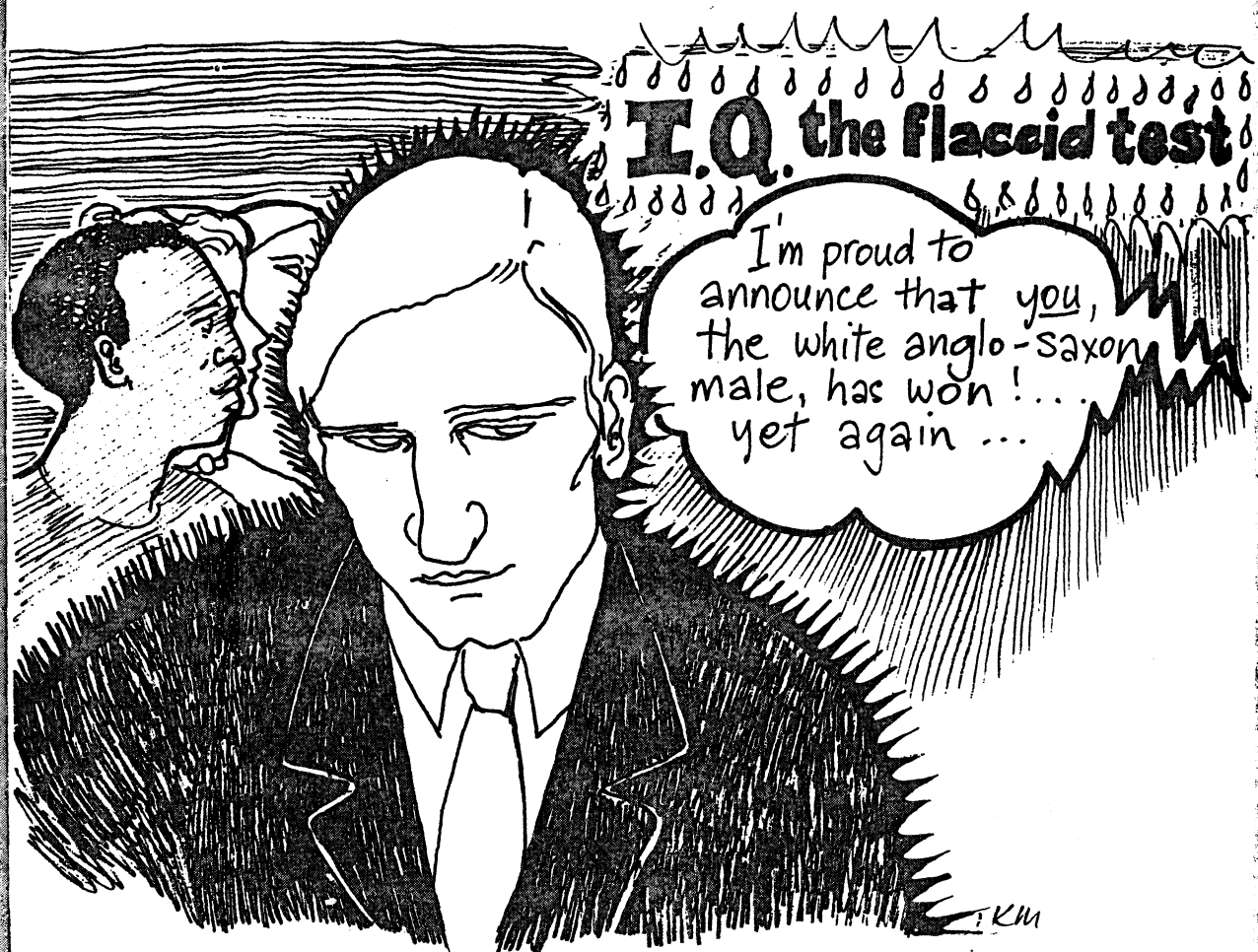


*Noelene Hall*

# Radical Education Dossier

# 4



Magazine of RED G    October 1977

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## RADICAL EDUCATION DOSSIER

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## Why Are They Here ?

In September two of the most reactionary and controversial figures in educational psychology arrived in this country: namely, Hans Eysenck, from the Maudsley Institute in London; and his former pupil Arthur Jensen, from the University of California. This issue of RED is devoted to explaining the political impact of their work, and the ideological function of much that passes for educational psychology.

Both Jensen and Eysenck are meritocratic elitists who strongly oppose compensatory educational programs for deprived groups under capitalism. Both are racists insofar as they allege that the intellectual abilities of coloured populations are inferior to those of whites, and that this is genetic in origin. Both are staunch conservatives who have openly aligned their work with educational policies that are divisive and oppressive.

For many years educational psychology has been enlisted as a prop for the prevailing capitalist order. It has provided a veneer of scientific respectability for concepts tailor made for a society based on technological efficiency and profit. Under the guise of expertise, pseudo-scientists like Eysenck and Jensen peddle a Social Darwinist ideology. It is this which will make them congenial to Australia's ruling elites. In short, their work, both here and overseas, is designed to serve specific class interests. They are apologists for existing class relationships, and we can be sure that reactionary intellectuals in Australia will exploit their facile and dangerous notions to the full. And this despite the widespread criticism and denunciation which has greeted their publications overseas.

*Radical Education Dossier* believes that instead of a psychology based on discrimination and oppression, we need a psychology of liberation based on science rather than ideology, and one that will lead to changing social relationships. We need a psychology that does not mystify our social reality. We suggest that people are messed over, not messed up. We also believe that the visit of Eysenck and Jensen to Australia is something to be deplored and opposed. In this issue radicals will find some of the weapons needed to combat the farrago of nonsense Eysenck and Jensen will undoubtedly generate.

# The Politics of Compensatory Education

by Christine Burvill

'Cultural deprivation is a bourgeois concept' —

Paulo Freire

In 1973 in a spirit of heady optimism, Australia began a large scale, grass roots, compensatory education program with funds provided to schools by the Disadvantaged Schools Program of the Schools Commission. At the same time the future of the compensatory education movement in America and England, the countries from which Australia imported its theory and practice, was in serious jeopardy. In response to the negative evaluation of Operation Headstart in America<sup>1</sup> and the Educational Priority Area scheme in England<sup>2</sup>, governments were cutting back drastically on funding for these programs. Compensatory education as the tool of social engineering, able to build a more equal society, was considered to have failed. Attempts to remove the barriers to the intellectual development and scholastic success of poor children by involving them in intervention and enrichment programs in the home and the school did not produce the improvements expected.

These results have been exploited by right wing members of the academic education establishment, such as Jensen in America and Eysenck in Britain, to strengthen their position in the nature/nurture controversy. The failure of compensatory education programs like Operation Headstart, they argued, could be related not to inadequacies in the theory and practice of such programs or their evaluations, but to the genetic inferiority of the poor white, working class and black populations the programs were designed for. Jensen believes that an enriched educational environment cannot raise IQ above the level determined by the individual's genetic blueprint except in extreme cases of environmental deprivation. The doubt cast on the value of compensatory education created a more favourable climate for other geneticists to advertise their positions as well. Shockley came out and expressed concern at the disproportionate rate at which the poor Negro population was reproducing and Herrnstein proposed that genetic engineering was the only way to achieve an egalitarian society.

The foundations of the geneticists' argument have been shaken recently with the exposure of IQ theorist and father of British educational psychology, Cyril Burt, as a fraud (see RED 2). Burt, it seems, published false data and invented crucial facts to support his cherished theory that intelligence is largely inherited. He guessed at the IQ of parents he interviewed, offering these guesses as hard scientific data; created fictitious research collaborators; and fiddled with statistics to make his observations fit with his preconceived answers. Burt has a lot to answer for: his prejudices, disguised as objective, scientific evidence, have helped form social attitudes and legitimise social stratification in educational institutions. The credibility he gave to practices such as IQ testing, streaming and the channelling of children into academic or non-academic secondary schools according to their measured ability, have oppressed working class and black children for half a century. As yet his exposure has been studiously ignored in the Australian education scene.

## Distortion

William Labov claims that Jensen himself is not above manipulating evidence in the fashion of Cyril Burt. Jensen quoted results from a study in Milwaukee showing that almost half of lower class black children were mentally retarded as if they were true for the whole of the United States. Heber, who carried out this study, has objected to this abuse of his data, stating that his study concentrated on an area of Milwaukee known to contain a large concentration of retarded children<sup>3</sup>. To support their ideological position, some educational psychologists employ tables and figures as a form of mystification so their opinions can be taken as fact enjoying the prestige of science. The lengths to which the geneticists are prepared to go to have their case accepted suggests one thing very strongly: they have a vested interest in doing so. Their ideology, which insists on the hereditary intellectual inferiority of blacks, acts as a form of social control and ensures the supremacy of their own white, middle class, power elite.

Compensatory education is a political football, and the researchers who evaluate programs, as well as the psychologists who make mileage out of the results, can have a profound influence on the amount of spending on the education of working class and other minority group children. At the moment in America, the climate has changed again and Congress is about to reinvest in compensatory education. Some new evidence from longitudinal studies of children involved in Headstart programs has been brought to light and it suggests that gains made in preschool can be maintained throughout primary school. Favourable results were gathered on reading and maths ability, IQ score, the percentage of children being placed in special education classes and retention rates at school<sup>4</sup>.

One strong argument against compensatory education is that it deflects attention away from the inadequacies of the education system and concentrates on the child as the target for change.

## Compensation for What ?

Is investment in compensatory education necessarily a good thing? What *do* the inventors of these programs think they are compensating for? Educational psychologists are very adept at categorising and labelling children, and just a glance at their writings in this field reveals that education is being asked to compensate for a multiplicity of ills, all attributed to the lower class. 'Linguistically disadvantaged', 'culturally deprived', 'socially handicapped', 'children at risk' . . . the production of labels has become an industry in itself! All agree that working class and other minority group children have trouble succeeding at school because deficiencies exist, but they differ in where

they locate the sources of the problem. It's usually either in the child (poor language and low IQ), the parents (inadequate child rearing methods, low level of education), the environment (no stimulation in the home, squalid living conditions), or in the cultural attitudes of low status groups (low aspirations, anti-intellectual, present oriented rather than future-oriented). Rarely are deficiencies seen to exist in the school itself. One strong argument against compensatory education is that it deflects attention away from the inadequacies of the education system and concentrates on the child as the target for change.

It's important to look closely at the arguments of the deficit theorists because they provide the framework within which our own Australian compensatory programs operate. Many of the explanations of disadvantage put forward are totally inadequate and inaccurate in their analysis of the problem. Without an accurate analysis, the correct 'solution' to the problem can never be found. The attitudes of compensatory educationalists towards the poor tend to cluster around two main ideologies – the 'vacuum' ideology and the 'pollution' ideology. The vacuum theorists hold that poor children emerge from a cultural vacuum. They are either cultureless in the sense that their homes lack the cultural symbols valued by the middle class (eg fine paintings, good literature, classical music) or their home life has left them devoid of the experiences needed to build important concepts. As one American educator has put it:

'... television, jet planes, rocket ships, hydrogen bombs, helicopters, polio and GG shots, supermarkets, frozen foods, hundreds of electrical appliances. The lag is terrifying!'<sup>5</sup>

... no child grows up in a cultural vacuum. No home containing people and objects is devoid of the stimulation or experiences in relation to which perception and language are developed.

Other psychologists claim the homes of low status groups are lacking in material objects or stimuli through the manipulation of which the young child develops perceptual discrimination, concepts and language.

'Where money for food and basic clothing is a problem, there is little for children's playthings, for furniture in which to store the family possessions and for decorative objects in the home.'<sup>6</sup>

The first thing to note about these views of the working class home is that they are all imaginary. Propped up by a battery of standardised tests designed by the middle class to test those skills regarded as important by the middle class, these psychologists find that working class children perform poorly and they then focus on the home as the causal explanation. The tests are usually performed in the laboratory; the home has never been entered. The second thing to note about these descriptions of working class life is that they are redolent with culture or class bias. The norm by which these homes are judged and found lacking is that of the affluent, middle-class home. Middle class culture in the eyes of most compensatory educationalists has an unquestioned, inherent superiority.

'If we are to bring these children (ie the deprived) to a self-respecting adulthood, we must define for them a prospective role that has at least as great a value, to the individual and to society, as the middle class model of industry, articulateness, social and cultural concern, and self-regulation.'<sup>7</sup>

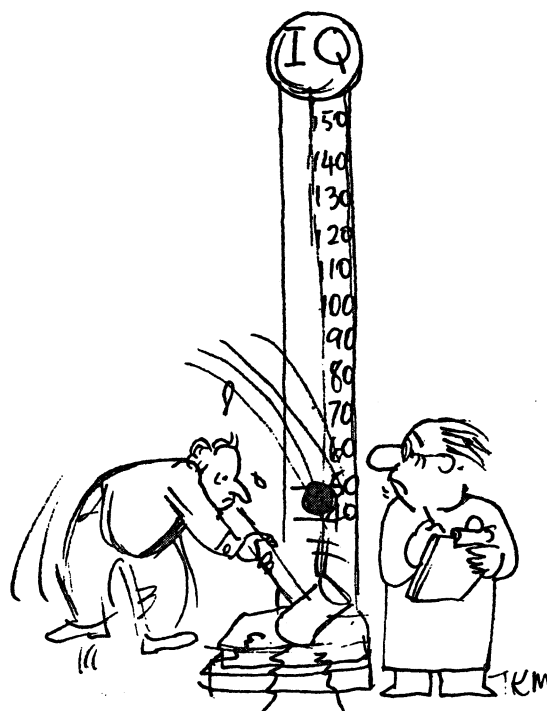
The vacuum theorists are obviously naive. Any anthropologist could tell them that no child grows up in a cultural vacuum. No home containing people and objects is devoid of the stimulation or experiences in relation to which perception and language are developed. The perception of these psychologists is so imbedded in the context of their own culture that they are unable to see working class life clearly at all. Their main objection to the home environment is that it lacks the familiar, middle class symbols of affluence – no 'decorative objects in

the home'. The problem with the working class is that they are poor consumers.

As well as the vacuum ideology we have the pollution ideology, whose followers tend to perceive working class children as being gradually contaminated by the inferior culture of their parents as they grow. The task of education is to liberate deprived children from the ill effects of their social origins.

'The only regret is that the schools have been pathetically inadequate in their task of cultural transformation, in eradicating values and attitudes, habits and inclinations, which for some observers may have an antique picturesqueness, but which are a serious liability to a young man or woman with a living to earn and perhaps a life to make outside the back streets in which he [sic!] was reared.'<sup>8</sup>

The pollution ideology has given rise to very early intervention programs ranging from intervening in the family life of the low socio-economic groups to actually restricting the amount of contact these children have with their parents. Mothers have become a target for education, being taught the 'right' techniques to promote their children's intellectual and emotional development. The earlier the psychologist can get to the child and its mother the better. Some now feel that irreversible harm can be done to the child by the time it reaches three. The discovery that the foetus can respond to neural stimuli has led some psychologists to hypothesise that educational intervention could begin in the womb. Some educational day care centres have been established that are an attack on the right of working class parents to raise their own children. The University of Syracuse runs a centre in New York for children from six months to three years who spend five days a week at the centre. It's hideous to think of the damage that must be done when these children remain at home on weekends! This kind of program has been justly criticised as an effort to annihilate black culture.



### Non-existent Deficits

There is a lot of evidence now to suggest that compensatory education programs are based on non-existent deficits. We cannot accept the case that there is an intellectual deficit produced by inadequate environmental stimulation because the IQ tests used to measure this are strongly biased against the language, culture and experience of the working class child. Even if IQ were a measurable entity, no one has ever succeeded in inventing a culture-free test.

Another component of the popular mythology of educational psychology that is under attack is the concept of language deprivation. Language deficit theory is based on the principle of linguistic determinism, ie that language codes determine the intellectual capacities of their users. In this view, working class and black children receive little verbal stimulation in the home, rarely hear well-formed language to model their own on and, as a result, their intellectual functioning is limited. They go to school unable to speak complete sentences, not able to name common objects, form concepts or think in a logical way. Much of the evidence for this view is collected from children in the laboratory with the investigator asking the children questions like 'Do you make dinner table conversation with your parents?' and then drawing conclusions about language use in the home.

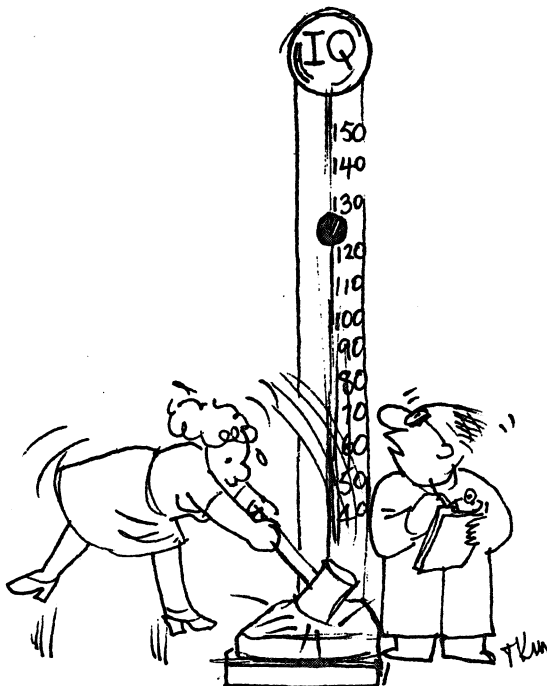
Central to this view of working class language is the work of Basil Bernstein in England. He developed the theory that the working class generally use a 'restricted code' while the middle class generally use an 'elaborated code'. Put simply, the difference is that the speech of working class children is not as complex, abstract, logical, analytic, complete or universalistic in meaning as the speech of their middle class counterparts. The restricted code is not an adequate vehicle for the more complex intellectual activity required for academic success in school. Bernstein in his later work expressed concern at the interpretation of his theory to mean that the working class are linguistically deprived or non-verbal<sup>9</sup>, claiming that he is simply describing the codes from a neutral position as different. Yet, like it or not, the notion of middle class superiority is contained in his theories. If middle class mothers raise their children as Bernstein says, by placing more emphasis on language in

socialising the child into a moral order, in disciplining the child and in the communication and recognition of feelings, then it follows that they are better mothers. They do those things which are moral positives in our society and they equip their children for success at school. The very labels 'restricted' and 'elaborated' are value-laden, suggesting a qualitative difference and the superiority of one language over the other. Even though in his later work Bernstein came to emphasise the negative impact of the school on working class children, his message is still basically that we must change the child. Working class children must be introduced to the universalistic meanings of middle class language which, as language and values are part and parcel of each other, ultimately means introduction to the values of middle class life.

The danger of verbal deprivation theory for educational practice is that teachers will take their cue from the 'experts' and regard non-standard English as evidence of mental inferiority.

Bernstein's theory has been widely accepted and imported wholesale into educational practice in America and Australia. It has also achieved popular currency, shaping middle class perceptions of the working class. Michael Thornhill's film *FJ Holden* is an example of this. Masquerading as a detached, objective, anthropological study, this film shows the inhabitants of Sydney's Western Suburbs as socially autistic, even their inter-personal relationships being fairly devoid of verbal communication. Some compensatory programs in America are based on conceptions of language that have taken Bernstein's restricted code to an extreme. Bereiter and Engelmann, for instance, claim to have found that black children have little language of their own at all. The four-year-olds they tested could offer only a series of poorly connected words or phrases, most of their communication consisting of emotional, expressive behaviour<sup>10</sup>. Because of this they feel justified in basing their language programs on standard English and preventing the preschool black children they teach from using vernacular speech in the classroom. Their view of black language comes dangerously close to the racist myth that blacks have a rich emotional life but are intellectually inferior. It's easy for psychologists like Jensen to use Bereiter's and Bernstein's indications that middle class language is superior in terms of mental processes involved to prove that there are congenital deficiencies in the black race. The danger of verbal deprivation theory for educational practice is that teachers will take their cue from the 'experts' and regard non-standard English as evidence of mental inferiority.

The work of William Labov<sup>11</sup> suggests that the inarticulate, monosyllabic behaviour that children from low socio-economic groups demonstrate to researchers like Bernstein and Bereiter is a function of the interview itself. It is the attempt of working class and black children to defend themselves against the threatening situation of laboratories, tests, and white, middle class interviewers. (Even black interviewers can produce the same effect if they are perceived by black children to represent the values and status of white, middle class America.) Labov reports a series of interviews with members of black youth gangs in Harlem. In the first interview, conducted by a skilled black interviewer who knew the neighbourhood well, the child appeared virtually non-verbal. So the second interview was changed in an attempt to break down the social constraint of the first. The interviews were conducted away from the school; the interviewer provided potato chips, sat on the floor to reduce his intimidating size and introduced taboo words and topics into the conversation. The child was allowed to bring a friend with him and the situation was structured to give as much freedom from adult control as possible (eg, in one session the boys' conversation was recorded as they played cards together).



The result was a spontaneous flow of language. In his analysis of the language Labov found that it was not impoverished, illogical, syntactically primitive or semantically empty. The children were quite capable of comprehending standard English but they did not choose to reproduce it. Not only did Labov find no evidence of linguistic deprivation, he also found that poor black children came from a rich verbal culture containing many events where the individual gains status through the clever use of language, eg, sounding, singing, toasts, rifting, louding. 'Toasts' for example are long epic poems which gang members partly recite from memory and partly make up as they go along. Each gang usually has verbal leaders who excel at toasts and other verbal contests and are accorded high status in the group because of it. Another creative verbal gang activity is ritual insult where gang members use their wit to outdo each other. Labov feels that in many ways working class speakers can use language more effectively than middle class speakers, who often bury their argument under a weight of verbiage, qualification, padding and obscurity. The language of secondary education and the university are good examples. Labov explains the seeming illiteracy of black youth in the school in terms of the clash they experience between their own culture and the ideology of the education system. Poor black kids see the school as irrelevant - as an assault on their culture. The gang discourages the use of standard English and encourages the use of the distinctive forms of black speech. One important implication of Labov's research is that language usage is determined by the power relationship between speakers. By reducing the extent to which the interviewer could be perceived as a representative of the white middle class power elite of the society, natural spontaneous language was elicited. White middle class teachers, just as white middle class interviewers, would have little chance of obtaining these results.

Other researchers into the language of black children, such as Jane Torrey and Susan H Houston, have produced conclusions supporting Labov's. Houston<sup>12</sup> found that black children had two speech registers - the school and the non-school register. The school register is used with teachers and all people perceived by the children to be in authority over them or in formal and constrained social situations. It has all the characteristics taken by researchers as evidence of language deficit, eg, short utterances, simple syntax, and being a poor vehicle for ideas. The non-school register, as spontaneous and creative as any other natural language, is used with family and friends. Houston feels that the lack of material possessions in the homes of poor black children is a positive stimulation to language development. Language games, verbal contests and narrative improvisations were observed to be an integral part of the low status culture.

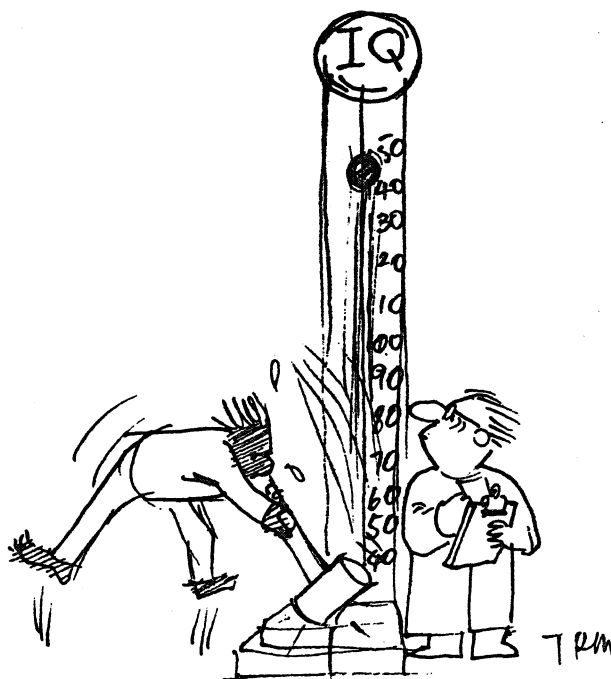
In not accepting the language of working class children, schools are producing a dysfunctional learning situation and actively creating an alienated or demoralised group incapable of participating, in any real sense, in the education process.

### Non-Standard Action

What direction does this research give us for action in the schools? Obviously all children need to have their linguistic competency developed irrespective of social class. To single out working class children for special language treatment is in itself a discriminatory act, based on unfounded assumptions. The negative self-image that must result becomes yet another barrier to the working class child's chances of success. Furthermore, we know that a teacher's expectation of a student's potential ability is a crucial factor behind that student's progress. Non-standard English functions in schools as a low-status stigma and, along with other cues like physical appearance, determines the label teachers are likely to place on

the child, eg, 'slow learner', 'remedial', 'GA'. The labels in turn affect the child and the self-fulfilling prophecy begins to operate. Typical school experiences for non-standard speakers are having their speech branded as wrong, having to adopt an alien language in order to succeed in the system, being punished for using their natural language, internalising the view that they come from an inferior culture and being labelled as stupid. In not accepting the language of working-class children, schools are producing a dysfunctional learning situation and actively creating an alienated or demoralised group incapable of participating, in any real sense, in the education process.

If non-standard English is as suitable a medium for communication and intellectual functioning as standard English, and if the development of children from low-status groups is restricted by them having to function in an alien language register, then it is imperative that the schools change their policy on language. The real question is, should schools attended by working-class children teach standard English as a second or foreign language, or should it even be taught at all? Those who argue for the development of bi-dialectalism in working-class children feel that if they aren't given access to standard English they will be discriminated against in the society beyond the school, particularly on the job market for example, and that their chances of elevating their status and position will be severely limited. This argument, once again, is based on the principle of change the child and not the system. It assumes the prejudices of the ruling class cannot be altered and puts working-class kids in the position of playing a game where the rules are established by the middle class. But even if they play the game according to the rules there is no evidence that they will succeed. Even if we did train working-class kids to bung on standard English in job interviews there would be other cues that would tell against them - appearance, level of schooling, school attended, etc. Only a reversal of the power relations of our society will give the non-standard speech of the working class adequate status. In the present situation, standard English is a tool used against the working class by the middle class in an effort to maintain its hegemony.





## Deprived Australian Educators

The compensatory education movement in Australia is an imitative one with its theory and practice being imported wholesale from overseas. We have also imported, unquestioningly, all the fallacies on which those programs are based. As in America and England, compensatory education in Australia has become yet another stick with which to beat the working-class child, another sorting and labelling device, encompassing IQ and other standardised tests that provide the 'objective', 'scientific' rationale for institutionalised discrimination on the grounds of class and race. A strong commitment to deficit theory is evident in the arguments of those who have the power to determine the nature of the program. Dr Vaughan, the Director of Studies in the NSW Education Department, has a concept of disadvantage that locates the problem firmly in the children, whom he sees as 'individuals with personal problems', a sure-fire formula for changing the child, protecting the school system and maintaining the status quo! His vision of the home environment of the disadvantaged child is even more absurd, ignorant and prejudiced than the American examples quoted earlier:

'If in the home, there is no talking, no reading, no cultural pursuits, no facing-up to human problems, there will be little language development and but little general development.

In the disadvantaged situation the child discerns little use for language.'<sup>13</sup>

Not only do the children grow up in a cultural vacuum, not only are they linguistically deprived to the point of virtual autism, but the family is also morally inferior. Anyone with only a limited acquaintance with working-class communities in Australia would know that if there is one particular thing they excel at it's facing up to, and coping with human problems. They have to – they receive more than their fair share of them.

Reading programs have proliferated – all, of course, based on standard English. They are also based on the belief that reading is a neutral activity, simply the acquisition of a skill. In fact it is a political activity; a primary means of socialisation into the attitudes and values of the dominant power group in our society.

One of the main thrusts of the Assisted Schools Program administered by the NSW Education Department has been in the area of literacy and language. All these programs are based on standard English, and, in the absence of any local studies, show an uncritical reliance on the views of Bernstein, rather than of Labov. So we have language programs for urban working-class children who speak a dialect labelled as 'slang' and we have programs for Aboriginal children, many of whom still retain the remnants of their original language and have their own English dialect as well. Speech tutors have also been brought into some inner city schools to help the children speak 'properly.'

Reading programs have proliferated – all, of course, based on standard English. They are also based on the belief that reading is a neutral activity, simply the acquisition of a skill. In fact it is a political activity; a primary means of socialisation into the attitudes and values of the dominant power group in our society, eg. industriousness, consumerism, male supremacy, middle-class supremacy. The reading material used by the schools in their compensatory programs and the tests that accompany them are not produced by, or for, the working-class community. What relevance has the typical, affluent, white Anglo-Saxon nuclear family living a routine, problem-free suburban existence to children from migrant, Aboriginal or working-class backgrounds? Working-class culture is denied validity in school reading material by simply being ignored. The effect on the child is either lack of motivation, internalisation of middle-class norms, or alienation from the whole process.

Paulo Freire in his work in Brazil developed a model of reading instruction that could well be adopted by teachers of disadvantaged children in Australia. He threw away the ABC books with their words from another class and began with the language of the people, heightening their awareness of their oppression in the process. In this way literacy becomes a powerful tool in the struggle against oppression.

Another main thrust of the Disadvantaged Schools Program has been in the area of cultural and experiential enrichment. The rationale behind this is the fallacious ideology of cultural deprivation: poor children from an inferior culture lacking in the virtues of middle-class life, eg. appreciation of 'the arts'. To correct his deficiency they have been taken to concerts at the Opera House, to the museum and to the art gallery, and they have been 'enriched' with drama, art/craft and music activities. They have been taken camping to get away from the ugly environment they live in, and they have been introduced to the rewards of affluent, middle-class existence like yachting on the harbour. While many children may find these activities fun, at the same time they are being made into unwitting targets for propaganda of the middle-class lifestyle. A remote Western Australian girls' school, for example, has built and equipped a model office to help the girls with their future careers and some urban schools in Sydney now have military bands!

## Real Equality

Not all funding to disadvantaged schools has been wasted, however. In many schools teachers have come up with a wide range of programs to make the school life of the poor child more varied, stimulating and enjoyable. The material conditions of schools in disadvantaged areas have been improved enormously (eg. school buildings, teaching resources) and extra staff have often been employed to reduce pupil-teacher ratios. All these measures help to reduce the gap between schools in low-status areas and those in the privileged belt, but they go nowhere towards achieving the major, stated goal of compensatory education: producing equality of educational opportunity.

The poor in our society are certainly disadvantaged, but only in the sense that they have unequal access to wealth and power. The solutions to this problem are political and economic.

This goal is impossibly utopian because schools reflect and reinforce the unequal status of groups in the wider society, and compensatory education itself can play an active part in this. My argument is not that we should cut back on education spending on children in disadvantaged schools because the programs haven't worked, but that we should throw away our discriminatory notions of cultural deficit and locate the problem of the unequal outcomes of schooling at its true source, ie. in the existence of a hierarchical, stratified society. The poor in our society are certainly disadvantaged, but only in the sense that they have unequal access to wealth and power. The solutions to this problem are political and economic.

## Non-Utopian Programs

Is there nothing then that schools can do for, or about, the disadvantaged? While they can't, by themselves, change the power relations of capitalism, if they tried to work against the ideology of the status quo rather than supporting it they could do a lot towards changing the consciousness of working-class children about their oppression – particularly that vicious cycle in which the oppressed come to internalise their oppressor's image of them. Even some of the current educational programs in disadvantaged schools move more towards building confidence

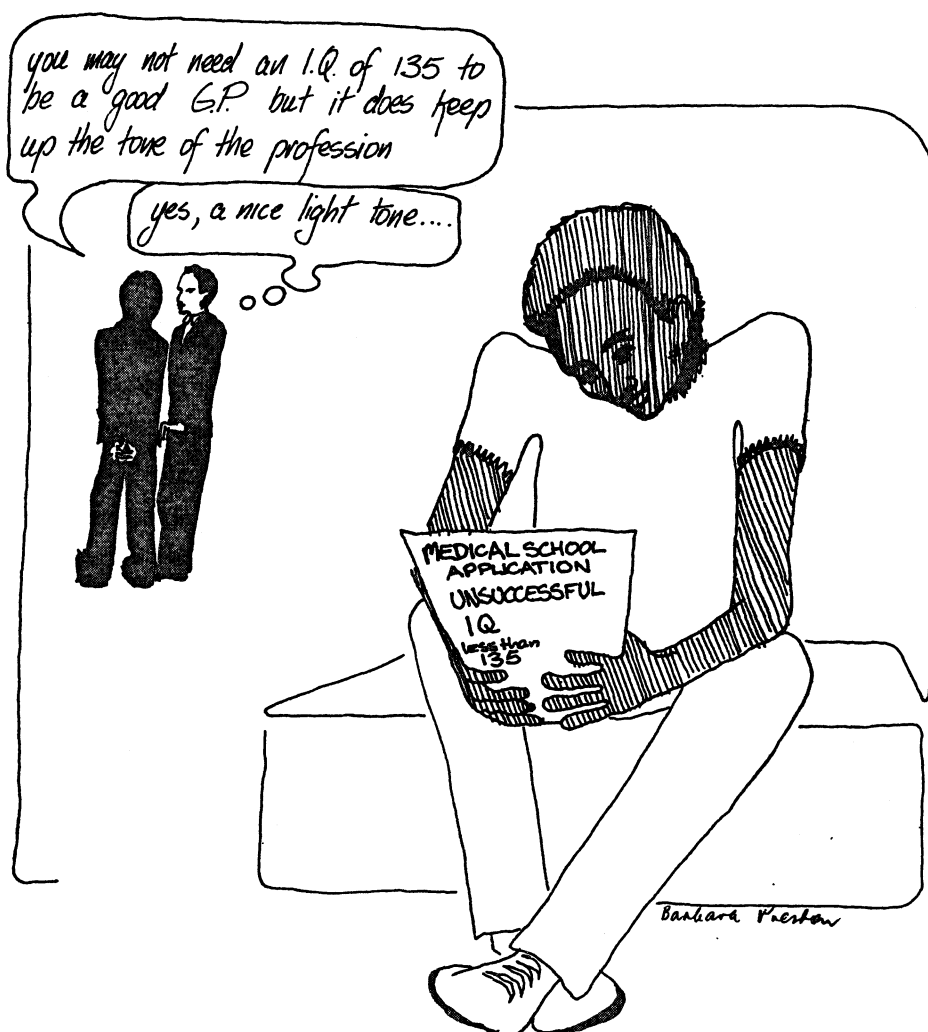


in, empowering, and giving working-class students a voice than demoralising, alienating and silencing them. I see these as being firstly, programs that are centred in and emphasise the values of minority cultures (eg. the teaching of ethnic languages and cultures, bi-lingual education for children whose first language is not English, teacher-produced reading material made by recording the speech of working-class children talking about events that are a natural part of their lives). Secondly, programs that break down the artificial barriers in schools which prevent interaction and co-operation and assign children to different status groups (eg. replacing streamed classes with mixed-ability groups, teaching English to migrant children and reading to 'remedial' children in the normal class group and not on a withdrawal basis, vertical grouping so that children of different ages can relate, open-plan classes in which children are encouraged to work together, breaking down sex-stereotyped activities); and thirdly, programs that increase student control over the learning process and develop qualities like initiative and autonomy not usually encouraged by schools in those children marked out for low-status occupations (eg. peer tutoring where students proficient in a particular subject help other students to learn, the reduction of compulsory subjects and the provision of a wide range of options from which students choose what they will learn).

While none of these programs will change the basis of power in the school system or in the wider society, they are examples of the room teachers have to move in, within the status quo, to initiate the process of liberation.

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# Work Out Your Own I.Q.

We invite you to take the following IQ test. It is a *perfectly serious* test. The answers, scoring scale, and information about the test are given on the next page. Try the test before you turn over. Time allowed is 12 minutes.

- 1 'T-Bone Walker' got famous for playing what? (a) trombone (b) piano (c) 'T-flute' (d) guitar (e) 'hambone'
  - 2 Who did 'Stagger Lee' kill (in the famous blues legend)? (a) his mother (b) Frankie (c) Johnny (d) his girlfriend (e) Billy
  - 3 A 'gas head' is a person who has a: (a) fast moving car (b) stable of 'lace' (c) 'process hair' (d) habit of stealing cars (e) long jail record for arson.
  - 4 If a man is called a 'blood' then he is a: (a) fighter (b) Mexican-American (c) black (d) hungry hemophile (e) redman or Indian
  - 5 If you throw the dice and '7' is showing on the top, what is facing down? (a) 'seven' (b) 'snake eyes' (c) 'boxcars' (d) 'Little Joes' (e) 'eleven'
  - 6 Jazz pianist Admad Jamal took an Arabic name after becoming really famous. Previously, he had some fame with what he called his 'slave name'. What was his previous name? (a) Willie Lee Jackson (b) LeRoi Jones (c) Wilbur McDougal (d) Fritz Jones (e) Andy Johnson
  - 7 In 'C. C. Rider', what does the C. C. stand for? (a) Civil Service (b) church council (c) country circuit preacher or an old time rambler (d) country club (e) 'Cheatin' Charlie (The Boxer Gunsel).
  - 8 Cheap 'chitling' (not the kind you purchase at a frozen food counter) will taste rubbery unless they are cooked long enough. How soon can you quit cooking them to eat and enjoy them? (a) 15 minutes (b) 8 hours (c) 24 hours (d) 1 week (on a low flame) (e) 1 hour.
  - 9 'Down home' (the South) today, for the average 'Soul brother' who is picking cotton (in season from sun up until sun down), what is the average earning (take home) for one full day? (a) \$0.75 (b) \$1.65 (c) \$3.50 (d) \$5.00 (e) \$12.00.
  - 10 If a judge finds you guilty of 'holding weed' (in California), what is the most he can give you? (a) indeterminate (life) (b) a nickel (c) a dime (d) a year in county (e) \$100.00
  - 11 'Bird' or 'yardbird' was the 'jacket' that jazz lovers from coast to coast hung on. (a) Lester Young (b) Peggy Lee (c) Benny Goodman (d) Charlie Parker (e) 'Birdman of Alcrataz'.
  - 12 A 'hype' is a person who: (a) always says he feels sickly (b) has water on the brain (c) uses heroin (d) is always ripping and running (e) is always sick.
  - 13 Hattie Mae Johnson is on the county. She has four children and her husband is now in jail for nonsupport, as he was unemployed and was not able to give her any money. Her welfare check is now \$286.00 per month. Last night, she went out with the biggest player in town. If she got pregnant, nine months from now, how much more will her welfare check be? (a) \$30.00 (b) \$2.00 (c) \$35.00 (d) \$150.00 (e) \$100.00
  - 14 'Hully gully' came from: (a) 'East Oakland' (b) Fillmore (c) Watts (d) Harlem (e) Motor City
  - 15 What is Willie Mae's last name? (a) Schwarts (b) Matauda (c) Gomex (d) Turner (e) O.Flaherty.
  - 16 The opposite of square is: (a) round (b) up (c) down (d) hip (e) lame
  - 17 Do the 'Beatles' have soul? (a) yes (b) no (c) gee whiz or maybe.
  - 18 A 'handkerchief head' is: (a) a cool cat (b) a porter (c) an 'Uncle Tom' (d) a hoddi (e) a 'preacher'.
  - 19 What are the 'Dixie Hummingbirds'? (a) a part of the KKK (b) a swamp disease (c) a modern gospel group (d) a Mississippi Negro, para-military strike force (e) deacons
  - 20 'Jet' is: (a) an 'East Oakland' motorcycle club (b) one of the gangs in West Side Story (c) a news and gossip magazine (d) a way of life for the very rich.
- In 21-24, fill in the missing words that sound best:
- 21 'Tell it like it .....': (a) Thinks I am (b) baby (c) try (d) is (e) y'all.
  - 22 'You've got to get up early in the morning if you want to ...': (a) catch the worms (b) be healthy, wealthy and wise (c) try to fool me (d) fare well (e) be the first one on the street.
  - 23 And Jesus said, 'Walk together children .....': (a) don't you get weary. There is a great camp meeting. (b) for we shall overcome (c) for the family that walks together talks together (d) by your patience you will win your soul (Luke 21:9) (e) find the things that are above, not the things that are on Earth (Cor. 3:3).
  - 24 'Money don't get everything it's true .....': (a) but don't have none and I'm so blue (b) but what it don't get I can't use (c) so make with what you got (d) but I don't know that and neither do you.
  - 25 'Bo-Diddley' is a: (a) camp for children (b) cheap wine (c) singer (d) new dance (e) majo call.
  - 26 Which word is out of place here? (a) splib (b) blood (c) grey (d) spook.
  - 27 How much does a 'short-dog' cost? (a) \$0.15 (b) \$2.00 (c) \$0.35 (d) \$0.05 (e) \$0.86 + tax
  - 28 True or false: A 'pimp' is also a young man who lays around all day. (a) true (b) false.
  - 29 If a pimp is up tight with a woman who gets state aid, what does he mean when he talks about 'Mother's Day'? (a) second Sunday in May (b) third Sunday in June (c) first of every month (d) none of these (e) first and fifteenth of every month.
  - 30 Many people say that 'Juneteenth' (June 10) should be made a legal holiday because this was the day when: (a) the slaves were freed in the USA (b) the slaves were freed in Texas (c) the slaves were freed in Jamaica (d) the slaves were freed in California (e) Martin Luther King was born

## About the Test

The test you have just done is the 'Dove Counterbalance Intelligence Test', devised by Adrian Dove to measure intelligence as the term applies in lower class black America. When given to a sample of residents of Dixwell Avenue (a ghetto area in New Haven) by instructors of Yale University, the mean score was found to be 29 out of 30. The test is clearly too easy, and does not discriminate well enough at the higher intelligence levels. But apart from that, is it a good and valid IQ test?

It is as good and valid as any other IQ test you might have seen (or done). In comparison with other tests it is just as *culture free* as they are, for all tests contain cultural bias. It measures the same abilities as other verbal tests do, namely how well certain questions can be answered with reference to the background experience of the person taking the test. And it has good predictive validity in that it indicates how well a person might make out in the cultural milieu from which the items were drawn, and within which the test was standardised.

## About You

People from non-white, non-middle class backgrounds, are required to perform well on aptitude and IQ tests keyed to white middle class culture in order to get the opportunities to perform meaningfully in that culture. It would seem only fair, then, that people of white middle class backgrounds should be required to do well on tests keyed to non-white lower class culture, before they are allowed to perform in such a culture, interfere in such a culture (as with bourgeois social workers), or make relative judgments about the merits of such a culture, its values, and the worth of its people as people.

Did you do badly in the test? Then you have a low IQ. You are also culturally deprived. You have three alternatives. You can adopt an elitist position and try to rubbish the cultural milieu underlying the test. Or you can try to discredit the test itself (but the Binet, the WISC etc, might have to go out with it). Finally, you could write to the people of Dixwell Avenue, New Haven: they are at present seeking funds to mount a huge compensatory education program, and with any luck you might get included in it.

### Correct Answers

(1)d (2)e (3)c (4)c (5)a (6)d (7)c (8)c (9)d (10)c  
(11)d (12)c (13)c (14)c (15)d (16)d (17)b (18)c (19)c (20)c  
(21)d (22)c (23)a (24)b (25)c (26)c (27)c (28)a (29)c (30)b

### Scoring Scale

Number Correct	IQ Score
28 +	100 +
25-27	81-96
23-24	71-80
21-22	61-70
19-20	51-60
18-	Now you're well into the 'mentally retarded' and/or 'culturally deprived' categories.

could be bought with this, increased the average IQ to the point where it is equal to the average of white or blotchy-coloured people in the United States. Assuming the tests were administered in the manner which is approved by those who do this sort of thing, the evidence is that ability to score highly on IQ tests is not inherited. Conversely, it follows that quality is environmentally made. Moving on a bit, we might say broadly that capitalism, if you belong to a group that gets some of the cargo, is good for the IQ, and that if you're at the exploited end, capitalism is bad for the IQ. Or, it might be argued or alleged, living in 'traditional' societies leads to a lower IQ than a participation in capitalism.

What is to be said about the environment, apart from making broad generalizations such as capitalist, or stimulating or full or rich, as is often said, that produces this high or low score on IQ tests? The emphasis in these tests is on the manipulation of abstract logical and rational processes on content which has no particular meaning; participation in the process means to put aside real life, and enter into the manipulation of symbols which take their meaning, and provide it, where they alight. People who have a tendency to score poorly on these tests are a bit like Sissy in Dickens' novel *Hard Times*, who thought it bad that one ship should sink drowning its crew and was unable to grasp the statistical 'insignificance' of these occasional events. Similarly, it is a fairly common observation that students in working-class schools have difficulty with 'clear-thinking' exercises; they tend to regard the content of the argument as important, while their teachers are stressing form.

The IQ test is a measure, and perhaps not a very good one, of participation in a relationship between experience and abstraction, hence between lived life and the rationally and generally expressed form of bourgeois intellectual life. A person with a high IQ is one who, generally speaking, is able to enter into the form of relationships typical of intellectual life in a capitalist society. In so far as this form of association between people is a breakdown of the limitations of family, rural community, and other closed-off social relationships, it is historically progressive; in so far as it leads to the destruction of close relationships, the devaluing of judgements which take context into account, and produces new oppressed groups, it is reactionary.

The IQ test is a fetish because it gives spurious objective character to an aspect and a consequence of one form of relationship between people. If we consider these relationships instead of IQ, a better basis of judgement is formed. For example the question, '*Is it possible for everybody to have a high IQ?*' becomes '*Is it possible for everybody to enter into wholly formal, abstracted relationships?*' The answer is obviously in the negative, while concrete labour and the bringing up of children are still necessary. But on the other hand to overemphasize direct relationships is to hanker for a pre-capitalist society and is impossible. The struggle against IQ tests becomes a struggle against the division of mental and manual work, and against the division between abstract and concrete labour.

Is IQ inherited? That question becomes, instead, are the factors which affect our entry into generalized relations of the abstract intellectual kind inherited? There is no need to bring genetics into this question at all. Patterns of necessity, tradition and socialization must produce such differences. If women, for example, become mothers they are generally concerned with close relationships; if socialized and forced in other ways into a life dominated by the immediacies of survival, the possibility of entry into the abstract relationships is restricted. The same applies to some national and ethnic minorities, and to some sections of the working class. To express these differences as differences in IQ mystifies the reality; to say that IQ is inherited is to say that an historically-formed division of culture and labour is inherited, when what we have actually inherited is capitalism.

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# Ideological Quackery

## A Note on the Real Relationship of Heredity and Environment

by Doug White

The arguments for and against the usefulness of the concept enshrined in the term Intelligence Quotient are often put in terms of heredity versus environment. There is obviously something in this argument, as the evidence shows. But the evidence is contradictory, and a good argument with honest people who believe there is something in the beliefs of Jensen and Eysenck — it doesn't seem worth arguing with these two — needs to have a better base. One other reason for putting together a good argument is that we might otherwise fool ourselves, particularly with notions that all ways of thinking, or all cultures, are equally valuable.

To start with one example, it is reported that the Osage people in the United States once had an IQ average rather lower than that of American Blacks, until the discovery of oil in their territory. The influx of wealth, and the things that

# Testing for Order and Control: IQ and Social Class

by Greg Andrews

IQ tests are a favourite means of selecting students and determining their life chances. This article considers some of the assumptions underlying such tests, and looks critically at how they work.

One of the most noticeable things in our society is that children of the rich tend to end up being rich themselves and children of the poor tend to end up being poor – that is, most people tend to achieve the same socio economic status as their parents. Now this might seem puzzling to many given the popular notion that we live in a land of golden opportunity, we all have the benefit and privilege of a free education, and basically there is no reason why any individual cannot get to the top. Yet analysis would show that there are plenty of reasons why we all can't get to the top, and schools based on instrumental failure and competitive grading are a major cause.

Our school system has never truly provided equality of opportunity either for human development or economic reward, because it mirrors the inherently unequal structure of the capitalist economy we live in. In performing their chief function of integrating each new generation into the existing social order, the schools are constrained to justify and reproduce inequality rather than correct it.

The main way they legitimise economic inequality is by providing a supposedly open, objective and meritocratic mechanism for assigning individuals to unequal economic positions. However, in reality we find that schools enforce a social structure that means only children from middle-class backgrounds can ever really succeed, so that children from working-class backgrounds tend to fail or drop out at the bottom levels, equipped only with the credentials for poorly-paid, restricted-advancement occupations.

## Testing the Poor

There is no need to go into any detail about how the school is a middle-class institution, or how the curriculum is concerned with middle-class issues and values. This is well documented. My specific intent is to illustrate some ways in which the practice of IQ testing in schools contributes to this process by discriminating against working class children and the children from the underprivileged migrant, racial and ethnic groups: in a word, children of the poor.

As many children from these poor groups find school an alien and alienating environment, they tend to perform less well than middle class children and are usually streamed into the lower levels and suffer considerably disproportionate failure experiences. Rather than appreciating this poorer performance as being a product of 'culture clash' and adapting or changing the school and its curriculum to the needs and demands of the populations they service, teachers tend to look for 'objective' evidence to justify this poorer performance, and many find this in the IQ test scores that appear on the vast majority of student record cards. In NSW for instance, it is still standard practice for all children in grade 4 or grade 6 to be given the TOLA IQ test. Their performance on this test is routinely recorded on their record cards, and this score subsequently accompanies them through their entire school career like a shadow.

Furthermore, any child referred to a school counsellor, for whatever reasons, is more than likely to also be given one of the commonly used individual IQ tests such as the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC-R) or the Stanford-Binet.

The fact that these standard tests are not objective, are not fair and actually discriminate against children from non-middle class backgrounds is not usually taken into account. Armed with the IQ score teachers often accept the poorer performance of children from these groups as being the result of poorer intelligence. This also can spiral into the highly dangerous, self-fulfilling prophecy phenomenon of biased teacher expectations.

IQ tests give respectability to streaming practices and the gradual channelling out of these children from the education system. Furthermore, they create a stigma which not only dehumanises the individuals involved, but the practice totally obscures the basic problem facing the schools by blaming individuals for failure rather than questioning teaching methods. The whole practice lends a 'scientific' veneer to what are basically political decisions about how to channel these social groups.

## Measuring Skills

Perhaps one reason why teachers treat IQ scores as being very important is that they believe IQ differences in children reflect variations in fundamental aspects of their intellectual functioning. Now whether this is true or not depends to a certain extent on what is taken as the definition of 'fundamental intellectual activity'. One way we can approach this is to look at the type of skills that are actually represented in IQ batteries.

Nearly all IQ tests in common use place a very strong emphasis on verbal skills. But just what kinds of skills are these? They seem to be relatively passive ones. To do well on a test, one must understand instructions; one must be able to produce conventional definitions of various words etc. The tests certainly do not emphasise the creative uses of language, and it is here that they discriminate most against non-middle class children.

Take, for instance this selection of vocabulary words from the Stanford-Binet and revised Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children.



Stanford-Binet		WISC-R	
orange	mosaic	knife	nuisance
envelope	stave	umbrella	fable
straw	bewail	clock	hazardous
puddle	ochre	hat	migrate
tap	repose	bicycle	stanza
gown	ambergris	nail	seclude
rear	limpet	alphabet	mantis
eyelash	frustrate	donkey	espionage
Mars	flaunt	thief	belfry
juggler	incrustation	join	rivalry
scorch	retroactive	brave	amendment
lecture	philanthropy	diamond	compel
skill	piscatorial	gamble	affliction
brunette	milkstop	nonsense	obliterate
muzzle	harpy	prevent	imminent
haste	depredation	contagious	dilatory
peculiarity	perfunctory		
priceless	achromatic		
regard	casuistry		
tolerate	homunculus		
disproportionate	sudorific		
lotus	parterre		
shrewd			

These items are considered to be valid in these IQ tests because not only does the average 6 year old know about six of these words, the average 9 year old about eleven etc, but on a test of this kind, the child who does better than average would generally be the child who did well at school. However, rather than being a good measure of a fundamental dimension of intelligence, such tests are really only a measure of a child's environmental experience. You cannot define any word unless you have heard it or read it before or unless it is derived obviously from words you already know. The only ways to know such words before you learn of them in school are if you are highly motivated and spend a lot of time reading on your own or if you live in a home where such words are used all the time. In either case, knowing such words is dependent not on 'intelligence', but on environmental background and motivation.

The weaknesses and biases in the vocabulary section of these tests are minor compared with the class and attitudinal biases in the section labelled 'Comprehension'. A question from the Stanford-Binet is: 'What's the thing for you to do when you are on your way to school and notice that you are in danger of being late?' The scoring guidelines tell us that 'only those responses which suggest hurrying are acceptable'. Some correct responses are 'Hurry'; 'Go right ahead to school'; 'take the street bus'. Some examples of incorrect responses are: 'Go on to school and tell my teacher why I'm late'; 'Not stop'; 'Just keep on going'; 'Get a late card'. Rather than measuring 'Intelligence' it would seem that these items are simply measuring the extent to which children are willing to conform to the rules of society and the school.

Some examples from the WISC-R are even more hair raising: 'What is the thing to do if a (boy/girl) much smaller than yourself starts a fight with you?' 'Why are criminals locked up?' 'Why should a promise be kept?' 'Why is it generally better to give money to an organised charity than to a street beggar?'

Naturally, the 'correct' answers include such gems of middle class values as:

'Tell (him/her) you don't want to fight.'  
'Criminals need to be segregated from society for the protection of society.'  
'A promise has the status of an implied contract.'  
'Giving money to a charity insures that it goes to a really needy person.'

'Wrong' answers include:  
'Just let (him/her) fight and win.'

'Criminals should be locked up because they are bad.'

'You can gain friends by keeping promises.'

'If you give to a beggar he's likely to keep it himself.'

Now the 'wrong' answers are really no less logical than the 'correct' ones. It appears that the difference is that the 'correct' answers comply with school based teachings of how children should behave whereas the 'wrong' answers are simply logical, everyday, and apt responses to human situations.

The heavy emphasis on verbal skills, apart from disadvantaging non-middle class children, can only be seen as measuring an extremely limited aspect of intellectual functioning. There is a lack of concentration on the non-verbal aspects of intelligence for instance, which some psychological theories, especially Piaget's, stress as being very pervasive.

### Reinforcing Differences

This links up very closely with a further aspect of IQ tests, which is that because they feed on differences, IQ tests actually obscure the many common features of children's abilities and intellectual functioning. For instance, a child scoring 110 on an IQ test would be regarded as being considerably more intellectually gifted than a child scoring 90. But exactly what does this twenty point difference actually mean?

If we trace back their test performance, we might find for example, that the first child defined 13 words correctly on the vocabulary section, whereas the second defined 15 correctly. These two mistakes cost the first child several points which contributed to pushing his or her score below the average. We might also find this slightly better performance difference on several other test items too. Now these relatively minor differences in response patterns are sufficient to create the 20 IQ point difference in their final scores. But does this mean anything?

It would seem not. The difference certainly does not mean that the second child possessed an array of intellectual skills that the first lacked. They both defined some words which indicates that they both possessed the sufficient mental operations for this task. What is lacking in the first child is simply the ability to define a particular word or two.

These children, then, do not differ in fundamental ways. There are minor quantitative differences, but not qualitative ones. The implication for the interpretation of IQ scores in terms of social class difference is very great here. A difference of 20 IQ points – the typical difference between middle and lower socio-economic group children – is usually taken to mean that the groups differ in an important intellectual way. Now this is very misleading and contributes to the widespread misunderstanding and abuse of IQ scores. The numerical difference falsely implies a general difference in intellect – it fails to reveal that these children share many of the same intellectual skills.

Yet so many teachers and school psychologists actually write kids off on the basis of low IQ scores, and go on to treat them as though they belonged to a different species. One reason for this is that they have swallowed the myth that IQ tests measure an innate ability which is relatively unaffected by experience. This provides a very easy cop out for many people – if Dimitri or Anastasia have low IQs, why try at all with them?

### Nature Versus Class

The old nature-nurture controversy is certainly not dead for many people. The question we must remember, however, is not how heredity and environment influence intelligence, but rather how heredity and environment contribute to the particular intellectual skills which IQ tests measure.

This becomes very evident if we look at the relation between IQ scores and success at school. It is usually held that the two correlate quite highly. The average correlation between school achievement and IQ is often calculated to be about .50. Now while this is statistically significant, it is certainly far from perfect and knowledge of a child's IQ certainly does not permit unerring prediction of his or her school performance.

If we look for the basis of this correlation though, some things become very clear. The usual assumption for the moderately high correlation is that it exists because 'basic intelligence' is required for academic work and IQ tests measure this. A more accurate reason, however, lies in the source of the basic items used in all IQ tests. Even though there are many domains of social and working life that could be sampled, the choice in just about every IQ test has been restricted to items from standard school curriculums — general knowledge, comprehension and manipulation of standard English, arithmetic etc. Thus, general intelligence became equated with school intelligence. To predict future school success from an IQ test that is composed of school related items is simply to indicate the constancy of the school environment.

We find then that middle class children do well on IQ tests because the tests embody middle class values and reflect middle class experiences. Middle class children also do well at school because its curriculum and the social relations embodied in it reflect the same middle class beliefs and values. So it's not surprising at all to find a correlation between the two. Yet for teachers to find solace in the fact that poor children perform badly in school because of low intelligence as measured by IQ tests is absurd. It overlooks totally their dependent connection and fails to question at all whether the beliefs, attitudes and behaviours common to both are at all relevant to non-middle class children in the first place. The error perpetrated by this view lies in accepting the education system with its middle class norms concerning knowledge, beliefs, values and *modus operandi* as being a universal, natural hurdle system — instead of the screening system for social pre-conditioning that it really is.

### Whose Norms ?

A further way in which IQ tests advantage middle class children is that the tests are validated in terms of middle class norms. It happens in this way.

Original pools of items from which a test is constructed come either from the head of the psychologist making it, or from other existing tests, which were themselves constructed out of other psychologists' heads. Now psychologists are middle class professionals on the whole, with bourgeois ideas about the nature of human qualities, and the questions they dream up reflect these ideas.

This pool of items is then given to a group of people whom they think vary on the quality in question — intelligence. This group is usually defined on the advice of experts, such as teachers. Such judgements themselves are suspect, because they too incorporate the values of these so-called experts, who once again are usually middle class themselves.

When the items which best sort out this criterion group have been chosen, the test is refined or improved. One way is to submit items to new validation groups. Such information is no more objective since the groups chosen will reflect the same biases inherent in the original sample.

The validity of the expert's opinions, in our case, those of teachers, will of course be based on the fact that they are able to indicate at early stages the kind of people who are 'intelligent' and who will do well in the system. But teachers ratings of intelligence reflect the same assumptions about human worth as are held by the people who control success in our society. Indeed the teacher's judgements may themselves be an important factor in the success of a child after school, and most ludicrously of all, IQ test scores themselves may lift people up the ladder at school or in job selection. Claiming that people who do well on intelligence tests also do well in life is simply picking out the people who are playing the middle class game for whatever reason, from those who aren't.

The process of standardisation of IQ tests is similar to the validation process. Theoretically, the standardisation of a test enables an individual taking the test to be given a score relative to the way similar people perform on the test. This is achieved by giving the test to a range of people equivalent to those upon

whom it is to be used. For children, this involves doing separate standardisations for each age group for instance, to derive age norms for each test item, against which any one performance is judged.

The major problem with this process is with the samples that are used. For example, the Stanford-Binet and the WISC were both standardised in America on *white people only*. The sample was also chosen using census data which are known to exclude a lot of working class, no-fixed-abode people, so that the standardisation sample included more middle class people than were actually represented in the population. It is not surprising then that non-middle class people often do less well on these IQ tests than their middle class counterparts, for the sample that the tests were standardised on was biased against them.

Furthermore, differences between males and females were eliminated by juggling the test items, but differences in social class and race were not and are not. The decision whether or not to standardise in order to wipe out group differences is purely a political decision. It is claimed that the reason why class and race differences have not been eliminated, whereas sex differences have, is that the predictive value of the tests would be lessened. The case of standardising for sex differences is interesting in this light, for when the original Stanford-Binet was standardised in this fashion (up to 1937, women generally scored up to 10 points lower than men on average), the test lost some of its predictive power. Because women were not treated equally in the society, the test lost some of its ability to predict who would do well and who would do poorly in later life. What is interesting, is why there has not been a similar conscious decision to standardise this and other IQ tests for racial and social class differences.

### Goring the Ox

It would seem that the tests were designed to reflect prevailing class relationships and to prove 'scientifically' that those on the top were smart and those at the bottom were dull.

Tests can be designed to reflect anything their designers want. It is perhaps not surprising to find that IQ tests designed by middle class psychologists only end up showing that people from their own class are the most intelligent. But who says that people on top are there because they are more intelligent? Does getting ahead depend on being bright or on something else? Are the children who do well in school really the 'intelligent' ones or are there other qualities that help them do well? It seems much more likely that getting ahead in our society or doing well in school depend on things other than intelligence — things like class background, willingness to conform, respect for authority, readiness to obey. Perhaps success depends more on the attitudes of people and their desire to maintain the status quo than on intelligence as measured by standardised IQ tests. If success depends on class background and attitudes, and if IQs correlate with success, maybe IQ is only a measure of background and attitudes.

It is simply not enough to say that IQ tests are biased in favour of the middle classes for bias implies that the measurement is potentially valid but that middle class children have certain advantages which enable them to do better than working class children. It is not simply that middle class children have an advantage. The whole tests were constructed to prove that the middle classes were the more intelligent section of the population.

IQ tests rest on the false assumption that there is a continuity of human consciousness — of beliefs, values, languages, cognition and perception across a spectrum of occupations, prestige, material wealth and political power. The fact that some sections of the population, the working class, aboriginal, migrant and ethnic minorities have cultures that are dissonant with the wider societal structure does not imply that they are inferior, or their members are less 'intelligent', even though their performances on the tasks set by that wider system are sometimes poor. Such elitist ideas can only perpetuate inequalities and perpetuate the failure of these groups in our schools.

# Stalemates: the old heredity-environment game

by Jim Alexander

The old heredity-environment debate has raged long. Its significance has been little questioned and its prominence has formed the underpinnings of differential psychology — a 'proper' academic pursuit. But the Valentines (1975) say the whole thing is a 'spurious debate composed of false issues ... spurious both in the sense that it cannot be settled and because, if agreement were reached, no significant social change could be expected. The issues are false because the surface of furious argumentation masks an underlying agreement in support of the status quo'.

They see the debate as no separate academic exercise but part of a way of thinking that naively imagines an understanding of the world is somehow distinct from acting in it. 'Because of the inertia of the social system, together with the power relations inherent in inequality, the stance of apolitical value-free neutral 'objectivity' in the human sciences necessarily supports the status quo' (Valentine, 1975). And little more need be said about the status quo than that it is a hierarchically structured class system. A system in which in reality differences are contrived because of its structure, yet which professes the ideals of equality.

Hans Eysenck's current trip to Australia illustrates how importantly the notion of serious academic thought supports a whole conservative philosophy. In fact, the disruption of an Eysenck lecture at the University of Sydney was described by the Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Professor O'Neil as 'the most deplorable thing that has ever happened at the University' (SMH, September 17). This focus on the rights and propriety of a single person, Eysenck's right to give a proper lecture, ignores the whole history of the context of the debate.

Nobody feels any great responsibility to have the social practitioners of racist policies speak in universities. Even the Fraser government criticises the practices of racist states, restricting entry of their adherents. Why is Eysenck so entitled to speak as the current theoretician of the inevitability of an unequal social order? The cloak of dispassionate academic interest can only cover so much.

It is important to see how 'objective' social theorists have handled the explanation of group differences. Various sets of models have been developed to explain their nature and origins. Origins are either fixed genetically or open to change, socially. The 'fixed' theories of intelligence (Eysenck, Jensen) are complemented by some equally fixed nutritional and general social theories, including the latest biological 'explanations' of sex differences as 'selfish genes' (Goldberg, 1977) and indeed the whole 'culture of poverty' set which propose biological structural differences or changes which reproduce *themselves*. So goes the genetic-hereditarian line, full blown biological determinism. Differences are fixed. The world is as it is, an inevitable excuse for differential treatment.

It is not surprising to see how such explanations of individual and group differences, and the resultant economic and social inequality they supposedly justify, are associated with the classic conservative social politics. Such understandings of the world see no necessary injustice in educational inequality. In fact they gell appropriately. They can, when fully incorporated,

enable differences to be celebrated, not deplored. They can, in their crudest extremes, support a logic which enables a minister for education (Carrick) to describe the most advantaged people in the most advantaged schools in the country as *disadvantaged*.

Another set of explanations of these differences uses an open model where changed social experiences can lead to a redress of the differences producing inequality. These see genetic transmission as irrelevant to social inequality; they emphasise the impact of personal and cultural histories and need to provide equal opportunities and access to education. Then any differences are at least fair differences. Herein, the liberal democratic ethos. Differences are seen to be real enough yet not inevitable, and certainly malleable within an enlightened set of equalising strategies. These range from compensatory education programs which see the child as either a deficit system or, equally ineffectively, in need of subsidies or special programs — bilingual/cultural. These are often supported by 'blame the school' explanations of educational failure, and clearly represent an advance on blaming the child. But the many opportunity programs of the 60s and 70s have not been able to reduce these crucial differences, and certainly haven't been able to alter any contingent inequalities.



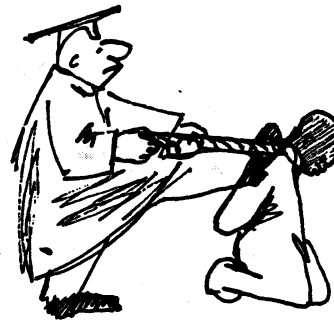
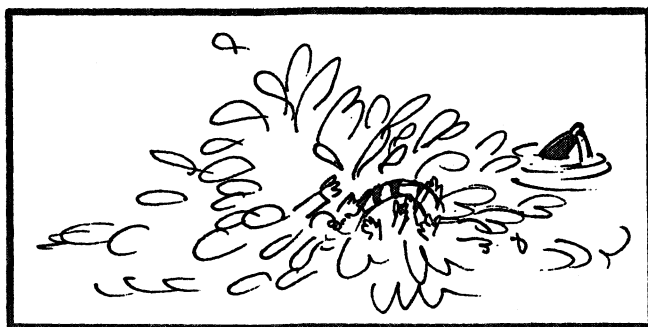
Are you sure you want me to go on?



Then how come the debate still goes on? Why are Eysenck and Jensen brought to Australia? Is the necessary import of new 'knowledge' to sustain more of Carrick's legitimations, to cut back even on the patch jobs, and check the thrust of criticism against our social order?

In focussing on either biological processes or, on the other hand, cultural, historical and psychological arguments, attention has been drawn away from the real basis of inequalities — the explanations for the differences lying in the social system itself, and its pervading structure of inequality. That is, social differences need to be conceptualised as *causes* of inequality and not *consequences* of individual pathologies, which fail to identify class and ethnic stratification as the *determinant* of inequality and offer no solutions beyond the somewhat more cautious and defensive versions of 'reformist interventionism'. (Valentine.)

If the debate has this function (of drawing attention to a non issue) it may well be that the times the debate rages are those times when threats to the social establishment are great or when further repressive reforms are being anticipated. In times of economic growth open theories of inequality can be supported but in times of economic or political crisis inequalities can become exacerbated, or can be thrown into the public arena for scrutiny and justification. At such times the legitimations of academic knowledge become even more useful. Serious sounding explanations of inevitability satisfy the unease of some, while hopes of a piffling new reform can fob off many.



The whole cultural/intellectual deficit debate has been a rationalisation for the worsening lot of the poor in the face of increasing wealth for some.

Explanations of the causes of inequality have usually been individual or internal to a group, whether genetic or environmental. The causes have been located in the weaknesses or deficiencies of the individual, or the malfunction of the group. 'Seldom, if ever, do we find the main sources of inequality imputed to the characteristics of comfortable and powerful groups, or to the social system as a whole.' (Valentine, 1975.) Not the power of the rich but the weakness of the poor. Strategies for resolving the inequalities are not seen in an attack on wealth but by waging wars on poverty.

Why the present interest in Eysenck and Jensen? If it is the case that the debate is staged as a decoy at certain times, then there's a hint. Twenty years of conservative social policy in Australia has assured them some acceptability. ('Prof. Eysenck had believed we were more democratic here than in Britain' (SMH September 17).) No limp rationalisation can obscure the illiberal policies of that time when inadequacies in educational provision and opportunity for many were happily matched with opulence for a few, when no understanding of the particular problems faced by migrant groups was attempted, when the laws of financial inheritance outweighed any need for trifling much with genetic inheritance.

A liberal slip at the end of the boom of the 60s saw a new emphasis on the 'open' models (see Sandra Alexander's article in RED 3). Funds for disadvantaged schools and groups were available for the first time, and some beginning attempts at compensatory education were arranged. But it seems there's going to be no need to wait for results here. No disappointing results to justify cutbacks on what are no more than basic provisions. Carrick has cut back and with the sniff of the old biological determinism in the air, further cuts might well be expected, boosted by the evidence from carefully culturally contorted tests of ability. At a time when some attacks are being mounted on the presumptions of the 'mainstream culture' over 'subordinate' groups, when efforts are being made to win rights for the groups previously unrecognised, the guardians of the standard, stratified values have acted. Funds have been cut — the economic base is secured. On to the ideological.

As debates go, then, the current one is a winner. Not only has obtuse thinking remained revered, and faith been restored in the miracle of loaves and fishes to feed the ever starving, but the *obvious* explanations of inequality and their implications been circumvented. In that these inequalities exist in stratified societies, nothing short of revolutionary equalising changes in structures can possibly work. As long as genes carry the answers, change is far off. Piecemeal allocations of funds and crude educational interventions can never have substantial impacts while the basic economic and social functions remain unchanged.

#### References

Valentine C. A. & Valentine B. 'Sociogenic brain damage and the intellectual defense of inequality'. *Current Anthropology*, 1975, 16, 1, 117-150.

Goldberg, S. *The Inevitability of Patriarchy*, 1976.

# The Politics of Psychology: A Reading Guide

The heredity/environment issue was re-opened in educational circles in 1969 with the publication of Jensen's article 'How much can we boost IQ and scholastic achievement' (*Harvard Educational Review*, Vol.39, No.1). Others supported him, such as Herrnstein and Shockley in the USA and Eysenck in Britain. Eysenck published a book in 1972 called *Race, Intelligence and Education*, written for a popular audience, and Jensen documented the history of the controversy in 1973 with his book *Genetics and Education*.

Jensen's argument is that environmental factors are not significant in the determination of IQ and that social class and racial differences in intelligence cannot be accounted for by differences in environment, but must be in large part caused by genetic differences.

Many criticisms have been made of this position as essentially racist in character, but most criticisms have been content merely to question his methodology, statistical technique, lack of rigour, dishonesty etc, without questioning the social context revealed by his conclusions (eg. most articles in *Harvard Educational Review* and books by Senna and Kamin). Another smaller group of criticisms (eg. Rose) do place the critique in a social framework and see Jensen and Eysenck as supporting a 'scientific' rationale for the continued existence of the present social system.

However, the way in which the whole argument has been structured, that is, in setting up a dichotomy of heredity/environment has tended to miss the point. In accepting this dichotomy one becomes either a biological determinist or an environmental determinist – both positions are reductionist. On the one hand, there is a failure to take the social and historical forces into consideration and thus an acceptance of the present social order; on the other, the use of the crude environmentalist category allows a unity to development with behaviourism (see for example Kamin). Both positions deny the manner in which our social relations are made by ourselves in particular circumstances.

The following articles provide good ammunition for fighting the current onslaught from these genetic racists:

Block, N J and Dworkin G, *The IQ Controversy*, New York, Pantheon 1975. [The authors summarise and document the issues involved in this debate. Essential reading for all of those concerned with the issue.]

Colman A M, '“Scientific” racism and the evidence on race and intelligence', *Race*, Vol.14, No.2 (1972) p.137-153. [Distinguishes between two main propositions inherent in the heritability argument which are independent of each other and seeks to disprove the second –

- a) that intellectual differences are overwhelmingly determined by genetic factors,
- b) that the 15-point gap between black and white Americans is largely determined by genetic factors –

by accounting for the neglected environmental factors. Also argues against the concept of a culture free IQ test and explains the ideological, rather than objective, nature of the heritability argument and the reactionary uses to which it has been put.]

Erhlich, Paul and Feldman, Shirley, *The Race Bomb: Skin Colour, Prejudice and Intelligence*, New York, Quadrangle 1977. [The very latest on the whole intelligence, deprivation issue.]

Gartner G, Greer C and Riesman F (ed), *The New Assault on Equality*, New York, Harper & Row 1974. [This is a first rate collection, see review in RED 1.]

*Harvard Educational Review*, Vol.39, No.2 (1969). This issue contains a number of articles relating to an analysis of Jensen's article in Vol.39, No.1, but only a few are more than superficially critical.

- 1 Elkind David, 'Piagetian and psychometric conceptions of intelligence'. [Using Piaget's structuralism, Elkin argues that intelligence is developed in experience.]
- 2 McVicker Hunt J, 'Has compensatory education failed? Has it been attempted?' [Argues that there is a necessary relationship between the physical structure of the nervous system and the behaviour of the system and that rich post-natal experiences must be provided in order to develop the inherent structures.]

*Harvard Educational Review*, Vol.39, No.3 (1969). More replies to Jensen, but again most are limited in extent of criticism.

- 1 Light, Richard J and Smith, Paul V, 'Social allocation models of intelligence.' [Mainly a criticism of Jensen's methodology, arguing that his parameter estimates are highly suspect given the small sample size of the twin studies and the way the disparate studies were combined.]
- 2 Stinchcombe, Arthur L, 'Environment: the cumulation of effects is yet to be understood.' [Argues that environments are cumulative and until researchers can account for their complexity, statements about the proportional effects of heredity and environment are premature.]
- 3 Deutsch, Martin, 'Happenings on the way back to the Forum: social science, IQ, and race differences revisited.' [Reviews the literature on compensatory education, IQ tests and nature of educational environment and makes a moral, rather than methodological criticism, stating that Jensen had written an article which had 'negative implications for the struggle against racism and for improvement of the educational system'.]

Hirsch, J, 'Jensenism: the bankruptcy of “science” without scholarship', *Educational Theory*, Vol.25, No.1 (Winter 1975) p.1-27. [Criticises Jensen (& Eysenck, Herrnstein etc) for dishonesty of argument, misuse of evidence and general scholarly incompetence – ‘an intellectual watergate’ – ‘a problem of morality, rather than science’.]

Kamin, L, *The Science and Politics of IQ*, Potomac, Md., L. Erlbaum Associates, 1974. [Reviews major evidence that has been put forward asserting that IQ is heritable and argues that environmental factors have often been ignored, for instance in the twin studies, data has been selected arbitrarily. However, Kamin opts for an unqualified environmentalism in the framework of radical behaviourism based on J B Watson.]

Karier, C J, 'Testing for order and control in the corporate liberal state', *Educational Theory*, 1972, 22, 2. [A brilliant demolition of the Terman-Thorndike measurement mania. It also is printed in Karier, Violas and Spring (eds) *Roots of Crisis*, Chicago, Rand McNally, 1973.]

Karier, C J, *Shaping the American Educational State 1900-Present*, New York, Free Press, 1975. [Karier continues and broadens his attack on measurement and testing and its impact on American academe.]

Medawar, P G, 'Unnatural science', *New York Review of Books*, February 3, 1977, p.13-18. [Discusses L J Kamin's *The Science and Politics of IQ* and N J Block & Gerald Dworkin's *The IQ Controversy* in the context of a broad ranging survey of the heredity/environment argument. He particularly criticises Burt's work on twin studies and states that IQ, like many other measures of complex characteristics, involves a false use of a statistical concept. He accepts, however, that there is a hereditary component in intelligence, but does not justify the social uses of the work of Burt, Jensen etc.]

'Nice One Cyril', in *Radical Education*, No. 8, Spring, 1977. A very neat summary of the Burt fiasco.

Rose, Steven, Hambley, John and Haywood, Jeff, 'Science, racism and ideology' in *The Socialist Register* (1973), edited by Ralph Miliband and John Saville, London, Merlin Press, 1974, p.235-260. [Argues that Eysenck and Jensen are promoting a pseudo-scientific rationale for the continued existence of the present system, and the heredity vs environment polarity is not the correct way to view what is in fact a complex interaction of both constellations of factors. Probably the best available criticism and best exposition of the ideological nature of the heritability argument.]

Rose, Hilary and Rose, Steven (eds), *The Political Economy of Science: Ideology off in the Natural Sciences*, London, Macmillan, 1976, Ch.7, p.114-141. [This is similar to the article in *The Socialist Register*, 1973.]

Richardson, K and Spears, D (eds), *Race, Culture and Intelligence*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972. [Not available for annotation.]

Senna, Carl (ed), *The Fallacy of IQ*, New York, Joseph Okpaku, 1973. Contains a number of critical articles by Senna, Lewontin, Robinson, Mercer & Brown, Jencks, Layzer and Strickland, including:

- 1 Layzer, Davis, 'Science or superstition? (A physical scientist looks at the IQ controversy).' [Argues that the question of whether IQ is determined by genetic factors or environmental factors is not profitable to ask and that instead the cultural factors important in understanding cognitive development should be examined.]
- 2 Lewontin, Richard, 'Race and Intelligence' (reprinted from *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (1970)). [An argument from a geneticist stating that Jensen's genetic theory is incorrect in not distinguishing between population genetics and the genetics of individual variation.]
- 3 Senna, Carl, 'Speed and direction'. [Argues against the concept of a culture-free IQ test and states that IQ should not be a basis for selection, but instead, aptitude, liking and performance.]

Simon, Brian, *Psychology, Intelligence and Education*, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1974. [See review in this issue. A first rate publication.]

*Sunday Times*, October 24, 1976. Contains the initial expose of Burt's fraud. See also correspondence in the *Times* until the end of November.

## Test Your Own IQ # 2 or Chop, Chop, Off With Your Head !

Revolution is related to evolution as flying is to (?)

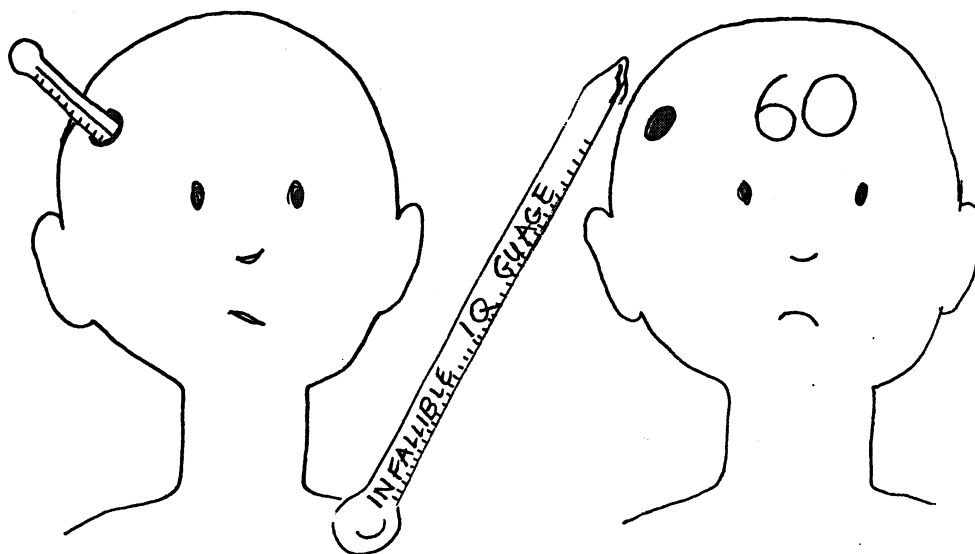
1. birds 2. whirling 3. walking 4. wings 5. standing

You may think this is a joke, but it is not. It's an actual item from the Otis Higher Test - Form A (Metric) or standardised, IQ test widely used throughout Australia, published by the Australian Council for Educational Research. One of the articles submitted for this issue took 16 of the 67 items that form this test and pointed out their blatant absurdities. We all thought the article was excellent but finally decided we could not print it.

After much last minute deliberation amongst ourselves the legal hazard of a possible suit over infringement of copyright won out. We realised that there would be a very high likelihood of us being sued for presenting such revealing information. Despite the fact that we would not be printing and distributing these items for profit, despite the fact that we would not be distributing them for a direct undermining of IQ tests by exposing them to students who may practice on them and boost their IQ (we all realise that this is possible, don't we!), we found our position would be very vulnerable since all of these arguments could be used against us in court. Add to this their argument that they spent millions on research to devise these items for the test which has now been invalidated, and we've had it. Chop! Chop!

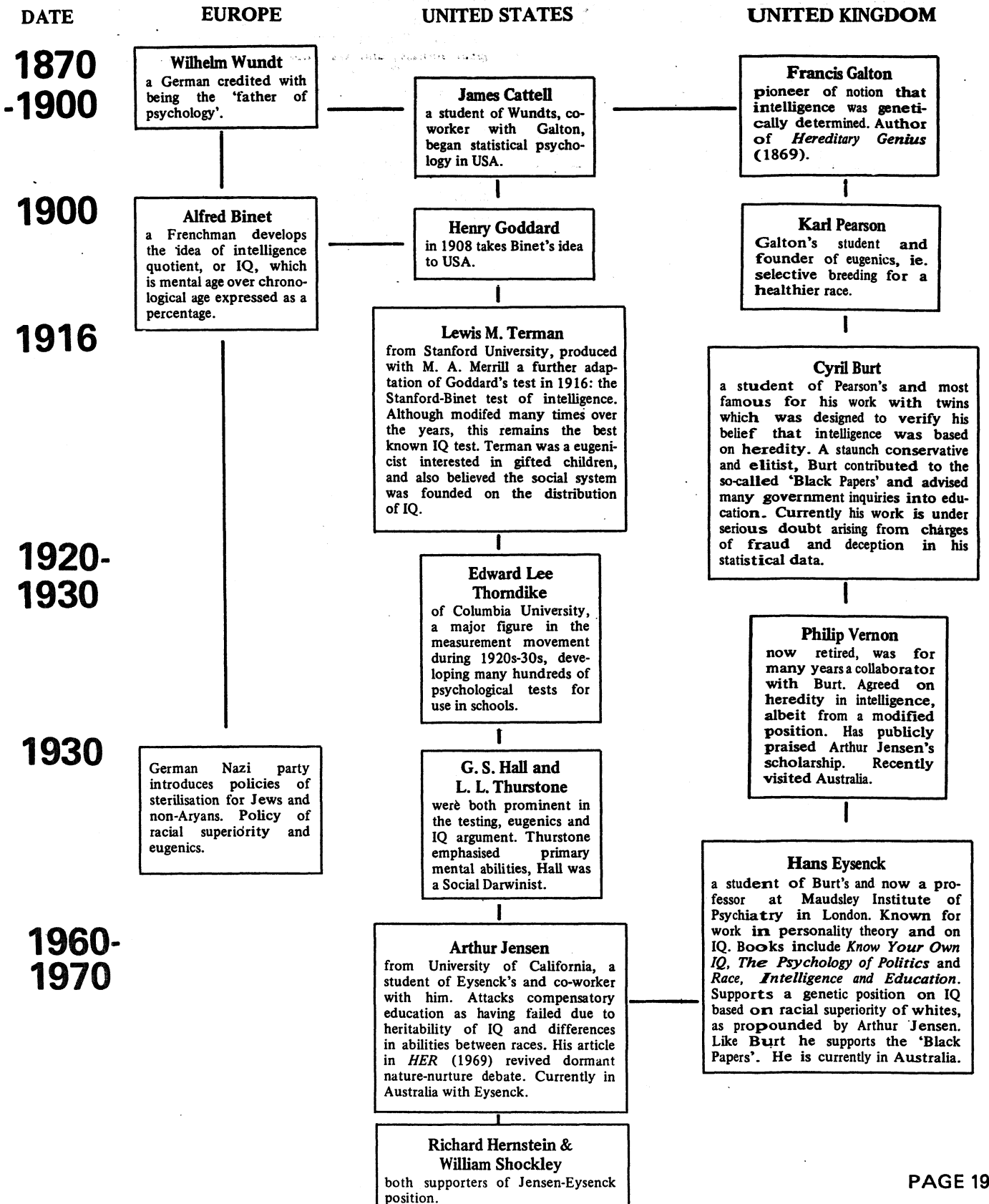
... And they weren't likely to find our argument of using the test as a basis of valid academic criticisms very acceptable. Chop! The strength of this article was in the fact that the main criticisms were evidenced in the items themselves - a form of criticism probably less acceptable to the devisers and publishers of the test than the accepted, more oblique criticisms of standard academic practice. ... And there is no way we'd get permission to use them. Chop! Chop!

So IQ tests remain out of reach of our grimy red hands. We'd have to change the document so that it was unrecognisable as the test it was - an exercise for a later issue perhaps. (But at least there will be another issue!) So, sorry folks. Send in any comments, articles etc.



# The IQ Family Tree

[THE GENESIS OF IQ TESTING]



# A Slap in the Face for Social Workers

## The Implications of the Sydney University Dispute

Some 150 third and fourth year Social Work students, plus many others in lower years, returned to classes on the final Thursday of second term after a seven week boycott of classes – the longest in the university's history. Two issues dominated the action: specific course criticisms and the role of students in decision-making in the department. There has been a long history of student discontent about various courses in recent years and matters were only coming to a head when well-prepared options for the fourth year, adopted by a student-staff committee, were vetoed by the Head of Department, Professor Brennan. Third year students began by boycotting his lectures and were later joined by fourth years and many second and first years in a complete boycott of the department (with the exception of two of the adopted options, and fieldwork). For two weeks at the end they were joined by a majority of the staff, mostly junior and/or part-time. Matters were exacerbated when staff member Locke struck a student. The university set up two inquiries into the events. From the first Locke got a reprimand and an extension of probationary service. Students refused to be taken in by administration claims to neutrality and maintained a virtual 100% boycott in third and fourth years until the report of the inquiry into the disputed course.

This inquiry, while attacking student and staff actions in intemperate terms and denying that these actions had had any influence on their conclusions, nonetheless replaced acting Head of Department Nolan with associate professor Gunn, (of English!), who is certain to remain as acting head even after Brennan returns from the overseas trip he started soon after the boycott. The administration also created a new chair in the department and added an extra lectureship (in a period of severe cutbacks in spending!). Students were granted the options already started and promised favourable consideration of the others. They then returned to classes 'to show good faith in expectation that the recommendations of the inquiry (which were distinctly vague and ambiguous) would be implemented substantially in line with student demands'. Gunn has, as expected, proved to be an ardent conservative and had, even by the end of term, already antagonized students greatly by making wild threats of failure, backing compulsory unseen-exams and *reducing* student participation in decision-making. Third term will certainly see further fireworks.

## The lessons

Students have gained very few of their demands, and an attempt is being made to nullify previous gains. Nevertheless, the university has been forced to take drastic action against a professor and has been severely embarrassed by the exposures that even its own inquiry brought to light. None of this would have occurred without student action, although the abuses in the department were well known. The measure of student success at this point has to be taken from the very effective tactics they have employed. In the years since 1968, universities have learnt how to deal with occupations and disruptions. They have reduced their material impact by increasing security men and doors, duplicating files, rapidly imposing injunctions etc. and used the events in various ways to discredit student activity and distract attention from student grievances. In this they have been relatively successful. New tactics have long been needed.

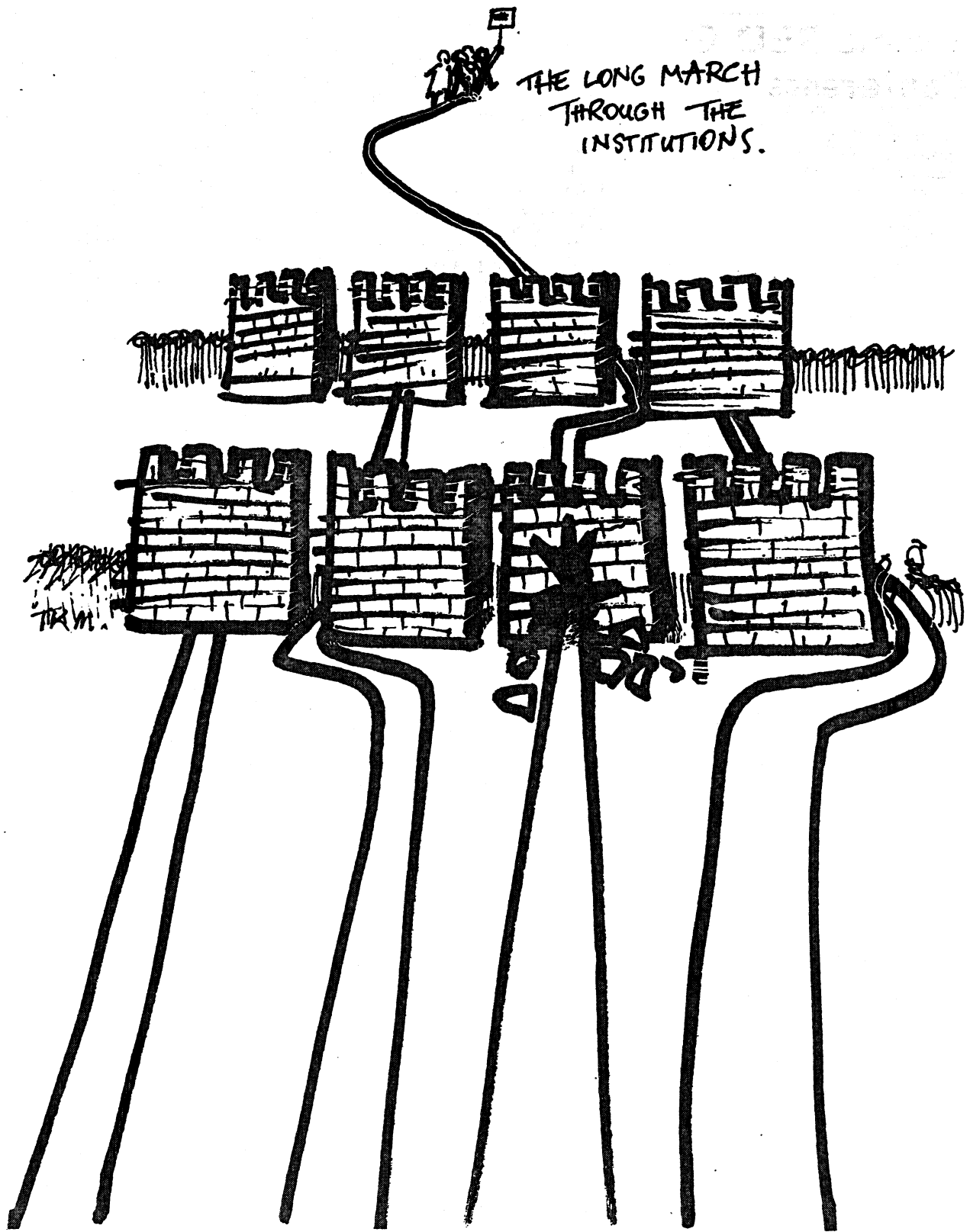
In this dispute, students limited action to one department (radicalism at Sydney is at a low ebb, and a call for university-wide action would have produced very little), but maintained almost throughout an amazing 100% solidarity in a group ranging from small 'c' communists to big 'C' fundamentalist Christians. This solidarity gave the students high credibility and great morale, and was undoubtedly their greatest weapon – opposed staff soon became very unnerved and made many mistakes. The maintenance of this solidarity even among those most easily disturbed by challenges to 'authority' was largely due to pursuing two avenues of action simultaneously. Direct action was taken – boycotting lectures etc., mounting substantial pickets, holding a party in the department's foyer, and putting on the courses sought and vetoed – but the 'proper channels' were also pursued throughout the dispute – consultative committees, submissions to the inquiries, interviews, petitions etc. This double line depended on there being a large number of active students.

None of the direct actions taken could invoke serious retaliation, although some staff were reprimanded mildly for not obeying an instruction from the Registrar and fourth year students were threatened with failure for not attending lectures (a laughable dead letter in most universities). Similarly, no particular ideological mileage could be made out of the actions. In fact, helped by Locke's assault, students retained the sympathy of the university audience throughout the boycott (direct support, however, came only from a few areas). This relatively low-profile stance was coupled with good publicity work (frequent news sheets with good cartoons, regular items in the student paper, *Honi Soit*), frequent general meetings, daily co-ordination meetings open to all and, not least, some very effective street theatre done in great humour, plus morale-building parties involving the more active students.

If student solidarity was the great strength of the struggle, staff action was its weakness. As in the political economy struggle last year, students had to achieve everything substantially without staff support, even though they constantly sought united action, especially for student-staff decision making. Had the staff sympathetic to student demands been stronger, more committed and more united among themselves, it is clear that some kind of de facto student-staff control could have been instituted in the big shake-up that has followed. Without such staff support there seems little scope for major advances in this area in the present conjuncture. In the event, Gunn's instructions seem to be to put a lid tight on the department until the new Social Work professor is appointed and order acceptable to the university (professorial autocracy with fuzzy edges) reinstituted. Student morale and commitment remain very high and staff anger is increasing, so this action will be fought all the way.

A word of caution to those who would seek to emulate the social workers: there were important external factors operating that would not be general. Firstly, the professor was very intransigent and unsubtle and had also clearly transgressed the behaviour that the administration could afford to tolerate once it was public that they knew about it. Secondly, students sought and obtained considerable support from the professional field (many former graduates and field supervisors wrote damning submissions to the inquiry). Most significantly, repeated student application to the professional body responsible for accrediting social work courses precipitated a withdrawal of accreditation for the Sydney course. The administration was decidedly responsive to this and to the evidence that Sydney's courses were not well regarded, and that its graduates were actually discriminated against when seeking jobs.

If you want to get in touch for more discussion, or to give support, write to the Secretary, SU Social Work Students Association, Box 82, Wentworth Building, Sydney University, NSW 2006.



# RED NEWS

## Second RED G Conference

The second 'What to do about schools' conference, held in Sydney at the beginning of September, took the analysis worked out at the first conference (see RED 1) and went on to discuss strategies for change through action in the schools and elsewhere.

Operating mainly through workshops and small groups, the participants explored the means for struggle – in unions, in classrooms and in communities. Various areas were outlined – ways in which students' rights could be elaborated and expressed, the use of personal development courses to challenge the dominant and repressive ideology of 'personal life' which keeps people in their places, and the position of GA classes and their teachers.

With respect to the latter, the existence of 'GA children' was seen to threaten the egalitarian presumptions of capitalist education. The result is the development of compensatory structures, and these can be used to great advantage by radical teachers. We can have greater autonomy (if only because few could care less about what happens in GA classes), smaller classes and more flexibility in time and in the units of work we develop.

One workshop examined possibilities for using the classroom and school as a springboard to the community. It was stressed that the working class is the prime revolutionary force in any capitalist society, so all attempts to contact people in working class communities have the potential for furthering a socialist perspective in these communities.

If we are to succeed in our struggles, we must be organised to fight and to support each other. It was fitting, then, that the conference closed with an outline of those organisations which can help to strengthen and bind teachers and students together. Speakers were heard from the Radical Education Group, the AMW & SU, the Teachers' Action Group and the NSW Teachers Federation.

This second conference brought widely separated groups and individuals together, and saw them depart revitalised and strengthened by the experience of sharing and developing ideas and programs for action. Further resource, study and support groups have been established (including one for GA teachers), and anyone interested in these should contact the Radical Education Group through 29B Avenue Road, Glebe, NSW 2037.

## Dip. Ed. Students Win Ed. Psych.

Dip Ed students at the University of New South Wales have this year gained a major achievement in the struggle to break the control which the ruling interest traditionally exercise over education. More specifically, they won the right to determine their own form of assessment in Educational Psychology, as against having to accept the form of assessment set down and insisted on by Prof. Drinkwater and his staff.

The trouble began when the students found that they were faced with Prof. Drinkwater's infamous multiple choice examination, which contained 135 items to be completed in two hours, and which was to count as 50% of the overall educational psychology assessment.

In the first instance, the students voiced their objections through the 'appropriate channels', namely the Curriculum Committee of the School of Education. This committee considered the objections to be reasonably founded, and so commenced negotiations with Prof. Drinkwater. The result was probably inevitable: Prof. Drinkwater took no heed of the delegation and refused to budge. 'Appropriate channels' were thus closed, and there the matter may have ended.

The students, however, were convinced that their cause was right, and so opened up 'inappropriate' channels. Mass meetings of the student body were called, and then, in a stirring expression of solidarity, the students voted overwhelmingly to *boycott* the multiple choice exam and to seek alternative means of assessment. Members of staff of the School of Education, and of other schools, also came out in support of the student's decision.

Faced with this solidarity among the students, the ruling interests were forced to open up other channels of discussion and communication. (The alternative would have been to fail the entire Dip Ed intake.) The matter was discussed at School of Education staff meetings, where a majority of staff supported the students' proposal. It was taken higher, to the Faculty of Professional Studies, where the student's proposal was lost by the odd vote. Faculty sent the issue higher still, to its Executive, which supported the students' proposal by the odd vote, and recommended that Faculty endorse the Executive's decision.

Meanwhile, Prof. Drinkwater and his staff reluctantly capitulated, but only in part. They agreed to set a number of essay questions as an alternative to the multiple choice exam. Again the students objected on valid grounds, and so further modifications were made by the Edu-

cational Psychology staff with regard to the number of essay questions that might have to be attempted. At this point the Educational Psychology staff issued a document which stated in part: 'We can make no further compromise'.

Weary of the whole matter, but undaunted, the student body met yet again, and overwhelmingly declared their intention to continue with the boycott unless a third alternative form of assessment was added, namely two take home essays. The Educational Psychology staff stood by their guns and would not accept this compromise. And so the matter went once again to Faculty where it was finally voted on. Fifty four members of staff and one student cast valid votes, thirty of which favoured the Dip Ed students proposals. Prof. Drinkwater and his staff thus had to set the take home essays and accept them as an alternative form of assessment in the Educational Psychology course.

There are three things which can be learnt from this particular struggle. The first is that the system *can* be beaten. The second is that the most powerful weapons in any struggle are that the cause must be just, and that outspoken solidarity must be maintained throughout. The third is a little anti-climactic. It is that this one particular struggle has made barely a chink in the whole edifice of committees, boards etc, which confront the student seeking change. But we all know the eventual effect of dripping water . . .

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# Jensen and Eysenck in Australia

No one should be surprised that leading conservative ideologues Arthur Jensen and Hans Eysenck should be invited to Australia at a time when the political offensive of reactionaries is on the ascendant. For, more clearly than most of their colleagues in the educational psychology industry, Jensen and Eysenck provide the scaffolding of oppression. Both endorse meritocratic, elitist and racist philosophies which fit snugly into Australia's current political climate.

Indeed, news of their visit has already aroused a considerable furor. Recently the Melbourne *Age* carried a letter signed by twenty-eight academics protesting against the Faculty of Education at Melbourne University using funds from the Fink Memorial Endowment to bring Jensen and Eysenck to Australia.

Basically, the letter raises two points. Firstly, that the Fink bequest is specifically designated for the purpose of bringing to Australia scholars with expertise in the area of comparative education. Among previous Fink lecturers has been Edmund King from London University, a man highly regarded in this field. As psychologists Eysenck and Jensen do not fall into this category, unless, of course, it can be suggested that they are comparing race and intelligence. Indeed, RED has learnt that a legal suit has been taken out in Victoria alleging the misuse of Fink bequest funds for this purpose.

Secondly, the letter questions the credibility of non-geneticists like Jensen to make claims such as the following: 'the number of intelligence genes seems lower, overall, in the black population than the white'. The implication of such statements, as the letter says, is that differences in the measured IQ of blacks and whites indicate a real difference in intelligence that cannot be greatly altered by environmental or social improvements. The letter goes on to quote Nobel Laureate Sir Peter Medawar as saying that some of the world's most prominent geneticists remain unconvinced by the arguments of Eysenck and Jensen.

Moreover, Stephen Rose, a biologist from the Open University, has stated that every one of Eysenck and Jensen's propositions is either empirically false, or theoretically false and meaningless. Professor Rose adds, 'there is no conceivable research program which could answer the questions of how much difference in intelligence between individuals and between groups is contributed to by genes and how much by the environment. It becomes a question

purely of ideology without scientific content, no matter how sophisticated the algebra and the statistics and the computers you use.'

A further shot was fired in this controversy on *PM* (September 5) when Dr Chris Ryan of RMIT and chief sponsor of the *Age* letter debated the issue with Dr Frank Knopfelmacher. Dr Ryan stressed that Eysenck and Jensen were presenting their views under the auspices of Melbourne University in a series of public lectures. This was a format that would preclude critical discussion. Countering this, Dr Knopfelmacher suggested Eysenck had been misrepresented as a racist, when in reality he was a German Jew who fled Hitler. The veracity of this remark can be checked against a reading of Eysenck's *Race, Intelligence and Education* (1971) which clearly couches its discussion of intelligence and education in racial terms.

Perhaps it is this serious doubt about Eysenck's work that led Mr Matthew Tkalcevic, of the Victorian Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, to declare, in the *Age* of August 26, that Eysenck's views represent 'a rebirth of Nazism'. Mr Tkalcevic added, 'I think this is revolting. It revives the ghost of race superiority which we all thought could never live again. Professor Eysenck's research is not conclusive and therefore should not be delivered as fact'.

With this outcry as a prelude to their arrival on September 10-12, the Jensen-Eysenck lecture tour, commencing at Melbourne University on September 14-15, promised to be a stormy and passionate affair. Philip Gardner, from the Melbourne University Assembly and a co-signatory to Dr Ryan's letter, was co-ordinating a counter teach-in and organising the writing of various protest leaflets.

After a period in Melbourne, Eysenck and Jensen will come to the University of Sydney's Department of Psychology early in October, to conduct lectures and seminars. They will visit other Australian campuses in the ensuing weeks. Admission to their lectures is by ticket only. This is a practice which enables organisers to withhold entrance to those they deem unfit - judged, of course, by the criteria of genetic inheritance. So any RED readers who find themselves excluded need merely to consult the theories of Jensen and Eysenck to see why.

## Advanced Liquidation

A report circulating among staff in colleges of advanced education in Sydney recommends wide-ranging rationalization of colleges in the inner city area.

The report, prepared by a committee chaired by Professor G J Butland, proposes that the Guild Teachers College, a small independent institution, should be phased out by 1979 and the staff and students absorbed in Alexander Mackie CAE on that college's new Oatley/Mortdale campus in Sydney's south-western suburbs.

Changes to the structure of early childhood education are also called for: the Kindergarten Teachers' College at Waverley would be absorbed, as a special centre, in Alexander Mackie, and the Nursery School TC at Newtown would be incorporated with Sydney TC into Sydney CAE.

While these proposals are likely to meet a great deal of opposition from some college staff and students, other recommendations are even more controversial: the Butland Report suggests that art education should be rationalized, with art teacher education coming under the new Sydney CAE and art education in general being dealt with by combining the art section of Alexander Mackie with the fragmented sections of Sydney College of the Arts. This last proposal conflicts with a long-standing desire among artists in Sydney to have a variety of different philosophies in their subject expressed by more than one institution.

What is likely to be criticized most of all, though, is the holding down or cutting of student numbers, especially at Sydney TC. Staff will have to be retrenched if the proposals go through, and a lot of behind-the-scenes politicking is taking place at the moment about the overall thrust of the Butland recommendations, as well as their detail. Interestingly, the report has not been published, and the fact of its existence is not widely known.

If adopted, the report's effects would extend beyond the college system. Lecturers who lost college jobs would then return to the Department of Education, displacing reserve teachers and adding to teacher unemployment. This in turn would reduce the number of teacher training places in colleges, putting limits on the size of the future teaching force. Even more fundamental is the fact that the rationalization is being carried out on mainly financial grounds. The fall in teacher numbers is being treated almost as a law of nature, inevitable and irreversible: the issues of class sizes and resources teachers have featured hardly at all in the question. A golden opportunity not to improve educational provision is being seized.



# RED READING

## Eysenck and Old Lace

**Intelligence, Psychology and Education: A Marxist Critique**, by Brian Simon. London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1971. \$3.85.

How was it possible to deny equality in education to the vast majority of British children for the thirty years from 1926 to 1956?

Brian Simon's collection answers this question and raises a number of important issues related to current educational practices in Australia and other Western countries.

This collection is important from several points of view. It illustrates the inertia of opinion and practice in both the scientific and educational communities. It shows the relationship between social and political pressures on 'scientific' thinking (in the discussion of the rise and fall of intelligence testing). And it shows how the quality of the lives of millions of people has been determined by a politically motivated view of people's intellectual ability.

The collection also contrasts the psychological views of human learning held in Britain with those of the USSR. In both countries mental testing dominated the schools in the twenties. The practice, however, was abolished in the USSR in 1936 but continued for another 20 years in Britain. This test orientation is the basis for Simon's opinion that much of British education has in fact been anti-educational.

Perhaps the book is most important because it reminds us that despite a systematic demonstration of the falsity of the assumptions behind the intelligence testing movement, these assumptions still have enough currency to justify class and race discrimination in several countries, including the USA and Britain, even today.

Simon's book comprises a selection of his writings from 1953 to 1970. Part I consists of a reprint of his book *Intelligence Testing and the Comprehensive School* (1953). In its 90 pages, Simon presents an argument against streaming and selection. He attacks the fundamental beliefs underlying these practices — beliefs about the nature and measurability of human intelligence.

He argues that streaming and selection are deleterious to all children. Further, intelligence tests are subjective, class biased instruments which do not

accurately or reliably predict a child's intellectual abilities.

Two questions arise from reading this work: why republish in 1971 a book written in 1953 which attacks an education system which has been largely replaced? And what makes Simon's attack a 'Marxist Critique'?

Part 2 of the book provides answers to both questions. *Secondary School Selection: A Reply to the Intelligence Testers* (1958) illustrates the considerable resistance of many psychologists to modifying their views that intelligence is innate, fixed and measurable. This was despite mounting evidence that their tests lacked predictive validity and were systematically biased towards the middle class child.

*Intelligence, Race, Class and Education* (1970) demonstrates the ease with which discredited assumptions about human intelligence and the ability to profit from education can be revived and regain some public acceptance — especially when political issues are at stake. Simon cites the 1969 controversy in the *New Scientist* in which hereditarian Professor Eysenck claimed in two emotionally charged contributions that Dr Arthur Jensen's statements that US Negroes were less intelligent than their white countrymen were 'a great service to humanity'. Eysenck concluded that compensatory education policies for the deprived could do no good and that 'with limited resources for all education, to help some means less education for others'. Such events remind readers how the authority of science may still be used to rubber stamp questionable government policies.

Simon's 1953 book fuelled the public with information to fight the practice of selective secondary schooling. But it was neither changes in scientific opinion nor public pressure which led to its abolition. The essential ingredient for change was the industrial need for a more educated workforce.

*Karl Marx and Education* (1965) provides the answer to the second question: what makes this attack a Marxist Critique? Simon argues that the Marxist seeks to discover 'why a particular set of ideas arise at a particular

time, and what complex of social and intellectual conditions allows them to become influential among a particular strata of society, to the extent of being taken up and brought into practice' (p.195).

The evidence such an inquiry produces regarding the rise and fall of selection and streaming is especially enlightening. *Classification and Streaming: A Study of Grouping in English Schools* (1967) shows the extent to which classification was a politically expedient approach to the problem of increasing numbers of children competing for relatively few free places in grammar schools. This paper shows the interaction of social, political and scientific forces in the shaping of an educational system.

With few places available in grammar schools and limited financial resources it was agreeable to governments to be told by psychologists that only about 20 per cent of the population had the 'intelligence' to benefit from such an education. English society was stratified, inheritance played a still important part, production was based on capital and so a theory that intelligence was innate, unchangeable and distributed in the population in a particular way was readily accepted by those in authority. The post-primary education of the remaining 80 per cent virtually closed the door to higher education and the professions. In 1952, for example, only one pupil in every 22 000 went directly from a secondary modern school to university.

The Marxist analysis, says Simon, 'provides a key to understanding the educational system in a class society, for if intellectual activity is not required by the worker in his work — that is, in his primary social function — then the education provided for him, reflecting this situation, will lack intellectual content. Theory and practice will be separated from each other in the educational system just as in society as a whole — that is until contemporary developments force a change'. (p.190.)

The mental test movement did not just deny a full secondary education to the majority, it also impoverished classroom practices. For the selected few, school



meant exam-oriented study of an increasingly narrow curriculum – for the rejected, an activities-based program devoid of intellectual challenge.

Acceptance of the proposition that intelligence is innate and fixed left the teacher of the 'less intelligent' without any expectation of success. The kind of educational practices which resulted increased the differences between children placed in different streams. Thus, the practice became self-justifying.

The very existence of the selection exam at the end of primary school affected primary schooling. To maximise the number of children passing the 11-plus, the practice of streaming children after infant school started. Thus, decisions which could shape people's entire lives were made for them when they were aged six or seven. Over 95 per cent of students stayed in the type of school for which they were selected.

Simon contrasts these practices with those in the USSR where development psychology rather than psychometrics played an important part in educational thought. With the abolition in 1936 of mental testing, USSR psychologists turned their attention to the study of learning. Rejecting the view that intellectual ability was not affected by education, they sought teaching methods which developed the capacities of children. Simon strongly supports this approach. This, together with his criticism of group intelligence tests – still widely used in Australia – makes this a highly recommended book, whatever one may think of the antics of Soviet psychologists in other areas.

John Pascoe

## Tested are the Poor

**The Myth of the Deprived Child: Poor Children's Intellect and Education**, by Herbert Ginsburg. Englewood Cliffs (New Jersey), Prentice-Hall, 1972. \$6.60.

Ginsburg's book sets out to describe and evaluate research on poor children's intellect (for 'poor' read economically underprivileged); to analyse and evaluate the psychological assumptions underlying the various attempts to improve the quality of poor children's education; and to describe the type of work that psychologists can undertake to promote the necessary revolution in education. Here

let the radical purists among us depart with much wailing and gnashing of teeth, for when the author speaks of educational revolution he means open schooling!

His analysis goes no further than the school, and readers would do well to be sceptical of his implied assumption that all we need to do is change the schools and equality of opportunity will blossom overnight and all the 'natural intellects' of the poor will miraculously develop.

This criticism aside, the book has much to commend it, and I would hope that every inner city school teacher, besieged by all manner of research teams, and compensatory and remedial programs, will read it. It argues that poor children are not deficient in intellect, and that most programs designed to alleviate this deficiency are a waste of time, money and effort. They are doomed to fail because they are based on incorrect assumptions about these kids' abilities, abilities which, by and large, schools discount as worthless for academic and material gain.

Concentrating his fire on the vexed question of quantifiable IQ scores, language and thought processes, and environmental factors, Ginsburg does a great job of demolishing the myths about each of these and their effects on the learning capacities of poor children. He argues that these kids will probably do badly on standardised IQ tests because they are poorly motivated for this kind of heavily verbalised, boring bullshit (my word, not his), which denies creative ability and which cannot measure the coping and adaptive mechanisms these kids excel in. He further argues that the tests do not measure a single, unitary ability called 'intelligence', rather measuring many different abilities needed to cope with the tests – memory, reasoning, verbal dexterity. Thus several activities are required to produce success, and the IQ provides almost no information about what these are. Ginsburg comments acidly: 'Perhaps the name of the test should be "The Binet Test of Conventional Verbal Skill and Other Assorted Intellectual Abilities Which the IQ Score Obscures"'. He maintains, furthermore, that numerical differences on test scores falsely imply a general difference in intellect between middle class and lower class children, and fail to reveal that they in fact show many of the same intellectual skills. He concludes: 'In this sense, then, the IQ test does not reveal much that is important about intelligence.'

Concerning language development in poor children, an area noted for its emphasis on compensatory programs for the retarded poor (Bereiter and Englemann, Headstart, Sesame Street ad nauseam), Ginsburg argues for the existence of competency and fluency which are rejected by middle class

researchers and teachers because they assume there is one correct way to speak and read. In rebutting this claim, Ginsburg cites the work of Labov among poor blacks to show that their language development, far from being retarded, reveals a pattern both syntactically complex and verbally rich and fluent. Such differences as existed between this way of speaking and the Standard English of their middle class opposites were minor and could not cause them to be called 'impoverished'. So, asks the author, why do these kids become illiterate in school and remain so? Because they recognise that their culture is unacceptable to teachers and schools with middle class values. Motivation to communicate and read is thus low, and conformity a source of conflict for blacks.

According to Ginsburg, certain aspects of cognition are universal. All children, irrespective of social class, parental influence or teaching, acquire basic categories of thought. He cites Piaget's stages of cognitive development to support his case, and also uses cross-cultural studies to show that, no matter what the environment, children will acquire these skills when ready: 'Poor children in the ghetto often know about the numbers racket, whereas middle class children may think of numbers in the context of adding lollipops.' The environment of poor children, though not 'ordered', is no less rich in stimulation or challenge.

In light of the above, traditional schools cannot succeed with poor children because their practices are based on faulty conceptions of the ways in which children learn. If passive, chalk and textbook, chronologically-directed and organised methods are anathema to middle class kids (a point Ginsburg misses), they are even more so to the average ghetto dweller. Ginsburg ruefully observes: 'If the child behaved on the streets as it does in the traditional school, the poor child's chances of surviving its environment would be very minute indeed. Adaptation to the natural environment requires the poor child to be active, curious, energetic, cunning and all the rest.'

Conclusions? Compensatory programs, Ginsburg points out, incorrectly assume massive intellectual deficit in poor children and are therefore engaged in futile attempts to remedy something that is imaginary. Traditional education misunderstands the nature of knowledge and the ways in which children learn. Consequently, it is doomed to achieve only minimal success. That, according to the author, leaves the option of open schools, catering for individual interests and rates of learning, intrinsic motivation in the child, and flexible, non-authoritative teaching. Sounds fine, doesn't it? Unfortunately, we have had reform and

more reform, and the poor are still with us, and are likely to remain so as long as educators, like Ginsburg, look to the schools for changes in structure instead of looking at the unjust capitalist society whose values they reflect. Diatribe ended. Read the book anyway.

Barbara Bee

## Tailor Made Deprivation

**Tinker, Tailor . . . The Myth of Cultural Deprivation**, edited by Nell Keddie. Penguin Education, 1973. \$2.25

Bernstein is wrong, says this book — there is no language that is any better than any other for thinking in. The emphasis of the petite-bourgeoisie on 'formal and abstract thinking' may be just their hangup. Certainly the notion that the only effective way of thinking is that practised by people of middle class West European origin in the twentieth century is absurd.

All this has been commonplace for years among linguists and anthropologists — some of whom contributed these essays. In order to study wildly different languages, cultures and behaviours, one has to recognise that our language and ways of structuring thought are peculiar to us. However, it's easy to admit that a remote tribe has a valid, alternative universe of thought and discourse; it's not so easy to admit that those we live with, rip off, exploit and who come to detest us have an equally valid world view, since that view is necessarily hostile to the values and interests of the white bourgeoisie.

So, recognition of the validity of, for example, the refusal of children in positions of disadvantage to disadvantage themselves further by giving anything away verbally has been, to say the least, slow in coming. And that is why every teacher should read this book. But the authors do not seem to recognise that it isn't simply some dreadful misfortune of the education system that 'many children come to school to find their experience disvalued and discounted' (p.15), but that our education system has developed historically in order to do precisely this to the majority of children. To state, as Torrey does in an excellent essay on illiteracy, that the academic world must change its cultural base in order not to discriminate against other cultures and languages of the nation, is to ignore the essentially divided character of 'the nation', with a class of exploiters and one of exploited. Schools and uni-

versities conserve and transmit the ideology and methods of thought (abstract, empirical, positivist) of the dominant class, at the same time ensuring that any student either subscribes to this ideology or feels a failure if he or she can't.

Since, for example, the language of black students incorporates a view of humanity which is hostile to whites, those who speak this language and feel this hostility must be made unable to act upon them by doubting the legitimacy of their feelings. It is therefore absurd to expect the academic world to broaden its cultural base. It is a structure for dominating people's minds, and will have to be overthrown. Only Margaret Mead's essay realises this, but even she doesn't like saying so.

In Australia we use middle class Australian English and the system of ideas it incorporates to displace the native languages and cultures of a number of different immigrant groups. Moreover, in our present economic situation, these newly-arrived immigrants cannot and must not hope for upward economic mobility. We teach them to despise themselves as failures and wogs, and to despise the subterranean polyglot speech they adopt to express their hostility.

The book's recommended action for change is inadequate, because it underestimates the degree to which the education system resists such action. For example, Postman's answer to the problem of illiteracy — not to read at all — is one you could conceivably act upon, except that it's pernicious nonsense. The moment anybody encounters the law (the force behind private ownership of property, most frequently encountered by the poor) they are faced with the written word. The illiterate person is helpless. No one in this society can act as the subject of any political praxis unless they can read, as Freire made perfectly clear.

This is a useful book, but some of the awareness of the way education is shaped by political struggle which informs Freire's work is needed here too.

Lee Cataldi

## Avoiding the Gender Trap

**Undoing Sex Stereotypes: Research and Resources for Educators**, by Marcia Guttentag, Helen Bray and others. McGraw-Hill, 1976. \$7.15.

This book holds a great deal of interest for it presents us with details of the first major field survey of an intervention program for changing children's sex role stereotypes. The two year project funded by the Ford Foundation involved several school systems in the USA and children of three age levels: kindergarten, 5th grade and 9th grade. In all twenty two experimental classrooms were fully involved in the project and over four hundred children were thoroughly interviewed to assess their sex role beliefs and attitudes about occupational, familial and socio-emotional roles of men and women.

The survey results revealed a surprising awareness among children of the *ideal* of equality of opportunity for women and men; however, they were still bound by the stereotype of the strong man and the silly woman in many subtle ways. For instance, the children quite readily saw hypothetical female characters in non-traditional jobs, but their stereotyping surfaced in the socio-emotional roles, the opportunities and attitudes which they believed these women possessed. They would portray the women as having low status roles (the woman who worked in the petrol station would serve the petrol but not be the mechanic), having little opportunity for advancement or pay rises, and little power. Men, on the other hand, were always presented as successful and competent. They did believe that there was great pressure on men, though — they *had* to work and earn money, and the children were fully aware of the lack of flexibility in their family and socio-emotional roles.



While women may have jobs, they were certainly not very good at them in the children's minds. A woman doing a traditional 'man's job' would have to be rechecked and evaluated by males who knew what they were doing! Of course, women were seen as being best at caring for people and being friendly. Men, they believed, were not very good at doing tasks around the home or taking care of children. Women were always viewed in relation to the men in their lives. As long as a woman continued to do the 'womanly' activities of cooking, hostessing and child care, the children were happy for them to also work at a job. Men's first priority was work though. Not exactly an encouraging picture, to say the least!

The second part of the project involved an intervention program aimed at modifying the rigidity of these stereotypes. Nonsexist curriculum materials and nonsexist teacher-pupil interaction methods were developed and a six week intervention period was instituted preceded by teacher training sessions. While it may be naive for anyone to think a six week intervention could do much to change such ingrained attitudes and expectations, the results, combined with the survey data, do provide some intriguing and important information about the stability and change in children's sex role stereotyping.

A clear finding across all age groups was that children were much less apt to stereotype themselves than they were to stereotype others. While there was some flexibility in attitudes about women's roles at different ages, all children were certain about the male role, which prompted the researchers to stress that special attention needs to be given to explain the benefits for men which come from androgynous attitudes and roles in any intervention project. At all ages, girls were found to be more open to the adoption of nonsexist perspectives on roles for men and women, whereas boys were consistently found to be more eager to maintain and enforce traditional sex role stereotypes.

An interesting finding was that no differences were found in stereotyping in children from different socio-economic or ethnic backgrounds, nor was maternal employment related to any differences. The results thus support the view that sex role stereotypes are basically promulgated by the media and educational institutions that cross social class boundaries.

All in all, the project was successful, for it showed the malleability of sex role concepts in children and was able to produce positive change in the attitudes of the children involved. The only alarming finding was that a small dose of new ideas about sex roles can produce an unfavourable reaction. Among the 9th graders in the study, the intervention had

very positive effects on the girls in terms of greater flexibility and expansion of their ideas about sex roles, whereas the boys showed an actual increase in their stereotyping on all occupational variables and personality roles following the intervention. The researchers suggested that boys were more hesitant about supporting the equalisation of roles because of the accentuation of power they feel in the adolescent period and the acute threat of loss of prestige and occupational advantage implied by equality.

All these generalisations, however, need to be qualified by the situational effects related to the individual teachers' enthusiasm and use of the curriculum materials, for their commitment was seen as the critical factor in the success of the project, and the way they handled the classroom interactions the key. Classroom observation showed that the conviction and skill with which the teacher implemented the nonsexist work and dealt with the subtle socio-emotional aspects of stereotypes was more important than the actual materials used.

Certainly the main appeal of this book is its 230 pages of detailed objectives, resources and actual curriculum for nonsexist intervention. These are roughly graded for kindergarten, upper primary and junior high school and provide a wealth of ideas and lesson plans for teachers interested in countering sexism. While some of the material concentrates heavily on the American experience, especially the history component of the high school curriculum, energetic teachers could use it as a model for their own curriculum development and most of it would adapt easily.

Greg Andrews

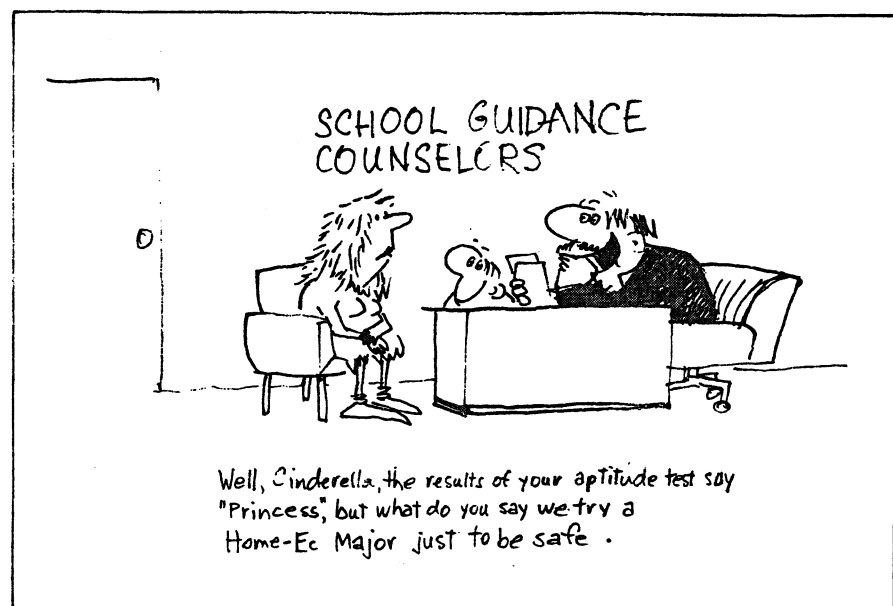
## Freedom Dissolved

**A Primer of Libertarian Education,** by Joel Spring. NY, Free Life Editions, 1975. About \$6.00.

Spring's amorphous libertarian primer shares two common aspects of libertarian philosophy: tolerance and naïveté. Tolerance in that Spring is able to take a diverse range of theorists and somehow give the idea that they are all similar (like Dewey and Marx having identical ideas on alienation in the workforce); and naïve in its failure to draw out the crucial areas where most of the writers summarised clash. Marx and Dewey are the proverbial chalk and cheese, as any reading of their social theory shows.

Early libertarians argued for national education as the panacea for all social ills. Others opposed it, on the grounds that it led to national conformity, perceiving that the interests of industry and government were conflated in the school system, an accurate assertion, which Spring somehow forgets, though he does note that it was not until the twentieth century that 'all political groups wanted to use the school to spread their particular ideology and mould their ideal of the modern individual'. (Ahem!)

Authority is a fundamental issue for libertarians, although little differentiation is given to the term here. This is surprising, as Spring cites Paulo Freire, who devotes much space to expounding the central difference between authority of knowledge and authority of position. By



the former, Freire means the democratic distribution of knowledge, while by the latter he means that patriarchal authority which dominates power relations under capitalism. In his defence, Spring at least notes the subtlety with which the latter has come to act in schools today, but the failure to specify the type of authority requires critical assessment. Some knowledge simply does have *authority* in so far as it adequately describes relations in the social order; some sizable part of the body of theory he quotes (and mystifies) does exactly this, especially the work of Marx and Freire.

The book saunters through Tolstoy, Stirner, Marx, Dewey and others, uniting rather than differentiating under the libertarian banner. Illich's 'manipulative consumption' model is sympathetically treated (Cf. the critique of Illich by Gintis in RED 2, where the implications of a production vs consumption model are considered). Again, Spring misses the point: the problem with 'experts' is not that they disseminate knowledge (which may be socially useful), but that the way they disseminate it is calculated to further the interests of one social class at the expense of another.

As suggested, clashes of theory all dissolve in the one pot for Spring; the development of sexual drives forced the individual into the social world (says Rousseau), yet the section on Reich (and Neill) demonstrates the universality of sex drives. Again, Rousseau, plodding on in the vacuum of Emile's isolation, held that the reign of reason would lead to acceptance of a government. Reich disagrees. Spring equivocates.

Marx offered trenchant criticism of the libertarian position, directed in particular at Stirner, who developed Rousseau's notion of individual choice to its ultimate conclusion. *The German Ideology* describes one 'Saint' Stirner, and like thinkers, as '... these high-fallutin' and haughty hucksters of ideas, who imagine themselves infinitely exalted above all national prejudices, (and) are thus in practice far more national than the beer-quaffing philistines who dream of a united Germany'.

Stirner echoes the conservative theoretical position of modern psychology when he presents the ultimate force behind human action as that 'wheel in the head'. Simultaneously, he demonstrates how libertarian philosophy comes close to socialism, yet founders as it grasps at half-truths. The *unconscious* ('wheel in the head') is a fact of life, but relates directly, and antagonistically, to real social conditions.

The ultimate detachment of libertarian theory from socio-political reality is given form by Stirner, who sees the human being as 'a thought, an ideal, to which the individual is related not even as the child to the man, but as a chalk point to a point thought of ...' (p.41).

Ferrer and Goldman present a more adequate realism for teachers: both favour *activist* presentation of teaching material. To learn about history, we first *demonstrate* everyone's potential for making it, and then intervene in the course of history with political action. Here theory and practice are fused, a crucial step. Again, one should learn mathematics by applying examples to production and distribution in the economy.

Both the reformist psychologist Carl Rogers, and Paulo Freire, are said to advocate a style of conscious social adjustment which 'occurs when one's concept of self corresponds to the forces that have shaped that self' (p.72). Freire's ambiguity on the question of freedom means he can be all things to all people. However, Freire also highlights our lack of self-awareness in his work, and he hardly shares Rogers' involuntarist view. Spring fails to detect the difference.

The coverage of Reich is both faithful and entertaining, with his fusion of Marx and Freud clearly and sympathetically

explained. It is the book's main recommendation. In Reich, Spring rightly sees the seeds of a liberating social psychology, a model which asks *not* why the hungry steal and the poor strike, but why the hungry don't always steal and the exploited always strike. As Spring notes, A.S. Neill became a follower of Reich, and ultimately rejected socialism. What he overlooks is that Reich's rejection of socialism occurred during his years of intellectual decay, a crucial point, as Reich's voluminous pre-1933 writing is avowedly Marxist. Nor does he highlight Neill's failure to implement activist socialism at Summerhill, the most obvious failure of that experiment.

Generally, it seems Spring has fallen into the trap of arguing a school-centred revolution, which overlooks the role of schooling in furthering the capitalist mode of production, and the relations necessary to sustain it. Libertarianism lives, albeit confusedly: reading Spring should explain the how and why.

Bob Austin



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# REDossier

## RED COUNTER PSYCHOLOGY

To talk seriously about psychology requires models other than the standard behaviourist, conservative and reformist approaches. RED here offers some fundamental texts for teachers and activists wanting to redeem the study of mental activity from the eager embraces of the conservatives. We suggest it is preferable to start with concise, readily digestible material; the books listed here are readily available, and should provide the basics for a radical psychology.

Behaviourism has rightly been attacked on many fronts, but there has been none better than that of Arthur Koestler's *The Ghost in the Machine* (Picador). Chapter I, entitled 'The Poverty of Psychology', is absolutely essential.

Sigmund Freud's *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (Hogarth), a treatise demystifying the oral, anal and genital stages of sexuality, also examines the masculine nature of sexuality till puberty; and the way in which the unconscious manages the varied stages of sexual development spawned by the social arrangements accompanying those stages.

Wilhelm Reich's *Sex-Pol* (Vintage) is an excellent effort to fuse the theories of both Marx & Freud, whom Reich rightly regarded as the two most significant social scientists for centuries. Often amusing, but in its serious attempt at explaining an 'economics' of sexuality, quite fundamental.

*Eros and Civilisation*, by Herbert Marcuse, essentially contrasts Freud's pleasure principle (the theory of innate sexual drives) with capitalism's reality principle, arguing from this contradiction that somatic and psychic satisfaction are repressed by the contours of capitalist economic demands, and mediated by a quasi-fascist sexual ideology. An efficient workforce under capitalism is necessarily a repressed one.

Again, Wilhelm Reich's *Mass Psychology of Fascism* (Touchstone) attempts to explain how the distorted structure which blended happily into the fascist European regimes after 1930 grew from the internalisation of work demands, and an acceptance of the distortion of sexuality under the pressure of capitalist economy and politics.

Erich Fromm's *Beyond the Chains of Illusion* (Touchstone) also deals with the similarities between Freud's psychoanalytic theory and Marx's social theory. Fromm demonstrates how both Marx and Freud have exposed the reality lying beyond the illusions we are led to entertain.

Bruce Brown's *Marx, Freud and the Critique of Everyday Life: towards a permanent cultural revolution* (Monthly Review Press) is another excellent work in this field.

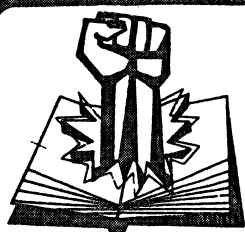
A Marxist feminist approach to Freud, Reich, Laing et al can be found in Juliet Mitchell's *Psychoanalysis and Feminism* (Penguin), which, while a most important work, is a little uneven in quality: still a must.

Paul Robinson's *The Sexual Radicals* (Paladin) is an instant Freudian primer, concentrating on the work of Marcuse, Roheim and Reich.

Probably the best historical work on daily life under capitalism is Eli Zaretsky's *Capitalism, the Family, and Personal Life*, in which the development of repressive family structures over several centuries is traced.

On intelligence and intelligence testing, we recommend Brian Simon's *Intelligence, Psychology and Education* (Lawrence and Wishart): see detailed review, this issue.

An important corrective to racist and elitist theories of intelligence is A. Gartner et al (eds) *The New Assault on Equality: IQ and Social Stratification* (Harper and Row); another excellent book, reviewed in RED 1.



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## Reprehensible Reprints on IQ

'If for instance the brighter members of the West African tribes which suffered the deprivations of the slavers had managed to use their higher intelligence to escape, so that it was mostly the duller ones that got caught, then the gene pool of the slaves brought to America would have been depleted of many high IQ genes.'

Hans Eysenck, *Race, Intelligence and Education*, p.46-7.

'It is known that many other groups came to the USA due to pressures which made them very poor samples of the original populations: Italians, Spaniards and Portuguese, as well as Greeks, are examples where the less able, less intelligent were forced through circumstances to emigrate, and where their American progeny showed significantly lower IQ than would have been shown by a random sample of the original population. Other groups, like the Irish, probably showed the opposite tendency; it was the more intelligent members of these groups who emigrated to the USA, leaving their less intelligent brethren behind.'

Hans Eysenck, *ibid*, p.47.

'The racial stocks most prolific of gifted children are those from Northern and Western Europe and the Jewish. The least prolific are the Mediterranean races, the Mexicans and the Negroes.'

Lewis M.Terman, *School and Society*, March 29, 1924, p.363.

'Terman found that for the most part these high IQ children in later adulthood markedly excelled the general population on every indicator of achievement that was examined: a higher level of education completed; more scholastic honours and awards; higher occupational status; higher income . . . Findings such as these establish beyond a doubt that IQ tests measure characteristics that are obviously of considerable importance in our present technological society. To say that the kind of ability measured by intelligence tests is irrelevant or unimportant would be tantamount to repudiating civilisation as we know it.'

Arthur R. Jensen, *Saturday Evening Post*, Vol.224, No.2, 1972, p.9.

'As compared with the European races, the Negroes certainly lack foresight. In general, a Negro is not inclined to work hard in the present in order to provide for well-being in a distant future. The Negro is more strongly influenced than Europeans by the immediate impressions of the senses, and is therefore much more strongly attracted by gewgaws. According to the nature of his present experience, he vacillates between a cheerful indifference and a hopeless depression.'

Fritz Lenz (ed.) *Human Heredity*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1931, p.623-701.

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