

THE POLITICS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL CURRICULUM:  
An Analysis of Consumer Education in British Columbia

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the tensions between capitalism and democracy as reflected in the theory and practice of compulsory, state-run schooling in North America. Since its inception in the nineteenth century, schooling has played a major role in the socialization of youth on this continent. Within this context, the school curriculum represents the most conscious general effort in the United States and Canada to impart the knowledge and values deemed necessary for responsible citizenship. Despite this, it has received little attention from political analysts. The purpose of this work is to explore the way in which curriculum seeks to socialize students politically—in particular, how it attempts to resolve the tensions between capitalism and democracy.

The core of the thesis is a critical analysis of a High School course on consumer education, recently added to British Columbia's prescribed curriculum. It is a course whose development and implementation have been overtly political and whose aims are at the margins of 'academic' education. Perhaps because of these things, it reveals with special clarity some of the motivating assumptions of the curriculum as a whole.

Chapter one frames the analysis in terms of the tensions within liberal democratic theory itself. It contrasts participatory and passive concepts of democracy, arguing that the latter constitute a hollow form of democracy. The chapter also brings together three literatures which relate to the subject of democratic education. These concern the development of public schooling in North America, the political socialization of school children, and the social contents of textbooks, or curriculum. Two basic themes emerge: the continuous tensions between capitalism and democracy, and the faith in science and technology as solutions. In relation to the latter theme, I look especially at the dualism of reason and emotion implicit in the view of science adopted by mainstream educational reformers and political analysts. I argue that this dualism is a key element in asymmetrical power relations, and is thus crucial to the tensions between liberal democracy and capitalism.

Chapter two explores the decision-making process which led to the creation of the course, and looks both at the assumptions about

democracy reflected in that process, and at rhetoric about the course's democratic purposes. Chapters three and four constitute a critical analysis of the two textbooks developed by the Ministry of Education for use in the course. The analysis seeks to disclose the economic, social and political world-view presented in the texts, and to reveal the concept of democracy implicit in that view. I again contrast this with the official rhetoric. What emerges is a clear correspondence between the concept of democracy contained in the process which created the course and the concept advanced by the texts themselves. The method of text analysis is, in general, informed by the European school of discourse analysis. The texts' resolution of the tensions between democracy and capitalism is explored through an analysis of their basic views on history, epistemology, human nature, society, the economy and the state. The analysis stresses the dualism of reason and emotion expressed in the texts. The analysis is done in two stages. Stage one explores the basic views listed above through exhaustive compilations of passages from the texts which are expressive of them. Stage two looks at smaller portions of the texts and examines the development of political bias through an analysis of semantics and syntax.

The evidence examined suggests that in its attempt to resolve the tensions between capitalism and democracy, curriculum sacrifices any meaningful concept of democracy. I argue, thus, that the new course in consumer education works against the creation of an active, informed citizenry. As such, it raises serious questions about the curriculum as a whole, and in particular, about the future direction of curriculum.

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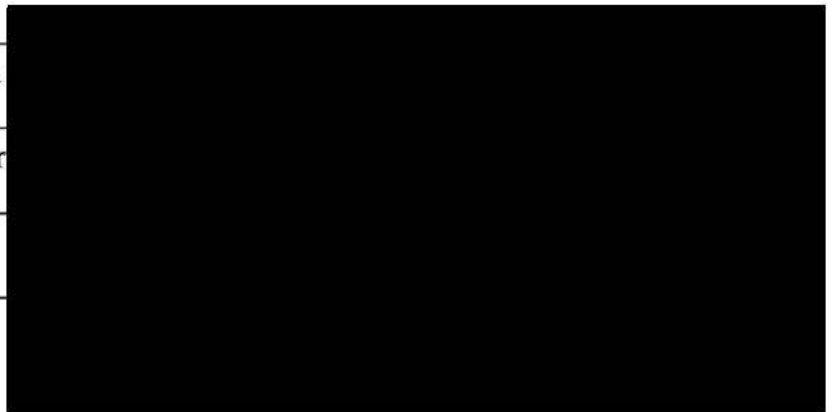


TABLE OF CONTENTS

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Abstract.....   | ii  |
| Table of Contents .....   | iv  |
| Chapter One:  |     |
| Capitalism, Democracy, and Political Socialization.....               | 1   |
| Schooling and Education for Citizenship.....                          | 3   |
| Democracy, Capitalism and the Development of<br>Public Schooling..... | 10  |
| Contemporary Studies in Political Socialization.....                  | 19  |
| The Radical Response.....   | 33  |
| The Analysis of Textbooks.....  | 38  |
| Notes.....  | 42  |
| Chapter Two:  |     |
| Consumer Education: The Politics and the Rhetoric.....                | 50  |
| Notes.....  | 73  |
| Chapter Three:  |     |
| Text Analysis and Consumer Education: Part One.....                   | 77  |
| Introduction.....   | 77  |
| The Analysis of Communication.....                                    | 78  |
| Text Analysis for Consumer Education.....                             | 82  |
| General Overview of the Grade Nine Text.....                          | 86  |
| Stage One.....  | 88  |
| Human Nature.....   | 89  |
| Epistemology.....   | 94  |
| Society.....  | 96  |
| History.....  | 97  |
| Economy.....  | 99  |
| Stage Two.....  | 105 |
| Economy.....  | 105 |
| The State.....  | 114 |
| Leisure/Recreation.....   | 119 |
| Seeking Employment.....   | 124 |
| Notes.....  | 128 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Chapter Four:                                       |     |
| Text Analysis and Consumer Education: Part Two..... | 132 |
| Introduction.....                                   | 135 |
| Methodology.....                                    | 135 |
| Stage One.....                                      | 136 |
| Human Nature.....                                   | 133 |
| Epistemology.....                                   | 141 |
| Society.....  | 146 |
| Economy.....  | 148 |
| History.....  | 150 |
| Stage Two.....                                      | 156 |
| Economics.....                                      | 156 |
| The State.....                                      | 159 |
| Work.....   | 167 |
| Comparison of Texts.....                            | 171 |
| Notes.....  | 183 |
| Chapter Five: The Trivialization of Democracy       | 187 |
| Notes.....  | 195 |
| Bibliography.....                                   | 196 |
| Primary Sources.....                                | 196 |
| Secondary Sources.....                              | 197 |
| Appendix A: List of Interviewees.....               | 204 |
| Appendix B: The teacher Survey.....                 | 206 |
| Survey Results.....                                 | 206 |
| Letter to Teachers.....                             | 212 |
| Survey Form.....                                    | 213 |
| Appendix C: Diagrams.....                           | 215 |
| Grade Nine Economics One.....                       | 216 |
| Grade Nine Economics Two.....                       | 217 |
| Grade Nine Leisure.....                             | 218 |

|                                 |     |
|---------------------------------|-----|
| Grade Eleven Economics One..... | 219 |
| Grade Eleven Economics Two..... | 220 |

## CHAPTER ONE

### Capitalism, Democracy, and Political Socialization

This thesis explores the tensions between capitalism and democracy reflected in the theory and practice of compulsory state-funded public schooling in North America. Since its inception in the late 19th century, public schooling has constituted a key element in the socialization of youth on this continent. Within this context the school curriculum represents the most conscious general effort in the United States and Canada to impart the knowledge and values deemed necessary for responsible citizenship. Despite this, it has received little attention from political scientists. My purpose here is to explore the way in which curriculum seeks to socialize students politically, and in particular, how it attempts to resolve the tensions between capitalism and democracy. The evidence examined below suggests that the resolution is at the expense of democracy.

The core of this study is a critical analysis of a high school course on consumer education, recently added to British Columbia's prescribed curriculum as a result of a cabinet decision. It is a course whose development and implementation have been overtly political and whose aims are at the margins of 'academic' education. Perhaps because of these things, it reveals with special clarity some of the motivating assumptions of the curriculum as a whole. In chapter 2, I explore the decision-making process which led to the creation of the course, looking at both the assumptions about democracy reflected in

the process itself, and at rhetoric about the course's democratic purposes. Then, in chapters 3 and 4, I present a critical analysis of the two textbooks developed by the Ministry of Education for use in the course. Here it is my aim to disclose the economic, social and political world-view presented in the texts, and to reveal the concept of democracy implicit in that view. I again contrast what is revealed with the official rhetoric. What emerges is a clear correspondence between the concept of democracy contained in the process which created the course and the concept advanced by the texts themselves. Throughout, I argue that the new course in consumer education works against the creation of an active, informed citizenry. As such, it raises serious questions about the curriculum as a whole and in particular, about the future direction of curriculum

In this first chapter I attempt to put this case study into context by bringing together 3 literatures which relate to it. These concern the development of public schooling in North America, the political socialization of school children, and the social contents of textbooks. Two basic themes emerge in the analysis: the continuous tensions between democratic liberalism and capitalism, and the general faith in science and technology as solutions. In relation to the latter theme, I look especially at the dualism of reason and emotion implicit in the rationality adopted by educational reformers, mainstream political scientists and authors of school texts. As I shall argue, this dualism is a key element in asymmetrical power relations at all levels of society. As such, it is crucial to the tensions between liberal democracy and

capitalism.

### Schooling and Education for Citizenship

From at least the time of Plato, political theorists within the Greco-European tradition have written works expounding pedagogies intended to foster the development of capable citizens. Such works have taken as a fundamental premiss the idea that the quality of any political culture depends ultimately on the education and sensibility of its citizenry. As early as 400 B.C., there were formal schools in Greece to provide for the systematic development of character. Arete, a concept referring to excellence in moral character and in physical and intellectual performance, was a guiding principle.<sup>1</sup> Education for citizenship, it was recognized, was a matter of total character formation. On this view the creation of future citizens formed an integral part of a perfectionist and distinctly moral concept of statehood and citizenship. Participation, i.e., the proper practice of citizenship was in itself a virtue.<sup>2</sup>

It was a similar vision which informed the work of 19th century educational theorists in the United States and Canada on the eve of the development of mass public schooling. Their task, in the light of concrete developments in the extension of the franchise to previously excluded social classes, was to foster universally the development of citizens capable of democratic self-rule. Educational reformers had to strike a workable balance between education for citizenship and education for democracy. On the one hand, there was the concern to

integrate future citizens into the existing social and political order, however imperfect; on the other, there was the desire to foster the freedom of the individual to develop according to his or her nature. This freedom itself was deemed necessary for the continuous improvement-if not eventual perfection-of the democratic state. The development of a comprehensive system of state-funded, compulsory public schools was in part an attempt to put this view into practice. Thus a fundamental assumption of liberal educators has been that schools foster the creative and intellectual development of all students. Parallel to this view, liberal theorists have assumed that modern democracy promotes progress, i.e. an historical movement towards ever-increasing levels of liberal freedom. As we shall see, these are assumptions that betray a shallow understanding of how contemporary society and its school systems work.

Education for democratic citizenship depends ultimately upon a concept of democracy. The vision of liberal democracy which informed the development of mass public schooling in North America was different in important respects from that of earlier 19th century theorists, and different again from the view which has been dominant in the latter half of this century. Correspondingly, our view of the socialization represented by public education has undergone important changes. The basic components of a theory of liberal democracy, viz., the concepts of individual freedom and a broad, or at least broadened, base of political participation were articulated first in the context of the capitalist market society.<sup>3</sup> They were articulated, therefore, in the

context of a society characterized by the development of a social class devoid of access to independent means of production, and by a growing subsumption of all aspects of society to the requisites of capital. As will be seen, both liberal democratic theorists and theorists of socialization have differed in their responses to the social and political tensions engendered by the capitalist economy. By extension, they have differed as well in their interpretation of the concepts of liberty and political participation. Before embarking upon an account of the development of schooling in North America, it will be helpful to distinguish the view of democracy which informed its proponents from an earlier variant.

Perhaps the earliest systematic exponents of a theory of democratic liberalism, were Jeremy Bentham and James Mill, in the early part of the 19th century.<sup>4</sup> They were pioneers, thus, in promoting the extension of the franchise. However, their reasons for doing so were fundamentally different from those whose efforts lay behind the development of public schooling. Although Bentham and Mill sought to broaden the popular base of democratic participation, their concept of the purpose of such participation did not embody the notion of arete, or moral and intellectual excellence. In fact as will be seen, it did not embody at all a concept of morality as we usually understand it. To better apprehend this outlook we must examine the world view in which it was framed. Four basic elements combine to comprise this world view. These are a) the concept of society as a collection of monadic, self interested individuals, b) the concept of liberalism as the

freedom to indulge in self-interest, c) the espousal of economic inequality and d) a protective concept of the state.

Their view of human nature and society can perhaps best be understood as a fusion of a Galilean concept of physics with the theory of human psychology embodied in utilitarian ethics. The first element entails the mapping onto social theory of the principles of particle theory, derived from the writings of Kepler and Galileo in the 17th century. On this view society, like the physical universe, is seen as a collection of particles (individuals) reacting to one another according to predictable laws.<sup>5</sup> The second element infuses each of these individuals with the motivation to maximize his/her personal pleasure without limit. Its so-called ethical component lies in the idea that virtue consists in the promotion by the state of the greatest possible amount of pleasure for the greatest number of individuals, where the degree of pleasure is measured by an objective standard, viz., the relative attainment of wealth and power.<sup>6</sup> The liberal component of this view recognizes in principle the freedom (and indeed the necessity) of the individual to pursue exclusively self-interested goals. It was recognized by Mill and Bentham that individuals differed naturally in strength and ability, and thus were bound to differ in their ability to amass wealth and power. No measures were to be taken to even out these differences, however, as this would result in the dampening of the desire for success. In turn this would have a negative effect on the advancement of technology associated with the creation of wealth, and thus of pleasure itself.<sup>7</sup> Inequality, thus, was

an integral part of this vision. It was clear, however, that such a society was bound to be characterized by a high degree of vicious competition, and hence there was a need for a state apparatus capable of protecting property. In the words of James Mill:

That one human being will desire to render the person and property of another subservient to his pleasures, notwithstanding the pain, or loss of pleasure which it may occasion to that other individual is the foundation of government.<sup>8</sup>

There was yet another problem to be reckoned with, however, and that was the danger to citizens represented by the state officials authorized to protect their property. They too were likely to be desirous of increasing their power over others. Thus some mechanism was needed to check the potential power of the state. It was this fear which led Bentham and Mill to propose the broadening of the franchise. The latter was to be extended not universally, but to a sufficient proportion of the propertied classes to counteract the potential danger of government to the citizenry.<sup>9</sup>

This was, thus, fundamentally an a-moral vision. Pleasure was measured in terms of money and power, and the constitution of value, goodness, or excellence was to be decided on an entirely individual basis. The existence of oppressed classes associated with the division of labour in industrial capitalism was of concern only insofar as these represented a potential threat to the more privileged. Further, humans were viewed, in C.B. Macpherson's terms, fundamentally as

appropriators and consumers of those things found to give pleasure.<sup>10</sup>

In their role as citizens, they merely consumed the benefits of the protection of their property derived from state policy. Political participation and thus education for participation were in themselves of no particular value. Further, if we replace the term 'pleasure' with the concept of 'utility,' we have in substance a model which is identical to the market model of society articulated by Adam Smith in the 18th century. In sum, this is a consumer notion of democracy framed within a quasi-market concept of society.

This was not the outlook of those who most deeply influenced the promotion and development of mass public schooling in North America. The supersession of the consumer/market concept of democratic liberalism occurred in the mid-19th century, and is represented in its earliest form by the works of J.S. Mill. By the mid-19th century, as C.B. Macpherson tells us, "the condition of the working class was becoming so blatantly inhuman that sensitive liberals could not accept it as either morally acceptable or economically inevitable."<sup>11</sup> Mill not only rejected but deplored the notion of a society composed of individuals motivated purely by the desire for personal gain.<sup>12</sup> Given not only the immiseration but the growing militancy of the working classes, it seemed to Mill that a fundamental change in their condition was a requisite for the stability and advancement of society. It was Mill's view, therefore, that inequality not only could be but must in the end be overcome. The key to such a change was education and human development.

Education ought to be made available to anyone who desired it.<sup>13</sup>

Embodied in this view was a concept of human excellence (*arete*), the attainment of which was in Mill's words, "the end of man."<sup>14</sup> The attainment of this end would serve not only to bring the working classes out of their misery, but to develop in the general population the sensibility necessary to the formation of a socially co-operative, as opposed to a confrontatist society. Within this co-operative outlook, the participation of citizens in the process of decision-making was seen as in itself fostering of human excellence. Citizens were to be viewed not as appropriators and consumers but rather as exerters and developers of their political and social capabilities.

Thus the second version of democratic liberalism was co-operative, egalitarian and developmental in character. However, as Macpherson has suggested, it was less realistic than its predecessor about the relationship of capitalism to inequality.<sup>15</sup> Mill's response to capitalism was ambivalent. He reasoned that education might eventually lead to the supersession of capitalism by more co-operative forms of economy, but this supersession was not seen as a necessary condition for the development of egalitarian, co-operative society.<sup>16</sup> As we shall see, 19th century educational reformers were less ambivalent. In their view, capitalism was a desirable and necessary component in the creation of material requisites of the ideal society. Thus egalitarian and developmental goals were to be fused with a capitalist economy. The tensions thus engendered are an important key to understanding the development of public schooling. It is to this

development that we must turn next.

Democracy, Capitalism, and the Development of Public Schooling

The development of compulsory mass public schooling in North America coincided historically with the rise of industrial capitalism. That is, it coincided with the growing need for a large, well trained and disciplined work force.<sup>17</sup> In the United States, the movement for mass schooling began in Massachusetts, under the influence and direction of Horace Mann, the first secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education. Supported by the business community, Mann set out to establish what he called a "balance in the social machinery" i.e., a method by which both order and prosperity could be maintained in the growing industrial towns of the United States.<sup>18</sup> In Canada, where the beginnings of such a movement somewhat preceded widespread industrialization, Egerton Ryerson, its most influential proponent, consciously promoted public schooling in anticipation of the growth of industrial capital in that country.<sup>19</sup> In both countries, waves of immigrants-of which the Irish seemed the greatest concern to reformers-growing strikes, intercultural tensions, and spreading squalor in new urban centres underscored the need for a comprehensive system of socialization. Wherever they occurred, such conditions constituted the spurs which served to convince the business community that taxes paid for such a system were both desirable and necessary for the survival of capitalism. Everywhere, it was the professional and business community which constituted the largest percentage of the membership of boards of education.<sup>20</sup>

Everywhere, thus, the education reform movement necessarily comprised an unequal and rather uneasy alliance of reformers and capitalists. It was unequal since clearly, control over the necessary financing lay ultimately in the hands of the business class. It was uneasy because the intentions of both groups were not identical.

Although businessmen concerned themselves principally with the issue of social control, liberal reformers such as Mann and Ryerson had hopes for public schooling which went considerably beyond mere control or suppression. Both men were strong believers in capitalism as a necessary condition for the growth of prosperity. Like J.S. Mill, however, both saw the development of a dominated and servile workforce, and the widening gap between rich and poor as inherently harmful.<sup>21</sup> They believed that the growth both of capitalism and of equality and democratic freedom would be furthered through the education of a generation of citizens who understood and respected both. This was to come about in two ways, viz., through the creation of equal opportunity and through the kind of training offered by the schools.

Equal opportunity would be created through a system of common schools where, according to Horace Mann, rich and poor would learn side by side. At the elementary school level, poor children would come to see that the same opportunities were open to them as to others, and resentment between social classes would disappear.<sup>22</sup> In Ryerson's words education was a "public good," and ignorance a "public evil." Rich and poor were to be given the same education, and

sufficient education "to overcome the evil of want and poverty."<sup>23</sup> Apathy and listlessness would thus be conquered, and a healthy and invigorated population would be the result.<sup>24</sup> According to Dewey, education would become "The greatest equalizer and the instrument of full human development."<sup>25</sup> Not only would common schooling promote egalitarianism, it would further prosperity itself. "Education," stated Mann, "was the most honest and honourable means of amassing property."<sup>26</sup> The furthering both of equality and of universal human development, thus, were explicit goals of liberal educational reformers.

As masses of students began to attend high schools, however, another element began to creep into the practice and rhetoric of public education. That element was stratification. By the turn of the century, both businessmen and reformers began to propose a stratified curriculum, in which the chief division would be between academic and vocational training.<sup>27</sup> This move corresponded to changes which were occurring at the level of production itself. Employers were anxious to be relieved of the burden and expense of training apprentices. Further, the placement of vocational programs within public schools constituted in many areas a means to break down the control which workers held over their own training and certification.<sup>28</sup> As such, it contributed, under the rubric of public schooling, to the social control desired by employers. In Canada, organizations such as the Canadian Manufacturers' Association lobbied the federal government for funds to establish vocational programs.

They stressed in particular the need for well trained mechanical experts who could function as shop foremen and managers. That is, they stressed the need for industrial workers who could function as agents in the stratification and control of the industrial workforce itself.<sup>29</sup>

For liberal reformers, however, stratification carried a different meaning. According to Dewey, separate streams were desirable because they allowed for tailoring education to the needs of the child, a rhetoric which remains with us even today. Further, technical training provided within the context of public schools would be far superior to the older system of apprenticeship as it would provide an education which went beyond the merely technical, i.e. it would give students some academic education as well. This, claimed Dewey, would train future workers who would be more than mere "blind cogs and pinions in the apparatus they employ..."<sup>30</sup> Finally, housing both vocational and academic students within the same school would "...build a sense of unity and common experience among students," thus serving to reduce class barriers.<sup>31</sup>

The stratification of education thus embodied the tensions described above between capitalists and reformers, i.e. between those whose aim was social control over the workforce, and those who aimed to promote equality and the intellectual development of the North American citizenry as a whole. For early reformers, however, these were not contradictory or even conflicting goals. On the contrary, the building of a well trained and disciplined industrial

workforce was seen as identical to the development of intelligent, critical members of a democratic society. The key element in this view was a faith in the supremacy of reason over the passions, or over the more physical elements of social reality. In Ryerson's concrete terminology, it was a question of developing the "power of mind over matter."<sup>32</sup> In turn, this faith was based on a belief that technology itself inherently fostered the development of enterprising, intelligent, independently minded individuals. It fostered, therefore, the kind of citizen ideally suited to a democratic state.

The supremacy of reason was to be realized first, according to Ryerson, by developing a scientific analysis of human nature from which one could extrapolate a rational plan for human progress.<sup>33</sup> "In its absolute perfection," in Mann's words, such an analysis would require "complete knowledge of the whole being to be taught, and of the precise manner in which every possible application would affect it."<sup>34</sup> Second, it was to be realized by fostering the rational faculties of students themselves, so that reason would come to prevail over the passions. Labouring classes and Indians (sic), Ryerson claimed, were "controlled by their feelings...in proportion to the absence or partial character of their intellectual development."<sup>35</sup> A major purpose of education as socialization, was emotional restraint. Adopting a Lockean view of epistemology, Daniel Wilson, an authority on educational theory during the Ryerson era, told the Upper Canada Teachers' Association in 1865 that "The young mind was a pure tablet on which teachers wrote what they willed." It was the teachers' task,

thus, to "guard that pure mirror from all the storms of passion and impurities that might...cloud it."<sup>36</sup> In Mann's words, the "sentiments and passions" were to get "more lessons than the intellect." Teachers were to be directed to teach the principles of "piety...sobriety, industry, frugality, and chastity."<sup>37</sup> Thus this represented an expressed dualism between reason, and emotion, or the more physical aspect of being. This is a dualism which runs through the entire Western philosophical tradition, beginning at least with Plato's theory of education in "The Republic."

Thus the promotion of egalitarianism, personal development, and general prosperity would be brought about, according to reformers, through the socialization of children to a rational discipline particularly suited to the industrial capitalist state. "In the present state of manufacturers," stated Ryerson, "...mental superiority, system order, punctuality and good conduct are all becoming of the highest consequence."<sup>38</sup> What is noteworthy here is the identification of intellectual development (mental superiority) and the kind of discipline (system order) desirable for the industrial worker. However, whereas today the idea of 'industrial discipline' understandably calls up images of a stratified workforce and authoritarian control, it is important to understand that for some early theorists of industrialization, 'industrial discipline' had quite the opposite connotation.<sup>39</sup> For these theorists, it was the influence on the human mind of the rationality inherent in science and technology itself which would free humans from unequal power relations.

Writing in the early part of the 19th century in his "Letters from America," Michael Chevalier had this to say to his fellow countrymen in France.

Examine the population of our rural districts, sound the brains of our peasants, and you will find that the spring of all their actions is a confused medley of biblical parables with the legends of gross superstition. Try the same operation on an American farmer and you will find that the great scriptural traditions are harmoniously combined in his mind with the principles of modern science as taught by Bacon and Descartes, with the doctrine of moral and religious independence proclaimed by Luther, and with the still more recent notions of political freedom. He is one of the initiated.<sup>40</sup>

According to Chevalier, this was due in large part to the American farmers' first hand familiarity with technology.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps the best exponent of this particular kind of optimism was Thorstein Veblen, an American economist and social theorist, and a contemporary of John Dewey. To Veblen, the notion of 'industrial discipline' was intimately tied to egalitarian and developmental democratic traditions at all levels of social existence.<sup>42</sup> Industrial workers, thought Veblen, were obliged continually to articulate their work habits and modes of thought to the exacting requirements of machinery. This forced upon them a way of thinking which focussed exclusively on the dynamics of cause and effect, and which in turn encouraged reasoning from de facto principles only. It was this form of thought that constituted the

industrial discipline.<sup>43</sup> De jure principles, upon which were based superstitions, and ancient justifications for unequal power relations-including justifications for the ownership and control of property-were thus becoming less and less convincing to industrial workers. Since machine industry was in increasing proportions coming to dominate all aspects of society both at home and abroad, this naturally iconoclastic way of thinking was bound inevitably to spread to all levels of society. The industrial worker would thus be highly independent in his/her attitudes, and would by definition be socialized so as to resist demagogic rule at all levels.<sup>44</sup> It follows from such a view, that by fostering a rational industrial discipline in school vocational programs, one fosters simultaneously a naturally egalitarian, democratic and intellectually progressive society.

It is now a well documented fact, however, that one hundred years of democratic liberal reform and its key instrument, public education, have not served to destratify North American society. Studies of North American class structure have shown that the gap between rich and poor has remained relatively stable since the beginning of this century.<sup>45</sup> Further, studies of the behavioural aspects of public schooling and its structural interrelation with economic production have revealed that schools serve largely to reproduce this inequality in a number of ways. They promote, for example, competition and stratification within the school program itself. Particularly germane has been the separation of academic and vocational programs, so central to optimistic theories of reformers. Numerous empirical

observations attest as well to the gradual decline, rather than development, of intellectual standards at all levels of public education.<sup>46</sup>

The development of schooling has witnessed as well, a decline in the standard of what has come to count as rationality. The concept of rationality as intellectual independence, and faith in the enlightening effects of industrialization, gave way in the end to the adoption of the narrow concepts of scientific management, as expounded in 1910 by F.W. Taylor. At the level of work itself, Taylorism entailed the reduction of workers' tasks to the most simple and mindless units, hardly designed to promote critical awareness. As a result of its adoption by public school administrators, Taylorism influenced as well the kind of education offered by the schools. Specifically, this entailed the adoption of simplistic criteria of accountability, which in turn entailed further stratification of the curriculum in the form of streaming.<sup>47</sup> The majority of students, according to a 1909 study, were by nature intellectually slow, and it was both costly and inefficient to offer them a cultural, or intellectually oriented education. Rather, they should be well disciplined and trained for physical or practical tasks. Intellectual education, so the argument ran, ought to be reserved for the few who were by nature inclined towards it, and who would thus benefit from it.<sup>48</sup>

Thus the doctrine of "mind over matter," in its lived reality took the form not of intellectual education for 'rich and poor alike,' but rather of perpetuating the separation of society itself into rational and

'emotional/physical' elements, i.e., into rational/intellectual workers and manual workers. In its effects on schooling it has, as well, taken the form of inflicting upon working class students a form of discipline which is cruder than that imposed upon middle and upper class students. This is a form of discipline which fosters obedience at the emotional level, at the expense of intellectual development and creativity. It has tended, in other words, to constitute an important element in the class bias of public schooling itself, a bias to which liberal reformers such as Dewey, Ryerson and Mann seemed blind. It is this lack of realism, pointed to by C.B. Macpherson, which is characteristic of the developmental democratic liberal. In essence, it entails a failure to grasp the importance of economics to measures taken at the political level, such as education. In turn, this suggests a dualistic notion of the separation of politics and economics, i.e., of political reforms and the effects which the division of labour endemic to capitalism might have on those reforms.

#### Contemporary Studies in Political Socialization

Thus far we have been examining the educational practice which grew out of a developmental and egalitarian concept of liberal democracy, a view which held sway until the middle part of this century. In this section we look at mainstream studies in political socialization in the light of a new vision of democracy which became dominant after 1950. The developmental outlook of J.S. Mill, Mann, Ryerson, and Dewey, took as given both the potential of the average citizen for enlightened decision-making, and the eventual triumph of

democracy as a form of government. As we shall see, key empirical studies on the decision-making processes of American voters did much to destroy the faith in the average citizen. The experience of 2 world wars took its toll on the faith in the survival of democracy. In a seminal work on political socialization, Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba phrased the concern for the survival democracy this way:

The faith of the Enlightenment in the inevitable triumph of human reason and liberty has been twice shaken in recent decades. The development of fascism and communism after World War II raised serious doubts about the inevitability of democracy in the West; and we still cannot be certain that the continental European nations will discover a stable form of democratic process suitable to their particular cultures and social institutions.<sup>49</sup>

In Dewey's view, this called for the improvement of the schools' capacity to foster the rational capacities of students. Democracy, wrote Dewey, "is itself an educational principle, an educational measure and policy."<sup>50</sup> To survive, however, it had to change to fit the needs of the time.<sup>51</sup> To meet the challenge of the mid-20th century, schools would have to concentrate on the teaching of social sciences. In Dewey's words:

Unless our schools take science in its relation to the understanding of those forces which are now shaping society, and, still more, how the resources of the organized intelligence that is science might

be used in organized social action, the outlook for democracy is insecure.<sup>52</sup>

Dewey's view had been that democratic decision-making was to issue from a process of co-operative intelligence, based on the emergence of a cultured, rational citizenry.<sup>53</sup> Public schooling was the key to its creation. By the early 1950's, however, both political scientists and educators were becoming painfully aware that the promise of public education to create an informed and pro-active electorate had not been realized.<sup>54</sup> It was determined through a number of major American studies on voting that the average citizen was both badly informed and uninterested in his/her political environment. According to the authors of one voting study in 1954, "certain requirements commonly assumed for the successful operation of democracy are not met by the behaviour of the average citizen."<sup>55</sup> Not only did citizens seem to lack the basic requisites for casting an intelligent vote, but their reasons for choosing particular candidates were for the most part, extra-rational.<sup>56</sup> "If the democratic system depended solely on the qualifications of the individual voter," the authors wrote, "then it seems remarkable that democracies have survived through the centuries..."<sup>57</sup>

Thus the vision of democracy as mass, co-operative intelligence seemed all but dead. What replaced it was an elitist, or in Macpherson's terms, an 'equilibrium' model of liberal democracy.<sup>58</sup> The basic tenets of such an outlook were first, that the masses were inherently incompetent and second, that therefore their best interests lay in the dominance of a gifted and creative elite.<sup>59</sup> Perhaps the best

known proponent of elitist democracy was Joseph Schumpeter. Writing in 1942, Schumpeter stated that democracy was to be understood not as government by the people but rather as government approved by the people.<sup>60</sup> The task of the electorate was not to exercise intelligence by formulating or deciding upon political issues, but simply to decide "who the leading man shall be."<sup>61</sup> It was task of elites to formulate issues and to put before the electorate the array of policy alternatives to be selected. It was the voters' role simply to choose between "one batch of political goods or another."<sup>62</sup> This was a return, therefore, to a vision of voters as appropriators and consumers in a political marketplace. As in a marketplace, the sovereignty of the voter was to be guaranteed by the competition amongst elites for the voters' support. Elite competition was to create not only freedom of choice for the electorate, i.e., a version of 'liberal democracy,' but also stability or equilibrium for the state. We have seen that stability/equilibrium was a major concern in the post war era. It was a return as well to an a-moral social vision. In Schumpeter's words, "there is...no such thing as a uniquely determined common good that all people could agree on..."<sup>63</sup> The vision of equality, which characterized the view of developmental liberal democrats was abandoned. The notion of equality, in Schumpeter's view, was simply a relic of Christian theology.<sup>64</sup> In sum, the post-war era has been marked by the resurgence of a market/consumer model of democracy, characterized by an espousal of inequality. Active political participation, on this view, is to be the privilege of a small

group of elites.

Concerned both with the perceived external threat to democracy and with the findings of the voting studies as described above, political scientists in the United States and Canada became increasingly interested in the study of political socialization. One important form which this concern took was an increased attention to the problem of assessing in a systematic manner the nature of cultures alien to those of North America. To this end, a number of exploratory studies emerged which attempted to link cultural differences to differences in childhood experience.<sup>65</sup> Among the first studies were such well known works as Eric Fromm's Escape From Freedom, published in 1941 and Ruth Benedict's The Sword and the Chrysanthemum: Patterns of Japanese Culture, published in 1946.<sup>66</sup> The following 2 decades saw the emergence of a substantial body of literature by political scientists focussing particularly on cross-cultural comparisons and employing, for the most part, data gleaned from survey questionnaires. Especially prevalent were questionnaires which focussed on the political attitudes of children.<sup>67</sup> The interest in children, and particularly in children at various age levels reflected an attempt to get at the roots of political orientation and to document its development. Thus the first wave of socialization studies grew out of attempts to arrive at dependable measures for carrying out cross-cultural comparisons.<sup>68</sup> Fundamentally these studies asked: What are the differences, at the level of socialization, between democratic and non-democratic states? If one could understand how

people came to be socialized to accept particular forms of government, it might become possible to know how best to influence one's own nation, as well as others, to support a democratic regime.

Typically, this field has been characterized by a methodology consisting of an array of quantitative analytic methods. It has as well been highly influenced by behavioural theory.<sup>69</sup> Given the disillusionment with the rational capacities of common citizens, behaviourism became the medium through which an attempt to understand their political behaviour was made. Perhaps popularized in its basic form most by Thomas Hobbes, behaviourism represents a concept of science which seeks to analyze (and thus reduce) all mental or emotional states to publicly observable behaviour. Necessarily, this concept embodies a dualism of mental/subjective experience and physical/objective reality, although of course it intends to collapse the former into the latter. Embodied in much of this research, thus, is the dualism between reason (or the mental realm) and emotion (or the physical realm) described above. Embodied as well is a faith both in education/research and in the rationality of quantitative scientific technique to provide a way out of the threat to the stability of democracy which has motivated so much of this research.

In keeping with the elitist and consumer model of democracy, North American studies on political socialization have been informed by the consensus view of North American politics implicit in the political systems analysis of David Easton, a model which continued to influence studies on political socialization into the late 1970's.<sup>70</sup> In

their work, Children in the Political System, Easton and Dennis state that a political system is clearly subject to various kinds of stress which threaten potentially its capacity to survive qua system. Thus to survive (or persist) it must somehow marshal a certain level of support from its members. Their major question is, therefore: How is this kind of support marshalled through the socialization of the young?<sup>71</sup> Voicing their own concern regarding the potential threat to democracy they state: "If...a specific democratic system were threatened in ways depicted a moment ago, the society might turn to some other type of system, such as a dictatorship, and preserve its capacity for making authoritative decisions."<sup>72</sup>

The notion of 'systems persistence' is itself based on a particular model of politics. According to this model, "ordinary citizens" in North American liberal democratic regimes exercise control over "elites." Further, "such control is legitimate in that both elites and non-elites explicitly consent to it."<sup>73</sup> In Easton's words, a political system is "a means through which the wants of the members of a society are converted into binding decisions."<sup>74</sup> State policy is seen as an outcome of the aggregate wants of citizens, expressed through formal organizations such as political parties, unions, and pressure groups. In turn, these aggregate wants are assumed to be reflective of aggregate citizen attitudes or values. The student of political socialization looks at the development of such values in order better to understand policy outputs, to explore the factors which might lead to the achievement of greater levels of citizen participation, and to measure

levels of citizen support for the system. Implicit in this view is an essentially classless model of "ordinary" citizenry and a unidirectional model of political influence or control. This factors out the interaction between politics and economics or as some critics have put it, it ignores the issue of economic power in a capitalist society.<sup>75</sup> It also fails to take account of the ability of the state (and the elites) to structure the nature of the demands to which it will respond. By definition one cannot, within such a framework, look at socio-political issues such as class conflict, ideology, or hegemony. Thus the framework itself is ideological, as it functions as a mask for the asymmetrical power relations which it hides. In so doing, it echoes the dualism between economic and political realms described above in our account of the history of schooling. This in turn creates a narrow view of what is to count as politics. Finally, this outlook has in practice remained parochial in that it has tended to identify politics with the formal institutions and processes of western Democracies.

An example of this parochial view is a study carried out by Almond and Verba in their work, The Civic Culture. This is an empirical cross-cultural study of survey data from five democratic nations, viz., The United States, The United Kingdom, Italy, Germany and Mexico, in order to assess their relative levels of political stability. Questionnaires in this survey dealt specifically with peoples' attitudes toward formal governments and political institutions. Not surprisingly, they found that low levels of formal education corresponded to low levels of information on formal government

institutions.<sup>76</sup> This was taken to imply a low level of political understanding. This in turn was said to correspond to a low degree of 'civic culture', i.e. a lack of pluralism leading, according to the authors, to political instability.<sup>77</sup> As we can see, one obvious weakness of this study is its exclusive focus on formal political institutions. That a Mexican farmer knows little about state politics in Mexico does not mean he/she is politically naive. Politics occurs at all levels of society.

Similarly, many studies of children begin by defining political socialization in broad terms, but focus in practice only on attempts to gauge their attitudes toward formal political figures, roles and institutions. In introducing their collection of Canadian essays on political socialization, for example, Pammett and Whittington recognize the multi-dimensional character of political attitudes. In their subjective dimension, the authors state, these attitudes are constituted by one's mode of perceiving the world, one's feelings about those perceptions, and one's beliefs about how the world operates.<sup>78</sup> From this one ought to conclude that perceptions of such crucial environmental elements as human nature, the nature of social change, and the nature of community would be a valid and useful subject of study for students of political socialization. In reviewing the subject matter which follows, however, we find that of the 10 essays which focus on children, every one deals with the child's perception of the formal political system only.

The switch from a general to a narrow definition of political socialization can be seen as well in Dawson and Prewitt's introduction

to their American collection of essays. Here they state:

Political Socialization...is a concept directing attention toward the knowledge, values and beliefs of the average citizen. What is it that the citizen wants of his government? Is he willing to support the political rules and ruler? Under what conditions?<sup>79</sup>

Note the transformation of "knowledge, values and beliefs" into the narrow question of what "the citizen wants of his government." Again, in a collection of essays entitled: The Learning of Political Behaviour, Adler and Harrington defined political socialization as "...the process whereby children are socialized to the norms and values of society that have to do with political events, institutions and ideas..."<sup>80</sup> In the essays in the collection which attempt to assess children's "norms and values" (nearly the entire collection), only perceptions of political leaders are considered. Particularly interesting is an essay entitled: "The Growth of Political Ideas in Adolescence: A Sense of Community." To tap the notion of the sense of community, survey questionnaires in the study focussed on students' attitudes toward the limits of government authority, law, and the rights and obligations of citizens to the state.<sup>81</sup> This is certainly an odd definition of community. In general, then, initial perceptions of the breadth of political sensibilities tend to be narrowed in practice to a concern with attitudes to the formal elements of particular regimes. This concern seems to reflect the anxiety described above, about the survival of democracy.

Another dimension of this narrowed view of politics is ambivalence

in dealing with socio-economic inequality. This stems naturally from the dualistic model of politics assumed by much of literature. There is a tendency not only to ignore economic power, but also to downplay the importance of economic differences. For example, within the Eastonian framework, numerous studies have sought to measure levels of what Easton has termed "political efficacy," i.e. the degree to which a person feels confident in his/her ability to influence political events. In a 1967 survey of children from grades 3 to 8, Easton and Dennis asked children a series of questions designed to tap their feelings of confidence in their family's ability to influence political events. They were asked, for example, whether they thought politicians were likely to be responsive to what they and their family wanted.<sup>82</sup> The authors concluded that by grade 8, 82% of their subjects had developed medium to high feelings of efficacy, despite systematic differences in variables such as socio-economic status. From this they concluded that, in spite of economic cleavages, the American government in fact enjoys a broad base of legitimacy.<sup>83</sup> Building on this research in Canada, Magnus Gunther tested a group of Ontario students for political efficacy. Using a questionnaire identical to that employed by Easton, he concluded as well that socio-economic status was a relatively weak indicator.<sup>84</sup> Similarly, in the cross-national study described above, Almond and Verba concluded that levels of education, rather than socio-economic status, were the strongest indicator of the 'civic' personality.<sup>85</sup>

It is worth pointing out that these studies tend to remain shallow

insofar as they take at face value the responses to their questionnaires. No doubt, this shallowness is related to the behavioural bent of this literature. For a behaviourist, subjective states are non-existent, and thus a surface response represents reality tout court. Behaviourists do not, therefore, consider the ideological factors which may be at work. Given the importance to everyday life of socio-economic factors, the discovery that relatively impoverished school children score high in their stated support for the regime is indeed interesting news. But of what is it news? It may very well signify, in addition to support for the regime, a strong sense of resignation among these children regarding their place in the socio-economic hierarchy. Alternately, it may signify simply an attempt on their part to say what one is expected to say in school.

The ambivalence in treating the subject of inequality is apparent as well in the treatment of the role of the school as an agent of socialization. Dawson and Prewitt, for example, have suggested that much of the content of civics courses has little effect on white middle-class children. They suggest, however, that these courses may have their strongest effect on poorer children, and especially on poorer black children. They reason that much of the material would be new to the latter group and thus may introduce them for the first time to concepts such as citizens' rights and democratic participation.<sup>86</sup> Again this plays down the reality of poverty. Edgar Litt, in an interesting and unusual 1963 survey of civics textbooks used in Boston school districts representing 3 levels of socio-economic

status, has shown that there is a systematic class bias built into the teaching of civics. Looking at the difference between high, middle, and low class areas (labelled alpha, beta, and gamma respectively) he noted that only the alpha texts stressed the concept of citizen participation.<sup>87</sup> Further, only the alpha texts made the suggestion that group conflict might produce positive changes. Gamma texts, it was noted, were the most bland and tended to be comprised largely of accounts of the dates of political events and mechanical descriptions of political procedures.<sup>88</sup>

It is most interesting to note, that while Dawson and Prewitt footnote this study, they do not mention Litt's findings vis a vis social class differences. Rather they note simply his claim that in general, civics courses emphasize the democratic creed.<sup>89</sup> Pammett and Whittington note Litt's article as well, but use it merely to support their claim that there is little evidence to support the idea that "...the teaching of so-called civics courses has much influence on politicizing students."<sup>90</sup> They do not mention stratification. This is not a conclusion which Litt draws and in my own view, in no way follows from Litt's study. Finally, Easton and Dennis note Litt's study simply to illustrate that, in their view, the range of orientations for which socio-economic status makes a difference is very limited in North American society.<sup>91</sup> Socio-economic differences, in sum, have tended to be brushed aside.

In general, views on the importance of schools to political socialization have been mixed. Views range from the extremely

optimistic outlook of Hess and Torney, who state that of all the agents of socialization the school is the most significant, to major works such as those of Easton and Dennis and of Greenstein, neither of which devotes any space at all to a discussion of schools.<sup>92</sup> Given the generally conservative political framework within which many of these studies are conceived, however, it should not surprise us if many researchers did not focus attention on schools since fundamentally, the latter are viewed as functional in promoting unequivocally the basic democratic values. For example, in their collection of essays, Dawson and Prewitt end their discussion on schools with a quote which they categorize as an "eloquent" comment on the schools' task of socializing large numbers of immigrant children. Schools are a place, according to the quote, "where all children in a community or district, regardless of nationality, religion, politics, or social status, meet and work together in a co-operative spirit..."<sup>93</sup> This represents a continuation of the benign view of public schools held by 19th century educational reformers such as Mann and Ryerson. On this view, as we have seen, the school constitutes the medium through which all social and economic differences are evened out.

Thus far we have seen that in the main, the literature on political socialization echoes the dualism which characterized the thinking of early school reformers. As such, it takes a narrow view of what counts as politics, and an ambivalent view of the importance of socio-economic differences. We have seen as well that this literature

has in general been preoccupied with political stability, stemming from the post-war concern for the future of democracy. Further, it took as given an elitist model of democracy. Finally, we have seen that in its use of positivist methodology influenced by behaviourism, this literature displays a faith that a technological and dualist form of science will provide the needed answer to this concern. In the next section, we look briefly at the radical critique of this literature.

### The Radical Response

In response to the works described above, radical theorists have sought to counter both the consensus view of politics, and the elitist conception of democracy with which it is associated. With respect to democracy, radicals of the New Left during the 1960's began to articulate a participatory outlook which called for the return of active participation by the common citizen.<sup>94</sup> An essential component in this new outlook was the willingness to meet head on the issue of economic authoritarianism represented by the capitalist control over the lives of workers. Whereas the developmental vision of educational reformers recognized the value of political participation, it failed to recognize the necessity to develop as well a participatory practice at the level of the economy. The passivity of citizens to political issues, in the view of radicals, is in large part an outgrowth of the passivity with which they are forced to respond to the authoritarian structure of the workplace. Recognizing the intimate interrelation of economics and politics, the radical critique calls for a democratization not only of the political sphere, but of the workplace,

i.e. the economy itself.

In response to the consensus model of schooling, Canadian and American radical theorists, many also working with an empirical methodology, have been effective in showing that schools function positively to reproduce the inequality which exists within society. Working largely within an historical materialist mode of analysis, radical theorists to date have concentrated their study on describing the way in which the requisites of capitalist production have come to bear on the education system. The brief historical account of schooling given above is representative of this perspective. In response to the more conservative body of literature, the focus on production represents a direct critique of the latter's dualistic view of economics and politics. From the radical viewpoint, much of what occurs in schooling within any state must necessarily be seen to reflect the tensions which exist in production itself. In a capitalist mode of production, the perpetuation of a stratified workforce within a monopolistic economic structure is the source of some of the most basic tensions within society. Thus insofar as it masks these tensions and denies its essentially political nature, education must be seen as ideological.

During the 1960's a number of serious observers of North American schools in action began to criticize harshly what they perceived to be a deadening and oppressive form of socialization. Writers such as Paul Goodman, John Holt and Ivan Illich attested to the way in which schools served largely to inculcate a destructive fear

of failure.<sup>95</sup> In turn, they argued, this created a population of fearful individuals, unwilling and perhaps psychologically unable to try anything new. The result was a stagnant and unimaginative, if stable, society. Criticized as well was the still common practice of learning by rote.<sup>96</sup> In the end, this could only result in boredom and disenchantment, and a turning away from the quest for knowledge itself. In Illich's view, society itself would have to become 'deschooled' if this pall was to be lifted from North American society. The school system in its present form was perhaps to be abandoned altogether. Working within a socio-linguistic framework, Basil Bernstein, an English theorist, has popularized the idea that for working class children, the language and culture of the public school is foreign and hostile to their home environment. As a result, they are unlikely to thrive in what is an essentially middle class school environment.<sup>97</sup> Christopher Lasch, a critic of North American culture, has argued that the application of 'objective' I.Q. testing and streaming, and the progressive bureaucratization of schooling has resulted in a replacement of basic illiteracy by a new and insidious variant. In its new form, illiteracy entails not the inability to read, but the inability, for the majority of students, to put into a meaningful context anything which they read. In turn, this has contributed to decline in the capacity for critical thought.<sup>98</sup> As seen above, structural theorists have developed a forceful account of the way in which the hierarchical structure of school life worked to prepare students for acceptance of an hierarchical social class structure.

Although it would be false to suggest that there has been a consensus on these issues amongst radicals, all agree that schooling in North America has served to increase the passivity of students, and to dull rather than increase the tendency toward critical awareness.

Perhaps because of the structural bias of much of this work, however, little attention has been paid by radical theorists to the subject of curriculum. In general, they have focussed instead on what has come to be called the hidden curriculum. The hidden curriculum is comprised by the non-cognitive aspects of schooling such as the structures of discipline, competition, and stratification in the form of streaming. In a recent collection of radical essays on education edited by A.H. Halsey and Jerome Karabel, the editors bring together works by specialists both from Europe and North America.<sup>99</sup> Included are works by Martin Carnoy, Basil Bernstein, Pierre Bordieu and many others. For those familiar with studies in ideology, the list of authors reads like a 'who's who' in radical educational theory. It is significant, however, that none of these addresses the subject of curriculum content. From the perspective of developing an alternative concept of education, however, this avoidance is rather unhelpful. An example will serve to put this point more clearly. Perhaps the most widely known work within this tradition is Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis' work, Schooling in Capitalist America, noted a number of times above. Although focussed almost entirely on North American education, this work essentially glosses over the concept of education itself. This is best evidenced by their use of the term 'education' to refer both to

practices which they consider oppressive, and practices which they would consider more liberating. Throughout their work, they speak of 'educational' reform, referring clearly to 'education' which is ideological in nature. In later chapters, they speak of 'educational' alternatives, referring to something which represents an improvement over ideology. Their final chapter is entitled "Education, Socialism and Revolution," clearly suggesting something other than what is meant in the phrase 'educational reform.' As a result, it is difficult to sort out what the authors mean by education as opposed, for example, to indoctrination.

Although the distinction between education and indoctrination can be explored as well at the level of structure, it is my own view that it is best addressed by looking directly at what is said to students. The stress on non-cognitive structures, and thus the exclusive focus on hidden curriculum, I suggest, leaves unexplored a crucial aspect of the schools' role in political socialization. This is not, of course, to try to create yet another false dichotomy by distinguishing sharply between form and content, for such a dichotomy does not exist. Rather it is to tilt the focus of analysis somewhat in the direction of what we might call the not-so-hidden curriculum, viz., the curriculum.

### The Analysis of Textbooks

The analysis of the content of textbooks, although not often addressed by political scientists, does have a history of its own. As will be seen, it is a history which reflects the tensions between

capitalism and democracy which we have explored throughout this chapter. That is, questions raised in standard textbook analysis have reflected the uncritical attitude towards schooling, capitalism and democracy seen in the work of educational reformers and mainstream political scientists.

The formal analysis of textbooks began in Europe, during the period between the world wars, with the work of European educators concerned with the kinds of attitudes fostered by German textbooks, regarding other nations. In 1921 The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace provided funds for the study of textbooks with regard to such biases. By 1938, supported by the activity of the League of Nations, 22 nations had endorsed an international agreement for textbook revision.<sup>100</sup> After 1946, this work was carried on by UNESCO. The latter has encouraged member states to make bilateral agreements for textbook revision, proposed general criteria for acceptable texts, and sponsored a series of international conferences on the study of textbooks. Clearly the concern underlying such activity has been the fostering of hostile attitudes on the part of individual nations towards others.

In North America, concern regarding textbooks began first in the United States, in 1911, where it was pointed out by G.A. Johnson in his study, A School History of the Negro Race, that American textbooks seemed to omit any reference to creditable deeds by American blacks.<sup>101</sup> Although such work suffered a setback during the repressive McCarthy era, a number of organizations, including the

National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People succeeded in having some of the more offensive anti-black textbooks removed from the public schools. Relatively little textbook analysis carried out in the United States has focussed on attitudes in textbooks expressed towards other nations. The focus instead has been on internal cultural relations. This has been true as well of Canadian studies. Research in Canada began in Ontario and Quebec in the 1940's, and focussed initially on the differences in perspective found in French and English accounts of Canadian history respectively. Such a study was carried out, for example, by the Committee of Canada and Newfoundland Education Association in 1945.<sup>102</sup> Not surprisingly, this association discovered that two histories were being taught in Canada, each stressing the virtues and deeds of one of its two major cultural groups. Some studies, as well, looked at textbook treatments of Canadian Indians. Findings determined that in general, racial, cultural and religious minorities were not represented in Canadian textbooks. Rather, figures stressed were white Christians, or white French Catholics. Further, subjects such as unemployment and economic disparity remained in general unaddressed. There were few references to the labour movement, and in general little or no serious discussion of social or political conflicts within Canadian society. This has given Canadian social studies, as a number of critics have charged, a particularly bland character. Needless to say it has also given it a false character, a matter which ought to be of some urgency to those concerned with the political education of youth.

These facts take on even greater urgency when we look at the results of the study of civic education in Canada carried out by A.B. Hodgetts. In a 1967 survey of 847 Canadian classrooms, Hodgetts found that 89% of the teachers followed the prescribed texts more or less, and 21% conducted classes which constituted a "mere regurgitation of the prescribed text."<sup>103</sup> Although this does not tell us about the effect of the texts on the attitudes which students eventually come to hold, it does point to the need for educators to develop some clarity on the political content of the texts which they use. This would result at the very least in a clearer view of what effect we are trying to have on students.

For the most part, studies on textbooks carried out in recent years have carried on the practice of focussing on multi-culturalism. As an extension of this, some have focussed as well on the treatment of gender in childrens' reading primers. Although these are important issues, it can be argued that fundamentally they are safe issues in relation to the dominant economic and political outlook. In stressing the need for equality between cultural groups or between the sexes, they leave untouched the general inequality endemic to contemporary capitalism. By extension, they do not challenge the elitist concept of democracy dominant at this time. My own text analysis, therefore, will take a different tack. Rather than focussing on the texts' treatment of a specific group or subject, I shall attempt to develop an analysis which reveals the philosophical framework through which both students and teachers are invited to conceive the material

addressed by the texts. In effect, in doing so I shall be doing no more than taking seriously some of the broad definitions of political socialization cited earlier. I shall, in other words, attempt to look at the "mode of perceiving the world, the feeling about those perceptions, and the beliefs about how the world operates" suggested by the texts in question.

I have attempted in this chapter to bring to light some of the tensions which run through both the development of mass schooling in North America and the kinds of research in political socialization most commonly carried out by political scientists. In view of the passive and consumer oriented view of democracy dominant at this time, and in response to the charge by radical theorist that schools tend to encourage passivity, it becomes especially interesting to examine a course which explicitly calls itself Consumer Education. In the case study which follows, I shall be aiming to follow through in this analysis by highlighting its relation to the issues raised above. I shall want to point out, in other words, the way in which this case is expressive of the dualism between reason and emotion which characterized the thought and practice of early school reform, and the dualism between politics and economics which is endemic to the liberal democratic tradition.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> E.B. Castle, Ancient Education and Today (Penguin Books, Ltd., 1962), pp. 44-45.

<sup>2</sup> Castle, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> C.B. Macpherson, The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy (Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Macpherson, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> For a similar description referring to the theory of Newton, see John Dewey, Philosophy of Education (Littlefield, Adams, and Co., 1958), p. 135.

<sup>6</sup> Macpherson, pp. 25-26.

<sup>7</sup> Macpherson, p. 30.

<sup>8</sup> Macpherson, p. 26.

<sup>9</sup> Macpherson, pp. 34-35.

<sup>10</sup> Macpherson, p. 43.

<sup>11</sup> Macpherson, p. 44.

<sup>12</sup> Macpherson, p. 51.

<sup>13</sup> Macpherson, pp. 57-58.

<sup>14</sup> Macpherson, p. 48.

<sup>15</sup> Macpherson, pp. 48-49.

<sup>16</sup> Geraint L. Williams, ed., John Stuart Mill on Politics and Society (Fontana Press, 1976), p. 339, pp. 344-348.

<sup>17</sup> Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), p. 174.

<sup>18</sup> Bowles and Gintis, p. 166.

<sup>19</sup> Stephen Schecter, "Capitalism, Class and Educational Reform in Canada," in The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power, ed., Leo Panitch (University of Toronto Press, 1977), pp. 374-375.

<sup>20</sup> Bowles and Gintis, p. 163.

<sup>21</sup> For Horace Mann's view see Bowles and Gintis, p. 166. For Ryerson's view see John Harp and John R. Hofley, eds., Structured Inequality in Canada (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1980), p. 221.

<sup>22</sup> Bowles and Gintis, p. 167.

<sup>23</sup> Harp and Hofley, p. 221.

<sup>24</sup> Alison Prentice, The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada (McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1977), p.134.

<sup>25</sup> Quoted in Bowles and Gintis, p. 181.

<sup>26</sup> Quoted in Bowles and Gintis, p. 164.

<sup>27</sup> Bowles and Gintis, pp. 191-192.

- <sup>28</sup> Bowles and Gintis, p. 193.
- <sup>29</sup> Schechter, pp. 392-393.
- <sup>30</sup> Jo Ann Boydston, ed., Guide to the Works of John Dewey (Southern Illinois University Press, 1970), p. 276.
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## CHAPTER TWO

### Consumer Education: The Politics and the Rhetoric

In chapter one I examined the tensions between capitalism and democracy in North America as reflected in the theory and practice of public schooling, studies in the political socialization of school children, and the analysis of the social contents of textbooks. The resolution, I argued, was at the expense of a meaningful form of democracy. In what follows, we focus on the resolution of these same tensions in the context of the public school curriculum, through a case study of a new British Columbia course on consumer education. In this chapter I examine the process by which the course was created and implemented, and the concept of democracy implicit in that process. I compare this process with the official rhetoric about the course's social and educational purposes. I also examine the broader concept of consumer education, a concept which has informed much of the rhetoric about the course. As will become clear, the implementation process reflects the elitist concept of democracy described in chapter one, whilst the rhetoric is expressive of the developmental, egalitarian concept. We will see that the rhetoric has been effective in obfuscating the issue represented by the development of the new consumer education course.

This account is based on information derived from a number of sources. These include interviews both with key persons involved in the creation of the course and with representatives of interest groups

who became concerned about it, 4 major papers written in British Columbia on consumer education courses, files on the course located in the archives of the British Columbia Teachers Federation and the New Democratic Party research office, Hansard, newsletters of the British Columbia Business Educators Association, circulars and relevant reports issued by the Ministry of Education, and responses from teachers in a mail survey which I conducted during the fall and winter of 1986-87. A list of persons interviewed and the specifics of the survey are given in appendices A and B of this thesis, respectively.

The development and implementation of Consumer Education, more obviously than for any other course presently taught in British Columbia, has been overtly political in character. Under normal circumstances, curriculum development issues from numerous standing committees within the curriculum development branch of the Ministry of Education. These consist mainly of British Columbia teachers, seconded by the Ministry for specific periods of time to help revise or develop teaching materials. New courses can be developed by these committees, but can also be developed to some extent through voluntary associations of teachers and administrators at the community level to meet regional needs.<sup>1</sup> In March of 1981, however, the Ministry received a direct order from Brian Smith, then the Minister of Education, that within a year and a half, a compulsory course on consumer fundamentals, to be taught either in grade 9 or 10, was to be developed and ready for implementation. The new course was to replace an elective in consumer fundamentals already

being offered in the schools at the same grade level. This was an event for which there was no precedent either in British Columbia or in any other Canadian province. The cabinet order became public information on March 16, 1981, in the form of a Ministry circular. The circular contained no details on the content of the proposed course, and no rationale for it. It stated simply:

A Consumer Fundamentals course will be implemented in September, 1982 and will be offered in either Grade 9 or 10. This course will be prescribed and will therefore raise the number of prescribed courses in grade 9 or 10. This requirement will apply starting with those students entering Grade 9 in September, 1982...<sup>2</sup>

A partial explanation for this event emerged in a report written by the Minister, issued the following summer.<sup>3</sup> The report represented a synopsis of a provincial tour, conducted by the Minister in 1980, in order to hear opinions on education expressed by teachers, students, parents, community associations and concerned citizens. In his report the Minister stated:

During the tour I heard concerns expressed that our students lack an understanding of many of the practical consumer skills we all need to function effectively in our society...A practical course on consumer education will be required for all students in Grade 9 or 10.<sup>4</sup>

The choice of grade levels appears to have been the result of a concern that students who choose to leave school early also receive the benefit of the course. In his report, the Minister quoted a

representative of a parents' group in Vernon, who suggested that a practical course in consumer skills was needed, "particularly for those who may not plan on completing their High School education." Such a course, according to the representative, would help to ensure that "these young people" would be "better prepared to successfully become part of the work force..."<sup>5</sup>

Response from various quarters to the March circular was, to say the least, mixed. The key participants in the immediately resulting conflict were Ministry of Education officials, the British Columbia Teachers Federation (BCTF), the British Columbia Business Educators Association (BCBEA), numerous arts organizations, school trustees, and members of the British Columbia Administrators Provincial Specialists' Association (BCAPSA). Concerns expressed fell basically into 3 categories, viz., the felt authoritarian nature of the decision, the impact both on the High School curriculum and staffing of an additional compulsory course, and to a lesser degree, the content of the proposed course. Teachers and administrators in a number of school districts were outraged at the order, and questioned the authority of the cabinet to place courses on the public school curriculum.<sup>6</sup> An article in the Nanaimo Daily Free Press noted as well the slap-dash manner in which the decision to introduce the course had been made.<sup>7</sup> The normal route to curriculum development had been circumvented. Business educators pointed out that much of the content of the proposed course was already being taught and had been taught for many years in the Consumer Fundamentals course and in business

courses. A new course seemed unnecessary. The Administrators' Association (i.e. school principals) was concerned about the impact of the course on the curriculum as a whole. A new compulsory course would decrease student enrolment in existing electives. This would affect not only grade 9 and 10 elective courses, but also upper level courses for which the former were prerequisites. In turn, this threatened to make redundant the work of High School teachers of elective courses. Potentially affected were teachers of Home Economics, Industrial Education, Music, Art, Drama, and other courses related to business and career planning. Further, it reduced by one, the number of electives open to Grade 9 and 10 students. It was pointed out to the Minister by BCTF staff that the recently announced requirement by the universities of extra courses for university entrance had already reduced the number of electives for students taking academic programs. A further reduction was not in keeping with the philosophy for junior secondary school programs expressed in the provincial administrative handbook. According to the latter, junior secondary programs are to be exploratory. This means that they are to offer a number of electives.<sup>8</sup> A survey of the opinions of teachers in the lower mainland of British Columbia conducted in 1981 indicates that a majority of teachers was strongly opposed to the compulsory nature of the proposed course.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, some anxiety was expressed by the Teachers' Federation, by some school trustees, and by one member of the legislative assembly that the course would be written in a politically biased

manner. In all likelihood, this fear was aroused initially by the absence of substantive information on the proposed course content and on its development at the time of the Minister's announcement. It was exacerbated by the subsequent hiring of the director of the Economics Education Resource Council (EERC), a division of the Fraser Institute, to develop and give workshops to teachers throughout the province on how to teach the new course. Several letters of protest regarding this appointment were sent to the Minister. Nevertheless, this particular fear seemed all but to disappear from main debate over the course, and thus the first two issues constituted the focus of the conflict which followed.

Reaction to the Minister's order began in the Ministry, whose curriculum development staff attempted to soften the impact of the order by offering a counter-proposal. They suggested the development of a three pronged general life-skills course, which would include consumer education, family life education and career counselling. This course would be offered as an elective.<sup>10</sup> Since the Minister had, again ostensibly in response to public demand, also wanted to see the development of an elective course on family life skills, and had expressed concern over the preparation of students for participation in the work force, such a course seemed potentially to cover more ground in a less controversial and more economic manner. The Teachers' Federation suggested that the material to be taught in the proposed course be distributed appropriately among the already existing courses, thus covering the required ground without affecting

jobs and curriculum as described above. They also suggested that course be put through a pilot phase to test the effectiveness of the available teaching materials. These proposals, however, were rejected by the Minister, and the Ministry proceeded to hire staff to develop the course as originally requested.

Two Business Education teachers from the lower mainland were hired to coordinate the choosing and editing of the texts to be used. They worked under the direction of a Ministry steering committee, and in conjunction with an advisory committee of experts in various topics to be covered in the course. Members of the latter committee were appointed by the Ministry. These included representatives from the Ministry of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, the Legal Services Society, and representatives of various private business organizations. No members of the Teachers Federation were invited to participate in this process and no labour organizations were represented. As seen above, the director of the EERC was hired to initiate new teachers. With her help, 4 television programs were developed to introduce the concepts of the course to teachers.<sup>11</sup> She also developed and taught a Consumer Education teacher training course offered for credit in 1982 and 1983 by the University of British Columbia (UBC) Department of Education. Both the television programs and the course featured a talk by Fraser Institute economist Michael Walker. The training course included free lunches for participants at the faculty club, paid for out of Fraser Institute funds.<sup>12</sup> Due in part to public criticism over the partisan nature of this course, it was subsequently dropped

from the UBC curriculum.

Meanwhile, opposition to Consumer Education continued on other fronts. The Teachers' Federation adopted a policy of non-cooperation.<sup>13</sup> They hoped that if teachers refused to teach the course, they could force the minister to consider seriously the alternatives which had been proposed. Arts organizations throughout British Columbia wrote to the Minister to protest the compulsory nature of the course, pointing out its inevitable impact on the teaching of art, drama and music. These protests came from associations of teachers of the arts, community arts councils, and faculties of art, music and drama at the universities.<sup>14</sup> The Association of Business Educators took a more moderate stance. They were in favour of the course, but wrote to protest the minister's decision not to restrict the administering of Consumer Education to business education departments. Some expressed concern that teachers with no previous training in economics and consumer issues, and perhaps no interest in such topics, would be assigned to the course.<sup>15</sup> In fact, as many as half of those presently teaching it are displacees from other subject areas.

Throughout the fall of 1981 conflict over the proposed course continued to mount. A number of High School principals did not favour the stance of the BCTF. Teachers likely to be asked by these principals to teach the course realized that they might soon be faced with the choice of violating BCTF policy if they complied, and facing charges of insubordination if they did not. Teaching specialists were

becoming anxious about the future of their subject areas. During December of 1981, members of the Administrators' Association let it be known to the Minister that they would support a compromise which would soften the impact of the course on the existing school curriculum.<sup>16</sup> They requested that the Minister agree to the development of a second Consumer Education course, to be offered at the grade 11 level. Students would be given the option of taking it at either the junior or senior level. This would spread the requirement over four years instead of two. It would also allow interested students to take the course for credit at both levels. The minister accepted this proposal, and accordingly, the Ministry issued a new circular in January of 1982, announcing the plan to develop the grade 11 course.<sup>17</sup> Not surprisingly, this action on the part of the principals angered the Teachers' Federation, as it undermined the solidarity required to make its non-cooperative stance effective. The principals responded by insisting that this had been an emergency measure, and by reaffirming in principle their objection to the compulsory nature of the course.<sup>18</sup> Their action, however, had been decisive, and Consumer Education became a fait accompli.

An issue raised only sporadically throughout this struggle was the question of the source of the impetus for development of Consumer Education 9/10. Although the course supposedly came about as a result of public demand, there is good reason to doubt this. In citing evidence of such demand in his written report, the Minister mentioned the suggestions of only one group. During the Minister's

provincial tour, BCTF reporters were present at every public hearing. According to their written reports, the subject was raised only once, viz., at the time of the presentation made by the Vernon parents' group quoted by the Minister. Further, according to their reports, during the general discussions which occurred at many of the hearings, the subject of consumer education was never mentioned.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, there were strong demands expressed for other things. For example, according to Appendix A of the Minister's report, 37 arts organizations and teachers of art, drama and music made presentations to the minister. BCTF reports indicate that these participants stressed the need for more curricular time to be given to the teaching the arts. In terms of measures subsequently taken by the Minister, however, these requests appear to have had no effect. In addition to hearing oral reports during his tour, the Minister received 791 written briefs from interested groups. The briefs did not come from the same people who had attended the public hearings. An inspection of these has shown that they contain not a single request for a consumer education course.<sup>20</sup> Thus despite Smith's claim, there appears to have been no strong public demand for Consumer Education. We must assume, therefore, that the Minister had his own reasons for introducing the course, and that the act of listening to the public functioned essentially as window dressing. The rhetoric of popular democracy, in other words, masked the adherence to an elitist and hollow form of 'democracy.'

The struggle over Consumer Education did not end with its

installation in the British Columbia High School curriculum. As will be seen, it continued in the form of bids for some control over additions to the course materials which the Ministry had developed. Although basic texts had been prepared, and remain for most teachers the essential focus of the lessons taught in classrooms, teachers still required interesting resource materials to make the course as relevant as possible to students. This has been true especially for those teachers who were novices to the subject of business and economics education, i.e., who were reassigned to the course. At least 3 significant groups, representing opposing political viewpoints, have been forthcoming with proposals for lessons to be used in conjunction with the texts. These have been End Legislated Poverty (a coalition of 16 provincial anti-poverty groups), Junior Achievement (a business organization) and the BCTF.

End Legislated Poverty has produced a booklet entitled "Poverty in B.C.," which addresses the subject of economic inequality in Canada, the issue of growing corporate power and the resulting centralization of wealth and power in Canada. The booklet adopts a position in favour of a guaranteed annual income.<sup>21</sup> It discusses as well the relation between economics and human values as expressed in the works of E.F. Schumacher. It features a section on student projects and activities, and is apparently used by a few teachers either in conjunction with Consumer Education or Social Studies. None of the teachers in the survey which I carried out cited it as a resource.

Perhaps most interesting in terms of their appeal to teachers and

their rapidly growing use in British Columbia classrooms, have been the materials produced by private businesses through a program entitled Project Business. The latter is a division of Junior Achievement, an organization which seeks, according to its literature, to "...promote a positive attitude toward business and private enterprise among Canadian youth..."<sup>22</sup> Although Junior Achievement has been active for 30 years in the province and elsewhere, its recent activity in British Columbia in the form of Project Business began in 1982, the year in which Consumer Education 9/10 began to be taught.<sup>23</sup> The organization has produced its own 200 page text for use in the course, complete with classroom games, puzzles, and lesson plans. The material is free upon request. It also provides, upon request, speakers from the business community (trained by the organization), who commit themselves to teach in the classroom for one hour per week for 12 to 18 weeks. They teach from the Project Business text, and claim to bring "the real world" into the classroom.<sup>24</sup> Project Business has a membership of 190 businesses. Its activities began in 7 Vancouver classrooms in 1982, and had expanded to 200 classes in 15 school districts by 1986.<sup>25</sup> In soliciting membership and donations from businesses for this project, the organization's literature states:

Your Interest In Free Enterprise...It costs \$65.00 for each student influenced, \$325 for 5 students, \$195 for 3 ... Make your cheque payable to Junior Achievement of British Columbia. Income tax receipts will be issued.<sup>26</sup>

The literature tells businesspeople that the program operates principally through the compulsory Consumer Education course taught in the province. Business publications quoted in this literature deplore the failure of public schools to teach business "literacy." They exhort the business community to stop waiting for the schools to change and to dig in and do the requisite teaching themselves. It appears, thus, that many provincial businesses have a strong interest in this course.

In response, the BCTF, in conjunction with the Canadian Labour Council and others, have begun to develop a unit on labour history, to be offered as a resource for teachers of Consumer Education. Its working title is "Project Labour," and it too will provide speakers for classrooms. In form, it will be modeled on some of the Project Business materials. This unit will not be completed until September of 1987, and thus it remains to be seen how widely such a unit will be used.

It is clear that conflict over Consumer Education is not over. As we have seen, this conflict focussed initially on the process of implementation and on the effects of a new compulsory course on the curriculum. In its most recent form, conflict has focussed on political content. Not surprisingly, the 2 major factions in this conflict represent business on the one hand, and labour on the other. An article in the February, 1987 edition of B.C. Business offers an analysis of this conflict. A resolution, according to the author, would entail finding a middle ground between turning the taxpayers' school system

into a finishing school for business and turning it into "a colloquium for the politically pink."<sup>27</sup> He predicts a "heavy cycle of re-examination" for education in British Columbia in the light of the economics of the 1980's. Although this is likely to cause considerable discomfort, the author tells us, "such is the usual process when change is thrust on an unsuspecting and indifferent citizenry."<sup>28</sup> We are not told what this change will be. This clearly echoes the Schumpeterian elite view of democracy described in chapter one. On the labour side, however, it seems to be suggested that the Consumer Education conflict would be resolved by a simple apportioning of equal classroom time to various interest groups. The focus of this debate, I suggest, betrays a shallow understanding of the issues at stake. Questions posed have centred on what kind of supplementary course material best prepares students for the 'real world.' A crucial question neglected, however, has been: What exactly is the purpose of a consumer education course? For what kind of social reality is it supposed to prepare students? Is it meant to develop genuine citizen participation in economic production or simply enlightened passivity in relation to business and political elites? Proposed course outlines circulated by the Ministry in the early phases of the course's development were sketchy at best. The rationale offered expressed only the vaguest of sentiments regarding the need for informed consumers. For example, in a 1981 news release the Minister stated that students were to be given "the opportunity to become confident, informed decision-makers in their roles as consumers."<sup>29</sup> This tells us

very little. In spite of this, few people questioned the course's usefulness in principle. Teacher responses to the 1981 survey indicated a positive attitude to such a course, providing that it was kept elective.<sup>30</sup> Thus there seems in general to have been a consensus that the course materials to be developed would constitute, in principle, a valuable addition to the core High School curriculum.<sup>31</sup>

This consensus stemmed, I suggest, from two interrelated common sense notions, shared by all parties concerned. These are a) that people can be empowered in relation to the marketplace by being given certain kinds of information on consumer law, on products, and on how to choose the latter, and b) that such information will help them to become engaged citizens of their communities. In my own view, however, it is precisely these common sense notions which must be challenged if we are to arrive at a deeper understanding of the issue represented by the Consumer Education conflict.

The concept of consumer education is not new. It dates back at least from the North American consumer movements of the 1930's and 40's. Motivated by a felt need for self-protection from market abuses, and highlighted by iconoclastic studies such as Upton Sinclair's The Jungle and Ralph Nader's Unsafe At Any Speed, these movements have succeeded, over the past few decades, in gaining increases in state regulation for the protection of consumers. Organizations such as the Consumers' Association of Canada and parallel American groups have considered the education of the consumer a central aspect of their work. Such education entails the investigation of prices, business

practices, product safety, and the creation of reasonable public access to product information.<sup>32</sup> Like the labour movement before it, the consumer movement was a child of capitalism. As such, it has constituted in part a grass roots movement, aimed at empowering consumers in relation to business. At its best, the movement has been self-educating, and its adherents have worked to develop and teach investigative skills.

The success of consumerism, however, has been ambiguous. In her study of the American consumer movement, Lucy Black Creighton has noted that the real strength of the latter in the last two decades has issued not from grass roots activity but from the advocacy of federal and state governments and from the extraordinary efforts of Ralph Nader.<sup>33</sup> A Canadian study of the Consumers' Association of Canada indicates that it, too, depends principally on government support and on its liaisons particularly with senior civil servants for the advances which it makes.<sup>34</sup> Both have largely functioned, thus, as pressure groups aimed at winning limited concessions from government. Creighton's thesis has been that although this kind of activity has resulted in a number of federal and state regulations aimed at protecting the consumer, the potentially radical thrust of consumerism has been neutralized by the failure of the movement to distinguish clearly between consumer protection and consumer sovereignty. In turn, according to Creighton, this failure can be seen to issue from a blind acceptance by the mainstream of the movement of a definition of the consumer which is derived from the tenets of classical

economics. This view of economics is based on the notion of competitive markets, and of the exercise of consumer sovereignty through the exercise of rational self-interest in choosing market products. Where such competition is seriously hampered or practically absent, as is the case in capitalist societies today, consumers cannot exercise sovereignty through their choices. Thus concessions in the form of state regulation of business can in principle aim only at consumer protection. True sovereignty, on the other hand, would entail consumer control over what is produced, i.e. over what kinds of market options are available in the first instance.<sup>35</sup> Also taken for granted by the movement has been the concept of the human being as a rational actor attempting to maximize his/her utility in making decisions. For the movement to recapture the will to sovereignty, argues Creighton, the concepts of economics implicit in the movement would have seriously to be re-examined and altered to fit present political and economic reality. As we can see, the world-view presupposed by the consumer movement is essentially that adopted by Jeremy Bentham and James Mill, in articulating their a-moral and restricted concept of democracy.

Seen in this light, it is clear that the tensions inherent in the consumer movement represent a particular form of the tensions between capitalism and liberal democracy. Proponents of consumer education, like educational reformers and liberal democrats have sought to work within a market concept of society. In attempting to resolve these issues, the consumer movement has in the end sacrificed

consumer exercise of sovereignty over production. It has opted, thus, for an essentially hollow form of democratic participation.

The concept of consumer education has for some time also influenced public school curricula in North America. Topics such as budgeting, comparison shopping, food safety, etc., have long been covered in Home Economics courses. Business programs as well have dealt with economics and consumer-related issues. School textbooks specifically designed for Consumer Education courses have existed in America since the 1930's, somewhat earlier than in Canada. American surveys of the development of Consumer Education and of related Economics Education courses indicate that as of 1974, 18 states had instituted the compulsory teaching of Consumer Education. Most of these had developed programs which involved children from the kindergarten level.<sup>36</sup> In Canada, most provinces offer electives in consumer-related subjects, and provinces from British Columbia to Quebec, plus Newfoundland, have endorsed the use of materials developed by ministries of consumer affairs for elementary school children.<sup>37</sup>

An American study of textbooks used in separate consumer education courses from 1938 to 1978 indicates that most focus on economics and rational decision-making. As will be seen, this holds true for the British Columbia textbooks. The same study points out that practically none of the course materials addresses the subject of corporate power, and none attempts to teach the skills related to collective action, a skill which is clearly fundamental to consumerism

as a movement. Instead they stress individualism.<sup>38</sup> Like the consumer movement itself, these texts have taken as given a particular world view, derived from the market society itself. Thus, although they have aimed to inform students regarding the dangers in the marketplace, they have tended to avert the attention of teachers and students from the danger represented by the market society itself. In other words, they too have tended to conflate consumer protection and consumer sovereignty.

It can be seen, thus, that the phrase 'consumer education' has an equivocal meaning. Although it has its roots in a populist movement for self-empowerment, both the movement itself and school programs designed to educate consumers have tended to maintain a very narrow perspective on the concept of criticism. As such, they have tended to co-opt the process of critical thinking by restricting it to an ultimately trivial set of issues. With only rare exceptions, the literature on consumer education as a subject of study in public schools has remained insensitive to this equivocation. The major papers written on the British Columbia course, for example, have described such courses as simple extensions of consumerism as a movement for consumer empowerment. Most importantly, both opponents and proponents of Consumer Education in British Columbia appear to have shared in this lack of critical perspective.

Necessarily, it has been within the context of such an uncritical atmosphere that the course under present study has been developed. It will be my task in analyzing the texts, therefore, to demonstrate to

what extent, if at all, Consumer Education fits this general pattern. Before addressing the substance of the texts themselves, I shall look briefly at the aims of the course as stated in the curriculum guides written by the Ministry of Education for teachers. As we have seen, proponents of the course have appealed essentially to the need for giving students practical skills necessary "to function effectively in our society." This concern was expressed with particular regard to students who might choose not to finish their formal secondary education. The course, therefore, was to perform a technical task, viz., to provide practical life-skills in a fashion similar to that found in courses aimed at vocational training. From such a mandate one might expect the development of a course which provided, in the main, advice on comparison shopping, information on consumer contracts, and product information on basic necessities such as food, clothing and shelter. As we shall see, these topics are in fact covered by the texts.

According to the curriculum guide, however, it was intended from the beginning that the course perform a far wider function than the one just described. The guides offer both a rationale for the course, and an account of the philosophy which the course is intended to represent. Under the rubric of 'rationale' the curriculum guide for the lower level course states:

Consumer Education 9/10 has been created to offer students a concentrated look at their economic environment. It is designed to assist students to explore the various factors that have an impact on the economy and to help them gain an

understanding of how their decisions affect society and the environment. The course should also develop in students an awareness of citizens' rights and responsibilities as informed and confident consumers.<sup>39</sup>

The rationale given for the senior course is nearly identical, but adds the need for students to understand their legal rights and responsibilities. The philosophy, according to both curriculum guides, is that:

Consumer education is a life-long process which develops the skills of critical observation, intelligent inquiry, and effective decision-making in order that individuals learn to become informed, competent, and involved members of their community...Consumer education therefore, offers students a framework for making sound, reasoned decisions and provides them with a rich and full understanding of the world in which they live, study and work.<sup>40</sup>

Both rationale and philosophy stress the importance of the course in helping to develop responsible citizenship. We have, thus, a combination of two elements, viz., a technically oriented curriculum designed to impart certain basic life-skills, and a curriculum designed to initiate students into a form of economic, social and political practice suitable to the development of aware and responsible Canadian citizens. In this latter respect, the course performs a function similar to that of a civics course. In its focus on teaching the art of decision-making, it functions as well as a kind of guidance course. The technical facet of Consumer Education is intended to help

students integrate into present society. The cultural or 'civics' facet is intended to develop the students' general ability to engage in independent, critical thought. It is assumed by proponents of consumer education - or so it appears - that these functions are compatible. This assumption echoes strongly the views of 19th century liberal educational theorists on the subject of teaching practical life-skills, discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis. These theorists saw the tasks of preparing students in a technical way to participate in the developing industrial capitalist society, and of fostering their moral and intellectual development not only as compatible, but as complementary. Just as Veblen and early theorists of the industrial society saw well-trained industrial workers as inherently critical, iconoclastic and well armed against the rule of demagogues, so proponents of Consumer Education have seen well-informed consumers, trained in the skills of rational decision-making as critical, independent citizens, well armed against potential demagogues in the marketplace. Such citizens are to function as natural scientists, keen in their ability to observe and collect data relevant to vital life situations.

In keeping with these broad goals, both texts address a wide variety of topics, touching on human nature or psychology, the nature of society, the role of government, the nature of the Canadian economy, and in particular, stress the need for values-clarification and rational decision-making. In so doing, they raise a number of important social issues, and offer some perspectives on the possible

solutions. In addition to basic consumer skills, therefore, Consumer Education functions explicitly to provide students with a world view. It is within the context of the world view which it offers that the goals of teaching the skills of "critical observation" and "intelligent inquiry" are intended by the designers of the course to be realized. It is this world view, therefore, which will constitute the major focus of my own analysis of the texts.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> There are provisions as well for community-based curriculum development. The Ministry has published a curriculum assessment package designed as an aid to the development of new curriculum. The method of program design suggested in this material is used by the Ministry's own committees and is sent out to communities requesting it.

<sup>2</sup> Province of British Columbia: Ministry of Education, Schools Department Circular, No. 144, March, 1981.

<sup>3</sup> According to the legislative library the ISBN number was issued May 31, 1981. There are no Ministry records indicating when the report was actually made available to the public.

<sup>4</sup> Brian Smith, Education: A Report From the Minister, (Province of British Columbia: Ministry of Education, 1981), p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, pp. 16-17.

<sup>6</sup> British Columbia Teachers' Federation, Records Department, correspondence file on Consumer Education. There are a number of letters in the file expressing this sentiment.

<sup>7</sup> Neil Macmillan, "Consumer Education Advocates Get Icy Blast," in Nanaimo Daily Free Press, December 1, 1981, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Province of British Columbia: Ministry of Education, Administrative Handbook for Elementary and Secondary Schools, p. 440.

<sup>9</sup> Judith Dallas, A Survey of Opinions of Lower Mainland Secondary Schools Teachers and Administrators Toward Consumer Education 10 (Vancouver: Education Research Institute of British Columbia, 1981), p. 48.

<sup>10</sup> This information comes from an interview with Bob Overgaard, who was director of curriculum development at the Ministry in 1981.

<sup>11</sup> These are now available through the Provincial Education Media Centre as well as through local media centres as 2 one-hour videotapes. They are entitled simply "Consumer Education."

<sup>12</sup> From an interview with Joan Russow of Victoria, British Columbia, who took the course in 1982.

<sup>13</sup> British Columbia Teachers' Federation, Members' Guide to the BCTF, p. 49.

<sup>14</sup> British Columbia Teachers' Federation, Records Department, correspondence file on Consumer Education.

<sup>15</sup> Interview with Alice McQuade, editor of the British Columbia Business Educators' Association newsletter until 1984.

<sup>16</sup> According to BCTF staff member, Larry Kuehn, the Principals' association met with the Minister to discuss this compromise. According to Norman Ornes, a principal active in putting forward the proposal, there was no official meeting. Rather, the compromise was suggested by various administrators at a number of informal occasions, where either the Minister or one of his deputies was present.

<sup>17</sup> Province of British Columbia: Ministry of Education, Schools Department Circular No. 158, January, 1982.

<sup>18</sup> BCTF correspondence file on Consumer Education. The file contains letters written to the BCTF by the Principals' association.

<sup>19</sup> British Columbia Teachers' Federation, Records Department, file on reports from the Ministers' tour.

<sup>20</sup> Permission was granted to see the briefs by Tony Brummett, Minister of Education in 1987. They were sent to the office of John Walsh at the Ministry, and his secretary went through them to find requests for consumer education or related courses. I was told over the telephone that no such requests were found.

<sup>21</sup> Sandy Cameron for End Legislative Poverty, Poverty in B.C., (British Columbia Teachers' Federation: Lesson Aids Services, 1986).

<sup>22</sup> Junior Achievement of Canada, "Project Business Information 1986."

<sup>23</sup> Junior Achievement of Canada, Project Business Instruction Manual for Consultants and Teachers, p.ii, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Junior Achievement, Instruction Manual, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Junior Achievement, "Project Business Information 1986," and Brian Buchanan, "Can Johnny Read a Balance Sheet?" in BC Business, Volume 15, No. 2, February, 1987, p.68.

<sup>26</sup> Junior Achievement, "Information."

<sup>27</sup> Buchanan, p.75.

<sup>28</sup> Buchanan, p.77.

<sup>29</sup> Province of British Columbia: Ministry of Education, News Release, December 17, 1981.

<sup>30</sup> Dallas, p. 52.

<sup>31</sup> The BCTF had initially expressed concern about the course content, especially in the light of the Fraser Institute's involvement.

After the texts were published, Larry Kuehn sent them to members of the Economic Policy Institute at UBC (an independent organization) to have them analyzed for possible political bias. He was assured by them that the texts contained no particular bias, and the issue was dropped.

<sup>32</sup> Helen Jones Dawson, "The Consumers Association of Canada," in The Canadian Political Process, eds. Orest Kruhlak, Richard Schultz, and Sidney Pobihushchy (Holt, Rhinehart and Winston of Canada, Ltd, 1970), p. 299.

<sup>33</sup> Lucy Black Creighton, Pretenders to the Throne: The Consumer Movement in the United States (D.C. Heath and Co., 1976), pp. 2-3.

<sup>34</sup> Dawson, p. 320.

<sup>35</sup> Creighton, pp. 83-95.

<sup>36</sup> Shiela Harty, Hucksters in the Classroom: A Review of Industry Propaganda in Schools. (Center for the Study of Responsive Law, 19), p. 78.

<sup>37</sup> Richard E. Chamberlin, "Elementary Consumer Education: New Wave or Last Hurrah?" in Education Canada, Volume 19, No. 1., Spring, 1979, pp. 39-42.

<sup>38</sup> Robert O. Herrmann, "The Historical Development of the Content of High School-level Consumer Education: An Examination of Selected Texts, 1938-1978," (Washington D.C.: Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education, 1979), ED 185 431, p. 24.

<sup>39</sup> Province of British Columbia Ministry of Education, Consumer Education 9/10 Curriculum Guide, 1983, pp. 5-6.

<sup>40</sup> Ministry of Education, Curriculum Guide, pp. 5-6.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### Text Analysis and Consumer Education: Part One

In the last chapter I examined the concept of democracy implicit in the political process which created the consumer education course. We saw that whilst the rhetoric was expressive of the populist, egalitarian view, the process itself was elitist and fundamentally undemocratic. This resolution, I have been arguing, is a function of the attempt to fuse democracy and capitalism. In this chapter and the next, I present a critical analysis of the way in which these same tensions are resolved in the textbooks developed for use in the course. To do this, I look at the basic philosophical framework which the texts adopt. It is essential that we identify this framework, as it informs, for students and teachers alike, both the technical and the civic education which the course is designed to foster. As such, this framework establishes the categories through which thinking about consumer-related issues is to take place. Necessarily, it sets as well the limits within which their inquiry into the subject matter will occur. Accordingly, in my analysis I pose four basic questions to the texts. The first is: What is their philosophical basis, i.e., their expressed or implied views of history and epistemology? The second is: What is their view of human nature? The third is: What is their view of society? The Fourth is: What is their view of the economy, and its relation to the state?

As we have seen, it has generally been assumed that the texts would be designed to foster the critical abilities of students, and thus

to empower them in relation to business. This expresses the developmental concept of democracy articulated by school reformers such as Dewey. Further, when asked whether they thought they might be biased in favour of business interests, persons interviewed by myself, and teachers surveyed who offered opinions in this regard suggested that the texts' sympathies, if any, lay with the consumer. I argue, in what follows, that the Consumer Education texts are not designed to foster the kind of "critical observation and intelligent inquiry" described in the curriculum guides. I attempt to show that although the texts do criticize some business practices and inform students on how to arm themselves in relation to the marketplace, these potentially empowering elements are seriously undermined by the more general philosophical framework adopted by the texts. In the end, the potentially developmental/democratic elements of the texts are sacrificed.

### The Analysis of Communication

The development of methods for the analysis of communication in North America received special impetus during World War II, when the United States stepped up its efforts to analyze 'enemy' statements.<sup>1</sup> At this time, a number of social scientists were engaged by the Federal Communications Commission, the Library of Congress, and the Justice Department to study 'alien' materials such as documents, newspapers, radio broadcasts, etc. The purpose of these efforts was to develop some way of predicting 'enemy' moves. For example, analysts attempted to discover through a comparison of

Italian and German broadcasts whether there was collaboration between these countries.<sup>2</sup> Parallel to the work being done on political socialization during this era, content analysis was used to assess as well the psychological traits of key political actors.<sup>3</sup> Content analysis, thus, developed and flourished under the same circumstances and for the same reasons as studies in political socialization. In both cases, there was an acute concern for the future of democracy.

Like students of political socialization, communication analysts in North America have concentrated on the use of quantitative methods. 'Content analysis' is the name generally given to the quantitative analysis of communication. Content analysis entails a combination of random sampling methods and a tabulation of the frequency with which certain words, phrases or themes occur in a given set of spoken or written materials. It can be applied as well to visual materials such as are used in advertisements. Within this methodology, 'qualitative' analysis consists in tabulating the appearance or non-appearance of certain items, as opposed to counting their frequency of occurrence.<sup>4</sup> For the content analyst, "all data are potentially quantifiable."<sup>5</sup>

Quantitative methods have dominated as well in textbook analysis. David Pratt, a major contributor to the analysis of textbooks in Canada has suggested that "the development of quantitative techniques is essential if...research is to progress beyond the 'book review' stage, and if useful comparisons between texts...are to be made."<sup>6</sup> Pratt employs a system of assigning numerical values to verbal descriptors. This allows him to measure the intensity of positive or negative

attitudes expressed in a text towards a particular person or group. It also allows for comparison of a given kind of texts over time.

In general, quantitative methods have been held to be reliable, because they were believed to weed out the individual bias of the researcher. The results of such analysis were seen to be politically neutral, allowing for cross-comparisons. The attempt to collapse quality into quantity, or to weed personal value out of objective data represents a form of the dualism between reason and emotion examined earlier in the world-view adopted by 19th century reformers, and liberal democrats. Reason, represented by a particular form of scientific method, is held out as an answer to the perceived threat to democracy. Emotion, represented by the interest or values held by the individual, must be conquered to achieve this end. As we have seen, this outlook went hand in hand with a dualism of politics and economics, and thus a blindness to economic domination.

Alternative approaches to the analysis of communication have come principally from European theorists of ideology, and have focussed specifically on the study of class domination and oppression.<sup>7</sup> Much of this work has concentrated on the study of discursive practices in live social situations. John Sinclair and Malcolm Coulter, for example, have focussed on an analysis of "exchange structure" between speakers. Along similar lines, Harvey Sacks has studied the way in which speakers take turns in introducing new topics. His aim has been to see how the right to speak is transferred from one person to another.<sup>8</sup> Many of these studies have focussed on the dynamics

between students and teachers in public school classrooms. In all cases the purpose has been to study the social mechanisms through which domination is developed and sustained.

The methodology used in this analysis combines insights gleaned from linguistic theory and studies in the philosophy of language. Because of its heavy focus on living, discursive practices, it is frequently referred to as 'discourse analysis.' The discourse analyst seeks, through an analysis of semantics, grammatical structures and syntax, to understand how bias is created in communication. Thus he/she focusses at a deeper level of the communication process than is possible through the methods employed in content analysis. The intention is not simply to discover whether bias is present or not, for it is assumed by discourse analysts that communication without bias does not exist. Rather it is to study, at a fine level of analysis, the process of domination as it occurs through the medium of language.

In broad terms, my own analysis reflects the views of the European school. I also do a certain amount of counting in order to contextualize my analysis of the attitudes expressed in the texts. The method of analysis developed for this study is intended to uncover not only the particular bias contained in the texts, but the subtlety with which that bias is developed. For this purpose, the more philosophically oriented approach was chosen as the most appropriate. One specific method used here, borrowed from a particular school of discourse analysis deserves mention at this point. This is a method employed by Roger Fowler and M.A.K. Halliday, of the University of

East Anglia. Employing grammatical distinctions identified by Noam Chomsky, Fowler and Halliday have analyzed communication by looking at the use of nominalizations and passivizations.<sup>9</sup>

Nominalization refers to the act of turning a phrase or word denoting action into a noun. Gerunds are examples of nominalization.

Passivization entails putting an action in the passive voice. In analyzing newspaper reports describing conflict between parties, theorists focussing on these grammatical constructions have found that when one party's actions are nominalized, the identity of the actors tends to disappear. A newspaper headline which reads: "Picketing curtailed coal deliveries," for example, focusses the readers' attention (and thus sympathy) away from the actor to the effects of his/her actions on others.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, the placing of an act into a passive voice tends to weaken, for the reader, the importance of the act. In several places, I look specifically at the use of active and passive voice in the texts. I attempt as well to analyze the use of terminology in the texts, i.e. semantics. This is done sometimes by listing the kinds of terms used and looking at the framework which they suggest. At other times I employ a method which I have not seen used elsewhere, viz., I rewrite particular portions of the text using terms whose extension is similar to those used in the text, but whose intention is quite different.

#### Text Analysis for Consumer Education

The method of text analysis employed here is generally the same for both texts. There are 2 stages to the analysis. Stage one for the

grade 9/10 text consists of an examination and summary of one general category of passages gleaned from an overall reading of the text. These are passages describing the nature of individuals and/or consumers, and their relation to society and the economy. Attitudes regarding the nature of society, history and epistemology are examined primarily through a reading of these passages. Where appropriate, this is supplemented by an examination of other, secondary categories of passages, also gleaned from an overall reading of the text. These focus specifically on history, epistemology, and the nature of the economy. Stage 2 constitutes an in-depth view of smaller sections of each text. For the 9/10 text, I examine one section each on the economy and the state, and one each on work and leisure. Stage 2 is intended to provide a closer examination of the way in which bias is developed in the texts than is afforded by the overall view.

For stage one, both the major and minor categories of passages were created first by underlining appropriate parts of the text, and second by copying the passages via word processor onto a computer disk. This greatly facilitated all further sorting of the passages and helped to clarify the overall outlook of the texts. The initial compilation for the grade 9/10 text yielded 133 passages, containing 1 to 4 sentences apiece. The passages were then sorted into sub-categories, intended to correspond to specific questions which I pose to the text. For example, a sub-category of all the 'consumer/individual' statements expressing temporal universality

were used to examine the text's historical assumptions. In particular sub-sections, additional measures were used to supplement my conclusions.

In creating these sub-categories and in attempting to summarize the claims contained in them, I had two major concerns. The first was to be clear on the relative number and character of claims being made by the text. In some cases, in order better to approximate such clarity, compound sentences and phrases within sub-categories were broken down into simple statements, each making one and only one claim. This was done, for example, in examining universal claims regarding human nature. Here, a sentence such as: "Whether you are a younger consumer or an older consumer, you will share these human traits. One is a desire to be up-to-date...Another is the desire to look good..." was broken down into the claims a) All consumers desire to be up-to-date, b) All consumers desire to look good, etc. The second concern was to retain, throughout the analysis, a sense of the context in which claims within each sub-category are made. This is necessary if one is to understand the impact which a particular statement might have within the text. For example, in examining the texts' views on society, I was concerned to examine statements which expressed either individualist or collectivist attitudes. A simple enumeration of such statements determined a) that both individualist and collectivist claims are made in the text and b) that the former occur much more frequently than the latter. This information alone, however, does not yield an adequate picture of the texts, for there are

very few parts of either text which tell the reader how to actualize collectivist concerns (eg. concerns for the impact of consumer decisions on the environment) whereas entire chapters are devoted to showing readers how to satisfy individualist goals. Thus I attempt wherever appropriate, to contextualize by referring to position in the text (under what heading a claim is made) and to proportion of space allotted to the subject matter at hand.

One important feature of the sorting process employed in this analysis, is an examination of its ascription of characteristics to consumers according to whether they pertain to a) dealing in the marketplace, b) engaging in leisure or private activities, or c) seeking and maintaining employment. My analysis, in stage two, of the units on the nature of work and leisure, or the private sphere, represents part of this same sorting process. The texts themselves do not devote much space to either work or to the private sphere, so my choice of sub-categories here requires some explanation. Briefly, it is my observation that when values which are expressed in the texts (eg. human characteristics said to be desirable) are sorted in this way, fairly sharp distinctions emerge between these three sub-categories. These are particularly sharp in the case of a comparison between human characteristics valued in prospective workers, and those valued in people at leisure or in their private lives. Although this may not immediately strike one as odd, I believe that the sharpness with which these distinctions are made suggests a view of society as highly fragmented. Further, I hope to show that the texts' view of society in

this regard is a-historical and thus suggests that such fragmentation is inevitable. I argue that this view of society is undermining to the texts' claims to empower consumers in relation to the marketplace, and is fundamentally elitist. I consider relevant diagrams and pictorial representations as well as written text.

#### GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE GRADE NINE TEXT

The grade nine text, entitled Looking at the Consumer, is divided into 4 major parts, sub-divided into 10 chapters, and is just over 300 pages in length.<sup>11</sup> By far the greatest portion of the book focusses on an explication of the economy, on the consumer's place within the economy, and on the proper handling of money. In precise terms, 5 chapters, covering 140 pages deal with such topics. Four are contained in Parts I and II, entitled "In The Marketplace" and "The Big Two - Credit and Money," and one is contained in Part IV, entitled "Now and For the Future." One hundred of the remaining pages are taken up by Part III, entitled "Shopping Skills", which contains four chapters, dealing with clothing, food, transport, and recreation. Twelve pages are dedicated to a discussion of housing and furniture, and the rest are glossary and appendices. Thus from a glance at the table of contents, the text appears to stress the practical or technical aspect of consumer education. Ministry of Education officials, politicians, and teachers surveyed by myself are in fact of the opinion that Consumer Education 9/10 is essentially a technical course.

Throughout, the text informs us that "dealing with the marketplace" can be hazardous for those who are unschooled in its

workings. It offers practical advice on rational task analysis in decision-making and budgeting, and technical information on nutrition, clothing and fabrics, and modes of transport. It also informs readers on some aspects of consumer law, and devotes a unit to explaining in detail how to complain when confronted with poor service or faulty merchandise. It devotes a unit to a discussion of advertising techniques, and makes some good points about the possible effects of advertising on unwitting consumers. It tells us, for example, that advertising has tended to make Christmas into an occasion for the purchasing of expensive gifts. It enumerates and describes tricky sales techniques, and suggests ways to avoid them. It is particularly laudable for its treatment of gender. A separate unit informs young women that they have the right to obtain credit on an equal basis with men, and explains how to be persistent in demanding equal treatment. The text is also meticulous in its inclusion of both gender pronouns whenever it is speaking of persons in general.

Readers are reminded frequently that while the marketplace can be a risky and confusing place, they can, by being properly informed, make it work to their benefit. The following exemplifies the text's position in this regard: "Dealing in the marketplace is like playing a game with a set of rules. The one who knows the rules best will generally end up being the winner."<sup>12</sup> Ostensibly, then, this text has been designed to make consumers (the readers) winners in this game.

#### STAGE ONE

The universe of discourse for the major category of passages here

is constituted by all claims which state that all or most individuals or consumers a) are and/or ought to be 'x', b) desire and/or ought to desire 'x', and c) do and/or ought to do 'x'. Not all of the claims examined here contain the word 'consumer.' Some have, as synonyms for the consumer, the words 'you', 'we', 'people', 'anyone', etc. With respect to adjectives expressing number, the major division examined will be that between the terms denoting universality, and those meant to describe the majority of individuals or consumers. This distinction is made primarily to address the text's assumptions regarding individualism. The interpretation of a statement as a numerical universal is not always a straightforward matter. In assessing a statement such as "Consumers tend to grumble about prices", it is difficult to decide whether the text is referring to all consumers or not. To simplify the analysis, and to err on the conservative side, I have taken as numerical universals only those statements a) which are preceded by terms such as 'all' or 'every', or b) in which the verbs are not modified in such a way as to weaken them. Thus a claim such as: "Consumers of all ages tend to feel important when they buy goods and services" is read here as 'Most consumers feel important when they buy goods and services'. A claim such as: "An individual's spending pattern...represents the coming together of the individuals hopes and plans..." is taken to apply to all persons. Both these kinds of statements are relevant for an analysis of the text's assumptions about history, and all such claims are taken as intended temporal universals (true for all time) wherever they are not modified by phrases such as

'nowadays', 'Most Canadians', or other indications which specifically locate the statement in the present era.

### HUMAN NATURE

In attempting to assess the text's views on human nature, I focus initially on its equivocation in the use of the term 'consumer' and all other terms denoting persons, such that the distinction between the two is blurred. More specifically, this is a blurring of the distinction between 'consuming' which entails buying things in a marketplace, and the consuming which is an inherent part of being a human being. In sections of the text explicitly discussing consumers as buyers of goods, terms such as 'people', 'we' or 'you' are understandably found to function interchangeably with the term 'consumer'. However, in some sections of the text not explicitly discussing buyers of things (eg. the section on the meaning of leisure), the entire section is nevertheless listed in Part III of the text entitled "Shopping skills." Further, definitions offered by the text of the term 'consumer' are sometimes worded so as to be indistinguishable from a definition of persons tout court. For example, a passage in the unit entitled "How the Economy Works" reads: "The consumer is an individual who uses goods and services from before birth until after funeral expenses have been paid " (my emphasis).<sup>13</sup> Similarly, the text's glossary defines the term 'consumer' as follows:

**Consumer.** The individual or organization using goods and services produced by others. The skilled consumer makes best use of all resources -

financial, environmental, and other.<sup>14</sup>

Is this particular equivocation a general feature of the text? In order to address this question, the compilation of 'consumer/individual' passages was examined to find other definitions which clearly conflate the two terms. Second, the list was scanned to see how often an explicit attempt is made by the text to separate the two. Only three statements explicitly making this distinction were found in the text, one of which is rendered ambiguous by its position between the claims: "Everyone is a consumer" and "Everyone must make purchases to satisfy basic needs..." On the other hand, numerous instances of equivocation were found. These occur in many forms, of which the following are examples.

Consumers of all ages tend to feel important when they buy goods and services. In other words, they increase their self-esteem by the way they buy what they buy. (their emphases)<sup>15</sup>

An individual's spending pattern is not just an expression of dollars and cents. This pattern represents the coming together of the individual's hopes and plans, based on personal values.<sup>16</sup>

In the first quote, we are told that consuming as buying leads to feelings of importance and an increase of self-esteem. Do these feelings belong to us as buyers or as people? The intention of the text is not clear. In the second quote, we find not only an identification between buying things and the expression of universal human aspirations, but also the suggestion that we can read a person's values

from his/her spending patterns. This suggests an identification between value as aspiration and value as money, and by implication, consumers as humans and consumers as purchasing agents. Thus the text is open to a reading which implies that human nature is synonymous with market society behaviour, i.e., that being is synonymous with buying.

Let us turn now to an examination of other characteristics attributed by the text to all humans. Of these, some are universal, and others more clearly parochial. Parochial characteristics are ones of which we can reasonably ask: Are there some societies in which most of the members do not display them to any great degree? Among the universal claims made by the text are those which state that all individuals seek shelter, and are in certain respects unique. Among the parochial claims are those stating that all persons desire to be "up-to-date", "unique", "independent", and "good-looking." In examining this latter group of characteristics one sees that they constitute a description of humans primarily as beings who are preoccupied with distinguishing themselves from those around them. As a group, they are perhaps best represented by the term 'individualism'. The following quote exemplifies the text's position on the inevitability/universality of individualism.

As you grow older and venture farther from the family, you will tend to emphasize personal rather than group interests.<sup>17</sup>

Although it is clearly possible to argue that few persons would not

want to look good or to have some degree of individuality, it is at least an open question whether people in other kinds of societies would describe human nature primarily in these terms. It is the author's choice of emphasis here which communicates the notion that humans are fundamentally and universally individualistic. This implies as well a denial that such a sensibility could be a function of a particular historical process. In this respect, therefore, the text's outlook is a-historical.

It is also interesting to note that in substance, the above quote constitutes a kind of future-oriented command. In his writings on the politics of family relations, R.D. Laing has pointed out that the most powerful kind of statement one can make to developing individuals is one which suggests to them who they are or what kind of people they will become. Such statements do not invite dialogue, but function rather to structure individuals' expectations of themselves both for the present and the future. In the minds of their recipients, they thus tend to become embedded commands for reference in future life situations.<sup>18</sup>

Another dimension of the text's emphasis on individualism is the way in which it develops the concept of individual responsibility. Consider the following quote from the text's unit on leisure.

During the past few years, there has been a significant increase in vandalism. Authorities place much blame for this on boredom - boredom arising from an inability to recognize and use leisure time properly...Young people tend to say, "There's nothing

to do." If so, whose fault is it? Opportunities for recreation of all sorts are everywhere...It is up to you to make the most of them.<sup>19</sup>

Here, the text raises a social concern which is potentially relevant to young people. But the the entire analysis is set within a framework of personal blame or "fault." The use of this framework is strengthened by the text's appeal to "authorities." As a result, what might have constituted an invitation to explore an important current social issue, remains a rather banal appeal to individual motivation. The theoretical framework underlying this appeal is made clearer by another quote, taken from the list of passages on the economy in relation to the state. Here the text states: "*Government* is the one element in our society with the power of compulsion." (their emphasis)<sup>20</sup> This tells us that the text is insensitive to indirect or structural (eg. economic) compulsion. It appears insensitive as well to the fact that within the workplace, owners and supervisors all exercise the power of compulsion. This helps to clarify why the increase in vandalism, which may be significantly related to the current economic recession and/or to other structural phenomena, would be analysed by the text purely in individualistic terms. It echoes as well the political/economic dualism in 19th century liberal democratic thought. The individual is not, I submit, empowered by such a discussion, in his or her ability to better understand society or the economy. Further, the vague assignment of individual blame to the potential misbehaviour of the reader serves largely to obfuscate the nature of social issues which the text itself raises.

### EPISTEMOLOGY

This analysis will focus principally on the text's analysis of the relation between reason and emotion. Statements regarding emotion in relation to leisure activities are not represented here, but will be dealt with below, when I divide the universe of claims under the three headings described earlier. The following quote, taken from the text's introductory discussion on consumers is representative of its position on the nature of reason.

Consumers are either rational or irrational in decision-making. They are *rational* when they make wise decisions based on carefully thought out reasons. They are *irrational* when they make unwise decisions, without considering the reasons for or against a choice. (their emphasis)<sup>21</sup>

The emotional realm is defined by the text as: "...the level of feeling and emotion, of fear, desire, and prejudice."<sup>22</sup> This is neither a flattering nor a representative account of the range of human emotions, but it is the only actual definition of emotion to be found in the text. As we can see, the text creates an identification as well between reason and wisdom. This is a highly dichotomous view of the relation between reason and emotion, and therefore a very narrow account of what is rational. The bias of the text can be made clearer if we frame a complementary claim regarding human nature in terms parallel to that of the above quote. In such a claim we would point out that it is equally correct, if one understands human behaviour, to say that a person is *irrational* if he/she makes unwise decisions based

on carefully thought out reasons without considering the emotions for or against a choice. The meaning of the original statement cannot be stretched to cover the meaning expressed in its complementary version of it, since the former is based on an essentially negative conception of emotion. The result is an implied identification, at least in relation to behaviour in the marketplace, of rationality with what is good and wise, and of emotion with what is (at least potentially) bad and unwise. By definition, thus, people are presented by the text as having a sharply dichotomous nature. Second, they are by virtue of this nature seen by the text as frequently weak and incompetent. "Even with all the facts before them", the text states, "many will still make final decisions based on emotion."<sup>23</sup> Further, given the text's claim (given above) that consumers tend to feel important when they buy things, one might conclude that this weakness is both prevalent and inevitable.

This view of rationality is narrow also in virtue of the fact that the rationality urged by the text is a rationality aimed only at informing consumers how to decide what to buy. It offers no examples of other kinds of societies besides market societies, and in fact may lead a young reader to believe that there are no other possibilities. This does not encourage the development of a more comprehensive, rational examination of the foundations of our particular economic culture. Second, it is narrow insofar as it is itself embedded within the individualistic framework described above. "You must train yourself", the text states/commands, "to be aware of the consequences of your

choice, based on individual values."<sup>24</sup> Thus it is 'rational', according to the text, to focus one's life plans on purchases of commodities within an individualistic framework.

### SOCIETY

The adoption of this framework suggests a view of society which is not collectivist or community-oriented, but monadic. That is, one gets the impression that what holds society together is not a network of shared community goals and projects, but a network of purchasing acts, characterized by an individualistic sensibility, i.e. the marketplace. In order to better assess to what extent this view was representative of the whole text, I took three steps. First, I compared the number of statements, isolated as single claims as described above, with an individualist orientation to those with a collectivist orientation. Second, I compared the space in the text allotted to an elaboration of both these kinds of concerns. Third, I created separate lists of all references made in the text to social concerns, where either collective or individual solutions were described. The first process yielded only 5 statements which explicitly bring to the reader's attention the need for considering the community or the environment in making individual decisions. In contrast to this over 70 claims explicitly focus attention on individuality. The second process yielded 6 references to social concerns, only 2 of which suggested collective solutions. The third process yielded the information that less than four pages in total are given over to this kind of concern. Further, there is no elaboration of the kinds of processes involved in engaging

in collective action. As will be seen in the description of the text's analysis of the economy, consumers are seen by the text to exert control over the marketplace via their collective demand. It is questionable therefore, how in the absence of practical information on how to act collectively, readers/consumers are to be empowered by the text in their relation to the marketplace.

### HISTORY

Thus far I have been suggesting that the text is a-historical in its account of the nature of societies and of social sensibility. A cartoon in the text, located in the section called "How the Economy Works", illustrates this point. The scene in the cartoon is set in ancient Egypt. It shows a sales transaction between a young customer (presumably a teen) and a shopkeeper. The young person is paying for what looks like a can of soda-pop with a coin. A sign on the wall behind the shopkeeper reads: "BACK TO SCHOOL SPECIAL. 15 Leaves Papyrus Free With Every Cubit Urn of COCA-NILE POP." Another sign states: "Two For One." Each character is dressed in different colours and textures of cloth, i.e., each is unique.<sup>25</sup> The cartoon is ostensibly intended only to illustrate the historical use of coins as a medium of exchange. It implies as well, however, that the personal and social sensibility which characterizes 'the consumer society' has always been in existence.

Is this a fair representation of the text's account of history? In order to address this question, a comprehensive list of passages from the text on the subject of history were compiled and examined.

Through this process, it was determined that the text's account of progress, and therefore historical change, is limited to an account of technological change. The text also occasionally displays contempt for less technologically developed societies. It remains, throughout, insensitive to the possible relationship between such change, and the development of human sensibility. The following two quotes illustrate these points.

Shelter has been, and still is in some societies, just a large leaf off some jungle tree or a cave from which an animal has been evicted...Primitive peoples needed protection from the elements of nature and the superstitious fear of the night and the unknown. Modern peoples desire shelter as a place to live and to display and/or store possessions...<sup>26</sup>

If you had lived in Canada a hundred years ago, you would have eaten mainly basic, unprocessed foods. The variety was limited, and in time you would consider it dull...<sup>27</sup>

Are not our abodes made of 'just large stems off some forest tree?' Have we really overcome our fear of the dark and the unknown? Do modern peoples no longer need but only desire shelter? Note that the quote refers not only to ancient cultures, but to present-day cultures which are not characterized by a high degree of technological innovation. The second quote expresses a rather anachronistic view of the relationship between "variety" and individual sensibility. Second, it identifies progress with variety, implying that more is necessarily

better.

It is important to grasp the implications of such a view. It fosters a superior, and thus intolerant attitude toward cultures which are not as technically advanced as our own. The identification of progress with technological advancement tends to deflect students, and perhaps teachers, from exploring other areas of advancement which have been considered equally, if not more important both in other cultures and amongst some groups within our own. These include advancements in art, spirituality, and ethics. Second, since it suggests that the North American preoccupation with commodities is something given by nature, it structures the learning situation so as to discourage students from realizing that they might have a choice in this regard.

#### ECONOMY

The views expressed in the text on history and individualism necessarily find expression in its view of the individual in relation to the economy. For example, although the text purports to describe the economy and to give advice on seeking employment, the terms 'union' or 'trade union' do not occur in the text. Only one indirect reference is made to union activity, and here the intention of the text is telling. Placed in the context of a discussion on the conditions for obtaining credit, the text says the following:

What is the unemployment situation in your line of work? Is there a possibility of a strike? The answers to these questions affect the granting of credit.<sup>28</sup>

The only thing that is important in this context, it seems, is 'you.' This outlook is further reflected in the text's analysis of the division of labour in production. Division of labour is defined by the text as: "Assigning particular jobs to those best able to do them."<sup>29</sup> Individual talent, or individuality itself, in other words, is seen as the beginning and the end of the explanation for why some people are "assigned" better or more interesting jobs than others. Further, the term 'assign' suggests that the worker is necessarily passive in relation to the division of labour. Who or what is doing the assigning? The reader is not invited to explore this question.

I shall turn now to a comparison of how the spheres of the marketplace, leisure, or the search for employment are characterized by the text, in terms of the kinds of human attributes associated with each sphere. I do this first by looking at the way in which reason and emotion are treated by the text in relation to these three spheres. Second, I compare all statements which tell consumers how they ought to behave in these spheres. Third, I compare the human characteristics said to be typical of most people in relation to the marketplace with those typical of people at leisure. This last comparison cannot be applied to the work sphere, as the text makes no judgements on typical behaviour in searching for employment.

Rationality in decision-making is recommended throughout most of the text. One unit, dealing specifically with a rational decision-making model states that this model ought to be applied to all spheres of life. But rationality, and irrationality, outside of this

unit, are discussed by the text primarily in relation to the marketplace. Second, whereas people are seen by the text as potentially irrational, the marketplace is never said to be irrational. If we recall the quote in the first part of this chapter, the market place is portrayed as a game with a set of rules. The market is never identified by the text with emotion. It is portrayed, therefore, as the touchstone of rationality. By implication, humans are identified with emotion, although they are urged to redeem themselves by training themselves to think rationally. In the section dealing with leisure, however, there is an interesting turnabout on the general tenor of the text in this regard. Here the text states: "Ask yourself what interests and delights you...Give in to your yen to try something you want to do...Give way to your interests..."<sup>30</sup> There is no mention of rationality in this section. On the contrary, the reader is explicitly encouraged to become emotionally involved. Thus we have a splitting of the person into rational and emotional elements, and a parallel splitting of society into rational and emotional spheres of activity.

Let us look at a comparison of what the text tells us that people ought to do in each of these spheres. Common to all spheres are the imperatives to be independent in accepting personal responsibility in decision-making. To this end, the text in all cases suggests that the consumer educate him/herself by learning the facts relevant to each sphere. As we have seen, rationality is most strongly emphasized for those dealing in the marketplace. Unique to the sphere of leisure activities are the imperatives to be creative, joyful, and to seek

intellectual stimulation. Unique to the sphere of seeking employment are the imperatives to be well groomed and properly dressed, punctual, modest, able to smile at the correct times, loyal and dependable. That is, readers are explicitly told in the section on seeking employment that these are the characteristics which employers value, and which should thus be developed. Diffidence, in other words, is the correct attitude in searching for employment. Perhaps the most notable contrast here is that between work and leisure, or work and play. It is well known that in many kinds of work, the dividing line between these two is in no way distinct. The teacher facing the student of Consumer Education 9 is employed at such a job. That both creativity and intellectual stimulation are reserved by the text for the leisure situation suggests strongly that the kind of employment for which it is preparing students has none of these features. "The key place," the text states, "is in the home. Here you are free to be yourself and to develop those abilities that make life interesting to you and which give you confidence."<sup>31</sup>

It was felt at this point that additional information was needed to ascertain whether this was truly representative of the text's views on the students' prospects of employment. To this end, a comprehensive list of claims made throughout on the seeking and obtaining of work was developed and examined. It was found that other discussions of this topic occurred mainly in relation to the text's claims regarding the importance of education. The student is urged by the text to remain in school, and to consider seeking further schooling in order to obtain

more lucrative and desirable kinds of employment. The terms 'creativity', 'joy', and 'intellectual stimulation', however, are nowhere connected with the sphere of work. It might be argued that, given the orientation of this text to potential grade 10 drop-outs, its outlook is realistic. This, however, is to miss the point. The object of the course, according to the forward of the text is "to help the teenager develop a system of personal values and goals that will allow him or her to derive maximum benefit from the opportunities that society has to offer."<sup>32</sup> This goal will never be realized by a person with a highly limited notion of what a society might offer, i.e. of possible alternatives to what society is now offering. The question of why some persons are "assigned" uninteresting and joyless work is a question that those headed for such work should be especially encouraged to ask. The framework of individualism adopted by the text, however, makes this particular unit little more than a preparation for the future internalization of failure in the search for meaningful employment. The student (future worker) may blame him/herself for not being better educated, but if he/she searches deeper for an explanation, it will be in spite of rather than because of help from the Consumer Education text.

Let us look finally at a comparison of characteristics said to be typical of most, as opposed to all, persons in relation to the marketplace and to leisure. The most striking feature of this set of claims is their generally negative character. We are told that few people stop to think about how they might influence the marketplace,

choose to become well informed, or try to understand business' point of view. We are also told that most people dread taxes, take their standard of living for granted, grumble about prices and complain about government. The reasons suggested are lack of proper knowledge in these matters. Only two such claims were found to be positive in tone, and both of these occurred in the section on leisure. Here we are told that most people are gregarious and interested in learning new things. The generally negative tone of these claims is consistent with the relegation of people to the sphere of the emotional and potentially irrational. The following quote exemplifies this attitude toward consumers and the contrast created between consumers and business:

Consumers usually do not have the technical training, information, or even the inclination to be as thorough in what they do as businesses. It therefore falls to business to inform consumers honestly.<sup>33</sup>

This puts the contrast rather starkly. It is business which is most often informed, well trained and most inclined to be thorough. It is consumers who are most often weak and prone to grumbling in an uninformed manner. Thus despite the information given to consumers on the wily methods sometimes employed by advertisers and salespeople, the actual portrayal of the consumer in relation to the economy or business itself can hardly be seen as sympathetic. That is, in terms of what readers/consumers are told about who they are in relation to what business is, the picture they are given of themselves

is rather negative.

## STAGE TWO

This stage of the text analysis will consist of four interrelated sections. The first section will examine a small portion of the text in a unit entitled "The Consumer as a Member of Society," containing among other things, a schematic representation of the movement of money in an economy. The second section will examine a set of quotes on government. The third section will look at a portion of the text's unit on leisure, and the fourth section will examine the text's account of seeking employment. Throughout this analysis, I shall be concerned a) to emphasize the narrow focus which the text takes in its description of these vital aspects of human existence, and b) to demonstrate some of the specific ways in which the reader is encouraged to remain narrow in his or her world view.

## THE ECONOMY

The unit examined here occurs in Chapter One of the text, and is entitled "The Consumer as a Member of Society." Prior to chapter one, the reader is introduced to the distinction between needs and wants. A need is defined as something necessary for survival. Examples given are food, clothing and shelter. A want is defined as something desired for "maintaining a desired quality of life." The unit begins with this claim, describing its ostensible educational goal.

The individual must understand the effects of personal decisions on family, community, and nation.<sup>34</sup>

The text goes on to explain that Canadian consumers are "important enough to influence the economy in two ways." They can influence production and they can influence price. With respect to price, the text tells us that if consumers refuse to pay a certain price, manufacturers can respond in three ways. They can a) "keep the price at a level consumers consider reasonable," b) "stop providing the product or service," or c) "provide a service that appears to be more profitable."<sup>35</sup> Do these three options represent an accurate account of business response to poor sales? Several important options commonly employed by manufacturers, I suggest, are missing from this account. First, manufacturers can and do cut costs by employing cheap labour inside, or outside of North America. That is, they move some components of their production to low-income areas. This, of course, reduces the amount of employment available locally, and serves to support and perpetuate poor living conditions abroad. Second, they sometimes reduce the quality of commodities by using cheaper materials such as plastics or veneers. In the case of vital products such as food, this results in the production of nutritionally inferior substitutes on which economically disadvantaged persons are then forced to live. Third, they can and do dump labour by developing and introducing new labour-saving technology. Fourth, they sometimes manipulate demand by manipulating scarcity. That is, the amount produced is sometimes purposely limited. Fifth, in the case of some items, size is reduced whilst maintaining the price relatively constant. The reduction in the size of candy bars over the past 20 years is an

example which young students could readily understand. Finally, monopolies and cartels for the purpose of setting both prices and levels of quality can be formed and are formed. The text gives an account of some tricks in sales and advertising, but this does not occur until 16 pages later. It is never suggested by the text, however, that these kinds of ploys can be used by businesses in concert to counteract the effect of consumer demand on prices. According to the text, "As a general rule, consumer prices are determined by *supply* and *demand*.."36 The lack of complete information on how business itself influences these factors tends to imply that consumers are the only ones exerting such influence. Readers are thus left with an inaccurate and unrealistically optimistic view of their ability, as a group, to exert control over the market. As seen earlier, they are not informed on how to act as a group either.

Regarding production, the text makes the following claim:

If consumers refuse to buy a certain product or service because it is of poor quality or not needed, the manufacturer...will no longer be able to afford to *produce* the product or offer the service.<sup>37</sup>

Consumers, thus, are portrayed as exerting considerable control over what is produced. Two reasons are given which explain why consumers sometimes refuse to buy particular products. One is that the product may be of poor quality, and the second, that the product may not be needed. This suggests that consumers can exert control over the quality of products through their refusal to buy, and can

exert control such that businesses will produce only what is needed. No mention is made of one other important and familiar possibility. Some products such as decent housing and nutritious food are invariably needed, but will nevertheless be unaffordable to a number of consumers. These consumers will be forced into purchasing poor quality housing and food. This results in a 'demand' for poor quality products. It would be ironic, however, to suggest that this kind of demand was an instance of consumer control over production. The difficulty here lies in the failure of the text to take into account the distinction between needs and wants which it made earlier in the chapter. To exert effective control through choice, as suggested by the text, one must have options. In the absence of such options, i.e. where needs are concerned, business monopolies can leave the consumer very much lacking in control.

At this point I would like to examine a schematic drawing given in this unit, and included here in Appendix C. The diagram is introduced by the following statement: "Figure 1.2 shows the relationship of the consumer to the economy as a whole and to government, industry and other influences in the marketplace."<sup>38</sup> The diagram itself consists of a symmetrical figure, one half representing consumer activity and the other half, business activity. Each of the three statements which accompany the diagram is also ostensibly symmetrical insofar as each makes a claim about consumers and a claim about business. I hope to demonstrate, however, that this ostensible symmetry is more apparent than real. Let us consider these statements, divided into

halves. The first reads as follows:

A) There are two different groups making decisions:

a) *Households* buy and use consumer goods (such as houses and food) and receive income from work (such as producing houses and food) in the form of salaries, wages, interest and rent.

b) *Businesses* produce and sell consumer goods (such as houses and food) to households by paying salaries, wages, interest and rent (that is, the costs of production).

When it is reduced to simple statements, Aa) makes the following claims:

1. Households buy consumer goods such as houses and food.
2. Households use these goods.
3. Households receive income.
4. This income is from work.
5. The income can be in form of salary, wages, interest or rent.

Similarly, Ab) makes the following claims:

1. Businesses produce consumer goods such as houses and food.
2. Businesses sell these goods.
3. They sell them to households.
4. Businesses pay out monies.
5. Businesses produce and sell goods by paying out monies.
6. These monies can be in the form of salaries, wages, interest and rent.
7. Salaries, wages, interest and rent are the costs of production.<sup>39</sup>

One might add an eighth claim to Ab, viz., that there are costs of doing business. For Aa and Ab to balance, we would have to add to Aa) the claim that there are costs of being a householder. These costs

include, for the great majority, having to work for wages in a business owned by someone else, and having to buy goods from businesses. Thus we are given more information with which to understand the position of business than we are given with respect to households/consumers. As a result, our attention is drawn to the extra claim in Aa, which tells us that supporting households is a cost of doing business. It appears, if we take this at face value, that we as consumers and individuals are viewed by the text as a cost of doing business, i.e. as a burden on business.

The next pair of statements purport to describe the flow of money between businesses and households.

Ca) Note that the businesses pay the household incomes (a cost of doing business)

Cb) The income for businesses is the money received for selling consumer goods to households.

These claims repeat the idea that supporting households is a 'cost' of doing business. This set of claims is also asymmetrical, but in a form different from that of the earlier set. In comparing these statements, we can see that in describing the movement of money from one group to another, there is a difference in 'voice' used depending on who is doing the paying out. Where business is doing the paying, an active voice is used, viz., "Businesses pay the household incomes", and produce goods "by paying salaries..." Where households are doing the paying, a passive voice is employed, viz., "The income for business is the money received..." The tone, and thus the intention of

Cb) would change considerably if it stated: Note that the households pay the business incomes (a cost of being a householder).

Finally, the following pair of statements describe the relationship between consumption and production.

Ba) Note that the households are working to make consumer goods for the businesses

Bb) while businesses sell consumer goods to the household buyers.

This set of statements is more balanced than the previous two, but it is noteworthy that it is not represented in diagrammatic form. If it were so represented, the text would be required to realign the positioning of the terms 'producers' and 'consumers' in relation to the terms 'households' and 'businesses.' That is, insofar as households "are working to make" (note the avoidance of the term 'produce') consumer goods, they are producers. Insofar as these goods constitute for businesses the items needed for selling, the businesses are consumers. As the diagrams stand the major identifications made are business/producers and households/consumers. The articulation of their obverse, but equally accurate form, is very weak in comparison.

The identification of production as an activity of businesses represents a suggestion that production occurs necessarily within a highly asymmetrical framework of "decision-making." This identification functions, therefore, as ideology. In so doing, it glosses over both the overarching structural aspects of the production process in our economy, and the humanist aspects of production. It is well

known that a vast majority of North American consumers are structurally forced to work for others, and are thus qua workers, denied access to control over decisions regarding either what will be produced or how it will be produced. The ability to have such control in an activity which accounts for the majority of waking hours for most adults, is an important element in the maintenance of their health and self-esteem. The nature of the production process itself, in other words, impacts on the self-esteem of consumers qua workers, at least as much as does "the way they buy *what* they buy." As will be seen in the analysis of leisure, below, the text indirectly acknowledges this as true. Implied by the diagram, however, is the suggestion that within the entire sphere of production and consumption, decisions made by householders (who are also workers), are appropriately limited to decisions on what to buy.

We should note also the equivocation in the use of the term 'decision' to describe the purchase of a basic need. We do not decide to purchase from needs in the same sense that we decide to purchase from wants. Yet the examples used throughout the diagram are the very examples given in the text as needs, viz., "houses and food." This exemplifies again, the way in which the real distinction between needs and wants articulated in the text is not respected by its authors.

Finally, two rather glaring errors appear in these diagrams. First, as can be seen, they do not, as stated in the text, tell us about the relation of consumers to "the economy as a whole and to government, industry and other influences in the market-place. Government

appears nowhere in the diagrams, and "other influences," whatever they are, are not spelled out. Second, in the diagram entitled "How Money Moves in a Simple Economy," profit appears as a cost of production. Profit is not a cost of production. Further, no representation is made of the money/profit which is reinvested in business itself. Even in a simple economy such reinvestment would need to take place. Thus both reinvestment and profits as a product of business appear to be factored out of the economy in this particular diagram. Profits are defined elsewhere in the text as a "reward of doing business."<sup>40</sup> Reinvestment of profits, however, is not mentioned in the text at all.

The diagrams are an attempt to articulate a rational model of how an economy functions. As we have seen, this particular model tends to place consumers in a passive role. The ostensible aim of the text, however, is to encourage consumers to be more active in relation to the marketplace. Can this contradiction be resolved? It can, in fact, if we see that within the larger framework described in the diagrams, consumers can still be encouraged to take an active role in making the most of their necessarily passive economic position. Within the confines of a system in which they are to see themselves as a cost of doing business, they can nevertheless be encouraged to make decisions as rationally as possible. The implied imperative to maintain a narrow focus in relation to the larger picture is an instance of instrumental rationality. It is also an instance of ideology, insofar as it functions to support an asymmetrical power structure in society.

### THE STATE

This section explores the text's views on the role of the state viz a viz society and the economy. There are two ways in which the subject of government is raised in the text. First, two units deal specifically with government activity. One deals with consumer law, and another deals with taxation. Second, isolated references to state activity occur throughout the text. This analysis is based on a selection of quotes gleaned from an exhaustive compilation of passages in the text which deal with government activity. I attempt to show that the attitude toward the state expressed in the text is one of deep ambivalence.

There can be no doubt, when reading through these passages, that government is presented by the text as both an important and necessary element in the organization of society. According to the text:

Society needs government because of the vast complexity of economic problems and conditions that require co-operation and the distribution of the nation's wealth as represented by taxes, social service payments and raw materials.<sup>41</sup>

The majority of passages which refer to state activity deal with relatively benign acts such as the formation of laws protecting consumers against abuses in the marketplace. In spite of these positive sounding passages, however, readers are frequently warned of the potential dangers inherent in government activity. These warnings do not occur in any particular section of the text, but appear here and there, heralded by nothing in particular. As a result, they

tend to become a part of the fabric of the text itself, and are likely to imbibed rather than examined. Let us look at some of these isolated passages. Consider the following quote, taken from the introductory section of the text.

Governments tend to believe that they must protect consumers from themselves and from the pitfall of the marketplace. To a degree this is true, but in actual fact consumers are far from powerless. Consumers have the right to stop shopping in any particular store. Retailers understand and react to this right because those who fail to respond to consumer desires and actions will actually lose business. (my underlining)<sup>42</sup>

Note the identifications, indicated in the underlined portions, of government with 'belief' and business/consumers with 'actual fact.' This dichotomy runs parallel to the dichotomy between emotion and rationality, discussed earlier. The belief attributed to government here is said to be only partially well founded because it is only partially based on 'actual fact.' Some of it, therefore, is based on feeling or emotion. As seen earlier, pure reason and 'fact' are identified by the text only with the marketplace. This places government in the 'emotional' and therefore weaker category. Consider next the following quote, set in the context of a discussion on marketing.

Any serious disruption of any aspect of the productive marketing system will quickly put the

consumer society back many years. War, for example, is a very serious disruption. In time of war, the economic laws of what, how and for whom are no longer determined by you and your consumer dollar but by the impersonal order of government.<sup>43</sup>

Two kinds of identification are worth noting here. The first is the identification of government with military activity. This identification occurs in the text in three other places, each in a context where such an identification is unnecessary. In the section on transport, for example, the text states: "Frederick II, King of Prussia (1712-1786) is supposed to have said, 'An army like a serpent travels on its belly.' Modern armies and society travel on wheels. We would be lost without them." Here again, the state (King) and war are presented as a complementary pair. The last sentence in the quote is particularly interesting in this regard, as the word 'them' is ambiguous in terms of its point of reference.

Second we should note the contrast in the identification of government regulation as "impersonal order," and market regulation as "you and your consumer dollar." Government, thus, is impersonal and coercive. The market is personal and uncoercive. "Government," the text states elsewhere, "is the one element in our society with the power of compulsion." Consider next the following quote, set in the context of a discussion on consumer credit.

Suppose that, effective tomorrow, the federal government passed a law stating that no one could buy an automobile on credit. What effect would

this have on the economy?...It is obvious that such a law would seriously harm our economic system.<sup>44</sup>

The question *we* should ask is: Why make up such an example? Is the federal government likely to pass such a law? This seems unnecessarily alarmist and serves as one more reminder of the 'danger' represented by government. Consider this next quote, set within the context of a discussion on taxes.

The three levels of government (federal, provincial, and municipal) do not all have the same powers, but by legislation they may control prices, operate businesses as monopolies or indirect competition with private businesses, and levy taxes.<sup>45</sup>

What is noteworthy here is the term 'monopoly.' This represents the only instance of the use of the term 'monopoly' in the text. Monopolies, it seems, are what governments run. When discussing specific government enterprises, the text is never complimentary to the state. In the unit dealing with automobile insurance, for instance, the text tells us that before the advent of no fault insurance, it sometimes took years to determine who was at fault. "So car insurance companies in Canada," the text tells us, "have been moving toward providing compensation without fault, or no fault insurance."<sup>46</sup> The government is never credited by the text for introducing no fault insurance to British Columbia. It is implied, rather, that this move which was intended "to ensure that everyone is treated fairly" was an act of business. Finally, contrary to what we are

told in the above quote, municipal governments do not have the power to control prices.

Although the reader is told that the activity of government has worked to counteract some of the difficulties in the economy and is necessary for military defence, we can see that the general image presented of government is in places, highly negative. Where the text deals with what it regards as benign state activity, such as taxation and the creation of consumer law, the discussions occur in an organized fashion, and the reader is alerted to the fact that a discussion about the state is in progress. Where less benign activities are mentioned, references to the state are intermingled with relatively unrelated material, and the reader is simply invited to absorb these along with other kinds of subject matter. This form of positioning is similar to that employed in subliminal advertising. Although they are there to be read, the placement of these passages tends to make them less likely to be consciously examined.

### LEISURE/RECREATION

In this section, I examine further the way in which the text tends to encourage a narrow outlook. To this end, I focus on four aspects of the text's analysis of 'leisure time.' The first is its conflation of the concepts of free time and leisure time. The second, is the shallow manner in which it treats the subject of creativity. The third is its general lack of conceptual clarity, and the fourth is its shallow account of 'active mental participation.' "Recreation," according to the text, "is the proper use of free time to gain refreshment of mind, body and

spirit." Free time is defined as "that time spent away from what *must* be done, such as work or studies." "Today," the text states, "we have more leisure time than ever, since the trend in industry and business is toward shorter working hours and earlier retirement."<sup>47</sup> Expressed here is the dichotomy between work/study and play discussed earlier. As we can see the text conflates or identifies the concept of free time with that of leisure time. Leisure time is that time spent away from compulsory activities, and normally involves a contrast to those activities. Free time is time in which genuine choices can be made regarding activities which include doing work that one finds fulfilling, and similar activities not identifiable as leisure. It also entails the freedom to choose to work, in itself a prerequisite for having 'leisure' time. This freedom is greatly curtailed where there is a high degree of structural unemployment. Although leisure time, understood as hours spent away from wage labour, may be increasing, is it arguable that free time in our society is decreasing. To conflate freedom with the normal intention of the term 'leisure' is to confuse the freedom to choose a calling in life, with the 'freedom' that exists within the confines of an otherwise unfree system of compulsory work or unemployment. In either of the latter cases, someone else is doing the 'calling.' This point will become clearer as we examine the text's account of ideal 'leisure' activities.

Leisure time, according to the text, is most effectively used when one is engaged actively (as opposed to passively) in leisure activities. To illustrate this point, a schematic drawing (reproduced in Appendix

C) is given.<sup>48</sup> This is intended to represent an analogue of a) the relationship between active and passive participation, and b) the relationships between creative and destructive leisure activities, placed on a scale running from negative to positive. In examining this diagram, we should note first that the terms which appear at the top of the scale, viz., 'composer,' 'inventor,' 'painter,' denote activities which can constitute full-time work, and which necessarily entail work. They entail a kind of work, however, which is not sharply distinguishable from play. These kinds of activities are characterized by a high degree of self-activity, i.e., of worker control over the nature and pace of the activity itself. This constitutes an acknowledgement on the part of the text that at its highest level, human activity is self-active and embraces at once both work and play. This kind of activity, however, tends to be very difficult to maintain in conjunction with a full program of compulsory work or wage labour. That the text appears to be insensitive to this point is illustrated by the following:

It...takes some thought to recognize leisure time. That extra ten minutes or unexpected free hour in the middle of the day is leisure time. Use it to your advantage...Taking fifteen minutes to read a chapter in a book...is recreation too.<sup>49</sup>

What kind of invention or composition could be created within the confines of short spurts of 'free' time wedged between many compulsory activities? Could the inventor read a chapter in a needed technical book in fifteen minutes? There is a discrepancy here between what the text quite rightly identifies as fulfilling human

activity, and its apparent acceptance of the confining structure in which those activities are to take place.

In examining the diagram as a whole, what is perhaps most striking is its lack of conceptual clarity. Why, for example, is "emotional participation" ranked third? Presumably the text intends here to refer to participation which is emotional only. The most intense levels of emotional involvement, however, are normally experienced at the top and bottom of the scale. Further, other levels can also involve "appreciation." Second, is "playing a part" necessarily less creative than creating the part? In theatre, both the playwright and the actors create parts. Further, playing a part in this sense is not akin to copying a model. Third, why are 'escape from monotony' and 'killing time' labelled as positive values? What is positive about killing time? Finally, what is the significance of the differences in physical space allotted to the various steps of the scale? One might guess that they are meant to represent an analogue of society itself. The text, however, is not explicit in saying so. As a result, the image presented may constitute an invitation to the reader to imbibe these proportions without questioning their significance. Further, students can hardly be expected to understand these concepts if they are defined in ways which obscure and confuse rather than clarify them.

The relationships between the elements listed on this scale, are also presented in an unclear fashion. The scale invites one to assume that creative participation will in itself do away with boredom, self-injury and other destructive behaviours. We know, however, that

historically many highly creative persons have been both self-injurious and socially destructive. In order to explore in a genuine manner the relationship between these elements, students would need to be introduced to the larger socio-economic system in which creativity must often exist. Canadian society, for example, is not highly appreciative of artistic creativity. Many artists are forced to live in poverty. In British Columbia one of the first effects on public education, of the restraint program, was the removal of many teachers of music and art. In those for whom such activities constitute a genuine calling, this may lead to destructive behaviour. Thus in spite of the text's ostensible aim to encourage a broadening of horizons, it tends frequently to encourage a narrow understanding. I shall end this section by examining two further quotes from this unit which help to emphasize the points I have been making.

Thousands of people watch, but do not take part in, hockey, football, tennis, live theatre performances, and many other crowd-oriented events. One way to turn the passiveness into active association is to participate mentally, for example, by attempting to guess the next football play or how the plot of the play will develop.<sup>50</sup>

More and more people are spending greater and greater amounts of money seeking recreation, while seeming to enjoy it less. Why should this be so? One reason is that people feel they must get away for a vacation. To meet this compulsion to be somewhere else, an industry designed to cater to the recreational needs of society has developed.<sup>51</sup>

In the first quote mental participation is reduced to deciding how the next football play will develop. First, quite aside from the fact that one normally makes such guesses whilst observing a game in action, if one were to stop to engage in some more elaborate form of guessing one would surely miss the event at hand. Second, it is arguable that attending a good theatrical production is a form of intellectual activity in a sense that attending a football game is not. Theatrical productions present audiences with social and moral issues, complex characterization and plot, and interpretations of historical events. To reduce either of these activities to nothing more than 'crowd-oriented events' is to perhaps do justice to neither of them. To collapse them both into the same category, however, is to narrow considerably what counts as 'mental' involvement.

In the second quote, the desire to travel is reduced to "this compulsion to be somewhere else." It is often through being somewhere else that people of all ages can begin to get a perspective on their own culture. To suggest, as the text does, that this 'compulsion' should be met by visiting a provincial park is to discourage the very kind of broadening which could lead to a better understanding of their social and political system. In turn, such an understanding would aid in making them better and more active participants in a democratic society.

### SEEKING EMPLOYMENT

The section of the text examined here is entitled: "Getting the Job."

It begins with the following statement:

The time has come, you have decided, to find a regular part-time job. Part of making this choice is realizing that you have something to sell. That something is you and your qualifications.<sup>52</sup>

To this end, the text recommends that students learn how to prepare a resume and how to make themselves presentable at an interview. As seen earlier, the correct attitude recommended is one of diffidence. According to the text:

Employers who are interviewing applicants have very little to go on. They may attach undue importance to minor slip-ups, like not having a pen and notebook when you need one...<sup>53</sup>

The reader is told always to allow the interviewer to lead the conversation, and to be "enthusiastic - but not too enthusiastic." The entire unit is devoted to explaining to prospective workers what employers want. Two out of the six pages in this unit constitute a sub-section explicitly entitled: "The Employer's Point of View." The rest of the unit, however, might just as well bear the same title, as no other point of view is presented. The unit following this one in the text is entitled: "Managing Your Earnings," and begins with the following claim:

Congratulations, you got the job! Now what do you wish to do with the earnings?...Now is the time to develop financial habits necessary for happiness and security.<sup>54</sup>

Thus happiness and security are to be associated not with the character of the work itself, but with the expenditure of earnings. As I have argued, the text appears to be preparing its readers for subservient kinds of employment. Nevertheless, it may be argued that the reader is presumed to be in his/her teens, and is for that reason quite rightly to be advised on how to obtain relatively low-levels of employment. Further, one can argue that the skills encouraged in this text are useful regardless of the kind of employment sought. Will this argument do? In brief, no, if this is to be considered perhaps the only such preparation in school which the student is to receive on this subject. One must remember that Consumer Education 9 was designed especially with early drop-outs in mind. For those students, there is no encouragement to ask whether 'selling oneself in the marketplace' is the only possible way to regard oneself in relation to work. Is this viewpoint characteristic of all times and places? Without an introduction to such questions, students headed for work just out high school may slip quietly into the labour market, or into unemployment, without the conceptual tools to begin to make sense of the larger framework within which they are forced to function. Note that there is no information in the text regarding workers' rights, trade unions or professional associations, workers' compensation or other legislation aimed to counteract abuses in the workplace. As we have seen, this kind of information is given in relation to consumer or buying activity. The reader of this section,

however, is asked merely to study and understand the employer's viewpoint. Faced in the future with choices in the selection of government, graduates of Consumer Education 9/10 will have little information upon which to base their judgements regarding economics, employment policy and other important aspects of public policy which nevertheless affect their lives. Faced with abuses in the workplace they will have no information on how to proceed in protecting themselves.

I have argued here that the philosophical framework adopted by the grade 9/10 Consumer Education textbook does not foster the kind of critical observation and intelligent inquiry which, according to the Ministry's own stated goals, it ought to do in the interest of educating future citizens. Rather, it tends to foster a narrow outlook, more suitable to the integration of students unquestioningly into an hierarchically ordered social, economic and political society. Further, I have argued that contrary to commonly held beliefs regarding this text, its sympathies tend in general to lie with business. This bias, I suggest, is at its strongest in its treatment of the subject of work. As such, it represents a perspective consonant with the elitist view of democracy, which privileges only a small elite to engage in the kind of decision-making which allows one to exercise sovereignty over one's life. The chapter which follows will examine the grade 11/12 text. An additional question I shall pose to that text is: Does it differ in character and outlook from the one described above?

I end the text analysis in Chapter 4 with a comparison of the texts in terms of the respective readerships which they address.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> O.R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities (Don Mill, Ontario: Addison-Wesley, 1969), pp. 69-71.

<sup>2</sup> Holsti, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Holsti, p. 70.

<sup>4</sup> Holsti, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Holsti, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Garnett McDiarmid and David Pratt, Teaching Prejudice: A Content Analysis of Social Studies Textbooks Authorized For Use in Ontario Schools (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education: Curriculum Series 12, 1971), p. 25.

<sup>7</sup> John B. Thompson, Studies in the Theory of Ideology (University of California Press, 1984), p. 81.

<sup>8</sup> Thompson, p. 110.

<sup>9</sup> Thompson, pp. 120-123.

<sup>10</sup> Thompson, pp. 120-123.

<sup>11</sup> John C. Wood, Looking at the Consumer (Gage Publishing Ltd., 1982).

<sup>12</sup> Wood, p. 41.

<sup>13</sup> Wood, p. 218.

<sup>14</sup> Wood, p. 280.

<sup>15</sup> Wood, p. 11.

<sup>16</sup> Wood, p. 10.

<sup>17</sup> Wood, p. 202.

<sup>18</sup> R.D. Laing, The Politics of the Family (CBC Publications, 1969), pp. 10-14.

<sup>19</sup> Wood, p. 199.

<sup>20</sup> Wood, p. 217.

<sup>21</sup> Wood, p. 7.

<sup>22</sup> Wood, p. 18.

<sup>23</sup> Wood, p. 190.

<sup>24</sup> Wood, p. 8.

<sup>25</sup> Wood, p. 227.

<sup>26</sup> Wood, p. 257.

<sup>27</sup> Wood, p. 32.

<sup>28</sup> Wood, p. 68.

<sup>29</sup> Wood, p. 215.

<sup>30</sup> Wood, p. 200.

<sup>31</sup> Wood, p. 202.

<sup>32</sup> Wood, first page of forward. There is no page number.

- 33 Wood, p. 25.
- 34 Wood, p. 5.
- 35 Wood, p. 5.
- 36 Wood, p. 14.
- 37 Wood, p. 5.
- 38 Wood, p. 7.
- 39 Wood, pp. 6-7.
- 40 Wood, p. 30.
- 41 Wood, p. 218.
- 42 Wood, p. 4.
- 43 Wood, p. 7.
- 44 Wood, p. 60.
- 45 Wood, pp. 217-218.
- 46 Wood, p. 185.
- 47 Wood, p. 198.
- 48 Wood, p. 198.
- 49 Wood, p. 201.
- 50 Wood, p. 203.
- 51 Wood, p. 202.

<sup>52</sup> Wood, p. 92.

<sup>53</sup> Wood, p. 94.

<sup>54</sup> Wood, p. 98.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Text Analysis and Consumer Education: Part Two

#### INTRODUCTION

The grade 11 textbook, entitled "Economic Decisions for Canadian Consumers," is 389 pages long, well over 100 pages longer than the previous text if one takes into consideration the smaller print. It is divided into 13 chapters but unlike the previous text, there is no intermediate division of the text into major sections or parts. The topics covered in these chapters, in order of presentation, are economics, decision-making, consumer law, advertising, budgeting, investment, credit, comparison shopping, automobiles, housing, taxes, careers, and the family. As can be seen, there is no chapter on leisure, although this topic is dealt with briefly in the chapter on the family. Each chapter is introduced by a small story called a "neighbourhood capsule." These are informal dialogues, accompanied by a drawing, which take place between two friends or family members, in which some economic dilemma is discussed. The purpose of these dialogues, according to the text is to "pose real-world situations that the material in the chapter helps to resolve."<sup>1</sup>

Although, as will be seen, both texts reflect the same basic economic and philosophical outlook, their respective focusses are rather different. What characterizes the grade 9 text is its emphasis on the concept of the consumer. This is evidenced by the fact that various topics covered in that text, such as the economy, shopping

skills, etc., are defined largely in terms of their relationship to the consumer. This focus is missing in the grade 11 text. For example, no definitions are offered in this text of the term 'consumer,' either in the text proper or in the text's glossary. What characterizes this text is its emphasis on a) fundamental economic principles and b) the role of these principles in informing the rational decision-making process. A slightly less prominent but also important focus is the text's description of the role of the state in developing and maintaining a framework of regulatory laws, within which consumers, businesses and families must function. This last focus is expressed primarily via the text's appropriation of space to a description of these laws. Thus the first 3 chapters of the text, which focus on economics, decision-making, and law respectively, are crucial in defining the framework for the remaining 10. In terms of their order of presentation, they constitute as well an analogue of the priorities of the text's authors.

In its opening chapter on economics, the text identifies Adam Smith as the classical economist whose description of the market society forms "the backdrop of our view of the world today."<sup>2</sup> The chapter features a quarter-page sized picture of Smith. No other economic thinker is mentioned in the text. The text of the chapter, following the neighbourhood capsule, opens with the following words:

For better or worse, we Canadians live in a mixed economy. It is within the framework of this economy that we make the bulk of our decisions as consumers, workers, and citizens...In this book the

focus is on improving your ability to understand and act within today's mixed economy and to develop the skills necessary to deal with a changing society.<sup>3</sup>

Thus at the outset, there is an implication that readers may be invited simply to accept "for better or worse," rather than examine in an critical way the the fundamental economic framework about which they are expected to learn. The description of Smith's theory is preceded by the text's own account of what it calls the fundamental principles of economics, and the basic elements of a market system. Under a boldface heading reading "The Market System," readers are told:

In our economy, the marketplace is always in the forefront of our decision making. Tradition, custom, and the government also play roles, but it is the dominance of the marketplace that characterizes the Western economy. In this section we present an introduction to the terminology and basic features of an economy based in large measure on a system of markets.<sup>4</sup>

No critique is offered of the market society, and no other kinds of societies are mentioned. The entire discussion is set within a chapter entitled "Some Basic Economic Principles," of which "The Market System" is given as a main sub-heading. Readers are then told that the classic picture of this system was "painted back in 1776 by Adam Smith."<sup>5</sup> Given the way in which this information is structured, therefore, both this concept and Smith's views in general become fundamental categories through which students are invited to understand the rest of what they read in this text.

As will be seen, views on epistemology, the state, and labour are

somewhat less strident in this text than in the last. For example, consumers are not described as potentially irrational (the term 'irrational' does not occur in this text), and there are no derogatory comments on the nature of emotions. The text also features a 15 page section on labour law. As we have seen no such discussion is offered in the previous text. Finally, this text also occasionally attempts to introduce students to opposing views on political and economic issues. As with the earlier text, I attempt to show that text's basically uncritical view undermines the positive features represented by the important information it offers readers on various aspects of their social, political, and economic environment.

#### METHODOLOGY

The method of analysis for this text is a variant of that used in analyzing the grade 9 text. As will be recalled, that analysis was done in two stages. Stage one consisted in a reading of the basic philosophical aspects of the text primarily through a compilation of passages on the nature of the consumer. Stage two focussed on smaller portions of the text, and featured more logical, semantic and syntactical analysis. Given the grade 9 text's focus on the concept of the consumer, passages describing the nature of consumers occurred throughout the text. These provided both a ready-made representative sample of the text's claims in general, and a natural medium through which to read other facets of the text's outlook. Since no one concept occurs in this text which plays a comparable role, the stage one analysis of each of the elements of the text's philosophy is

read through sets of passages, gleaned from the entire text, dealing with the specific element in question only. In the section comparing human characteristics according to their identification with the marketplace, work or leisure, the category 'leisure' is replaced by the category 'private life.' The information on private life is gleaned largely from the chapter on the family, of which the text's half-page section on leisure is a part. Stage two of the analysis, again, deals with smaller sections of text. As with the previous text, I look at a diagram of the economy, the chapter on work, and the text's views on the state. In the previous analysis, stage two also featured an analysis of the text's views on leisure. The chapter on the family, however, is radically different from the chapter on leisure in the previous text in terms of the subjects raised and discussed. As chapters, therefore, the two are not really comparable. Thus stage two of this analysis deals only with the economy, work, and the state. I end this chapter with a discussion of some important differences between the two texts.

### Stage One

#### HUMAN NATURE

In examining the passages in this text which express universal human characteristics one is immediately struck by the high degree of stress placed on the concepts of competition and self interest. An account of human nature is given in the text's introductory chapter, and constitutes an integral part of the economic view expressed therein. Under a boldface heading which reads: "Scarcity: The Fundamental Economic Problem," students are told:

Economists define the fundamental problem facing all individuals and all societies as relative scarcity. By this they mean that no matter how many resources an individual has command over, he or she will never be totally satisfied. Now, if no one individual can ever be totally satisfied, society as a whole will also experience a sense of dissatisfaction.<sup>6</sup>

Thus humans are defined as fundamentally insatiable in their demands at the individual level. We should note as well the logical fallacy in this claim. From the possibility that no one individual is totally satisfied it does not follow that society as a whole experiences dissatisfaction. Society is an organic whole, and thus is not reducible to a collection of individuals.

Claims which constitute the espousal of an individualistic, competitive outlook are expressed throughout this first chapter in a number of ways. Readers are told, for example, that: "Experience and the belief that people want as many goods as possible combine to suggest a simple yet crucial law of demand..."<sup>7</sup> Elsewhere, the text states that: "If a marketplace is made up of people acting competitively in their own self-interest, we expect that whenever shortages occur, prices will rise."<sup>8</sup> We can see in these quotes the way in which the text's presuppositions about human nature inform the economic framework which it develops. Finally, in recounting the views expressed by Adam Smith the text states:

Most individuals would expect a society of

self-seeking individuals to produce chaos, not social harmony. But Smith realized that the emergence of the new world of individualism generated its own control mechanism, the competitive market.<sup>9</sup>

Given the text's general identification with the views of Smith this constitutes as suggestion by the text itself that individualism is the attitude appropriate to modernity.

An espousal of individualism is implicit as well throughout the text in relation to the rational decision-making model which it teaches.

In a number of chapters, the text instructs its readers on how to apply this model to specific decision-making situations. Step one is labelled "defining the problem," and invariably, readers are advised to think of this first step in terms of their individual needs and wants, based on their individual values and goals. It is, in other words, a model which represents a fundamentally individualistic praxis. In summary, thus, we have a view of modern humans as necessarily insatiable in their demand for goods and services and, given scarcity, necessarily competitive in their relations with others. Second, we have a view of modern humans as characterized first and foremost by "the new world of individualism," i.e., by self-interest. Third, this view is an integral part of the fundamental economic and epistemological framework adopted by the text.

In conjunction with this market-oriented concept of human nature, the text is sometimes inclined, in an a-historical fashion, to suggest that a preoccupation with the purchasing of commodities is an inherent component of human psychology. For example we are told

that:

Although your budget obviously limits the amount you can pay for an item, *what* you buy and *when* you buy it are intimately tied to your self-image...By choosing fashionable food, clothing, goods and accommodation, we demonstrate our desire to be seen as in step with, or even in the forefront of, progressive thinking behaviour.<sup>10</sup>

Thus our self image, and our relations with others are seen as necessarily pervaded by a concern with what we buy and what we are seen to buy. This echoes the view, expressed in the previous text, of humans as necessarily concerned with being "in the forefront" of progress, i.e. with being "up-to-date." The text also occasionally invites us to think of our fellow humans themselves in terms of market value, thus creating an equivocation between the value of an object in trade and the value of a relationship or person. Consider the following two quotes.

Well before the divorce rate began to soar, a song entitled "Diamonds Are A Girl's Best Friend" was popular. The argument was that women could be more sure of the value of their jewelry than of the value of their spouse. However, before you go to your local jeweler to pick out a diamond pendant or ring, you should know something about the diamond market.<sup>11</sup>

The ideal investment, like the ideal spouse does not exist. If it did, it would have a high yield with no risk, it would be highly liquid with tremendous potential for capital gain, it would be an inflation hedge, and it would shelter gains.<sup>12</sup>

The identifications in these quotes are implicit rather than explicit. In the first quote, the idea of measuring the value of one's spouse in dollars passes by unquestioned, as the discussion in the text turns without comment to a description of the problem of purchasing diamonds. In the second quote, the identification established in the first sentence invites one to apply what comes afterwards to both spouses and investments. This results in a rather mercenary picture of human relations.

Is this the only picture of human nature presented in the text? If we examine only those quotes which state unequivocally what all people do or desire, the answer to this question is a definite yes. None of the universal claims made regarding persons depicts them as co-operative beings. Nevertheless if one looks as well at images of human life presented in the 'neighbourhood capsules,' we see a portrayal of relations between family and friends which are not merely competitive. Further, in the chapter on family life we are told that the family functions ideally to provide affection and emotional stability to its members. Thus there is a recognition that in one's private life, co-operative relations can exist. This represents, in the theoretical position adopted by the text, a sharp division between public and private spheres similar to that found in the grade 9 text.

It is important to grasp the significance of this kind of a division. The relegation of collectivity or co-operation to the level of private life represents a suggestion that the kind of feeling or social sensibility which informs, for example, concerns for social justice has no

legitimate place in the public sphere. On this view, it becomes merely a private matter. This kind of view can function naturally as a justification for removal of social or collective issues from the arena of public debate in general, at the level both of the state and the marketplace. Although, as will be seen, the text does recognize some collective action as legitimate, it is the larger framework described above which remains the text's dominant paradigm.

### EPISTEMOLOGY

This section examines the assumptions contained in the text regarding the constitution of valid knowledge. As with the previous text, I look at the distinction made between reason and emotion. The articulation of this distinction, and of the nature of knowledge in general, is more complex in this text than is its counterpart in the grade 9 text. The distinction between reason and emotion is softer insofar as emotion is not entirely excluded from the realm of valid knowledge. As well, the account given of emotion is less negative insofar as no derogatory comments are made regarding the nature of emotion. The role of emotion in the family will not be examined here but will be examined in my comparison of human characteristics according to their placement in the realm of the market, the workplace and private life.

It is clear, upon examining the text, that the economy itself is identified entirely with reason or logic. Numerous tables, diagrams and graphs are provided which show how the economy is to be understood, and is viewed by economists. Graphs are presented to

demonstrate supply and demand curves, GNP levels, fashion cycles, and government revenue. It is stressed that economists employ statistical methods in order to understand and make predictions about the economy. To relate correctly to the marketplace, readers are encouraged to learn and adopt a six-step rational decision-making model. The model, readers are told, is to be applied not only to consumer decisions, but as well to all significant life decisions. According to the text it is a "proven system of decision making," implying that it functions like a set of mathematical rules.<sup>13</sup> The following quotes are examples of references to rationality vis a vis the marketplace.

**The Laws of Supply and Demand.** Economists following the logic of the circular flow diagram in figure 1-1 divide any market into groups of buyers and sellers.<sup>14</sup>

...competition also acts in the product markets, where businesses that bring goods to market for prices in excess of their competitors' may not find customers and must either bring down the prices or go out of business...Similarly, an abundance of buyers makes it impossible for purchasers to gain the upper hand on the producers...Thus, the competitive marketplace diffuses power and requires that the participants conform to the dictates of the market.<sup>15</sup>

[Consumers have] The responsibility of rational decision making...By making rational decisions, consumers provide discipline to the marketplace and ensure the success of businesses that already

deal fairly with them.<sup>16</sup>

The market represents, according to the text, a fair and impartial dictator, which functions according to rational laws, such as the laws of supply and demand. Consumers are encouraged to participate in this rationality, thus strengthening the system. As we shall see, they are also encouraged in this regard to temper their tendency to give in to emotions. The following quotes illustrate the way in which the distinction between emotion and reason is articulated.

Food choices are often emotional rather than logical...Poor food choices lead to increased susceptibility to illness...sound food choices, on the other hand, can considerably improve the quality of your life.<sup>17</sup>

While most advertisements contain both information and emotional appeal, some types of ads are wholly informative...<sup>18</sup>

Are these distinctions valid, and are they realistic in human terms? Let us examine the quotes in turn. In the first quote, it is suggested that one ought to be logical but not emotional in choosing foods. Second, it is suggested that soundness is identical with logic. This is incorrect. The concept of soundness refers not to logic but to the presence or absence of false premisses. An argument can be both logical and unsound. Consider next the substance of this quote. Would a diet which was logically or rationally planned but had little emotional appeal be effective? Clearly it would not be so, and thus the suggestion that it would itself constitutes a false premiss. This

demonstrates, I suggest, that a narrow account of rationality which excludes emotion from calculations when considering human activity is essentially unsound. What is required, is a broadened view of rationality which encompasses more than pure logic.

In the second quote, a distinction is drawn between emotion and information. Information is a crucial concept in this text. Within the 86 passages which comprise the list of quotes on epistemology it occurs 33 times, more than twice as often as any other epistemological term. Gathering information is the third step in the rational decision-making model taught by the text. To be informed, therefore, is part of what it is to be rational. Consider, however, advertisements aimed at preventing drunk driving, or at promoting donations to a charity. How would the 'information' come across if all emotional content were removed? Some advertisements are to be criticized not for their emotional appeal per se, but rather for the kinds of emotions to which they appeal. Many attempt to create or exacerbate psychological insecurity, inviting invidious comparisons between persons. As argued earlier, such insecurities may themselves be a function of particular forms of social, economic and political organization. Students need to be brought to understand these relationships if they are to be empowered in their roles as future citizens and consumers.

Another aspect of this dichotomy is the text's account of the concept of value. "Values," states the text, "are abstract ideas."<sup>19</sup> These abstract ideas are to be weighed in the process of the

cost-benefit analysis which constitutes part of the rational decision-making model. As we can see, this is a definition which factors out emotion. It is also a definition which contradicts standard usage. Websters dictionary, for example, defines values as "something intrinsically valuable or desirable."<sup>20</sup> The term 'desire' refers to a feeling, not an abstract idea. Equally confused, is an example given by the text of what it means for an individual to affirm a value. Consider the following quote.

Your individual decisions can also help establish and articulate collective values. If you and a large number of other people individually decide not to buy a brand of ruler because it gives you splinters, you are affirming the value society places on health and well-being.<sup>21</sup>

Avoiding a product because it has physically damaged you is not the same as affirming a value, social or otherwise. It is an instinctual response to pain. Neither is it an instance of examining an abstract idea. Avoiding a product because we know it hurts people in other parts of the world, on the other hand, is an instance of affirming a value, but again such a decision is not reducible to abstract thought, or to cost/benefit analysis in the usual sense of this term. Rather it is a human response informed by a social sensibility which recognizes feeling as valid information.

Is this dichotomy consistent throughout the text? In order to respond to this question, the compilation of passages was examined for claims which acknowledged emotional 'information' as knowledge.

Second, the passages were examined with respect to claims which recognize emotion as value. Two such claims were found. In the course of a discussion on fashion it is suggested in the text that consumers ought to "consider that some...needs are psychological as well as physical."<sup>22</sup> This recognizes emotion as information. In relation to work the text states that in addition to money, we receive "psychic income" from some kinds of work, thus recognizing emotion as value.<sup>23</sup> These are both important claims. They are, however, both located in the latter part of the text, and the discussions related to them take up less than half a page in total. In general, we are left with a theoretical viewpoint which tends to drive a wedge between reason, information and thus knowledge on the one hand, and emotion on the other.

### SOCIETY

As seen earlier, the text is explicit in characterizing our society as a market society. Such a society is described in terms of individualism, controlled by the mechanism of the competitive market. Further, as we have seen, none of the universal claims regarding human nature described people as essentially communal beings. In order to determine how generalized this view was in the text, I took two additional steps. A list of all social issues raised by the text was compiled in order to determine for which of these, collectivist solutions were posed. Second, I noted the amount of space in the text allotted to such solutions.

Eight social issues are raised by the text at various points. The text raises the issues of pollution, market abuses, housing needs, the growing rate of bankruptcy, health care, dwindling natural resources, family breakdown and the danger posed by the growing number of food additives. For only two of these, pollution and health care, is a collective solution suggested. Five are resolved by the text by appealing to individual behaviour and education, and one is ambiguous. In dealing with the issue of abuses in the marketplace, the text credits the consumer movement with checking dishonest business practices, but nevertheless concludes that: "Today, caveat emptor still holds reign as a fundamental principle of the marketplace."<sup>24</sup> With respect to space allotted, descriptions of collective action comprise approximately three pages of the text. In contrast with these, the rest of the text is dedicated to describing how to become appropriately informed, how to make the best investments, and how to shop. In contrast to the grade 9 text, we do get in this text one half-page description of how one might go about banding together with others in order to deal with the behaviour of some particular business. As seen above, we also get a discussion of union activity. Nevertheless, the balance of the text remains heavily in favour of the monadic view of society described above. Further as with the previous text, no alternate social structures are described. Thus students are offered no method by which to begin to explore the relationship between their own social sensibility and Western socio-economic structures.

ECONOMY

In keeping with the theoretical focus on individualism which runs through this text, little is said, in relation to the economy, about the role of monopolies. In a space which comprises less than half a page, it is admitted in this text that sometimes "the marketplace may be less than perfectly competitive."<sup>25</sup> This is a gross understatement. Any responsible economics text should point out that no market is ever perfectly competitive. The only example we are given of a monopoly in the course of this discussion is that of a government regulated monopoly, viz., the telephone company. Only one private business monopoly is mentioned in the text, and the following quote demonstrates the bias of the text in describing such a monopoly.

...diamond prices are tightly controlled by South Africa's DeBeer's Consolidated Mines Ltd., which markets 80% of the world's diamonds. They have such significant market power that they virtually set the price for their product. If they choose to mine and market more diamonds, they will undoubtedly have to lower the price and thus jeopardize your investment.<sup>26</sup>

This could constitute the opening of an in-depth analysis of the relationship between monopolies and investments, but the text steers away from the dilemma raised by this quote and appeals instead to the individual to become better informed.

This individualistic orientation is reflected as well in the way in which the conservation of resources (clearly a collective issue) and the maintenance of an economy dependent on resources, is said to turn on

the individual attainment of knowledge. The following quote illustrates this.

...advertising does more than inform. Using a variety of techniques, it also persuades consumers to buy. Consumer spending in turn stimulates the economy as a whole, leading to a higher general standard of living. There are costs attached to the benefit of a comfortable material existence, however. Our current lifestyle is dependent on abundant supplies of energy and natural resources, supplies which are no longer assured. How...can we sift out the information from the emotional appeal contained in advertising and buy discriminately, knowing that we may otherwise be threatening our standard of living in years to come?<sup>27</sup>

Here we are told that improved knowledge, at the individual level (plus the sifting out of emotion), provides the solution to the problem of dwindling resources. Contrast next the following statements expressing the need for economic growth.

Consider another problem faced by every society: how to increase economic growth, which is one of the means of alleviating the problem of scarcity. Economic growth occurs as a result of the attainment of more resources, better quality resources (more natural resources, labour or capital) and better technology (improved know-how).<sup>28</sup>

The idea that economic growth lessens conflict is important in all kinds of situations, both nationally and individually...As long as the pie is fixed, the bargaining is more intense, and if Bill succeeds in getting more pie, that means less for Bob.<sup>29</sup>

We have here a dilemma. Economic growth is necessary, and it requires the acquisition of resources. But these resources are threatened by such growth. The solution offered by the text is improved knowledge, on an individual level. But would such knowledge change the imperative for economic expansion? No mention is made in the text of the possibility of zero growth. Further, redistribution is not mentioned here as a major method of alleviating conflict over "the pie." The focus both on the notion of scarcity and on the individual leaves readers a) with no way of examining alternatives and b) with no way to address the fundamental contradiction represented by the imperative for the capitalist economy continually to expand

### HISTORY

The narrow perspective described above is reflected as well in the account of history found in the text. The text is concerned mainly with the transition from feudalism to capitalism. As shown above, Adam Smith's 'new individualism' is said to characterize the last two hundred years. The following quotes are representative of the account of history presented in the text.

The classic picture of the market system was painted back in 1776 by Adam Smith, a Scottish professor of philosophy. In his book, *The Wealth of Nations*, he outlined the basic principles of the market system that form the backdrop for our view of the world today...<sup>30</sup>

To whom does the text refer by the term "our view of the world?"

Do all North Americans share this world view? What of the utopian socialists, Marx, Veblen or Keynes? Do their views not also form the backdrop for 'our' view of the world? The richness and diversity which one finds both in the history of ideas and in an examination of present society find no expression in this text, which reduces both modern history and modernity itself to a single philosophical perspective. This is a false account of economic history by any standard, and hardly a program designed to foster critical inquiry. Consider next the way in which the changes wrought by the industrial revolution are described by the text.

The nobles who framed the Magna Carta did not have the well-being of the average medieval consumer in mind. Rather they were trying to protect their own commercial interests. As lords in a rigid feudal structure, they dominated English society and commerce at a time when most of England's population consisted of peasantry who tilled the lord's land and bought, sold, and bartered goods at local markets. These conditions did not change appreciably until the fifteenth century, when English industry was stimulated by the country's advance into international trade.<sup>31</sup>

This seems to imply that present society is relatively free from 'rigid structures' through which certain people can protect their commercial interests. As seen in an earlier quote, readers are told that the competitive marketplace diffuses power. This represents the same blindness to economic coercion described in the last text, despite a few token remarks on the problem of 'less than perfect' competition.

Second, we should note the reference to pre-15th century peasants as "consumers." The term 'consumer' as we understand it today, is embedded in a system of commodity production in which a) most persons work for wages and b) most things, i.e., consumer goods, are produced primarily for exchange. The relationship to these goods, therefore, is necessarily impersonal. In the 15th century peasant economy, things were produced primarily for use, and contrary to what is implied by this quote, the majority of 15th century peasants were not involved directly in market activity. They lived, for the most part, on what they made for themselves. Thus the lived experience and sensibility with respect both to labour and to the products of labour was profoundly different in that era from what it is today. The 15th century peasant, in short, was not a consumer as we understand that term today. This represents an a-historical view similar to that found in the previous text. Consider next the following quotes describing industrialization and progress.

Food processing and packaging was not regulated by government until the nineteenth century, when the forces of industrialization prompted many families to move from their farms into the city.<sup>32</sup>

Just as technological change has altered the workplace, so it has also affected our lives outside of work. Whereas workers were obliged to labour 12 to 14 hours daily, 7 days a week, today a typical work week is 40 hours long with weekends free.<sup>33</sup>

To begin, the information given in the first quote is false. All

domestic production and trade was strictly regulated in the medieval European town. These regulative institutions were eroded and eventually broken down as, in response to nascent capitalism and state mercantilist policy, entire populations both of town and countryside were drawn inexorably into the process of capitalist production for export.<sup>34</sup> Second, we should note the suggestion that families were "prompted" to move to cities by the forces of industrialization. To prompt, according to a standard dictionary, is to "inspire" or to "urge." For the most part, however, families were forced into urban centres by the threat of starvation. Further, we should note the simplistic way in which "the forces of industrialization" are described as a 'prompting' agent. No mention is made of the economic and political hierarchy present during that time which determined that some businessmen were able to use their position to arrogate to themselves grazing lands which had once been held in common. Similarly, readers of this text are given the impression that technology alone has magically created shorter working hours and leisure time. No mention is made anywhere in the text of workers' struggles to win shorter working hours and decent working conditions. One way to make clearer this bias is to phrase an account of the land enclosure act in a form parallel to that found in the above quote on the Magna Carta. Such an account would read as follows:

The businessmen who framed the land enclosure legislation did not have the well-being of the

average 19th century consumer in mind. Rather they were trying to protect their own commercial interests. As factory owners in an hierarchical economic and political structure, they dominated English society at a time when much of England's population consisted of peasants who were being forced off their lands. These conditions did not change appreciably until 1864, when factory workers began to protest their working conditions

When phrased this way, we can see that the 19th century business class posed no less of a threat to the lives of English agricultural labourers than did the medieval nobles to English peasants.

Let us turn now to a comparison of human characteristics in terms of their distribution into the spheres of the marketplace, the workplace, and private life. I attempt here to show a) the placement of reason and emotion in this regard and b) the distribution of joy, creativity, and other aspects of human experience normally considered to be of the highest value. In order to carry out this comparison, all claims describing rational or emotional activity, all claims which state what people ought to do, and all claims which state what most people do, were sorted out of the other compilations, and into the three categories in question here.

As we have seen, the imperative to be rational and to plan rationally is extended by the text to all spheres of life. Further, rationality itself is most strongly identified with the market. Both the work and leisure or private spheres in this text are identified with the seeking of emotional or psychological satisfaction. Work, therefore, is given positive attributes. It is also given negative ones. Unique to the

sphere of conducting oneself during a job interview are the imperatives to have good posture, make eye contact, show enthusiasm, and avoid chewing gum or smoking. Unique to the sphere of maintaining employment are the imperatives to be honest, perform well, and to be professional. As in the earlier text, readers are told explicitly that these are the characteristics desirable in a worker. The worker, in other words, is to behave him/herself.

In this text, as in the last, creativity, joy, and excitement are relegated to private life-either to the family or to leisure activities. For example the text states that "Leisure activities round out your personality" and "awaken you to your hidden talents and interests."<sup>35</sup>

Unique to this text, however, is the association of creativity and excitement with the marketplace itself. For example, readers are told that advertising at its best can be "highly creative, a genuine source of entertainment and fun." Consider also the following quote on the glories of investment.

Watching the stock market can be a fascinating avocation. Prices change daily, and the connection to world and national events is so real and yet so mysterious that watching the market has all the ingredients of a good spy novel. But can you earn a living at it? The answer depends on your skill and your luck.<sup>36</sup>

No other activity is described by the text in such glowing terms. Similarly, the term 'risk' occurs only in relation to entrepreneurship. Employees and private individuals are never said to take risks.

Let us look finally at characteristics attributed by the text to most persons. As seen earlier, this group of claims in the grade 9 text tended in all spheres to be negative in character. Similarly, such claims in this text do not vary from sphere to sphere. In contrast, none of the corresponding statements in this text are derogatory in nature. They do, however, have another common characteristic. They tend in general to emphasize the idea that most persons have a comfortable standard of living which they aspire to improve or maintain. For example, readers are told that most people own cars, radios, and television sets. I shall return to a discussion of this contrast in my comparison of the two textbooks

### Stage Two

### ECONOMICS

This section examines three diagrams describing the economy, and the written text which accompanies them. Two of the diagrams appear in the text, and a third comes from the teachers manual which accompanies the text, where it occurs in the form of a master to be duplicated for students and used in conjunction with the other two.<sup>37</sup> A copy of these is contained in Appendix C. The diagrams are designed, according to the text, to provide students with an overall picture of how the economy works."<sup>38</sup> Although government is represented in the diagrams, I concentrate here on the relationship described between businesses and households. I deal both with the written text which accompanies the drawings and with the diagrams themselves. Let us begin by looking at what is said regarding

households. The following claims accompany the diagrams.

Households own most of the factors of production (much of the labour, capital, and natural resources). Because households desire goods and services, they offer their resources in an attempt to earn income and to gain purchasing power.

The households supply the labour, capital, and natural resources to businesses.

The following claims are made regarding the role of businesses.

The businesses produce goods and services. Their main objective is to earn a profit.

The revenue from the sale of goods and services flows to the businesses to pay for the factors of production such as labour, capital, and natural resources. Profits are what is left to the owners after the costs of production is paid.

Let us look first at the substantive elements in these claims. First we are told that "Households own most of the factors of production..." Is this claim correct? Let us take as an example the forest industry in British Columbia. According to a Royal Commission Report on forest resources in 1978, 17 businesses in British Columbia control 71.2% of the allowable annual cut. In terms of manufacturing capacity, they control 99.6% of the pulp industry and 94% of paper manufacturing.<sup>39</sup> Manufacturing capacity, we should remember, is a crucial form of capital. What sense can we make then, of the claim that households "supply...capital and natural resources to businesses?" Clearly, in terms of natural resources, this misrepresents the effective ownership and control patterns which exist here and within which householders

qua workers and consumers must operate. Secondly, the claim that householders own capital tout court implies that they own as well the means of production, i.e. the tools used in production. This stands in direct contradiction to another part of the text. In the chapter on labour, the text explains the difference between wage labour and contract labour. Sometimes, the text states, a dispute can arise regarding which of these kinds of labour obtains in a particular work situation. Readers are told that should a legal dispute occur over such a situation, the courts would distinguish between these forms of labour by asking: Who supplies the tools? The one who supplies his or her own tools is normally considered a contractor. In a capitalist economy it is generally the lack of ownership of tools, or the means of production, which characterizes most workers. Finally, with respect to finance capital, it is well known that businesses approach banks (i.e. businesses) or government and not householders to secure grants or loans for business expansion.

Second, profits are shown in figure 1-1 as flowing out of businesses and towards the factors of production (which households are presumed to own) and in figure 1-6 as flowing directly to households. If we look at figure 1-6 we see that visually, investment spending is shown as emanating from one part of business, and profits flowing from a separate part towards households. This portrays profits as a kind of payment along with other costs of production, thus contradicting the written text which states that profits are "what is left to the owner after the costs of production are paid." This is

similar to the image presented in the grade 9 text.

Let us turn now to some semantic considerations. I shall examine here the use of the terms 'desire,' 'offer,' 'consumption' and 'production,' and 'own.' As with the earlier text, households are said merely to desire goods and services. The term 'need' is not employed even though the drawing representing goods and services shows a loaf of bread, an item which commonly symbolizes a basic human requirement, i.e., "our daily bread." Similarly, households are said to "offer" their resources in exchange for these objects of 'desire.' As we can see, this in no way represents the absolute necessity either a) of obtaining bread and b) of 'offering' one's resources in order to obtain it, given a lack of access to the tools needed to produce market goods. Further as we can see, the term production is reserved in these diagrams to businesses, and consumption to householders. Again there is no indication that businesses also consume or that householders produce. Finally, the term 'owns' is applied only to households. There is no indication, either in the pictorial or written text that businesses own anything, a misrepresentative view by any standard.

### THE STATE

In contrast to the view of the state presented in the grade 9 text, there are no alarmist claims in this text which portray the state as a threat to the economy or to individual freedom. Thus in relative terms, the account of government found in this text is moderate. Four activities are ascribed by the text to the state. These are maintenance

of regulatory laws within the state, providing a forum for public opinion, regulation of the economy, and military activity. Although I look at all four of these, the in-depth analysis here will focus on the last two. By far the greatest proportion of the text's pronouncements on state activity focus on its regulatory function. Fifty-nine pages (1/6 of the text) are devoted to an explication of consumer law, family law, labour law, tax law and business law. This function is described as both necessary and desirable. For example, in the process of outlining Adam Smith's view of the 'new' world the text states:

Smith recognized the need for government to act as a referee in the marketplace, supplying a set of laws within which the marketplace could operate securely.<sup>40</sup>

The text does not suggest, however, that government participation in, or planning of, the economy itself is both necessary and desirable. Let us examine the text's claims in this regard. I shall examine here three quotes which are representative of the view presented in the text. These are particularly interesting as they each demonstrate an attempt made by the text to present two opposing views on the role of the state vis a vis the marketplace. The first quote is taken from a discussion on post depression attempts on the part of governments to stabilize the economy.

After the experiences of the depression and World War II, Canadians began to believe that it was necessary to strive for several national goals...full employment of resources, stable price levels, high

levels of economic growth, fair distribution of income...To achieve these goals, it was felt that the government should act to support the private sector and override it when necessary to improve the public interest...More than ten years of rising prices and unemployment rates, combined with a major recession, have taken their toll on the postwar consensus. The belief that the government can manipulate the economy and keep it near full employment no longer commands the allegiance it once did. Questions concerning just what the government can and should do are being reassessed in the light of statistics of the 1970's and 80's...The statistics paint a picture of the past and, along with a theoretical view of the world, provide some clues as to how things may operate in the future.<sup>41</sup>

On the surface, this represents a relatively neutral historical account. It is undoubtedly true that the postwar consensus on the matters raised above has been shaken. Implicitly, it also tells readers that there are and have been two sides to this issue. Is this all that we are told in this quote? Let us consider the semantics of the terminology used. Notice, for example, the choice and distribution of epistemological terms. The terms 'belief' and 'felt' are reserved for describing the idea that government can and should attempt to "manipulate" the economy. The opposite view is associated with 'light' and 'statistics.' As seen earlier, statistics are identified by the text with knowledge and rationality. This is supported by the use of the term 'light,' a highly complimentary metaphor, unmatched by anything said regarding the post war consensus. Similarly, we have seen that feeling, represented by the term 'felt,' is not as closely

identified by this text with knowledge, and is entirely separated from rationality where the economy is concerned. The term 'belief,' denoting that something is considered true, also carries with it the implication that this consideration may be misinformed. Similarly, although this 'belief' is said by the text to have once commanded "allegiance" - an ambivalent phrase in terms of epistemology - it is never said to have been supported by rationality (statistics). Finally, notice that although this 'belief,' according to the text, came about for many people as a result of "experiences of the depression," we are told that it is statistics plus theory which paint a picture of the past. Presumably, therefore, experiences and the beliefs which emerge from them do not paint such a picture. Similarly, statistics are said to help provide clues to the future. Experiences, beliefs or feeling are not privileged by the text in this regard.

Consider next the logical structure of this passage. Four national goals are mentioned at the beginning of the passage. At the end of the passage, however, two items are referred to, viz., manipulation of the economy and full employment. Although manipulation of the economy may be acceptable as a substitute for some of the first set of items, it is not made clear by the text which of these it is meant to cover. Full employment is mentioned only implicitly in the first set, i.e. as part of "full employment of resources." Further, nothing is said of "fair distribution of income" in the later part. Thus the class of items referred to at the beginning of this quote shifts in the end to a class not clearly identical to the one originally used. This constitutes,

in logical terms, an informal fallacy. The following quote, also dealing with two schools of thought, represents a stronger example of this kind of fallacy.

The government may also subsidize a commodity or service - that is, provide it at less than cost. Education, agricultural products...and railways are some examples of subsidized goods and services. Subsidization of goods and services is a much debated issue. One school of thought suggests that subsidization is necessary to provide an adequate level of production and availability of a commodity or service. Another group of economic thinkers believes that competition between producers in the marketplace will most effectively lower the end cost of an item.<sup>42</sup>

Where is the necessary connection between providing adequate levels of education, to use the text's own example, and lowering its end cost? One could just as well lower the end cost by providing a less than adequate service. The same is true of agricultural products, which constitute a vital necessity for everyone. Further, who is to decide what counts as adequate in these cases? The implication of the quasi-debate presented in this quote is that the marketplace itself might be capable of making sound decisions with respect to these services. This is an implication which begs the question posed by the other school of thought, viz., how do we assure adequate levels of items such as food and education?

Second, note that the pro-subsidization group is referred to as a "school of thought," whilst the second group is said to consist of

"economic thinkers." Given the syntactical structure and choice of vocabulary used in this quote, it is not clear whether members of the first group are to be counted as economic thinkers. In any case, it is the members of the second group which are most unambiguously identified as economists. Consider this next quote, also describing the two schools of thought on the role of the government vis a vis the economy.

It is hard to divorce ethical principles and the efficient operation of the marketplace in any discussion of the role of government and the expenditure of tax dollars. Few would argue with the government's protection of the environment or administration of a system of justice. It is the extent of government participation in the marketplace that causes political and economic controversy and debate.<sup>43</sup>

The implication here is that the protection of the environment and administration of a system of justice can be carried out without 'participation' in the marketplace. Consider, however, the point made in Stage One regarding the need for business to continually appropriate more natural resources. To counteract this tendency is already to participate in the marketplace. Consider also the concept of a system of justice. Could government administer a system of justice without, for example, interfering with the market's natural tendency to abuse workers or to create a highly unequal distribution of income? We are told in the teacher's manual which accompanies this text that economic education is relevant to all facets of life. Yet as we can see,

students are not invited by this text to consider seriously the relationship between the economy and other aspects of social and political reality.

Although few in number, claims occur in this text which clearly associate the state with military activity. Four references occur, two of which are brief claims which tell us that 'defence' is one of the normal functions of the state. One is a drawing which accompanies the quote to be examined below. Further, the discussion of warfare is entirely informal insofar as it takes place in the context of discussions which formally have nothing to do with warfare. Nevertheless, the quote which I shall examine exhibits a remarkable lack of sensitivity on this subject, and is worth examining. This quote occurs in the context of a discussion on the concept of opportunity costs.

Suppose that a society is at peace and then engages in war. The nation will need to produce more military goods, and that will require more resources in the military industries. Where will the resources come from? Unless there are large amounts of unused natural resources, labour, or capital, the nation will have to take resources out of the production of civilian goods, such as butter, to increase the production of guns. Thus, the opportunity cost of more guns is less butter.<sup>44</sup>

A drawing accompanies this text, showing an automatic rifle lying on the ground next to six solid rectangles, each labelled "butter." Note that this quote constitutes a syllogistic argument. It begins by telling us that warfare requires a reduction in the production of civilian

goods. Second, it tells us that butter is such a good. It concludes by telling us that the opportunity cost of building guns is less butter. However the shift from butter as a civilian good to butter as the opportunity cost constitutes an inappropriate substitution of terminology, making this syllogism invalid. Further, readers are left with the impression that in considering warfare, we need only be concerned about the loss of butter. Undoubtedly one may respond to this criticism by pointing out that the phrase 'guns and butter' is an old and harmless adage, meant purely as a metaphor. It is unlikely, however, that students will see it this way, as it will be new to them. Further, as a metaphor common to our culture it is not harmless. Rather it perpetuates the notion that the act of arming for war represents merely a minor inconvenience.

Finally, let us consider the text's claims regarding the state as a public forum. The assumption, immanent in this text, that there is a consensus on what constitutes economics and economic history, is expressed as well in the text's view of the state as a public forum. "Our parliamentary system," according to the text, "provides a major forum for expressing and promoting common values." Given the text's individualistic bent, it is ironic that in the context of its description of the parliamentary process, it gives no indication whatsoever that parliament can be and frequently is the site of acrimonious battles. "Once elected," readers are told, "representatives enter into a collective decision making process."<sup>45</sup> Students are encouraged by the text to attend a town council meeting in order to see this amicable process for

themselves. This portrayal of government implies first, that public consent to the state's decisions is a given, and second, that there are no major conflicts at the level of the state regarding values. In response to the first point, while it is beyond the normal purview of a Consumer Education textbook to offer an analysis of the concept of public consent or of the general will, to raise the subject at all, and to do so in a way that presents public consent as a given, is highly misleading. In response to the second point, as anyone who follows current events will know, the claim that the state qua public forum is an institution merely for the expression of commonly held values, is false. Implied by the text's view, is the notion that the expression of conflicting, or uncommonly held views has no legitimate place in the public sphere. This represents, in essence, an authoritarian view of the role of the state. On such a view, uncommonly held beliefs are relegated to one's private life, or one's private business. At the level of the state, on the other hand, there is only consensus, i.e., obedience to a given norm.

### WORK

As stated earlier, the chapter on careers is commendable for its thorough discussion of labour law. In this respect it is far superior to the earlier text. In spite of these positive features, however, the text defines workers as a form of capital, i.e., human capital, and in an unexamined way, gives an account of labour as a commodity. In addition, it presents an unrealistically optimistic view of employment opportunities. It is my own view that this combination of elements

may leave readers who later do not find work so easily - or who do not find it at all - with the fatalistic view that they have no one to blame but themselves. The analysis here will focus first on the notion of human capital as articulated by the text, and second on the text's optimism regarding work opportunities.

The economic view described above provides, according to the text, the framework for understanding labour itself. In describing Adam Smith's theory the text states: "In a free market system, workers compete to sell their labour." Regulation by competition, we are told, also determines distribution in that "those whose talents and products find success in the marketplace are those who will gain purchasing power in the form of income."<sup>46</sup> As there is no reference in the text to any other way of distributing monetary reward, one is inclined to assume that its authors consider this way to be entirely adequate. In turn, this seems to suggest that the labour market is seen by the authors to create a natural meritocracy. It also echoes the view of labour as a commodity found in the grade 9 text. It must be remembered, however, that throughout history there have been many talented individuals whose accomplishments we now appreciate, but whose work in their own lifetime did not find success in the marketplace. Writers and composers typically fit into this category. Contrary to what appears to be suggested by the text, it is not clear that the workings of the marketplace are to be trusted to determine such distribution fairly.

The concept of human capital is articulated by the text in a number

of ways. I focus here on a graph presented in the chapter on careers which plots age against real earnings, both for those engaged mainly in physical labour and those doing mental labour.<sup>47</sup> Formally, the purpose of the graph is to show at what point in their respective careers these two sorts of workers' earnings peak. At the left hand side of the graph, labelled 18 years of age, is a profile drawing of a young looking face, smiling and looking up. At the other end, labelled 65 years of age and beyond is another face, old and wrinkled. This face is looking downwards, and the corners of the mouth are downturned, giving the face an unmistakably sad-looking expression. At the top right hand side appear the words "Mental human capital." This is intended to label the higher of the two curves plotted on this graph. Similarly, at the bottom right hand side are the words "Physical human capital." Readers are told that "those who use primarily physical human capital" are likely to find that their incomes peak earlier than do their 'mental' counterparts. According to the text accompanying the graph, "Incomes for both types of individuals gradually decrease from the peak until retirement, around the age of 65."

Aside from the formal information provided by this graph, it tells us a number of other things. First, it represents a presupposition that it is appropriate to consider people qua workers as a form of capital, to be bought and sold in the marketplace. Second, it represents an unquestioning acceptance of a sharp division between physical and mental labour. This is emphasized by the use of the phrase: "both

types of individuals," which seems to suggest that people are naturally divisible into these two types. Third, the contrast between the two drawn faces communicates the idea that both youth and optimism are inevitably used up in the labour process. Let us look next at the text's optimism regarding work opportunities.

To set the tone for the chapter on careers, the 'neighbourhood capsule' which opens the chapter describes a conversation between two young high school graduates. One has found an interesting job and the other is discouraged after a lengthy but unsuccessful job search. He is depressed as well because he has broken up with his girlfriend. The successful young man counsels him to be more organized in his job search technique, and to be more patient. The capsule ends on a light note, with the successful young man offering not only to help his friend with his job search but also to introduce him to a new young woman. The message, thus, is that good jobs (and perhaps mates as well) inevitably come to those who are organized in their job search. This message also occurs in a more explicit form. According to the text: "You may apply at a dozen or more places and have almost as many interviews, but one day you will finally get a job offer."<sup>48</sup> Readers are also told that it is mainly the 'baby boom' generation which experiences "stiff competition for jobs."<sup>49</sup> How realistic is this outlook?

According to Statistics Canada's unemployment figures for British Columbia both for the year 1983 and 1984 (the years when this text was being written), there were 23,000 people between the ages of 15

and 19 who were unemployed.<sup>50</sup> As is commonly known, these figures tend to be conservative, since there are always people who are unemployed but not officially registered as such. Second, of those who are eventually offered a job, many remain under-employed or employed at something they do not enjoy doing. Given such figures, it is likely that many graduates will have difficulty finding work, and some will not find work at all. Further, if they accept unquestioningly the concepts of the individualistic market society and of workers as human capital, they will be left with no way to conceive of alternatives to their predicament. Nor will they be able to analyze the economic structure within which these unemployment figures occur. The text makes no mention of worker co-operatives, worker control, profit sharing, job sharing or any other co-operative measures adopted by other nations to deal with unemployment. No mention is made of socialist or even corporatist approaches to work. Thus ironically, although the text appears to promote an optimistic view, it may in the end leave many of its readers with a highly pessimistic, self-blaming outlook, with nowhere to turn for a creative way out.

#### COMPARISON OF TEXTS

Thus far we have seen that both texts stress individualism, competition and free enterprise economics. Both tend to be a-historical in their views of consumer sensibility, and ethno-centric in their views of history and society. Both tend as well to emphasize a more or less radical separation of reason and emotion, both in terms of decision-making and in terms of the spheres of life to which each are

said to belong. Finally, both tend to be insensitive to the coercive nature of capitalist economics, and thus present an ideological view of socio-economic power relations. As a result, they do not invite readers to examine critically the social and economic reality about which they are nevertheless expected to develop some expertise.

We have seen as well that the texts vary significantly in some areas, perhaps most notably in their discussions of work. In this section I examine further some of these differences. This comparison is carried out with particular reference a) to the different readerships addressed by each text and b) to the way in which the difference in readership manifests itself in what is said to grade 9 and grade 11 readers respectively. As seen earlier, the grade 9 text was developed with a special concern for students who were likely to leave school early - perhaps as early as grade 10. Through interviews with Ministry of Education personnel, it was determined that this orientation was the cause of some concern to the text's authors, since the language in the text had to be simple enough to suit potential drop-outs, who are frequently among the poorer readers. At the same time, the text had to be written at close to a grade 9 level. The resulting text, according to the ministry, is a compromise. The grade 11 text was not so oriented. It thus contains a much higher proportion of technical information on economics and law. As opposed to the grade 9 course, which comes across as a life-skills course, the grade 11 material more closely resembles an attempt at economics education. This comparison is informed mainly by a question which I began to

formulate in the process of analyzing the texts. That question is: Is there evidence to support the contention that the grade 9 text implicitly addresses a readership which is expected eventually to become part of a low-income socio-economic class in relation to the corresponding grade 11 readership? That is, are they being addressed in a way which encourages them to accept a relatively low socio-economic status?

In order to address this question I look first at the difference in the subject matter addressed by each text. A thorough examination of such differences was made first by referring back to the analyses of the texts and second, by comparing carefully both the glossaries and indexes of each text. Second, I compare lists of passages from each text which refer in any way to economic status, or economic differences between persons or groups. Examples here are passages which contain phrases such as "wealthy people," "if your budget is limited," "for low-income families," etc. They also include implicit or explicit definitions of poverty or inequality offered by the texts. As a subset of these, I examine as well sets of passages from each text which state what most people want, do, or ought to want or do. An example here is: "Almost everyone considers purchasing a home at some point in his or her life."<sup>51</sup> This second set of passages will be referred to below as 'set B.' Throughout, I shall be especially concerned to look at what is said in each text regarding the acquisition of necessities, i.e., of food, clothing and shelter.

First, as we have already seen, there is a substantial difference in

their respective approaches to the subject of work. The grade 11 text contains a 36 page chapter on careers, which deals extensively with workers rights, and with important subjects such as career counselling and vocational testing. It also lists a wide range of possible careers and typical salaries to be expected. Finally, it takes a positive view of union activity. In contrast, the grade 9 text devotes 6 pages to work, set within a chapter entitled "Managing Your Money." This chapter focusses mainly on encouraging readers to budget carefully. No information is given on workers' rights or career counselling, and the text's one and only reference to union activity is not positive. Finally, the grade 9 text offers an ideological definition of the division of labour, viz., that the latter consists of the 'assignment' of jobs to those best able to do them. This definition has a punitive character, since it tends to encourage self-blame in those who are 'assigned' poor jobs. No such definition is given in the grade 11 text. What does this difference signify? In part, it is probably a function of the age of the student being addressed. Possibly the grade 9 text intends mainly to inform students about part-time jobs which can be held whilst attending school. This being said, however, we must remember that the course is also addressed to students who will be leaving school early, and who will thus soon have to seek full-time, permanent work. For these students, this course is a poor preparation both for seeking interesting kinds of work and for self-defence in the labour market. It is possible, therefore, that this difference reflects, in part, an implicit intention to prepare such students for work-possibly

non-union work-which will be relatively low paying and unfulfilling.

In comparing the glossaries and indexes in these texts, it was found that another significant difference between them is the scope of their respective coverage of consumer rights and responsibilities. In the grade 9 text, this subject is covered in 5 pages. Upon inspecting these pages, we find that the last two and a half pages of this section are devoted to telling students that they ought to be polite and honest in their dealings with businesses, and the last page is devoted exclusively to a discussion of shoplifting, vandalism, and the criminal code. Readers are warned that these may be treated as indictable offences, and told that committing such crimes may leave them with a criminal record. In contrast, the subject of rights and responsibilities is covered in 22 pages of the grade 11 text. This section deals with various aspects of contract law, and does not even mention criminal activity. Again, this difference may in part reflect the age of the student being addressed. If this is so, it still remains true that the majority of grade 9 students aimed at in the above described discussion are probably those already on the verge of dropping out. It is interesting that although there must be a number of grade 11 students also on the fringes, and occasionally engaging in petty crime, it was not deemed necessary to offer them a discussion on shoplifting and vandalism. In summary, this section in the grade 9 text is decidedly more punitive in character than the corresponding section of the grade 11 text.

How do the texts compare on the subject of inequality? In

examining their respective claims on this subject, one sees that the grade 9 text is in general more direct in its claims regarding inequality. For example, it offers a definition of poverty whereas the grade 11 text does not. Further, it contains a greater number of statements which refer explicitly to economic differences. Specifically, the grade 9 text contains 17 passages which explicitly refer to inequality, whereas the grade 11 text, in spite of its greater length, contains only 5. Let us examine the definition offered in the grade 9 text. This occurs in the context of a discussion of advertising, and reads as follows.

The root cause of financial hardship or misuse of income is often the feeling that one must identify with the peer group, a feeling reinforced by ads. Another root cause of financial hardship is impulse buying, again something urged by ads.<sup>52</sup>

Notice first that this passage invites the reader to see 'misuse of income' as a synonym for financial hardship. Reinforcing this identification is the idea that the root cause is often the desire to keep up with one's peer group, i.e., the desire to buy what they have bought, and thus misuse one's income. We should note as well that in the first sentence, the phrase "is often" is so placed that it holds a very weak position relative to the opening phrase "The root cause." As a result, the latter becomes the dominant concept. This is reinforced by the phrase "Another root cause," which opens the following sentence. Readers are thus invited, I suggest, to think of misuse of income, peer identification and impulse buying (a form of misuse of income) as the

root causes of financial hardship. This is a highly punitive definition. It may lead readers whose families experience financial hardship to assume that this condition is due, at its root, to their parents' inability to handle their finances. It may also lead their more fortunate classmates to view them as blameworthy for their financial situation. It is also a question-begging definition, since it is entirely possible that living in a continual state of financial hardship discourages people from embarking upon long-term planning. There is nothing in the grade 11 text which corresponds either to this definition or to the harsh tone in which this quote is written.

In examining the other claims in this set of passages, what is most noticeable is the relative directness with which the grade 9 text addresses the fact that some people can afford less than others. Let us examine, for example, statements made in each text on the subject of budgeting for food.

(Grade 9) By looking at weekly grocery store advertising, you may be able to include on the [shopping] list...purchases that will allow you to buy foods that you regularly use in advance...at a lower price. This may not be possible for some families because they have not provided enough flexibility in their budget, or because they simply cannot afford it.<sup>53</sup>

(Grade 9) The cost of meat is one of the main reasons that consumers have less to spend on other foods. Meat is a protein food that is often eaten in quantities greater than the average person's requirements. This protein may be obtained from

other foods, such as eggs, fish, poultry and milk products.<sup>54</sup>

(Grade 11)...if your budget is limited, you may have to make lifestyle adjustments to eat well without incurring additional costs. A balanced meal with a meat portion, salad and vegetable is often cheaper and more nutritious than its prepackaged or restaurant equivalent. However, this type of meal takes longer to prepare and presupposes your understanding of basic cooking principles.<sup>55</sup>

Notice the direct reference in the first quote to 'simply' not being able to afford certain kinds of pre-planning. This kind of claim has no equivalent in the grade 11 text. Notice as well that in the grade 9 text readers are encouraged to save money by fore-going meat, whereas in the grade 11 text readers are encouraged to economize by buying meat and fore-going restaurants and pre-packaged foods, and by learning to cook.

A similar difference can be observed in the text's discussions of clothing. For example, readers of the grade 9 text are told that there are varying levels of quality in clothing partially in order "to meet the needs of all economic levels of society."<sup>56</sup> No such information is given in the other text. On the other hand, the grade 11 text contains a discussion on the purchasing of gold jewelry and precious stones. If we compare the charts in each text which show readers how to take an inventory of their wardrobes, we see that the grade 11 text lists, jewelry and other potentially costly items. These do not appear in the grade 9 text. Compare finally the following claims, each of which

occurs on the page introducing Chapter One of the two texts respectively. In the grade 9 text readers are told: "Factors such as age, sex, income, social environment and individual preferences affect each consumer's needs, wants, and decisions." In contrast to this the grade 11 text opens with the following question: "Did you know that even wealthy people have to deal with the problem of scarcity?"<sup>57</sup> The first sentence represents a relatively straightforward claim which states, among other things, that differences in income are a factor in determining consumer decisions. In contrast, the second statement reads like an apologetic for the well-to-do. In summary, the grade 9 text is both more straightforward and more punitive in its claims referring to low-income groups, than is the grade 11 text. This is seen both by the number of claims which make direct references to having a low income, and also by what is said by the texts on this subject. Let us look next at claims which state what most people do or want.

As seen in the earlier stages of this analysis, this set of statements in the grade 9 text tended in general to cast consumers in a rather negative light. Grade 9 readers were told that in general, consumers tend to be uninformed in relation to business, and to grumble unreasonably about prices. Thus these statements tend also to be punitive in character insofar as they represent an indirect form of chastisement. The corresponding claims in the grade 11 text on the other hand, made no such derogatory comments, but instead tended to describe consumers as living in or aspiring to a comfortable lifestyle. A further observation we can make is that among the set B claims in

the grade 9 text, 5 state explicitly that few people have enough money to satisfy all their needs and wants. This suggests that some people may have enough, which is a fair assumption. No set B claims from the grade 11 text make this claim although as seen above, readers are told that even the wealthy experience scarcity. Here again, the grade 9 text is the more straightforward in its articulation of the reality of class differences. Of particular interest in this set of passages is a comparison of the discussion in each text of seeking shelter. Consider the following passages on the subject of co-operative housing.

(Grade 9) More and more people are combining their efforts to finance the purchase of housing. Some have formed co-operatives...this may be the means to obtain affordable housing.<sup>58</sup>

(Grade 11) Another home owner who does not have a fee simple interest is the owner of a cooperative...Because cooperative owners do not have a fee simple title, they may find it difficult to sell their share...when it comes time to move. Many financial institutions do not like to give a new purchaser a mortgage for this type of ownership...Another...type of cooperative is the nonprofit cooperative...Because these cooperatives are nonprofit, owners must resell their shares to the cooperative association and cannot make a profit on this resale.<sup>59</sup>

It seems clear that the grade 9 text is more encouraging towards the idea of co-operative housing. Similarly, readers of the grade 11 text are told that in spite of rising real estate prices in the 1980's, "If

buyers are willing to choose smaller, less luxurious housing, owning can be affordable."<sup>60</sup> The text suggests choosing a house with fewer bathrooms and an unfinished basement. They are also told that almost everyone considers purchasing a house at some point in his or her life.<sup>61</sup> Although the grade 9 text contains a brief discussion on house-buying (2 pages as opposed to 12 in the grade 11 text), it makes no statements equivalent to those quoted above.

What can we conclude from such differences? We see first that there is a difference in the level of expense which readers of the respective texts are expected to be able to bear in the future. To this extent, it appears that in part, the texts are addressing readerships presumed to be in, or to be heading for, different income brackets. Second, as we have seen, the grade 9 text appears to be written in a sometimes punitive tone, missing from the other text. This tone is reflected as well, I suggest, in this text's negative claims regarding emotions. Although this broad style of theorizing may in part be a function of an effort on the part of the authors to speak to a younger readership, it may also reflect an implicit intention to impose a particular kind of discipline on a class of students destined to form a part of the lower levels of the socio-economic hierarchy.

As seen in Chapter One, radical theorists have found that in general, discipline in schools serving working class districts have tended to be harsh and punitive in comparison to discipline in schools located in middle or upper class districts. This difference, they have argued, is functional in a capitalist economy insofar as it prepares

students largely headed for manual labour or factory work for the harsh discipline of that kind of workplace. Although both texts clearly aim to prepare students for an unquestioned acceptance of a capitalist economy, it may be that the relatively harsh tone in which the grade 9 text is written represents an example of this functional relationship. This is not, I should add, a suggestion that either the authors or the editors of the grade 9 text had such a purpose in mind. Rather it is a suggestion that within the capitalist system, certain groups of students tend naturally to be sifted into less fortunate social positions, causing them to adopt certain kinds of behaviour patterns - of which poor academic achievement, dropping out of school, and perhaps engaging in petty crime are examples. In relation to this, the system responds by imposing harsh measures, thus perpetuating the cycle. In such a system, few people have a clear perception of the forces working on them. As I have argued, neither of the texts examined above have much to offer in terms of contributing to a clearer perception in this regard.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Don R. Leet and Joan Driggers, Economic Decisions for Canadian Consumers (Markham, Ontario: Wadsworth Publishers of Canada, Ltd., 1984), p. V.

<sup>2</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 12.

<sup>8</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 14.

<sup>9</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 199.

<sup>11</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 144.

<sup>12</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 145.

<sup>13</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. V.

<sup>12</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 11.

<sup>15</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 9.

<sup>16</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 57.

- 17 Leet and Driggers, p. 217.
- 18 Leet and Driggers, p. 87.
- 19 Leet and Driggers, p. 38.
- 20 Websters' 9th new Collegiate Dictionary (Thomas Allen and Son, Ltd.), p. 1303.
- 21 Leet and Driggers, p. 38.
- 22 Leet and Driggers, p. 201.
- 23 Leet and Driggers, p. 329.
- 24 Leet and Driggers, p. 51.
- 25 Leet and Driggers, p. 17.
- 26 Leet and Driggers, p. 144.
- 27 Leet and Driggers, p. 81.
- 28 Leet and Driggers, p. 6.
- 29 Leet and Driggers, p. 11.
- 30 Leet and Driggers, p. 9.
- 31 Leet and Driggers, p. 52.
- 32 Leet and Driggers, p. 52.
- 33 Leet and Driggers, p. 374.
- 34 Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time (Beacon Hill, Boston: Beacon Press,

1957), pp. 64-67.

<sup>35</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 374.

<sup>36</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 90.

<sup>37</sup> Ken Miscisco and Len Boyko, Teachers' Manual for Leet and Driggers: Economic Decisions for Canadian Consumers (Markham, Ontario: Wadsworth Publishers of Canada, Ltd., 1984), Chapter 1, Transparency Master 1-2.

<sup>38</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 9.

<sup>39</sup> Patricia Marchak, Green Gold: The Forest Industry in British Columbia (University of British Columbia Press, 1983), p. 84.

<sup>40</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 10.

<sup>41</sup> Leet and Driggers, pp. 28-30.

<sup>42</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 307.

<sup>43</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 319.

<sup>44</sup> Leet and Driggers, P. 6.

<sup>45</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 39.

<sup>46</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 10.

<sup>47</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 331.

<sup>48</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 341.

<sup>49</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 330.

<sup>50</sup> Statistics Canada

<sup>51</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 280.

<sup>52</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 14.

<sup>53</sup> John C. Wood, Looking at the Consumer (Gage Publishing Ltd., 1982), p. 146.

<sup>54</sup> Wood, p. 150.

<sup>55</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 222.

<sup>56</sup> Wood, p. 117.

<sup>57</sup> Leet and Driggers, opposite to page one, not numbered.

<sup>58</sup> Wood, p. 265.

<sup>59</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 284.

<sup>60</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 296.

<sup>61</sup> Leet and Driggers, p. 280.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### The Trivialization of Democracy

This study has explored the tensions between capitalism and democracy as reflected through the theory and practice of public schooling in North America. In particular, it has focussed on how the school curriculum, as an agent of political socialization, seeks to resolve these tensions. I began in chapter one by identifying two competing schools of liberal democratic thought. Both schools took capitalism as given. The developmental school, which informed the work of educational reformers, embodied an ethical commitment to social and political equality. This was to be brought about by extending education (development) to all sectors of society. Implicit in this view was a faith in the ability of the average citizen to become an active, enlightened political participant. The elitist school, represented by Joseph Schumpeter, abandoned the commitment to equality and thus to citizen education. It abandoned as well the faith in the average citizen. Within the development model, citizens were seen as exerters and producers. By engaging actively in state affairs, they sharpened their capabilities, and perfected the democratic system. Within the elitist model, citizens were seen merely as consumers in a political marketplace. It was the elites who exercised expertise in defining the political issues. As we have seen, it is this second model which is dominant today. Although both models suffer from the failure to address the effects of capitalism on the ability of

individuals to make meaningful choices, it is clear that in terms of their stated goals, the second model is a hollow and trivialized version of the first. It is empty of moral content, and advances a passive concept of citizenship.

Given the historical tension between producer and consumer versions of liberal democracy, and the radical critique of schooling as a promoter of social passivity, I was particularly interested in examining a public school course which explicitly called itself Consumer Education. We saw in Chapter Two that the democratic rhetoric about the creation of this course masked an elitist political process. The analysis of the textbook in Chapters 3 and 4 sought to expose the concept of democracy implicit in the course material itself. As we have seen, Consumer Education was ostensibly designed to empower students in relation to the marketplace and to the community of which they are members. This was to have been achieved in a practical fashion by teaching the skills of budgeting and comparison shopping, and by warning students of the common traps to be encountered in the everyday activities of buying, renting and selling. In so doing, it was to teach as well, in the words of the curriculum guide, the broader skills of "critical observation" and "intelligent inquiry" needed in order to make "sound decisions." Consumer education, states the guide, is a life-long process of learning to analyze, synthesize and evaluate information. So stated, these are goals that no proponent of democracy and liberty could dispute, for they assert implicitly the right of future citizens to exercise

sovereignty within their community. Further, they assert the right of citizens to be free in their mode of self-expression through the exercise of choice. By all definitions, these are the basic tenets of an egalitarian and developmental concept of liberal democracy.

Terms such as 'individual,' 'community,' 'critical observation,' 'intelligent inquiry,' and 'decision,' however, do not admit of a simple and universal interpretation. Rather, they must be interpreted within a conceptual framework which imparts to them not only a set of cognitive meanings but also a set of moral values. For we still must ask the prior question: What is it that constitutes an individual or a community, and over what sorts of issues can one effectively exercise choice? Even an authoritarian state will allow some exercise of individual choice based upon critical observation and the evaluation of information. Thus, like the concept of democracy, such broad goals are interpretable within an elitist framework. That is, they are interpretable within a framework which is democratic in a trivial way only. It is this crucial (if on retrospect obvious) point which seems to have all but completely escaped the view of those most deeply involved in the debates which the advent of Consumer Education engendered. As a result, debates concerning its possible effects upon students and teachers have remained shallow.

That the stated goals for Consumer Education admit of an elitist, undemocratic interpretation follows from another point implicit in this study, viz., that those elements which comprise a world-view do so simultaneously in relation to economics and politics. Concepts of

history, knowledge, human nature and the state are implicit in any theory of economics. Of necessity they create as well the moral and political space in which individuals co-operate. They not only stake out a role for the state, but establish as well an hierarchy of values which dictates the standards by which all actions are to be measured. It is impossible thus to teach economic theory without at the same time teaching politics. That Consumer Education was put forward as a non-political course is a living expression of the dualism of economics and politics adopted by educational reformers, mainstream students of political socialization, and of the texts themselves.

Given the co-extensiveness of economics and politics, I sought to discover the concept of democracy implicit in the Consumer Education textbooks by bringing to light the world-view which they adopt. Only in this way could we interpret correctly the goals for the course offered in the curriculum guides. Since it was not obvious upon a brief perusal of the textual material what kind viewpoint was being presented, I analyzed the material in terms of the most elementary components of a world-view, viz., ontology/history, epistemology, human nature, society, and the state. Throughout the analysis it was my aim to show that the view adopted by the texts was indeed elitist and thus undemocratic. It will be useful at this point to summarize these findings.

As we have seen, both texts are explicit in adopting a market concept of society. They stress heavily the notion of individualism and competition. In an a-historical fashion, they suggest that the

desire for consumption associated with contemporary Canadian society is 'natural' and thus characteristic of all humankind. In so doing, they develop a conceptual framework which structures out questions regarding the origins of our particular culture and of possible alternative value structures. This has implications which go both forward and backward in time. In terms of the future, it tends to breed a parochialism which is insensitive to the impact of Western dominance over other cultures. In terms of the past, it encourages a facile understanding of human history.

One of the most fundamental concepts we carry around with us is our sense of what Fernand Braudel has called the long duree, our interpretation of historical time. It is in relation to this sense that we develop the value structure through which we interpret as progressive or retrogressive the activities characteristic of our society.<sup>1</sup> If, for example, we see Western capitalism and technology as a culmination of a long and progressive historical process, this has clear implications for how we choose to deal with societies which are less advanced technologically. It has implications as well for our treatment of citizens within western society. For if the height of historical progress is identical both with technology and with capitalism as the economic system which gave it birth, then the subordination of workers to the requisites of the marketplace is both rational and necessary. As we have seen, this is in effect the position adopted in the texts. In examining their epistemological outlook, we saw that it is the marketplace which is presented as rational. It is the

consumer, or person, whose penchant for emotion makes him/her weak in comparison. The economy becomes primary, and people secondary. They are portrayed, in fact, as a burden on business. Further, emotion and thus joy and, for the most part, creativity are relegated to one's private leisure activities. They are not characteristic, therefore, of one's role in production. They belong only to the act of consumption. One's role in relation to production thus remains passive. Similarly, one's role in relation to consumption remains passive.

This is a dualism, thus, which is an integral element in the fostering of passivity in relation to production. In fostering passivity, it supports and perpetuates the unequal power relations implicit in the relation between the passive worker or consumer and those few who do exercise some sovereignty over what is produced for consumption. Thus in the guise of fostering critical observation and intelligent inquiry, Consumer Education tends to limit these to a narrow and ultimately trivial set of issues. One might choose to work for this or that company (providing that there is work) but not what will be produced, for whose benefit and with what overall social and environmental effects. As we have seen, the notion of consumer sovereignty in capitalist society proclaimed by the texts is illusory. We have seen as well that the texts' references to social and environmental issues are window dressing at best.

As it deals directly with the economy, a course such as Consumer Education must, more obviously than many other courses, attempt to

resolve the tensions inherent in capitalism for students. One cannot raise the issue of spending without implicitly touching upon economic inequality. Where this issue is raised explicitly in the texts, we have seen that responsibility for economic disadvantage is placed entirely on the shoulders of the disadvantaged individual. Similarly, one cannot teach the art of decision-making without delineating the boundaries of the subject matter appropriate to decision-making. This last point stands out in stark relief in reviewing the process by which Consumer Education was brought to British Columbia. Implemented as a result of a direct cabinet order, the 'decisions' left open to those citizens upon whose training and good judgement we depend to educate our youth, concerned at best, the grade levels at which, and perhaps a choice of additional materials with which, the course would be taught. This represents an analogue of the narrow and ultimately trivial kind of decision-making advanced by the texts. "For better or worse," states the grade 11 text, "we Canadians live in a mixed economy."<sup>2</sup> The idea that an economy is something which people create and which they might decide to rethink is entirely screened out.

It is argued by Christopher Lasch that one can trace, from the early 1950's, a gradual trivialization of school curricula in North America. Concomitantly, one can trace a decline in academic standards at all levels of public education.<sup>3</sup> Certainly, the curriculum we have been examining is trivial and on that account, fundamentally unchallenging to students. Contemporary capitalist society promotes the notion of

the consumer, both at the level of economics and politics. Given this reality, Lasch's claims raise the question of whether within such a society, citizens capable of critical thought are likely to be encouraged by any public institution. Where capitalism requires consumer/workers who are not given to inquiry, such inquiry is likely to be discouraged by schools. By the same token, the version of 'democracy' fostered thereby will remain hollow.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> David Gross, "Temporality and the Modern State," in Theory and Society. 14: 2, 1985, pp. 53-82.

<sup>2</sup> Don R. Leet and Joan Driggers, Economic Decisions for Canadian Consumers. (Markham, Ontario: Wadsworth Publishers of Canada, Ltd., 1984), p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Christopher Lasch, The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Declining Expectations. (Warner Books, 1979), Chapter 6.

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Appendix AList of Interviewees

1. Cameron, Ian. Assistant director of curriculum development at the Ministry of Education, Summer, 1985.
2. Clazie, John. High School teacher at Mount Douglas Secondary School. October 6, 1986.
3. Jones, Donna. Victoria School Trustee, January 13, 1987.
4. Kuehn, Larry. Researcher for British Columbia Teachers' Federation, December, 1986 and January, 1987.
5. McQuade, Alice. Editor of the BC Business Educators' magazine for 1981-1984, January 8, 1987.
6. Matthews, Becky. General advisor for Consumer Education, Ministry of Education, Curriculum Development. January 13, 1987.
7. Ornes, Norman. Executive member of the Administrators' Provincial Specialists' Association, January 6, 1987.
8. Overgaard, Bob. Director of Curriculum Development at the Ministry of Education in 1981, January 15, 1987.
9. Pickup, Carol. Victoria School Trustee in 1981, January 14, 1987.
10. Russow, Joan. Victoria parent. Ms. Russow attended the course on Consumer Education given for credit at UBC in 1982.
11. Smith, Brian. Minister of Education 1979-1982, September 29, 1986.
12. Walsh, John. Ministry of Education, February, 1987. Mr. Walsh accompanied Mr. Smith on his 1980 provincial tour.

13. Wilkinson, Brian. Director of Consumer Education at the Ministry of Consumer and Corporate Affairs. He assisted in writing and editing parts of the texts, January 7, 1987.

14. Zylmans, Adriana. Ms. Zylmans teaches Consumer Education in Surrey, B.C., and was seconded by the Ministry of Education in 1981 to supervise the editing and rewriting of both Consumer Education textbooks.

APPENDIX BSurvey of Teacher Opinions1. General Comments

I originally sent questionnaires to all high schools in 25 of the 91 school districts in B.C. To distribute questionnaires in any district one must first obtain written permission from the district supervisor. Of the 25 supervisors to which I wrote, only 17 responded. One said "no," and one responded too late for this particular survey. That left 15 districts. These are listed below. In general the response rate was low. There were only 69 responses in all. It is difficult to tell exactly how many teachers at any given time teach this course, as it tends to be assigned to teachers on the basis of their timetable. Thus in one school 1 or 2 teachers may teach it, and in another of the same size, 3 or more may each teach one class. According to the director of consumer education at the Ministry of Corporate and Consumer Affairs, who regularly travels about the province giving workshops to teachers on various consumer-related topics, there are about 1000-1200 Consumer Education teachers in the province. Since the 15 districts from which I have responses include most of the largest districts, I estimate that the 69 responses received are out of a possible 400-500. This is a 14-17% response rate. There is no reason, however, to assume that these responses are unrepresentative. In general, few teachers find a great deal of fault with the course. This agrees with information gleaned from my interview with Alice McQuade (BC Business Educators representative). I had initially intended to sort the results by grade level, but given the small number of responses, I have combined the grade levels. The choice of districts reflects an attempt to get even geographical distribution. Pins on a map were used to check the distribution.

2. School Districts: Distribution of Responses N=69

|                        |   |       |
|------------------------|---|-------|
| Burnaby (#41)          | 6 | 8.7%  |
| Burns Lake (#55)       | 1 | 1.4%  |
| Campbell River (#72)   | 2 | 2.9%  |
| Central Okanagan (#23) | 9 | 13.1% |
| Coquitlam (#43)        | 4 | 5.8%  |

|                     |     |       |
|---------------------|-----|-------|
|                     | 207 |       |
| Fernie (#1)         | 1   | 1.4%  |
| Fort Nelson (#81)   | 1   | 1.4%  |
| Gold River (#84)    | 1   | 1.4%  |
| Golden (#18)        | 1   | 1.4%  |
| Prince George (#57) | 2   | 2.9%  |
| Prince Rupert (#52) | 1   | 1.4%  |
| Richmond (#38)      | 9   | 13.1% |
| Terrace (#88)       | 2   | 2.9%  |
| Vancouver (#39)     | 19  | 27.6% |
| Victoria (#61)      | 9   | 13.1% |
|                     | 69  | 98.5% |

### Responses to Questionnaire

1. a) To what extent do you focus on the basic texts?

N=69

|                 |    |       |
|-----------------|----|-------|
| No Response     | 1  | 1.4%  |
| Almost entirely | 3  | 4.3%  |
| Mostly          | 29 | 42.0% |
| Fair amount     | 23 | 33.3% |
| Not much        | 13 | 18.8% |
|                 | 69 | 99.8% |

1. b) Comments N=69

This was an open ended question. I have categorized the responses.

|                               |    |       |
|-------------------------------|----|-------|
| No Response                   | 21 | 30.4% |
| Excellent                     | 7  | 10.1% |
| Useful/Quite Good             | 2  | 2.9%  |
| A little short on information | 14 | 20.3% |

|                             |    |       |
|-----------------------------|----|-------|
| Very short on information   | 21 | 30.4% |
| Biased toward business      | 1  | 1.4 % |
| Not appropriate for grade 9 | 1  | 1.4 % |
| Too simplistic              | 2  | 2.9 % |
|                             | 69 | 99.8% |

**2. What parts of the text do you consider most important and why?**

This question was badly phrased. I wanted to know what subject matter was stressed. However a number of people responded by saying, eg. they stressed the questions at the end of the chapters. I list here only those who mention specific subjects. The categories will overlap here, as most responses mention more than one topic. N=69

|                             |    |       |
|-----------------------------|----|-------|
| No Response                 | 29 | 42.0% |
| Economics                   | 13 | 8.8%  |
| Credit                      | 11 | 15.9% |
| Careers/Jobs                | 8  | 11.6% |
| Budeting/Investing/Banking  | 15 | 21.7% |
| Shopping Skills             | 3  | 4.4%  |
| law                         | 3  | 4.4%  |
| Consumer Protection         | 3  | 4.4%  |
| Taxes                       | 2  | 2.9%  |
| Rights and Responsibilities | 1  | 1.4%  |
| Health                      | 2  | 2.9%  |

**3. Do you employ other materials in teaching this course?** This question is divided into 2 sections. Section one asks about materials produced by the Ministry, BCTF, and other non-business sources. I specifically ask about a book by J. Miller, which reflects a more

traditional liberal political viewpoint than one finds in the texts. I also ask about a booklet by B. Carrie, produced by the BCTF. Section 2 asks about the use of privately produced materials, i.e. materials from businesses. The categories overlap.

a) Non-private Materials N=69

|                                |    |       |
|--------------------------------|----|-------|
| No Response                    | 3  | 4.3%  |
| Miller                         | 12 | 17.4% |
| Carrie                         | 1  | 1.4   |
| Consumer and Corporate Affairs | 13 | 18.8% |
| Consumer Reports               | 8  | 11.6% |
| Consumers' Association of BC   | 6  | 8.7%  |
| Other Textbooks                | 12 | 17.4% |
| I.C.B.C. material              | 6  | 8.7%  |
| Canada Manpower                | 1  | 1.4%  |
| The Law Society                | 4  | 5.8%  |
| Workers Compensation           | 2  | 2.9%  |
| None                           | 5  | 7.3%  |

a) Business Materials N=69

|                          |    |       |
|--------------------------|----|-------|
| No Response              | 7  | 10.1% |
| Banks (School kits)      | 37 | 53.6% |
| Project Business         | 10 | 14.5% |
| Business Magazines       | 5  | 7.3%  |
| Vancouver Stock Exchange | 6  | 8.7%  |
| None                     | 8  | 11.6% |

4. Do you employ films or video presentations? This was the least useful question because I did not in the end have enough time to view the materials prepared by the Media Centre. Further, few people gave specific titles, and many said they were too numerous to list. N=69

|             |    |       |
|-------------|----|-------|
| No Response | 5  | 7.3%  |
| No          | 10 | 4.5%  |
| Yes         | 54 | 78.3% |

5. What, in your opinion are the course's weakest and strongest points? This question was specifically intended to discover whether teachers found the course material biased in any way. As seen above, one person responded to question 1. by saying that they were too business oriented. He repeated the claim in response to this question. Again, this was an open ended question and I have categorized the statements.

a) Strongest points N=69

|  |    |       |
|--|----|-------|
| No Response  | 2  | 2.9%  |
| Preparation for 'Real Life'<br>and maximize personal power<br><u>vis a vis</u> marketplace | 35 | 50.7% |
| Balanced outlook   | 3  | 4.3%  |
| Creates awareness of economic<br>political and social<br>environment                       | 5  | 7.2%  |
| Protection from market<br>'rip-offs'   | 5  | 7.2%  |
| Enjoyable and interesting  | 3  | 4.3%  |
| Community oriented   | 1  | 1.4%  |
| Teaches decision-making  | 8  | 11.6% |
| Preparation for jobs   | 3  | 4.3%  |
| Teaches rights and<br>responsibilities of citizens   | 5  | 7.2%  |
| Content flexible   | 6  | 8.7%  |

b) Weakest points

|  |   |      |
|--|---|------|
| Compulsoriness                           | 4 | 5.8% |
| Political Bias/<br>too business oriented | 4 | 5.8% |

|  |    |       |
|--|----|-------|
| Course too critical<br>of business               | 2  | 2.9%  |
| Too many topics to cover                         | 7  | 10.1% |
| None   | 8  | 11.6% |
| Not relevant to grade 9's                        | 22 | 31.9% |
| Grade 11 text too academic                       | 3  | 4.3%  |
| Not enough texts                                 | 3  | 4.3%  |
| Economics  | 3  | 4.3%  |
| Poor teaching manuals                            | 3  | 4.3%  |
| Some teachers don't have<br>requisite background | 3  | 4.3%  |

6. Please feel free enlarge on any of the questions. Actually there was nothing in these responses which is not already covered above.

### Conclusions

In general, the texts are used as a basis for teaching this course. Less than 6% of respondents felt the material was biased in favour of business, and most did not find the content itself a problem. Further, there is a high degree of use of business materials, and a very small (only 2.9%) use of labour-oriented materials. Most teachers see the course as preparing students unequivocally for 'real' life. It is interesting that almost 32% felt that the course was inappropriate for grade 9's, particularly since the course was originally intended only for this age group.

Dear Consumer Education Teacher

I am a graduate student at the University of Victoria, and am presently engaged in writing a thesis which focusses on the Consumer Education course taught in B.C. High Schools. The thesis will examine the cultural, social, economic and political values expressed in the basic texts, teachers' manuals and other materials designed for use in the course. It will also look at the philosophical attitudes expressed in these materials with respect to concepts such as the nature of history, progress, democracy, equality, etc.

In order for me to get an accurate reading of these things, it is important that I have some idea of which, of all the materials available for use in this course, most often reach B.C. students. It would also be helpful for me to know what, in general, teachers find to be the course's strong and weak points. For this reason, I should be very grateful if you would assist me in filling out the accompanying forms. A self-addressed, stamped envelope is provided.

After collecting this data, I shall compile it in a brief report which will be made available to your district supervisor. It should thus be possible for anyone who would be interested in seeing the compiled data to obtain it. The thesis itself will be completed in April and will, I believe, be available through the university for anyone wishing to read it. If you have any queries I can be reached at my university office number, 721-7487 during weekdays, or by mail at the following address:

Judith Stamps  
c/o Department of Political Science  
University of Victoria  
P.O. Box 1700  
Victoria, B.C.  
V8W 2Y2

Thanking you in advance for your help,  
Sincerely,

Judith Stamps

Consumer Education Questionnaire

School District No. \_\_\_\_\_

Level 9/10 \_\_\_\_\_ Level 11/12 \_\_\_\_\_ If you teach both levels,  
please fill out separate forms  
for each.

In your teaching of the course, to what extent do you focus primarily  
on the basic text?

Almost entirely \_\_\_ Mostly \_\_\_ A Fair Amount \_\_\_ Not Much \_\_\_

Comments \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

What Parts of the text do you consider the most important and why?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Do you employ materials other than the basic text in teaching this  
course? Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

If yes, do you employ the following:

J. Miller, Decide For Yourself: One Hundred Cases in Consumer Choice

Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

B. Carrie, The Teenage Consumer Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

Any others - Please List.

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Do you usually employ films or video presentations in your Consumer Education classes? Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

If Yes, which ones have you used and/or do you plan to use? Please List.

---

---

Please Comment on the usefulness of these media presentations.

---

---

Do you employ free materials, either visual or written, provided by businesses or organizations other than the School Board, PEMC or The Ministry (e.g., Trade Unions, Consumer Groups)? Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

If yes, please list titles and sources.

---

---

What, in your opinion, are the course's strongest points?

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---

---

Weakest points?

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Please feel free to enlarge on any of the questions that I have asked, or to add your own comments. You could use the rest of this space or the back of the questionnaire. All comments will be helpful.

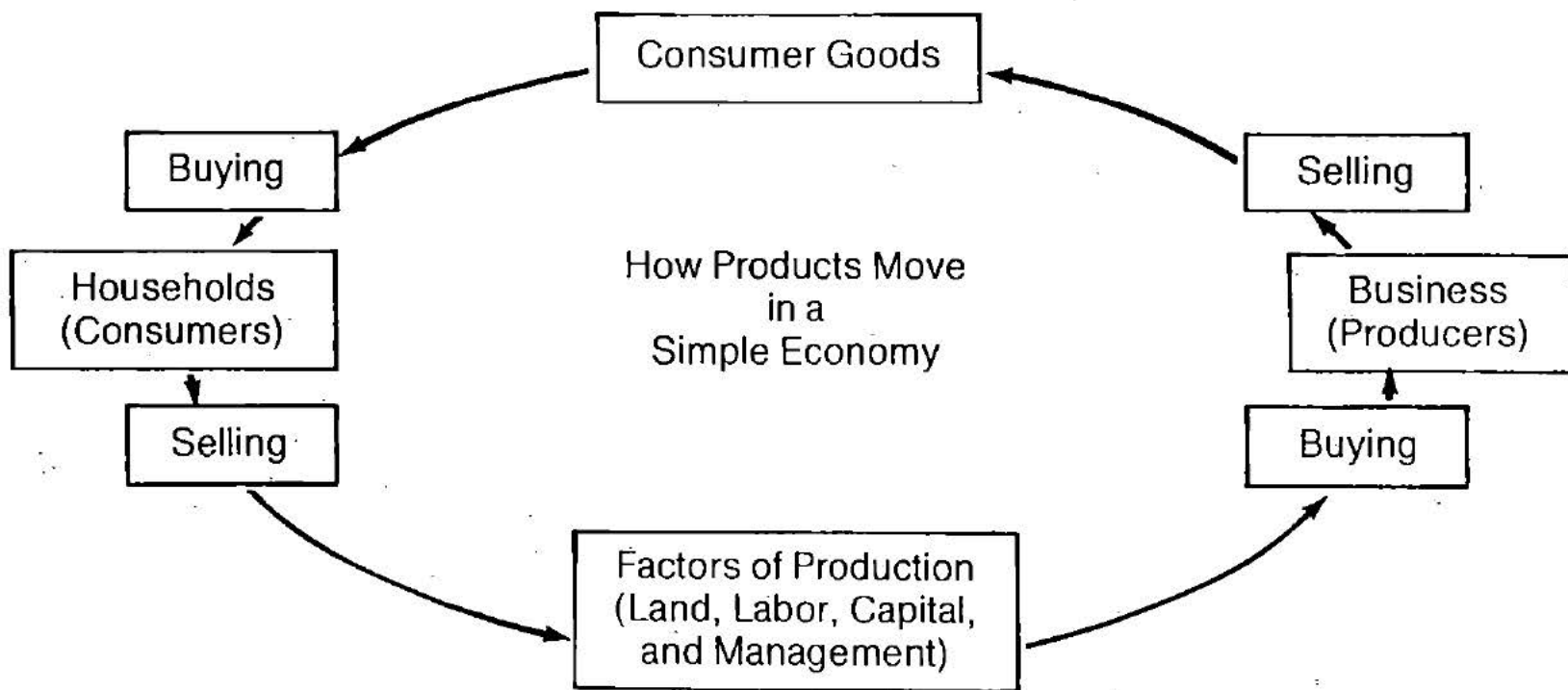
Appendix CDiagrams From Textbooks

The following diagrams are copyright. Given below are a list of the diagrams and corresponding citations.

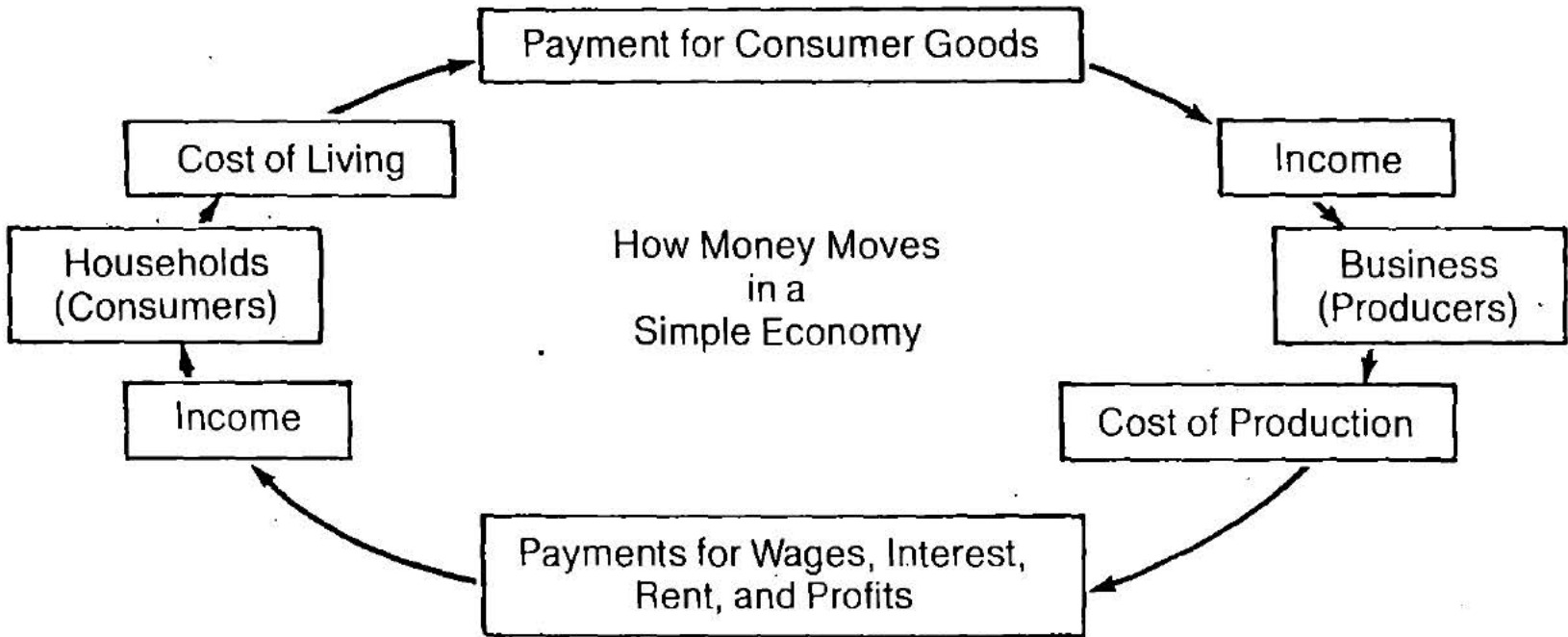
1. Grade 9 Economics Diagrams Nos. 1 & 2 are in John C. Wood, Looking at the Consumer: Teacher Resource Guide (Gage Publishing Ltd., 1982), pp. 52-53.
2. Grade 9 Leisure Diagram, Wood, p. 118.
3. Grade 11 Economics Diagrams Nos. 1 & 2 are in Ken Miscisco and Len Boyko, Teacher's Manual for Leet and Driggers: Economic Decisions for Canadian Consumers (Markham, Ontario: Wadsworth Publishers of Canada, Ltd.) Chapter 1, pp. 10-11.

HOW PRODUCTS AND MONEY MOVE IN RELATIONSHIP  
TO EACH OTHER AND THE ECONOMY

There are two different groups making decisions. *Households* buy and use consumer goods (such as houses and food) and receive income from work (such as producing houses and food) in the form of salary, wages, interest, and rent. *Businesses* produce and sell consumer goods (such as houses and food) to households by paying salaries, wages, interest, and rent (that is, the costs of production).

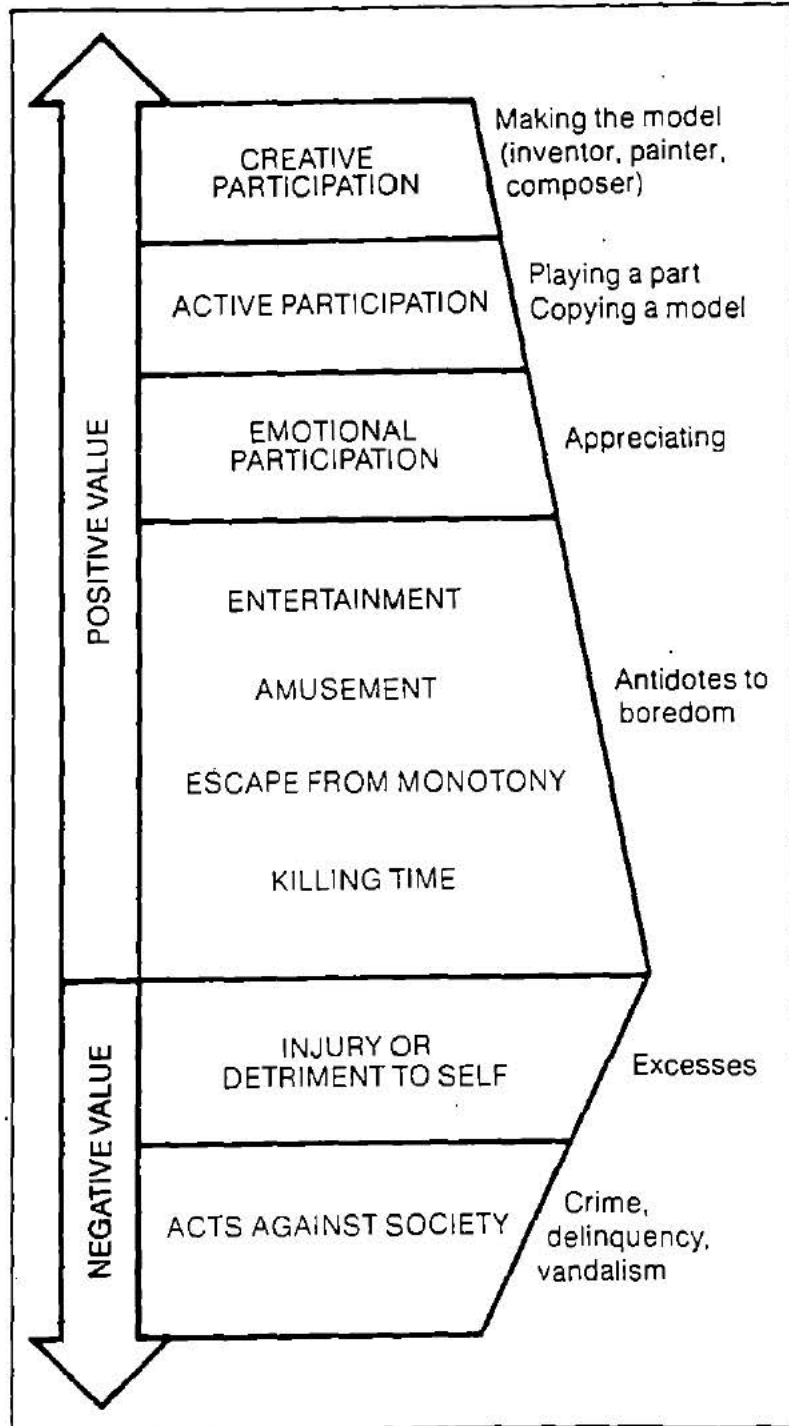


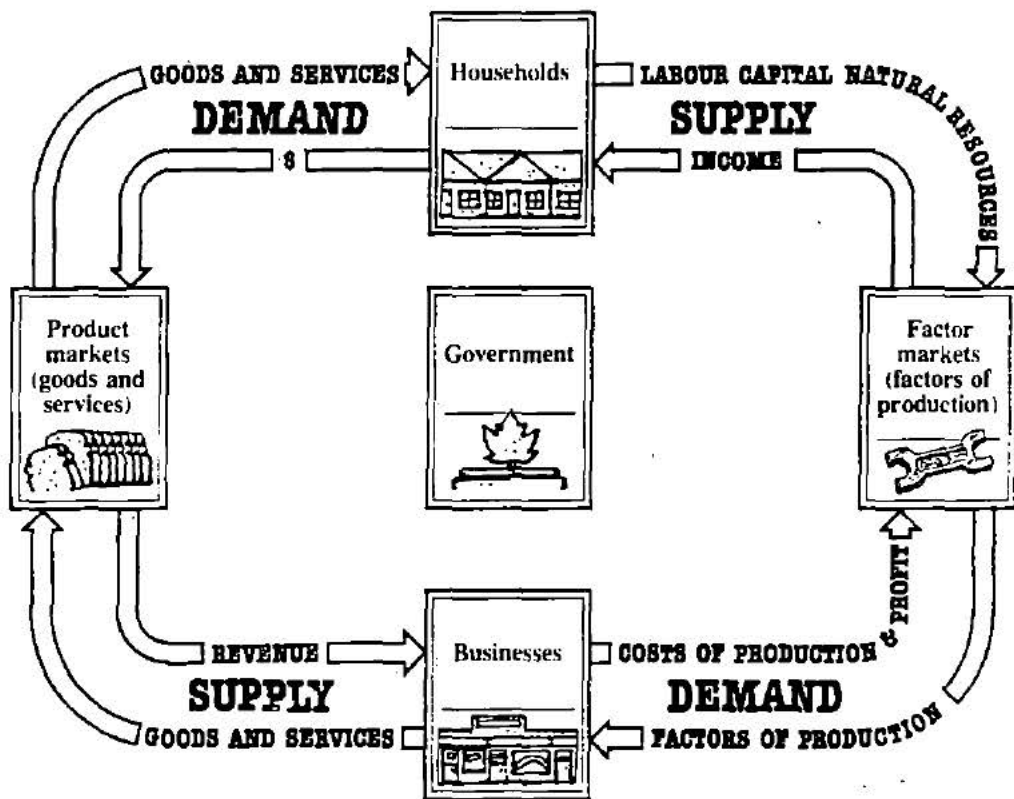
Note that the households are working to make consumer goods for the businesses while the businesses sell consumer goods to the household buyers.



Note that the businesses pay the household incomes (a cost of doing business). The income for businesses is the money received for selling consumer goods to households.

Grade 9 Leisure Diagram



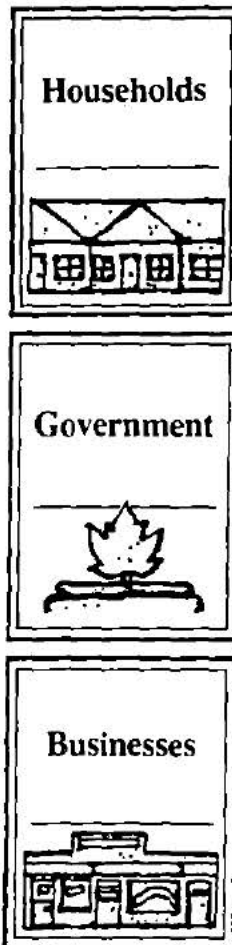
**CIRCULAR FLOW DIAGRAM**

Households supply the labour, capital, and natural resources to businesses. The businesses produce goods and services that are purchased by households.

The revenue from the sale of goods and services flows to the businesses to pay for the factors of production such as labour, capital and natural resources. Profits are what is left to the owners after the costs of production are paid.

The government (which owns companies, crown corporations, and natural resources) provides regulation in the economy.

## THREE MAIN GROUPS IN THE MARKETPLACE



### **HOUSEHOLDS:**

Own most of the factors of production (much of the labour, capital, and natural resources). Because households desire goods and services, they offer their resources in an attempt to earn income and to gain purchasing power.

### **GOVERNMENT:**

The government sets the framework in which the market operates. It sets the laws and regulations in the marketplace.

### **BUSINESSES:**

The businesses produce goods and services. Their main objective is to earn a profit.

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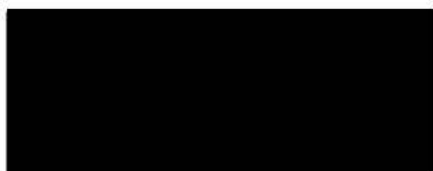
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