiveness of curricula with intents of socialization allows us the concern that these courses may be effective.

This study is not so concerned with what a curriculum may or may not do but rather with what it is intended to do. The importance of curriculum in terms of what is intended in its implementation has been given credence in the British Columbia Social Studies Assessment and

the National Science Foundation Studies. Both of these have indicated that teachers use curricula to nationalize and expedite the socialization of their students.

According to Pranger (1968) an objectified view of the political culture presented by political socialization removes citizens from effective participation in politics and enhances the opportunities for a politics of power to develop. In being removed from meaningful participation by the process of socialization, citizens can encounter alienation because the political system, due to their lack of involvement in it, becomes alien to them. In being communicated as a series of objects the political system easily becomes too remote and complicated for most citizens and as a result power devolves to political actors.

The considerations of Hodgetts, Apple, Nimmo, Tapper, Greenstein and Newmann admit Pranger's concern for the effects of political socialization and to a degree substantiate the significance of his view of political education. Like Pranger each of these writers can be said to have a concern for the quality of an individual citizen's political life. They see quality enhanced by:

- realistic portrayals of the political system so there are fewer opportunities for cynicism on the part of citizens; cynicism being close to alienation
- adaptive political images which will allow a meaningful involvement in politics and encourage citizens to create images to suit needs rather than try to fit old images to new situations
- school curricula that avoid neutrality and encourage questioning and critical thinking

- a concern for the type of social parameters schools set for students, realizing that these parameters determine freedom.

Avoiding political myths, offering a critical perspective on politics and appreciating the importance of education in maintaining and forming society would in large part overcome the shortcomings of political socialization outlined by Pranger. Clearly these are approaches which encourage participation on the part of citizens and would discourage leader's use of power.

Pranger's concern for political objects which occupy citizens' attention is elucidated by Greenstein's remarks on political idealism and Nimmo's "images". Apple's "parameters" represent a broader way of expressing, for example, Pranger's feelings about the inadequacy of the representative system of government which gives an illusion of freedom. Apple notes that representative democracy is a parameter which solidifies the power of some citizens by circumscribing the power of others. In a sense it is a system which effectively limits the range of citizens' political activity.

Each of the educators and social scientists discussed in this chapter are concerned about the consequences of citizenship being a "given" something applied to people with certain conditions, rather than something they arrive at through their own thought and action and through education rather than socialization.

Chapter Three

A PROCEDURE FOR ANALYSIS

This chapter will establish a framework for analyzing the three curriculum guides that will be the subject of chapter four. The framework will be presented using Patrick's (1977) dimensions of political education as it relates to Pranger's distinction between political socialization and political education. The procedure for the analysis is provided by Patrick's (1977) themes for political education. These themes will be explained and the relationship of these to alienation in a school curriculum will be considered.

A) A Framework for Analysis

A curriculum analysis based on an analytical framework must be sensitive to the refinements of those concepts explicated in chapter two. In considering political education and political socialization for example, a traditional analysis might consider these under a more general rubric such as political learning. Indeed a common description of political socialization might be all political learning, formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned. An analysis which proceeded with such a view of political socialization would of course not satisfy the distinction made in chapter two. What is clearly needed is an analytical framework which incorporates the notion of political education distinctly from political socialization.

Such a framework is offered by Patrick (1977) in his article "Political Socialization and Political Education". In setting out his approach to curriculum analysis Patrick submits that referring to all political learning

as political socialization does not allow a precise examination of the forces of maintenance and change in schools. By way of this suggestion Patrick observes that various aspects of political learning may tend to either promote change or ensure system maintenance. Specifically, political socialization is a maintenance exercise while political education engages in "learning experiences geared to develop human capabilities to initiate and manage change" (Patrick, 1977, p.192). This view of political socialization and political education is quite similar to that presented by Pranger (1968). In his discussion of political socialization and political education Patrick (1977) leaves little doubt that he perceives the two from the same perspective as Pranger.

In fact Patrick provides additional insights to political education which, while affirming his compatibility with Pranger, also enhance an understanding of political education. In differentiating between the two, for example, Patrick states:

> Students of political education...should ask how individuals learn to create and to change political orders. Students of political education should be interested in the adjustment of society to fit the needs of individuals as well as the adjustment of individuals to fit the needs of society. (1977,p.193)

Patrick's concern for political education is clear not only in his remarks on its distinction from political socialization but also in his presentation of his analytical model. In outlining this Patrick states:

> The surest way to determine the values of curriculum developers in political education is to examine their instructional objectives and practices in terms of these four dimensions, since they reveal what and how they believe students ought to learn. An educator whose ends and means stress recall of many details about government institutions is revealing very different values from one whose objectives and practices stress analysis and evaluation of political decisions. A curriculum developer's ends and means indicate whether he values learning what is rather

> trivial and insignificant or profound and relevant, that discourages initiative and creativity or that enhances potential for independent, divergent thinking, that is geared to keep a society essentially as it is or that enables the initiation and management of needed social change. (1977,p.193)

In seeking to determine the focus of a curriculum on political education as an indication of a commitment to social change, divergent thinking and creativity Patrick establishes a framework with four dimensions to facilitate inquiry related to social education curricula. These dimensions are: (1) political knowledge, (2) intellectual skills, (3) political participation skills and (4) political attitudes.

1) Political knowledge

One of the predominant characteristics of socializing curricula would be an emphasis on knowledge. Pranger would describe this as knowledge about political objects or knowledge which is objective in nature. Patrick sees political knowledge in political education as differing in that this knowledge, while it is made up of facts, concepts and information, it is also intended to encourage the exercise of citizens' influence. In this sense it is a subjective form of knowledge in that it does not relate necessarily to specific objects in a political culture but relates perhaps more commonly to action. This sort of knowledge is as Patrick states "strategic information...necessary to effective political action" (1977,p.194). As such it might be information about patterns of voter behaviour, relationships between socio-economic status and political participation or the legal duties of elected representatives. In short, political knowledge is relevant to action and not merely knowledge about objects.

2) Intellectual Skills

Patrick describes the intellectual skills as the ability to describe, explain and evaluate political phenomena. These skills pertain in particular to locating and using evidence to support or reject factual claims. Examples of how these skills would relate to political life are in appraising newspaper articles as to accuracy or bias, making rational moral judgements or evaluating the judgements of others. Clearly these are skills which are vital to effective citizenship. They are skills which would be instrumental in removing citizens from the audience role which is of so much concern to Pranger.

3) Political Participation Skills

This dimension of political education is based on the assumption that the ultimate aim of political education is not only knowing but doing. This is related to Pranger's concern about citizens' audience role and is a vital part of the process which would place citizens in a more active role.

Political participation skills are in a sense part of a sequence in political education which blends knowledge and skills. Knowledge about influence and skills of organizing and interpreting evidence combine to form an active skill in using influence to achieve political objectives. The instructional objectives and practices for participation skill learning then would focus on abilities needed to interact smoothly with others, maintain a group, cooperate with others to achieve a common goal, and negotiate or bargain to influence or make decisions. "These skills should encourage the development of participants who can advocate ideas, organize resources and administer people and things" (Patrick, 1977, p.195).

4) Political Attitudes

Patrick explains the focus of attitudinal objectives as being on feelings of accepting or rejecting, of approaching or avoiding political realities. He notes that the goal of citizenship is often weighted heavily with affective concerns which are most often directed at developing political orientations. These are orientations which consist of beliefs and attitudes that support both the concept of majority rule as well as the protection of minority rights. These are essential elements in participatory democracy but, as Patrick points out, these aspects of democracy do not function unless citizens have sufficiently high levels of political interest and political efficacy (1977,p.195-196).

Patrick (1977) contends the issue of attitudes is where educators often come into conflict. There is some apparent division between those who favour highlighting such aspects of the democratic model as the importance of conformity to majority rule, national loyalty and law and order. Others however emphasize critical thinking, open mindedness and freedom of speech. These conflicting themes in attitude development underline the fundamental differences between subjective and objective approaches to political learning. Clearly Pranger's notions about political education apply to the latter rather than to the former orientation to attitude development.

B) Dimensions of the Analysis

Patrick (1977) has delineated a number of themes in curriculum which relate to and enhance political education. These themes are expressed as elements of his four dimensions of political education and socialization. Each of these themes are in his words indicative of

"innovative practices in curriculum development which might have a substantial positive impact on the political learning of high school students." (Patrick, 1977, p.206).

These themes are adopted here to provide the instrument necessary for the curriculum analysis to be undertaken in chapter four. These themes, although in a sense somewhat random, are at the same time comprehensive enough that they should provide for an adequate description of each curriculum according to its adequacy as a curriculum of political education or its tendency to political socialization.

In the dimension of political knowledge Patrick (1977) identifies three themes which lend themselves to political education.

1) Knowledge based on social science conceptual frameworks. The emphasis in this knowledge theme is on concepts and generalizations about the political behaviour of groups rather than emphasis on the traditional knowledge in curricula which are concerned mainly with details about political institutions or legal documents. Knowledge based on conceptual frameworks from social science emphasizes an applied knowledge as it, for example, introduces information which would allow students to compare political institutions. This could be a comparison which might require some judgement of the relative merits of various political systems. In any case developing concepts in social science goes far beyond an emphasis on facts and information (Patrick, 1977,p.206).

2) Knowledge relevant to the analysis of public issues. A focus on knowledge of this nature suggests that one of the basic aims of political education should be to teach analytical skills that enable one to think about and know public issues (Patrick, 1977,p.207).

An important emphasis in this knowledge theme is often upon what

ought to be or what should be. Also this is an approach which requires analysis and the application of a process of analysis. Part of this process, frequently its culmination, is in requiring a judgement from the student as an application of this knowledge.

3) Knowledge related to the legal system. A knowledge of law and the legal system could be considered essential to comprehensive political education. It is this knowledge which allows a citizen to cope with personal and public problems in a political system. Such knowledge can enable a citizen to take a stand or present a case for a cause they feel is just. This knowledge theme would emphasize not only knowing what the law is but how it relates to social and political organization and how it can be used to sove problems (Patrick, 1977, p.208).

Pranger's concerns about objective knowledge are clearly answered in any curriculum which introduces these knowledge themes. The emphasis on knowledge based on concepts and on particular social science concepts is an approach which in using a conceptual base for knowledge goes beyond the simple transfer of information typical of political socialization. Conceptual knowledge is subjective in nature not only in the fact that it does not concentrate on objects but in the political sense as a type of knowledge which has the potential for use and must be taught in terms of application. Conceptual knowledge is not so easily presented for its own sake as isolated facts or information can be. This is a form of knowledge that permits a citizen to relate to a political culture subjectively as a critical individual rather than objectively as one of many who have some information about a political system.

Similarly knowledge relevant to public issues provides a subjective basis for citizenship participation. In pursuing questions such as what ought to be in relation to public issues this approach to knowledge goes beyond the objective nature of knowing about events. This is an approach to knowledge which precipitates a critical perspective and for Pranger is a situation which would encourage participation and discourage the enhancement of authoritarian power.

Knowledge related to the legal system can accomplish much the same thing in that it is instrumental in effective participation. As with the other approaches to political knowledge the focus here is not so much on facts and details about the law as an object to be learned about but rather on the law being functional and serving the interests of citizens and not merely those of legislators or lawyers. Clearly this is part of an effort to demystify politics and make participation easier and more natural.

Patrick's (1977) second dimension, intellectual skills, has three themes which if present in a curriculum would tend toward political education.

1) Emphasis on skills of empirical inquiry. The purpose of developing such skills is not merely to have students carry out "scientific" enquiries. Most importantly this theme would, according to Patrick "enable learners to marshal evidence to make warranted judgements about political reality. The aim is to teach skills that enable systematic, independent learning about the political world." (1977, P.209). Patrick points out that

> knowledge and intellectual skills are acquired concurrently, for example, when students learn skills of using concepts to organize information they also learn knowledge of the concepts - definitions and information which fits the definitions. When students learn skills of formulating and testing hypotheses, they also learn knowledge of concepts used to build the hypothesis and information used as evidence to support or confirm the hypothesis. (1977,p.209)

2) Emphasis on skills of normative analysis. The acquisition of these skills would enable a student to make informed and rational value judgments. This skill is emphasized because it requires decisions about right or wrong. Normative analysis involves political education in values clarification and ethical value judgments. In requiring decisions as to ethical correctness relating to public issues there is a clear need for political education to encompass values questions. This aspect of political education should encourage students to make decisions based on ethical considerations.

3) Emphasis on skills of moral reasoning. This could be considered an alternative theme to normative analysis. The concern with values questions is present here but this approach would go beyond analysis and its somewhat relativistic consideration of values to the development of increasingly sophisticated states of moral development and more absolute definitions of right and wrong. This emphasis on moral reasoning is based on the work of other educators. First, Patrick (1977) advances the view that values education should facilitate the movement of students to higher stages of moral development. Second, Patrick (1977) uses "moral dilemma" lessons as an example of this approach in practice as educators attempt to provide practice for students in the resolution

of dilemmas as a way of promoting their moral development.

This view of moral education might be considered quite divergent from that provided by normative analysis. Indeed proponents of this view would consider skills of normative analysis inadequate in terms of the quality of values education they provide. The central issue is that moral reasoning skills seem to suggest a certain perception of right and wrong whereas normative analysis does not. Nonetheless both themes serve the purposes of political education because they require a critical perspective on values questions and go beyond an allocative approach to political values. In both themes a commonly held value is not necessarily the truth and as such requires consideration.

These three themes associated with intellectual skills contain important elements of Pranger's notion of political education and in so doing go beyond mere political socialization. Empirical inquiry, normative analysis and moral reasoning are examples of what Pranger would describe as the "cafeteria style" of political education (1968,p.43). These themes allow an inquiry on the part of students as to what is right or wrong in questions of value. They encourage independent judgment. Pranger characterizes political socialization as "deliberately shaping attitudes and developing predispositions to accept truths" (1968,p.43). These themes are clearly intended to do the opposite. Through efforts to promote individual decision making and independent judgment and by avoiding the allocation of certain values these themes qualify as political education.

Participation skills, Patrick's third dimension of political education, is best exercised by offering students opportunities for community participation in social action projects and in trying to change the

policies and practices of private or public institutions. These experiences allow practical application of the knowledge and skills obtained through the other dimensions of political education.

The desired outcome of political education is an active citizen who recognizes the importance of change. The experiences noted above have the obvious value of making participation a less difficult and more familiar experience. There is here an evident connection to Pranger's notions about the importance of participation in democratic systems. In this regard a curriculum which provided such experiences for students could be considered to have a significant inclination to political education.

Political attitudes, the fourth dimension of political education provided by Patrick, is best developed by themes which focus on some conception of a more just or better society. This could be considered fundamental to a critical consciousness which is a key goal of political education, an attitude on the part of citizens that ideals exist and should be pursued and that our existing social structure can be changed. These themes would provide a focus for the knowledge, intellectual skill and participation acquired through the other dimensions. It is the themes related to this dimension which in Pranger's context avoid socialization because they begin with the premise that the present society may or may not be good, instead it is a decision of students. Courses do not allocate information which suggests that ours is the only possible good society. Themes of political attitude require significant difference in political perception between being concerned only with "what is" to being involved in "what ought to be". For Pranger this would fit a definition of political education because there is a subjective approach to the

political culture and a de-emphasis of the importance of political objects.

It is necessary to suggest that while Patrick's dimensions used in the document analysis in chapter four are not absolute evaluative criteria and are by no means the only indication of a curriculum of political education, they are nevertheless complete enough that a curriculum adhering to several of the dimensions would be considered inclined to political education. The list of questions, albeit limiting, of what a political education curriculum could be will allow the conclusions of the analysis of each curriculum to be based on indicationsof an inclination rather than on absolute criteria. A curriculum will therefore be described in terms of the degree to which it accommodates political education. Curricula which are disposed to a minimal degree to political education will be deemed more potentially alienating; a curriculum which assists more positively the answering of the analytical questions would be considered less likely to be a curriculum conducive to alienation.

Analysis conducted according to Patrick's dimensions and themes, specifically related to political education, creates a corollary relationship to political socialization in that those curricula not inclined to political education are deemed to be inclined to political socialization. In other words, failure to indicate any measure of political education will allow the assumption that these curricula are carrying on a socializing function. Even if curricula in social education do not overtly attempt to socialize they will do so simply by not accommodating any aspects of political education and by maintaining

an uninformed and uninvolved citizenry.

Specific information indicating political socialization will be identified in a more positive sense by applying the notions of objectivity explained in chapter two.

Each curriculum description, then, will be comprised mainly of responses to the questions based on Patrick's dimensions and themes. Pranger's work will be used to focus the descriptions on political socialization where the responses to the analysis suggest that this is appropriate.

The questions derived from Patrick's dimensions and themes have been introduced in chapter one as the methodology of the analysis of the subject curricula. These are reiterated here to place them within the dimensions of the inquiry and also to indicate the way in which the inclination of a curriculum to socialization or education will be determined.

a) Is the knowledge in this curriculum relevant to social science and based on social science concepts? Is there knowledge in the curriculum which is relevant to the analysis of public issues? Is there knowledge which is related to the legal system?

b) Are there intellectual skills which concentrate on:

i) empirical inquiry?

ii) normative analysis?

iii) moral reasoning?

c) Does the curriculum provide opportunities for social action projects which involve students in attempts to change institutions and their policies?

d) Does the curriculum contain some conception of a more just society?

The following criteria for evaluating a curriculum were achieved by applying the questions derived from Patrick's dimensions and themes in political education to a type of scale which assess the inclinations of a curriculum.

A curriculum in which two or three of these questions are answered affirmatively would be considered minimal in its inclination to political education and hence somewhat likely to be conducive to political alienation in students.

A curriculum in which four to six of these questions are answered affirmatively would be considered moderate in its inclination to political education and hence moderate in its likelihood of being conducive to alienation.

A curriculum in which seven or more of these questions are answered affirmatively would be considered significant in its inclination to political education and hence unlikely to be conducive to alienation.

A curriculum in which none or only one of these questions is answered affirmatively would be considered not at all inclined to political education.

C) Relationship of Curriculum Form to Political Alienation

It is evident that the relationship of the form of a curriculum to political alienation will be a key component in the conclusions. At this point it is necessary to explain how a curriculum form can be considered an agent of political alienation.

The relationship of political socialization to alienation has been established in chapter two. Various explanations were made to explain the importance of communication in determining the type of political

learning to take place and that a communication of political socialization was likely to be conducive to alienation.

For the purpose of this study a curriculum in social education is considered a form of political communication. Pranger (1968,p.42) distinguishes two aspects of communication, the methods and the content. A curriculum encompass both of these and adopts a method of communication which in Pranger's terms is either socialization or education. The curriculum imparts content through one of these methods. The form of the curriculum then is determined by the nature of the methods and content associated with it.

This study will identify a curriculum as alienating if the content does not accommodate any of the dimensions of political education. In other words, the form of a curriculum will be deemed to be alienating because the content suggests the method of communication is political socialization and, as demonstrated earlier, is likely to induce political alienation in citizens.

D) Summary

This chapter has presented a framework and dimensions for the analysis of social education curricula according to their potential for political education. The framework is derived from Patrick's (1977) four dimensions of political education which are based on his concept of political education. The four dimensions which provide a theoretical foundation for the subsequent themes are, knowledge, intellectual skills, participation skills and attitudes. A curriculum of political education should focus on these dimensions in order to encourage a commitment to social change, divergent thinking and creativity. These dimensions will

be more inclined to foster characteristics of political education if they are evident in the eight themes suggested by Patrick. An assessment as to the potential of a curriculum for political education will be based upon the ability to accommodate these themes and dimension. As a curriculum is a form of communication it will communicate either socialization or education. If a curriculum is more inclined to be a form of socialization then it will also likely be conducive to alienation.

Chapter Four

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

This chapter will describe in detail the analysis of three British Columbia social studies curriculum documents. The descriptions will be based upon the analytical framework formulated in Chapter three and specifically derived from Patrick's (1977) themes in political education. Pranger's (1967) interpretation of political socialization will also provide any necessary application of that concept to the curriculum under examination. The Chapter will, through these descriptive profiles, offer conclusions which evaluate the various curricula according to their inclinations to political education or political socialization. Ultimately, a determination as to each curriculum's potentiality as an agent of alienation will be made. This final evaluation relating to alienation will be based on the theoretical considerations presented in Chapter two which attempted to demonstrate the relationship between alienation and political socialization.

A) Document Analysis

The analysis undertaken in this chapter is essentially a description of the secondary school social studies curriculum in British Columbia over the past thirty years. In focussing on a curriculum as it has appeared over time it is not, however, the intention here is to emphasize any historical significance. The primary purpose in using the

same jurisdiction is to emphasize the potential for alienation. A curriculum which has been inclined over a long period of time, in spite of revisions or changes, to political socialization can be considered more significant as an agent of alienation than one which is analyzed as a particular document.

The analysis provided here has the potential to provide a statement on the nature of a curriculum as it has been experienced by an entire generation and perhaps will be experienced for a good part of a generation to come. In terms of the concept of alienation this is of more obvious consequence than any judgment of a particular document which has been in force for a comparatively short period of time. In short then, this form of analysis is presented here because of its potential for significance in terms of alienation rather than as an historical portrait.

B) Descriptions of Three Social Studies Curricula

1) The 1950 British Columbia Social Studies Curriculum

The first curriculum document examined in the study was The Social Studies. It was introduced in 1950 for grades seven, eight and nine social studies courses taught in the Province. In 1951 and 1952 social studies courses for grades ten and eleven were subsequently introduced. The entire course of study was revised with what might be described as cosmetic changes in 1956 and 1960. For the sake of simplicity this curriculum will be referred to as the 1950 social studies curriculum.

This 1950 curriculum replaced one which had been in place since 1941. In its introduction it reveals a decided tendency to the tenets

of the progressive education movement. This is particularly evident in the general objectives of the curriculum stated at the beginning of the guide (Department of Education, 1950, P. 11). Here there is a strongly worded caution to teachers that knowledge should not be pursued for its own sake, that the rote learning of unrelated facts is undesirable. There is an emphasis on what is described as "the love of truth" (Department of Education, 1950, P.11) and an admonition that, "social studies students should not only learn facts or even merely acquire knowledge and understanding; they should also acquire an interest even an intense determination, always to get to the truth of the matter. In short they should be initiated into the life long quest for, 'whatsoever things are true'." (Department of Education, 1950, P.11).

After the statement of general objectives comes a section entitled, "attitudes, appreciations and allegiances" (Department of Education, 1950, P.14). The statements in this section also impart a "progressive" tone in their emphasis on "universality of spirit in world affairs" and the importance of aesthetics (Department of Education, 1950, P.14). This appears, on the surface at least, to reflect the progressive's concern for the role of aesthetics in developing the whole child as well as the notion of "expanding intellectual horizons", instrumental to progressive education (Dewey, 1899).

The next section of the 1950 social studies curriculum guide is entitled "course and instructional objectives of the programme as a whole" (Department of Education, 1950, P.15). This section is devoted to a list of instructions to teachers on how to proceed with the instruction

of the course. They appear as an elaborate attempt to encourage teachers to be comprehensive and interesting in their approaches to social studies. Indeed these appear not at all as "course objectives", but rather as directives to teachers on the proper approach to teaching the subject.

The curriculum document, particularly in its introductory pages, seems most concerned with enlightening teachers and perhaps with improving teaching methods. The methodology section (Department of Education, 1950, P.1) lists a number of teaching techniques applicable to social studies. It is interesting to note that in light of the B.C. Social Studies Assessment (Aoki et al,1977) report that teachers in B.C. favour the lecture method, this 1950 document does not recommend the method and specifically cautions teachers not to use it (Department of Education, 1950, P.19).

Perhaps in order to expedite improved teaching methods in social studies this curriculum emphasizes the "unit method" (Department of Education, 1950, P.21) and provides a model of a "typical teaching unit". The unit approach as it is set out here is an attempt to incorporate the position of Progressive educators (Dewey, 1899) of education through experience. Moreover, the authors of the 1950 curriculum document suggest the unit should be developed through the participation of students in co-operation with the teacher. The curriculum guide advises teachers to maintain a log of a unit so that, "it develops under actual classroom conditions into an experience unit" (Department of Education, 1950, P.22).

Following the methodology section is a lengthy description of various resources available to teachers and suggestions as to how these might be used. There is a mention of the importance of current events in this section as well as a two page consideration of the use of "visual aids" followed by two more pages on the use and care of maps. Finally there is an outline of how teachers might employ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation school broadcasts in their social studies classes.

All of this at first glance appears as a sincere attempt to make social studies interesting for students and at the same time is a challenge to teachers to up-date their approaches to the subject. The curriculum of course makes no judgments as to the adequacy of previous instruction in the subject but the thirty-four pages of detailed directions essentially on how social studies ought to be taught demonstrates some concern for this matter on the part of those who wrote the guide.

The introductory discussion of social studies and teaching methods is followed by course outlines for grades seven, eight and nine. The course outlines for grades ten and eleven were printed in 1951.

Each course outline provides an appropriate time allotment and a description of the course content. Perhaps in order to facilitate teacher's adherence to the curriculum concern for "experience units" each course has an illustrative sample unit incorporated with the guide. These units focus on a statement of purpose such as "early origins of our modern civilization". Associated with these are objectives drawn from the curriculum guide statements of general objectives described as

general knowledge, abilities and skills, attitudes and appreciations. Each unit is then divided and a "problem" for inquiry associated with it. The problem is pursued according to various objectives, within a certain scope and through a variety of pupil activities. The unit model is concluded with a "suggested testing procedure", which is actually a quiz to be given students when the unit is completed.

The scope of the course content in the 1950 curriculum can safely be described as exhaustive and, for teachers, likely exhausting. The concentration is entirely upon history and geography with extensive units on citizenship included in grades eight and ten.

History is presented chronologicaly according to each course's time frame. Units on historical periods are repeated in various grades. Students were taught the panoply of Canadian history twice, in grade eight and grade eleven. European history was introduced in grade seven and reviewed in grade ten. Geography units covered virtually every part of the globe and went into minute detail on Canadian geography in grade eight and grade ten.

2) The 1968 British Columbia Social Studies Curriculum

The second curriculum to be considered was issued in 1968 as the Secondary School Curriculum Guide-Social Studies. This guide pertains only to the constant or required social studies courses in grades eight, nine, ten and eleven.

The 1968 curriculum guide opens with a statement that the previous curriculum, i.e. the 1950 curriculum, had been criticized because it was too content oriented and that the tremendously broad range of

content limited teaching by emphasizing subject matter. In the view of those who wrote the 1968 curriculum guide these limitations of the 1950 curriculum made it "difficult to give meaning and significance to the studies which this programme embraced" (Department of Education, 1968, P.1).

Like the previous social studies curriculum document the 1968 guide expresses a concern for the interests of pupils but in this regard avoids "attempting to contribute too much detailed knowledge", in favour of, "the principle of selection and the provision of a wide variety of recources" (Department of Education, 1968, P.1). This evidently suggests that some onus will be placed on the teacher in developing an appropriate and significant course through a careful selection of topics and materials. This concentration on the role of the professional teacher is affirmed in the statement of course objectives which is prefaced by a direction to teachers to "interpret printed statements and translate them into action" (Department of Education, 1968, P.3).

In the interests of selectivity this curriculum introduces only four specific objectives, three of which relate to the acquisition and use of knowledge. A fourth objective relates to values questions and calls upon teachers to, "provide a forum in which students may learn to deal with values questions in an intellecutally and ethically honest way" (Department of Education, 1968, P.3).

In keeping with the curriculum emphasis on history and geography the guide provides two brief statements on each discipline, each of which

outlines the nature of study in the field.

In geography, there is an emphasis on empirical inquiry and a warning to teachers that it is an error to teach geography as a collection of miscellaneous facts. There is an added emphasis on the reasons for studying geography in the light of man's search for knowledge about himself. Following the general statement on geography is a list of eleven geography concepts intended as organizational information for teachers.

The statement on history is similar to that on geography in that it provides a definition of the subject, describes the nature of historical studies and emphasizes the importance of the study of historical inquiry to modern society. History is described as a preparation for responsible citizenship and a course which should, "provide students with the ability to ask more penetrating and searching questions, and to question assumptions previously uncritically accepted" (Department of Education, 1968, P.10). Associated with history are twelve concepts again provided for the information of teachers and also evidently intended to be focussing statements for teachers in developing units of study.

Like the 1950 curriculum document the 1968 curriculum guide offers a number of methodological suggestions. Teachers are advised to provide opportunities for "studies in depth", enabling students to concentrate on a limited field. Also encouraged are "independent studies" requiring student research. Field studies are another approved method for social studies instruction. Field studies are to be a "total approach" to learning where students "explore and discover for

themselves" (Department of Education, 1968,P.16).

The content outlines of the courses in this curriculum hold to the opening statement that the curriculum will be selective and will not incorporate a mass of content. Each year's content is set out as a number of fields of inquiry along side which are teaching suggestions for that field of inquiry.

The 1968 curriculum with a de-emphasis of content should have allowed teachers more time to emphasize concepts in history and geography. Unlike the previous curriculum document it is not a day to day guide but rather a broad outline of general concepts.

3) The 1979 British Columbia Social Studies Curriculum draft

The third curriculum document to be examined is a draft version entitled Proposed Curriculum Guide, Compulsory Social Studies, that is intended to replace the 1968 social studies curriculum. The introduction to this document states that it is to be in place by 1983. The draft considered here is the second draft which appeared in October, 1979. This has been the most widely circulated draft but it has been followed by a third draft which did not differ from the 1979 draft substantially. It would appear safe to assume that this second draft does represent a reasonable approximation of the eventually mandated curriculum.

One of the most obvious differences in this curriculum as compared to the other two is the organization of scope and sequence under the four headings of generalizations, content, skills and issues. Learning in social studies is described as a continuum moving across these "strands" rather than the concentration of skills or content in isolation (Ministry

of Education, 1979, P.10).

The "issues" heading of this curriculum is a decided departure from the design of other curricula. By incorporating issues in the scope and sequence of the curriculum there appears to be a serious attempt to have the consideration of issues a feature of social studies courses. Clearly this would take the subject beyond its traditional pre-occupation with knowledge and content.

The emphasis on issues, however, is somewhat suspect when one considers the overall goals for social studies curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1979, P.14). Four goals are presented and all but one of them relates to "knowing and understanding". It would appear that in terms of the stated goals which provide the curriculum's focus, any pursuit other than that of knowledge will be somewhat incidental in classroom teaching, in spite of the later stated concern for the consideration of issues.

In another departure from previous curricula the 1979 draft document incorporates some aspect of Canadian studies at every grade level. This Canadian content for example, is part of the grade seven course's general theme. "People and their physical environment" is the theme for the course and as part of this, world regions as well as Canada's geographic regions are studied. It is described as a "social approach to the physical environment" (Ministry of Education, 1979, P.52). The emphasis is on how people and their environment mutually affect each other in Canada as well as elsewhere.

In general the 1979 curriculum document outlines a problem solving,

thematic approach to social studies education. The identification of social problems form a key part of each course description and the curriculum does de-emphasize the importance of content.

C) Analysis of Three Social Studies Curricula

The following three profiles provide a detailed analysis of political education in terms of Patrick's themes outlined in Chapter three. The profiles presented in chronological order are descriptive statements with frequent references to the documents.

1) Profile of the 1950 British Columbia Social Studies Curriculum

This curriculum has a very promising introduction in terms of political education particularly in that section entitled, "the love of truth" which extoles the importance of a critical mind (Department of Education, 1950, P.12). Introductory statements in the document also down play the importance of knowledge based on facts and stress the importance of aesthetics and "universality of spirit in world affairs." The intents of the curriculum guide in matters of political education are more clearly stated, however in the grade level outlines of social studies courses.

When applying the themes set out by Patrick's (1977) first dimension of political education, political knowledge, there is very little evidence of a concern for knowledge beyond that of details about political institutions.

Knowledge relevant to social science and based on social science concepts, while receiving some recognition in the introduction to the

1950 curriculum document (Department of Education, 1950, P.15) is not accommodated in the content of the courses. This curriculum provides little opportunity for teachers to develop social science concepts as the outlines are devoted to factual content in history and geography.

The illustrative sample units such as the "man's relation to geography" unit (Department of Education, 1950, P.65) outline concepts which emphasize facts and information. They relate only to the discipline of geography and are only summaries of the course content. Thus, the concepts referred to in this sample unit on man's relation to geography are descriptions of such things as ancient theories about the shape of the earth. The concept of concern here is the flat earth. It is only presented as something for students to know about. It is not a concept which is extrapolated from knowledge. In sum it is clearly not a concept which can be related to social or political action.

The approach to history scarcely mentions the notion of concept development and the grade level courses are burdened with factual details. In the grade ten course, there appears to be a certain orientation to social science concepts through history. This course bears such unit titles as "man's search for knowledge" or "man's conquest of distance", but rather than take up any concepts implied in those titles the course devotes itself to details on the lives of great men, the events of the history of medicine and other factual information.

The emphasis on content generally prohibits any meaningful introduction of concepts in the sense they would be in political

education. Whatever conceptual knowledge is present is informative about objects, it is not information which is applied to political action.

Patrick's (1977) second knowledge theme relating to the analysis of public issues is also not accommodated in this curriculum. This knowledge theme relies on the introduction of analytical skills relevant to public issues and an underlying concern for, "what ought to be". This curriculum, given the overwhelming content allows little time for any analysis or introduction of analytical skills and as such these are not mentioned as an element of the curriculum.

The general topic of public issues and analysis based on a consideration of "what ought to be" is not present at any place in the document likely because it would be too far removed from the emphasis on the transfer of historical and geographical information.

Knowledge related to the legal system is incorporated in the grade eight and grade eleven courses. In grade eight it forms part of a unit entitled, "good citizenship" and is described as "our heritage-traditions, rights, responsibilities" (Department of Education, 1950, P. 53). In grade eleven the unit, "the machinery of national life" allows for "some expansion in the field of law" (Department of Education, 1951, P.38). The consideration of law provided for in these courses however simply defines the types of law, describes the court system and relates how the law is enforced. This clearly does not in any way approximate the goal of political education which is to provide a knowledge which would encourage a citizen to take a stand, nor does it suggest any ways the law can be used to solve personal and social

problems. It appears to be only the most rudimentary rendering of some of the facts about the Canadian judicial system rather than the law itself.

Patrick's (1977) second dimension of political education includes intellectual skills that enable empirical inquiry. This is clearly an approach to social education which had not reached British Columbia by 1950. There is simply no evidence of any notion of forming and testing a hypothesis related to a social issue in any aspect of this curriculum.

Likewise skills of normative analysis and moral reasoning appear foreign to this curriculum although they would be in keeping with its professed "love of truth". The fact of the matter however is that within the content of the curriculum there are no opportunities for questioning commonly held values. Canadian institutions for example are presented to be learned about. There is no suggestion that they should be evaluated from a perspective of normative analysis. Similarly Canadian history is presented factually and the curriculum does not encourage any value judgments about the events that constitute it.

Patrick's third dimension, participation skills are not part of this curriculum. Once again a suggestion is made in the introduction which indicates good intentions. This is to the effect that the "good citizen" is the central objective of the curriculum, (Department of Education, 1950, P.11) but the curriculum offers no suggestions as to what this is or how it is achieved. The introduction suggests that participation is part of this citizenship but the curriculum would appear to set its role as one of preparing for participation rather

than providing opportunities for students to participate.

In the introductory pages the curriculum describes a number of attitudes, appreciations and allegiances as well as habits and skills which are thought desirable outcomes of social studies courses (Department of Education, 1950, Pp.13-14). Nowhere in this list of forty items is participation in political affairs suggested. The word participation does not appear.

In grade eight a unit entitled "good citizenship" makes no reference to participation although it does to loyalty and qualities of leadership (Department of Education, 1950, P.53). The grade ten course emphasizes the "training of competent citizens" (Department of Education, 1951, P. 49) but an exhaustive unit prescribed for a five week study makes no mention of participation and does not offer any skill useful in participation.

Patrick's fourth dimension, political attitudes, a concern for which is demonstrated in considerations of a "more just society" or in some notion of improving "what is" in terms of social and political institutions, is also not accommodated in this curriculum. The introduction contains a section on "attitudes" (Department of Education, 1950, P.13) but the words describing these attitudes do not approach any concept of ideals or "change for the better". The "attitudes" focus only on acquiescent behaviors: understanding, appreciation, willingness, sympathy, faith, respect, recognition.

Without qualification this curriculum can be described as one which is not at all inclined to political education. It does not in any sense

fulfill any of the requisites set out in Patrick's dimensions. Furthermore, in applying Pranger's (1967) description of political socialization it can be demonstrated that in so entirely ignoring any provisions of political education this is a socializing curriculum and hence can be described as an agent of alienation.

The most evident feature of this curriculum in terms of a socializing function is the objectified way in which it presents the political culture. The grade eight and eleven courses refer to the "machinery of government". Both these courses present the political system as a series of objects to be learned about. There is no inclination to provide for critical reflection on Canadian institutions. The responsibilities of a citizen are set out only as, "to know his country, the map of Canada, the structure of government" (Department of Education, 1951, P.50).

This curriculum repeatedly emphasizes the importance of leaders or political actors and frequently focuses on the importance of their activity (Department of Education, 1950, P.53). The importance of voting is stressed (Department of Education, 1951, P.50) but as has been demonstrated, other forms of participation are not. In Pranger's (1967) terms this definitely indicates a tendency to solidify the politics of power at the expense of the politics of participation.

Political socialization can be defined as a deliberate attempt to shape political attitudes. This curriculum does exactly that and reveals this in a rather remarkable statement which advises teachers that the grade ten unit on democratic citizenship in Canada is, "basic content for all classes. Some indoctrination desireable" (Department of Education, 1951, P.15). This tendency to indoctrinate or socialize

is nowhere more evident than in a recommended "playlet" on Canadian citizenship provided in one of the curriculum's appendices. This "play" is provided for, "use in discussing the Canadian citizenship act" (Department of Education,1951, P.58). It is simply an enactment of the granting of Canadian citizenship to an "alien" (Department of Education, 1951, P.51). It suggests that citizenship is a matter of law and something which we are all very fortunate to have as Canadians. This can hardly be in keeping with any notion of critical inquiry. It is quite simply a rather blatant exercise in socialization and, as the curriculum states, indoctrination.

The curriculum can be described as one which is very much inclined to political socialization and therefore one which is conducive to alienation in its recipient. It clearly objectifies the political culture, enhances the importance of political actors and discourages the politics of participation. By its own admission it deliberately indoctrinates and attempts to shape attitudes.

What is quite insidious about the 1950 social studies curriculum is that the good intentions set out in the introduction are completely betrayed by course content and practice. It is an entirely hypocritical document. It admonishes teachers to avoid factual presentation of objectified knowledge and then proceeds to burden them with almost two hundred pages of facts and information which must be taught. It warns against propaganda and tells teachers it is not their function and is indeed unethical to tell students what to think (1951, P.13) but also advises that with regard to citizenship indoctrination is necessary.

Given all of this it can only be concluded that this document is a travesty in terms of political education.

2) Profile of The 1968 British Columbia Social Studies Curriculum

As has been noted this curriculum begins by describing some of the shortcomings of the previous programme in social studies, in particular the emphasis on content rather than concepts. In that this 1968 curriculum attempts to de-emphasize the significance of content and focus on concepts it might be speculated that there may be more opportunity for the inclusion of political education dimensions. Certainly one of the problems with the 1950 curriculum was, with the overwhelming content, it allowed no time for any activity other than rote learning. The 1968 curriculum is a proponent of avoiding this approach (Department of Education, 1968, P.1).

By avoiding content prescription this curriculum does in a sense present some problems for document analysis. The 1950 curriculum provided a great deal of material for analysis in over two hundred pages. This meant that many of the directly stated introductory intentions could be verified according to the actual course content of the programme. The 1968 curriculum is a very thin thirty-eight pages and many of the intentions may have to be taken at face value since there is not enough course content to verify them in the course descriptions. However, while this curriculum document will not accommodate a detailed course content analysis it can still by evaluated in terms of the broader intents.

The fact that the 1968 curriculum document begins by emphasizing the importance of concept development does suggest some adherence to Patrick's (1977) knowledge theme based on social science concepts. This curriculum outlines a number of key concepts most of which relate to geography and history but could have application to the social sciences. These are presented to, "give meaning to the factual content of the discipline" (Department of Education, 1968, Pp.6-8).

Several of these concepts, if acted upon by a teacher would allow for generalizations which would remove the concern of these courses from factual information. It is suggested, for example, that the concept of cultural viewpoint should be considered, suggesting the relative merits of other cultures. Global interdependence is another suggested concept and again one which would require an application of knowledge. Change as an inevitable condition of human life is a concept related to history which suggests an opportunity for an application of historical knowledge to a concept in social science (Department of Education, 1968, P. 11).

It should be noted that all of these concepts are presented in isolation from the content of the curriculum courses. They are only for the information of teachers. This raises some question as to the likelihood of their inclusion in classroom practice but nevertheless it must be admitted that this curriculum does attempt to introduce social science concepts and clearly has the application of knowledge to those concepts as one of the intents. Unlike the 1950 curriculum it does make a distinction between factual knowledge and conceptual knowledge and concepts are extrapolations based on facts.

The presentation of knowledge relevant to public issues is not a significant element of this curriculum. The emphasis of the specific objectives is clearly on "knowing about the functioning of human societies" and understanding concepts that apply to that knowledge. (Department of Education, 1968, P.3).

In the curriculum statement on history (Department of Education, 1968, P.9) the suggestion is made that a knowledge of history allows for an analysis of public issues but the curriculum itself does not provide any specific opportunities for students to do this or apply historical knowledge to public issues nor does it suggest that this should be done in the courses of the curriculum.

The grade eleven course does contain a suggestion that in the instruction of units on urbanization and population, "contemporary issues should be used in developing the course" (Department of Education, 1968, P.37). This is the only reference to the application of knowledge to public issues as part of a course. Beyond this there does not appear to be any conception of a knowledge theme pursuing the question of "what ought to be". In this regard the curriculum is concerned only with "what is" and "what was".

Knowledge relating to the legal system is almost non-existent in the 1968 social studies curriculum. Only scant mention is made in the grade eleven course statement. "Reference should be made to the role of law in human society" (Department of Education, 1968, P.38). Any notion of law enabling citizen action is not admitted. The course seems only to consider law in the traditional sense as the foundation of order.

With regard to Patrick's (1977) intellectual skills dimension of political education it does appear that some perception of empirical enquiry in social studies had reached British Columbia by 1968. The specific objectives of this curriculum refer to the necessity of "re-thinking knowledge and...testing new hypothesis" (Department of Education, 1968, P.3). Also students are to be "caused", "to develop some facility in using the methods of inquiry through which knowledge in the social domain is discovered and acquired" (Department of Education, 1968, P.3).

In putting this into practice the curriculum expects students by grade eleven to select a thesis or problem to investigate and evaluate, analyze and interpret the information they gather in relation to the problem (Department of Education, 1968, P.15).

Apart from the statements in the specific objectives and the provision for independent study there do not appear to be any other opportunities for empirical enquiry in this curriculum. An intention to introduce and foster this skill does exist however, and in this sense the curriculum does incorporate the theme of intellectual skills.

Skills of normative analysis or moral reasoning are alluded to in the fourth specific objective stated earlier (Department of Education, 1968, P.3). However the curriculum does not provide any opportunity for the actual development and exercise of this intellectual skill. The course prescriptions relate only to content and the teaching suggestions along-side the content make no mention of any valuing exercise of the type Patrick (1977) envisions. There is no apparent concern for

ethics or ethical correctness. The exercise of deciding right from wrong is not a part of this curriculum. Although the intent of valuing is expressed in the specific objectives of the curriculum the attainment of normative analysis as a skill is made impossible by the failure of the document to incorporate the practice of the intellectual skill of valuing in any course of study.

The third demension of political education, participation skills receives no mention in this curriculum. There is no suggestion of the desirability of social action or political participation. The teaching suggestions for the grade eleven unit on politics dwell on the machinery of government and the principles and policies of political parties (Department of Education, 1968, P.38). Otherwise this curriculum not only does not consider political participation but contemporary politics as a general topic is not present in any course.

Implied in both political participation skills and Patrick's (1977) fourth dimension, political attitudes, is the concept of change. In political education the sense of this is, as has been explained, a matter of change for the better with the citizen being the change agent. The 1968 curriculum document introduces change as a concept in history which may be applied to various social sciences. As such it remains a rather academic exercise and, without some concern for the student's attitude to change, is of limited value.

Ultimately then, this curriculum does not express concern for students' political attitudes. Unlike the 1950 curriculum which clearly had the objective of moulding "citizens" the 1968 version seems to hold

to a kind of neutral position and in so doing introduces no intent which would provide a focus for students to consider the topic of "a more just society".

Perhaps the single most evident trait of the curriculum is the concentration on the disciplines of history and geography. In the process of developing knowledge and some skills relating specifically to those subjects the document provides little opportunity for political education. There is, as the curriculum writers state, a de-emphasis on factual information and an encouragement to develop topics conceptually. However, the emphasis tends to be on "knowledge about" as reflected in three out of four curriculum objectives. The fourth objective does relate to values but is not accommodated in the content of the curriculum or the teaching suggestions. The knowlege objectives however do appear to be well covered in course content.

The curriculum does present what Pranger (1968) would describe as an objective view of political culture. It presents responsible citizenship only as "an understanding of our political institutions" (Department of Education, 1968, P.9). As with the 1950 curriculum the concern is with the "machinery of government" (Department of Education, 1968, P.38). Both these statements indicate that the curriculum only presents the political system as a series of objects (machine parts) to be learned about. There remains therfore, an objective relationship between the student-citizen and the political system. As with the 1950 curriculum a pro-active, creative, critical citizen is not identifiable.

In as much as this is a curriculum in which only two political education themes can be identified and which can be seen to have set out an objective relationship between citizen and political culture, it can be concluded that this curriculum is minimal in its inclination to political education. Furthermore, given the objective nature of its orientation to citizenship and its concentration on knowledge in the disciplines of geography and history with scant reference to those elements of political education which expedite critical inquiry, this curriculum can be identified as having an inclination to political socialization. With this minimal degree of political education and significant elements of political socialization this is a curriculum which is somewhat likely to be conducive to political alienation.

3) Profile of the 1979 British Columbia Social Studies Curriculum Draft

Perhaps one of the more interesting features of the draft version of the social studies curriculum is the statement from the Ministry in the introduction. In terms of political education this directive from the political level does not bode well for this curriculum. The legislators clearly have it in mind that social studies should present an objectified view of the world to students for them to learn about. The ministerial statement emphasises the importance of factual information. Nowhere is political education evident. However, as has been seen in earlier analysis, the seeds cast by introductory remarks often bear little fruit in the actual content of the curriculum.

In terms of the first dimension of political education and the theme of knowledge based on social science concepts some drift away from the

ministry's emphasis on factual knowledge can be detected in this draft document. A tendency to emphasize social science concepts and go beyond an emphasis on facts and information does appear to be present. The curriculum "generalizations" column for each course frequently allows the introduction of social science concepts concurrently with factual material. The curriculum guide directs that content and generalizations should be considered together. This is a noticeable improvement on the 1968 curriculum where concept and generalization were isolated suggestions to teachers not related directly to any course content.

In tying content to concepts this curriculum does indicate an intention to feature the theme of knowledge based on social science. This is verified by the fact that concepts presented as generalizations do appear to have merit as they require applications of knowledge and would allow such activities as comparisons of political institutions. A concept generalization in the grade eleven course for example requires students to apply knowledge of various cultures to a notion of cultural diversity and its significance for the world (Ministry of Education, 1979, P.72). This is clearly a concept which has applications in social science and removes concerns of courses from matters of fact. Each course in this curriculum appears to have a similar orientation.

Also going further than either of the other curricula is the application of curriculum content to public issues. This is in fact the only curriculum of the three in which the knowledge is relevant to the student's experiences. In grade eight for example the general course

theme, "people and their economic environment", is related to content on different national economic systems and to the issue of whether or not the economic interdependence of nations is a good thing (Ministry of Education, 1979, P.59). Content about industrial development is related to the issue of economic consideration out-weighing environmental factors in the development of industry (Ministry of Education, 1979, P.59). This relationship of knowledge to public issues is common throughout the curriculum indicates that this political education theme along with the social science concepts theme is present in the 1979 curriculum document.

Knowledge related to the legal system is presented in the grade ten course which bears the thematic title, "people and their political-legal environment". This curriculum does go somewhat farther in the consideration of law than the others in that it is not only concerned with the structure of the judicial system. It does include content on how laws are made and changed over time, what some significant laws are and their impact on citizens and how the law relates to students.

The 1979 curriculum is to contain knowledge about actual laws and how those laws might be used and changed. Also there appears to be some concern for demonstrating how the law relates to society, rather than how citizens relate to the law as in the 1950 curriculum. The 1979 curriculum does then contain knowledge related to the legal system appropriate to political education. This curriculum document encourages a type of knowledge about law which will help students to use the law to solve problems. It should also be noted the law

component does appear to be a major part of the grade ten course and is more than an incidental consideration as it was in the 1968 grade eleven course.

The second dimension of political education, intellectual skills, with its related themes, does appear to receive rather significant attention in the curriculum.

The first theme, skills of empirical inquiry, is alluded to as an essential component in enhancing the understanding necessary for the accomplishment of the first three goals of the curriculum. As early as grade seven the curriculum prescribes as part of the "skills" column, attention to inquiry processes which require students to identify and state a problem, formulate a hypothesis, gather and analyze data and test conclusions (Ministry of Education, 1979, P.55). This inquiry process is introduced as a skill to be practised at every grade level. Given this degree of accommodation it is quite clear that this theme in political education is an important element of the 1979 social studies curriculum.

Skills relating to normative analysis appear to be encompassed in the "issues" component of the curriculum. These issues questions while relating to contemporary problems are also generally prefaced with the word, "should". A typical example is the question, "should the physical envirnoment be modified if it will cause changes in the way of life of the people who live in the area?" (Ministry of Education, 1979, P.55). Such questions provide opportunities for normative analysis because they require a decision as to right or wrong.

The values questions included in the curriculum are integrated with each course. They are in effect extensions of the knowledge relevant to public issues in that they not only require a consideration of an issue but also a determination as to right or wrong.

A further indication of the importance of normative analysis in the curriculum is in the appendix to the draft which is evidently intended to provide teachers some direction in the treatment of issues and values. It is clear from this appendix that issues are more than contentious questions but are also questions of values requiring resolution (Ministry of Education, 1979, P.79). Furthermore, this curriculum goes further than others in that it does not merely present a suggestion for action but according to the appendix presents a procedure for the implementation of values consideration in the classroom practice.

Patrick's (1977) third theme of moral reasoning in the intellectual skills dimension, has been directly addressed in the appendix.

> It appears to this writer not feasible to construct a Kohlbergian moral reasoning curriculum, culminating in the achievement of the post conventional stage of moral reasoning. Perhaps we should be more humble in our aims in accepting, along with some theorists, that the most we can hope for in social studies is the development of a reflective frame of reference or values and the capacity for arriving at a judgment (as statement of value priority) that is based on analytical, logical reasoning. (Ministry of Education, 1979, P.83).

It is clear that since most of the questions relating to values are prefaced with "should", the moral reasoning approach to values does not fit since the implication in these questions is that right or

wrong are matters of opinion rather than correct perception. Considering the direction taken in the appendix and the nature of the questions themselves there appears to have been a clear decision in this curriculum not to use the moral reasoning approach in favour of normative analysis.

The third dimension of political education, political participation skills receive some attention in the draft curriculum but it would appear that these "participation skills" are intended to apply only within the confines of the classroom. They are not participation skills exercised by offering students opportunities for participating in the community in social action projects. The kind of participation skills this curriculum encourages are perhaps best defined as prepatory skills which are not intended to be exercised in an actual public arena. Hence, the curriculum focuses on rather traditional skills such as, working in groups, debating, communicating orally and using parliamentary procedures (Ministry of Education, 1979, P.69).

The matter of political attitudes as the fourth dimension of political education, with a consideration of a "more just society" or a concern for "what ought to be" rather than merely "what is" in society is implied in many of the "issues" written into this curriculum. Questions such as, "should there be greater sharing of wealth among less fortunate people or nations, how could this be done?" (Ministry of Education, 1979, P.59), "Should people strive for their own personal benefit even if it is detrimental to the well being of society?" (Ministry of Education, 1979, P.59), "To what extent are cultural minority rights to be protected?" (Ministry of Education, 1979, P.64) and "What is the proper role of the citizen in society?" (Ministry of Education, 1979, P.69), are

featured prominently in this curriculum and these "issues" go beyond topical concerns and values questions in order to allow students a vision of a changed and better society. Because these questions are related to the content at each grade level they appear to be matters of significance for the 1979 curriculum. Consequently political attitudes as they relate to political education are a major consideration of the curriculum.

Before forming any conclusions on this curriculum and the orientation to political education it should also be scrutinized for any elements of political socialization which appear in it.

The earlier mentioned "message from the ministry" (Ministry of Education, 1979, P.7) along with the curriculum "goals and learning outcomes" (Ministry of Education, 1979, Pp.14-17) indicate a strong emphasis on objective knowledge particularly in the area of citizenship education. Goal two of the curriculum requires students to "know and understand the roles, rights and responsibilities of an individual as a member of society" (Ministry of Education, 1979, P.15). The components of this goal are all prefaced with the words "know about" and treat this citizenship goal very much as a matter of obtaining objective knowledge.

Of the four goals of the curriculum only the last calls for learning other than knowledge related to information. This last goal does address political education and avoid political socialization by calling for a knowledge and understanding of critical thinking processes.

Ultimately this fourth goal along with the "issues" parts of the courses in this curriculum are what allow the curriculum to avoid being an instrument of socialization. In this sense the 1979 curriculum has a rather ironic similarity to the 1950 curriculum in that the introductory

remarks and goals are not indicative of the real nature of the curriculum. The 1950 version professed progressivism, a search for truth and a concern for the critical mind but provided no accommodation for these. The 1979 curriculum draft declares a rather rigid concern for objective knowledge but considerably modifies this by introducing many aspects of political education.

Indeed even the apparent concern for students' obtaining knowledge about the rights and responsibilities of Canadian citizens, which could well be a vehicle for socialization is in effect counter balanced by the curriculum's presentation of such questions as, "what are the advantages and disadvantages of the Canadian political structure in comparison with other political structures" and "what is the 'proper' role of government in any society?" (Ministry of Education, 1979, P.69). These are clearly questions which would precipitate critical inquiry on these topics and should modify some of the socializing effect of the emphasis on "knowledge about".

In light of the modification of the socializing tendencies of this curriculum by those features mentioned above and given that in terms of the profile derived from Patrick's (1977) analytical model and the fact this curriculum contains numerous features of political education, it can be concluded this is a curriculum which is significantly inclined to political education.

It should be noted that the 'significant' designation was given here in spite of the fact the curriculum answered positively to six of the seven questions framed from Patrick's (1977) model. The allowance has

been made because the curriculum did contain considerations of values questions although not by way of moral reasoning, but instead by use of normative analysis. For the purposes of this study this has been viewed as an alternative approach to this aspect of political education.

What appears to exist in the 1979 draft version is a social education curriculum with an orientation to political education that can avoid being a form of communication which is an agent of alienation.

D) Summary of the Document Descriptions and Analysis

This analysis of curriculum documents has shown that two British Columbia social studies curricula dated 1950 and 1968 contained few elements of political education and were significant in their inclination to political socialization. Given the relationship already established between political socialization and alienation these curricula have been described as agents of alienation. This conclusion has been drawn because neither of these curricula could be identified as incorporating to any significant degree the themes of political education identified by Patrick (1977). At the same time it was observed that these documents in their tendencies to objectify the political culture had a significant tendency to political socialization.

The 1979 curriculum draft document on the other hand was seen to have various elements of political education including, knowledge relating to social science concepts, public issues and the law as well as intellectual skills themes of empirical and normative analysis. It also paid significant attention to political attitudes in an open and critically conscious manner. While it had various aspects relating

to political socialization these were counter balanced by concurrent political education themes.

Chapter Five

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter discusses conclusions and implications pertaining to this study. The conclusions highlight the degree of political education reported from the analysis of three different curricula prescribed by the British Columbia Ministry of Education. Implications emphasize future research directions as well as comments concerning the enhancement of social consciousness in social studies curriculum documents and the capacity for critical thinking in students. Some commentary will also be provided on the 1979 draft proposal for a British Columbia Social Studies curriculum and the implications for the implementation of a political education oriented curriculum. Patrick's (1977) analytical framework and its utility in assessing the political education content in social education curricula will also be discussed.

A) Conclusions

The most significant conclusion to be drawn derives from the concept of political participation perpetuated by the 1950 and 1968 British Columbia social studies curricula. In these the citizens' active role in politics is minimal and is defined only in terms of voting This study has shown that neither the 1950 nor the 1968 provincial social studies curriculum is concerned with any political matters beyond the

instruction of the "mechanics" of the Canadian political system. Because of this it is contended that the role of the citizen in affecting social and political change is discouraged. Instead these curricula emphasize fitting into the machinery, not on overhauling it or even on considering the value of an overhaul.

The 1950 and 1968 curricula do not emphasize political participation. They focus almost entirely on objective knowledge about the political system. This study has demonstrated how an entirely objective approach to political learning could induce apathy in recipients. Apathy has been described as a form of alienation. The concern here is that these alienating curricula have, in emphasizing the mechanics of politics tacitly identified a certain political culture as the best and only one possible. Curriculum documents tend to make notions of change unthinkable and pre-empt any critical consciousness simply by ignoring the possibilities of change and the concept of social criticism.

The 1979 curriculum is more potentially a curriculum of political education. This curriculum has enough elements of political education that it sould not be an agent of alienation or a cause of such alienated political attitudes as apathy. The emphasis on social science concepts, law and public issues as well as empirical and normative analysis allows a degree of subjectivity in the curriculum which should de-mystify political objects and actors as Pranger (1968) has described them. Unlike its predecessors this curriculum document leaves open and even encourages possiblities for the critical analysis of the political culture. This is a type of political learning which by placing the

student in a participant role as a critically functioning citizen is more likely to avoid alienated attitudes.

B) Implications

The 1950 and 1968 social studies curricula can be seen as agents of political alienation, in part responsible for a political illiteracy in the citizensry of British Columbia. Virtually an entire generation in this Province is, through the socializing nature of the process of political learning, much less likely to be able to accept or make political changes. With a society which is changing almost convulsively in the technical sense, the inability of citizens to accommodate those changes with a relevant political system is perilous. The political system becomes increasingly ineffective and ever more in need of change while the citizenry becomes further removed from the system because of its inability to cope with political change, having only been schooled in system maintenance.

Further, in emphasizing an audience role for citizens the 1950 and 1968 curricula, by their objectification of the political culture and separation of citizens from political actors, can be said to have made politics a realm of activity too complex and remote to be inviting of active involvement. The consequences of this for a supposedly free society are significant.

The apathy induced by curricula which fail to emphasize political participation and focus almost entirely on objective knowledge about the political system enhances opportunities for the development of a more authoritarian political culture. Criticism of political actors is less

cogent when it comes from citizens who may not understand the significance of a critical perspective on politics. Political actors are therefore more able to concentrate power in bureaucracies and institutions removed from public view. Authoritarian answers to political and social problems become palatable to a citizenry that does not understand democracy and seeks the expedience of simpler solutions than those arrived at by critical inquiry, consensus and participatory democracy.

Social educators and social education curricula have seemingly been careful to be objective in their presentation of society to students. Objectivity can also be described as a dedication to neutrality. There is an assumption that a dispassionate presentation of the society, its history, its institutions, is correct in that it makes few judgments. This study has demonstrated that curricula with this objective neutrality are in fact fraught with judgments of a fundamental order. Their supposed objectivity is a most effective way of discouraging any development of critical consciousness and is really only a presentation of what has aptly been described as a "bland consensus" devoid of critical considerations.

Bland consensus, objectivity and neutrality are really only vehicles for the political socialization of young people. Political socialization and the alienation it engenders are decidedly significant threats to those classical definitions of freedom which this society is supposedly founded upon. It would be far worse than ironic if those curricula which professed such devotion to preserving a free society were instrumental in its destruction by miseducating a generation too

alienated to participate meaningfully in a democracy or recognize authoritarian politics as a real danger in any society.

C) Suggestions for Curriculum Development

The 1979 curriculum with its orientation to political education has as a primary implication an implementation problem. This curriculum does depart from a tradition of socialization in social studies curricula in British Columbia. In fact these socializing curricula have been so long standing that it is likely that teachers equate social education with socialization.

It would seem that during implementation the 1979 curriculum must be presented to teachers as practical and teachable. In this regard the process of implementation has several facets which have implications for this curriculum and provide a framework for its implementation. This approach to practicality in implementation has been presented by Ponder and Doyle (1977) as three general criteria of practicality; congruence cost and instrumentality. These refer to the utility or classroom application teachers see in a curriculum (instrumentality), the connection a curriculum has with what teachers feel qualified to teach or are prepared to teach (congruence) and the amount of effort required of teachers in implementing a new course (cost).

As a matter of congruence a clear implication of this curriculum derives from the emphasis on political education which will require departures from present classroom practices in social studies. In addressing the issues component of this curriculum, for example, a traditional lecture or "chalk and talk" approach is not appropriate as

this aspect of the curriculum implies significant student participation. The incongruence of this curriculum lies in the fact that with previous curricula such traditional approaches to instruction were appropriate to the content of the curriculum. The 1979 curriculum will not be so accommodating of lecturers or question and answer practitioners.

Related to the implications of the congruence factor is the perception teachers have of the origin of this curriculum proposal. Teachers will likely be concerned with how this curriculum fits with what exists. An untried innovation coming from agencies seen as far removed from the cauldron of the classroom is often seen as impractical by definition.

Another significant implication of the 1979 curriculum is the perception teachers will have of the cost of implementation. Cost in this regard refers to the significant changes suggested by this curriculum which will require teachers to invest their time in orienting themselves to the new courses. This time factor is a significant expense for teachers and added to the non-traditional nature of this curriculum could invariably lead to queries as to the value of the curriculum innovations. Clearly there will be a need for a significant recognition of the time required of teachers in implementing the curriculum. This may include such considerations as smaller pupil loads and more preparation time.

Cost in terms of time and effort can be accommodated relatively easily in comparison to another aspect of cost suggested by this study. As a departure from socialization the 1979 curriculum has certain political implications. It does not, for example, prejudge existing political institutions but leaves that judgement, to a degree,

up to students. This curriculum judiciously avoids attempting to "brain-wash" students. Teachers who are prone to this activity and view political inculcation as part of their responsibility will find that in many respects this curriculum questions their values. For these teachers this curriculum carries with it a certain political cost as they must reconcile their own beliefs about values in society with quite a different approach to valuing as presented by the curriculum. The cost here is a difficult one to address for it involves individual beliefs. A major concern for government officials can be that teachers prone to inculcation might undermine the intents of the innovation by continuing the process of political socialization evident in the preceding social studies curricula.

Similar to the implications of the political cost of the new curriculum is that related to the matter of instrumentality. Instrumentality is that aspect of implementation which encourages a sense of ownership on the part of teachers toward a curriculum. As a fundamentally different approach to social studies this political education curriculum, which has been devised and mandated by a central authority, teachers may perceive their ownership of this curriculum as minimal at best. Ponder and Doyle do not address instrumentality in this way but it could be argued that instrumentality is as much an aspect of curriculum development as it is implementation. A curriculum which is developed some distance from teachers must be more difficult for them to "instrumentalize" than one they have participated in developing. The development of the 1979 curriculum enhances the fact that teachers are likely to have some

difficulty adopting the curriculum. They have not become familiar with it as it has developed because development has been a centralized process. Lack of involvement by teachers compounds the problems the curriculum will have as a different approach. The 1979 curriculum is likely to be perceived as a difficult curriculum to teach. The instrumentality of the curriculum will only be secured by an implementation process that encourages teachers to develop a sense of ownership. The process must avoid the same top-down pre-packaged approach which has characterized its development for this will certainly have a negative effect on instrumentality as it will further alienate teachers from the real intents of the 1979 curriculum.

D) Suggestions for Research in Social Education

Patrick's (1977) model has some implications in terms of its limitations and the directions these provide for future research.

Patrick's model did provide a specific focus for analysis and has been a useful organizing framework. Within the context of the study the questions he posited relevant to political education appear comprehensive enough to allow for judgemental statements.

It must be appreciated however that Patrick's framework in being quite specific to a concern for political education might easily overlook other aspects of a curriculum. The 1979 curriculum, for example, may have a particular weakness in that the relationship of the issues aspect of the curriculum often does not relate to the content or concepts and generalizations outlined for particular grade levels.

Such a shortcoming would not be anticipated by Patrick's analysis. It might be most clearly understood as a difference between form and content. Patrick's analytical model is ultimately most concerned with content for this is what is assumed to reveal intentions of curriculum documents.

This study has emphasized the importance of intents in a curriculum document. The analysis provided by Patrick's model gives a clear indication that British Columbia schools have had social studies curricula intended to socialize and that the proposed 1979 curriculum guide is more intended to educate. These intents are modifed or in some senses impeded by the forms of the curriculum. The pedantic form of the 1950 curriculum for example, impeded almost any intents it had. The point here, however, is that certain educators, whether their intents were scuttled by forms or not, nevertheless had a certain motivation in devising those curricula and those motivations could have consequences such as an alienated citizenry.

Specific to future research related to and suggested by this study are empirical studies of classroom teaching. Political socialization is very much a matter of classroom practice. There is a definite need for study on the matter of teachers inclinations toward socialization in their teaching. Related to this is the question of teachers perceptions of a political education curriculum. Would a political education curriclum encounter opposition or resistance from teachers for essentially political reasons?

Empirical considerations of prescribed textbooks and their inclinations to political socialization would also enhance understanding of the issue.

This study has been analytical and interpretive of the intents of curriculum documents. Future work focussing on classroom practice, teacher attitudes and bias in textbooks should concentrate on socialization in practice. Such work should provide a more complete picture of the degree to which overt socialization is a feature of social education in British Columbia classrooms.

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