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EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL OPPORTUNITY
IN THE CANADIAN MOSAIC*

ABSTRACT: Three aspects of social change which create a challenge for guidance counsellors are examined. It is argued that the current emphasis on ethnic identity is inappropriate in a post-industrial society, and it is suggested that the counsellor should provide a bridge to the opportunity structure for children from cultures that do not value education or achievement. The fact that they do not is illustrated by data from a survey of Ontario high school students which shows a close relationship between social class and educational aspirations.

Guidance counsellors also have an important role in advising girls in the light of the demand for equality on the part of women and the continuing low educational aspirations of girls as shown in the data from the survey of Ontario students.

The third change which affects the counsellor is the downgrading of certification in the educational system. It is argued that it is regressive in its effect on lower class children since it deprives them of one of the most important instruments of upward mobility, the certificate of achievement.

I am going to begin with a brief story taken from a Canadian newspaper a few weeks ago. It reads, "Team Canada hockey players exercising in their underwear were a 'little surprised' to be filmed by a woman, says Carol Betts, the only female news photographer in Toronto. The Russians, she said, weren't at all surprised.

"Carol, now 28, was steered by her high school guidance teacher into a traditional woman's career — a BA in English at the University of Toronto and a high school teaching job. Four years ago Carol

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undid the guidance counselling and made her photography hobby a career.

"Up to that point I hadn't thought much about my future. When we decided not to have children I asked myself if I wanted to teach English the rest of my life. The answer was no." The story then goes on to tell how she made a highly successful career as a news film maker.

The story, I think, points out the challenge in a period of social change that faces counsellors with responsibilities for channelling people through our educational streams and occupational structures. The changing role of women in modern society, although perhaps the most far-reaching, is not the only example of how our social mores are being called into question. Another of importance is the privileged position that particular social and cultural or ethnic groups enjoy with respect to career openings, occupational success, and eventually, the exercising of power.

A further questioning of our traditional view of the world is the increasing tendency to reject the proposition that what is good for business and the corporation is good for society. These heartless monsters are more and more being called to account for the quality of their products, the environments they pollute, and the demands they make on educational systems to provide them with a steady stream of certified employees appropriately indoctrinated with the ideology of work. While in the past we were able to impose a mask of virtue on an industrial system which permitted us the pleasure of serving both God and mammon at the same time, young people today are much more aware of the contradictions; of the costs rather than the benefits of growth; of the disillusion that accompanies progress.

In periods when change rather than stability describes a society people are caught between the competing claims of authority and freedom from it. Free "this" and liberated "that" have become the labels of the active organizations of the decade. In such a period of conflict between authority — represented by the state, industry and the handmaiden they share, education — and the demands for free expression, for individual autonomy, for meaningful relations free of the cash nexus, what does it mean to be a counsellor? Who are your clients? Are they the bureaucracies of school and work, or are they the students and workers?

All professions have their conventional wisdom within which are found answers to questions such as these. Professors feel that they alone hold the keys to the kingdom of wisdom; physicians claim an exclusive right to define that sacred doctor-patient relationship; realtors are happy to protect us from our own ineptness in the real estate market; and I have no doubt that counsellors reassure themselves in their own particular way. Perhaps it is that they link talent to training, aptitude to opportunity, the demands for skills to their supply, education to work, and so forth. No doubt your own training enables you to respond to any suggestions that you have manipulative power; that you are the educational decision-makers; or that you

engage in deep therapy on the assembly line. It would be improper for me to argue here that you should consider yourselves as either agents of social change or servants of the status quo. Nor should I hazard an argument that you can do both: that by counselling Mrs. Betts to take a degree in English you enlightened her decision to support zero population growth or greatly extended her talent to photograph Team Canada in its underwear.

Rather, I intend to look at some social changes taking place and to point out that our policies to deal with them create new problems. The first is what has been called the revival of ethnicity; the second is the demand for educational and occupational equality for women; and the third is loosening up the educational process, by giving greater freedom of choice to students, removing formal standards of performance and dislodging of certification from its pre-eminent place in occupational selection. These problems are somewhat inter-connected.

The revival of ethnicity is a world-wide phenomenon. In Canada it is very apparent and since it is directly related to the theme of your Congress I will deal with it first, and at greatest length.

Canada, as we know, is a multi-ethnic society having drawn and continuing to draw population from diverse sources. Multi-ethnic societies are created through conquest or migration. Where there is conquest, the conquerors take over the high status activities — even if these are confined to exercising power — and relegate the conquered populations to an inferior status. In Canada conquest has patterned the relations between French and English for two hundred years. The superior position of the English in Canadian society relative to the French has been maintained until very recently and with only occasional bursts of nationalism, with the collaboration of French élites of politics and the church. Now the French, in common with peoples in similar positions in other countries, are repudiating their historical subordination. Conquest has also patterned the relationship between the English and the native peoples — a relationship which is no longer acceptable either to Indians or those of mixed descent.

In the creation of multi-ethnic societies migration of peoples from one part of the world to another has been much more important than conquest, but as with conquest it creates relationships of subordination of some groups to others. There is, first of all, unfree migration by which slaves are transported for plantation economies, for cotton and cane or, if not slaves, indentured labour. The transportation of labour was common practice of the European powers in their colonial empires, and many of their former colonies, which we now call developing countries, have this characteristic of ethnic diversity. If European powers did not transport for the plantation economy they often forced together various tribal groups of great cultural differences into administrative units convenient for their own purposes. Now that most of these have achieved independence from their European creators many of them have broken up or are subject to severe strains. These conflicts are between ethnic groups and most of them are about who should rule, who should have privilege

and who should have the good jobs. One has only to mention the Congo, Nigeria, Pakistan to remember the violence with which these disputes are settled.

In North American, and in other parts of the world too, the white populations of many new nations have been built up through migration which was free, or relatively free if one considers some of the political and economic factors which prompted it. Also, it was only relatively free because the receiving societies were dominated by the people who got there first and who determined the conditions under which other groups might enter. Since migration is an economic process, the movement of labour with capital, the host society regulated the movement with varying degrees of rigidity by making invidious judgements about the appropriateness of people of particular origins for particular jobs. This selective process intensified in the Twentieth Century as the North American societies became more industrialized. Ultimately legal restrictions were imposed in both Canada and the United States which were racist in that they had as their objective the maintenance of the ethnic composition and the dominance of British and Northern European groups which had in common, if nothing else, a liking for empire, war, and themselves above all others.

Along with this mixing up of people of the world through empire and economic expansion went an ideology of racism — a pseudo-science which attempted to demonstrate that some groups were inherently superior to others and it was no doubt more than a coincidence that those who were ranked highest were those who controlled the economic processes of the society.

Theories of race and ethnic superiority and inferiority which went to justify the hierarchical arrangement of peoples within economic and political power structures if they were not destroyed in World War II became discredited. It became improper to articulate them although no doubt they lingered on in stereotypic image and silent but effective prejudice.

In Canada this historical relationship between migration and economic or class position has been reinforced with the heavy immigration since 1945, even after more recent changes in immigration regulations designed to reduce the preferential position of the British and others who are most like them. Immigrants from Britain and the United States have been to the present day heavily over-represented in the higher professional, managerial, and higher white collar occupational levels, while those from Portugal and Greece are taking over from Italians the positions at the lower levels of the immigrant labour force.

So the hierarchical arrangement, the ethnic stratification, however much we might proudly label it a mosaic, becomes perpetuated. This condition is not confined to Canada; but can be seen whenever there is extensive migration. It should be added that the Caribbean and Asia are now appearing as a new source of immigrants to Canada which will add a new element to the situation I am trying to describe.

Most liberal social scientists viewing this phenomenon of ethnic

stratification either advocated or assumed that over time certain things would happen, things which they called by such terms as absorption, assimilation, integration, and acculturation as a result of which the relationship between ethnic origin and work would disappear. To help to bring such an equality about there appeared in the post-war period under the influence of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights fair employment practices legislation which provided individuals with rights enforceable in the courts against discrimination. These instruments, although probably successful in isolated cases, have largely failed to reduce the relationship. Discrimination is deep-rooted and at the same time ethnic groups are much more resistant to assimilative process than was formerly thought. The failure is not always the fault of the legal instruments. Some groups may be better than others at securing the qualifications that are believed to be necessary for particular jobs. They may also create for themselves socio-cultural climates which are not supportive of values and attitudes thought to be appropriate for getting on. The consequence is that today we are seeing a world-wide revival of ethnicity and what constitutes a complete reversal of the former liberal position, now pejoratively referred to as "liberal assimilationist," and said to be "overly rational, secular and universalistic."

The sources of this revival of ethnicity are many. One is the decolonization process which was so often bitterly fought over, as in Algeria for example, that a heightened consciousness of racial and ethnic differences over and above the visibility of colour was a part of the demand for independence and self-determination. In Eastern Europe the socialist societies were allegedly obliterating nationalities that lay within their borders. The escalation of the Vietnam War gave the appearance that the United States was taking over from Europe the racist role of white domination in the affairs of the world. In the United States a highly visible deprived minority was not sharing the affluence which that society was supposed to have produced. In Canada, similarly, the French had been denied much of the opportunity and had carried a good deal of the cost in less education and lower paid jobs — lower, that is, than the immigrant groups that were coming in at the bottom — of Canada's take-off as an industrial society. The demands by some intellectuals in French Canada that something be done about this inequality led to the establishment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, and as the question of entitlements was increasingly answered through ethnic identification, the non-English, non-French groups began also to make demands for recognition as component parts of Canadian society. We began to hear more and more of multiculturalism and multilingualism. And so Canada got caught up in a global movement.

All the examples which represent this world-wide revival of ethnicity can be understood within their own local and historical context, but what they have in common is their emphasis on the ethnic group — that is, the biological descent group — as the principle upon which demands for equality are made. Moreover because they are taking place in so many parts of the world they become mutually supportive

through modern communications and common intellectual leadership. Fanon becomes widely read in Québec and Wounded Knee has a symbolic significance far beyond the Dakotas.

Society, then, becomes increasingly organized around minorities, and this represents a radical departure from a society organized on the principle of individual achievement and universalistic judgements about merit. The phenomenon of minority organization is not limited to deprived ethnic minorities but extends to the pseudo-minorities: age-groups, homosexuals, women, to take some recent examples. These claims have met with policy responses on the part of governments in the form of positive discrimination, preferential hiring, and benign quotas. We now hear increasingly of group rights.

On the surface these policy responses seem appropriate measures to correct the inequality that ethnic and some of these other minorities experience. It seems logical that, if a particular group has difficulty in getting the better jobs or in being promoted, employers should be required to take steps even to the point of overlooking those with better qualifications, to redress a social ill that has grown up through prejudice and discrimination. Some groups do not do as well in educational institutions as others, partly because they will be treated much as they are in the world, receiving the amount and kind of education which is thought to be appropriate for them. This lack of formal educational qualifications limits access to the occupational ladder and access to higher education. Thus if a better balance is to be achieved in the opportunity structure of education and work, positive discrimination requires the intervention of government to achieve this. Such policies limit the freedom of choice of employers and as well they set aside formal educational certification and its attestation of achievement in favour of a quota system.

These processes have gone much further in the United States than in Canada where they are largely confined to federal government attempts to improve the position of the French in the federal public service, and of native people — the most wretchedly deprived of all — in areas where the federal government awards contracts. However, in response to recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women similar policies of positive discrimination for this deprived pseudo-minority are beginning to appear. It is interesting to speculate on how far these policies might be extended for it is possible to view society as intersecting sets of very many minorities and majorities defined by an infinite number of criteria, all of different importance at different times and places.

Since the individual will no longer stand on his own, but must make his claims on the basis of the groups to which he belongs, he will have to determine which they are; one can visualize a complex pass-book arrangement indicating the answers. One's memberships could cross-cut in several ways making it necessary to calculate the maximum advantage. Thus in a preferential employment and career programme one's prospects for advancement would be greatly enhanced by being, say, non-white, of non-English mother tongue, female, under thirty (or perhaps over fifty) and lesbian.

Earlier I tried to argue that through conquest or immigration ethnicity has been a selective device to sort and sift people through the occupational structure. Thus ethnic identification can become an aspect of social control by charter group. It becomes very similar to class control, only in a multi-ethnic society, upper class control happens to be that of the dominant ethnic group, otherwise we would see a much better representation of all ethnic groups in the institutional élites of our society. It is here that the old liberal assimilationist position was a strong one to achieve the principle of equality. Many feared that it would have required a large measure of anglo-conformity on the part of all non-anglo groups. There has always been much resistance to that on the part of the French particularly, but also on the part of other groups. Resistance to the loss of identity was based also on the fact of discrimination because withdrawal to the ethnic community was an adaptive mechanism to the harsh world of inequality. The liberal assimilationist view did not necessarily mean anglo-conformity, but rather, in the context of a new nation, it could have meant everyone forgetting European or other ancestry and attempting to establish within Canada a society of equality where one's ethnic origin did not matter a damn.

In whatever version, the liberal assimilationist position is under a cloud. Ethnicity is more salient than ever and we are in the process through both federal and provincial policies of making it a basic feature of Canadian social structure. All political parties now seem committed to this revival of ethnicity. If that is the case then we might expect to see a perpetuation of the relationship which I have tried briefly to sketch between the structure of inequality and ethnicity. Such a condition is likely to lead increasingly to the demand for quotas as a mechanism to overcome the discrimination that ethnic saliency invites. After all, if ethnicity is so important, if cultures are so different, then it is easy to extend the argument that those of different ethnic groups and cultures must also be different with respect to qualities which are thought important in different parts of the work world and for entrance to élite status. It does not take very long before that fallacy becomes extended even further, that qualitative cultural differences are inborn and when that point is arrived at we have come full circle and we begin to realize that those theories of race and ethnic differences which we thought had disappeared have reappeared in a new guise where culture as the key concept has replaced race.

The reason for this is not difficult to see. The ethno-cultural group including the dominant ethnic class seeks to maintain itself as a biological descent group, and whilst there are other means of safeguarding and transmitting historical cultures the biological descent group has always been the most efficient, because when coupled with another principle firmly embedded in our values — that parents have the inalienable right through cultural aggression to make their children the vehicles of their values — recruits are always available. The use of the family for ethno-cultural transmission requires that groups succeed in imposing marriage restrictions on their members. If they

do not they will lose the primordial link with tribe or nation and the exclusive ethnic claims on culture will be eroded. Endogamy is a process of exclusion. There was a time when lowering rates of endogamy could be taken as an index of lessening prejudice of a more liberal and open society. In the current return to ethnicity it seems the opposite judgement is being made. The metal of endogamy is more attractive because it is unmeltable. Here we see another problem for counsellors, that is, the cross-group marriage, particularly when the patriarchal principle is being shaken by women's liberation. Should they be encouraged or discouraged if ethnicity is to be so salient? To which cultural group are children of such marriages assigned? Which culture are they responsible for promoting, for safeguarding? In part these questions will be answered by the inexorable development of urbanization and industrialization where it will be increasingly difficult to maintain group exclusiveness in marriage.

By now it can be realized that I am raising some serious questions about this revival of ethnicity, about perpetuating a mosaic in a modern society which is becoming increasingly post-industrial; that is based on science and technology and highly skilled manpower (person power). It represents something of a primordial and atavistic principle in a world which is becoming increasingly interlocked and in which historical cultures are less and less relevant.

Cultures are tradition-bound. Anthropologists view culture as established ways of doing things or of viewing the world or as designs for living and survival passed from generation to generation, and while for societies more simply organized than those of today the role that cultures played was important, they are less and less relevant for the post-industrial society because they emphasize yesterday rather than tomorrow. More and more people are looking towards 2000 when many of those now in our educational institutions will be mid-career. The one recurring theme in many of the analyses of the next 25 years is the rapidity of change, of the shock of the future. One can almost speak of the end of culture in the sense that many of the historic cultures are irrelevant to our futures. My point is that opportunity will go to those who are future oriented in an increasingly universalistic culture. Those oriented to the past are likely to lose out.

We should now consider the relevance of all this to the task of the counsellor. As I mentioned earlier, that, in turn, will depend on how you interpret your own role with respect to established institutions, social change, and the human beings with whom you deal. For some, your role is linked in with public education which generally speaking has had two tasks. One is to provide trained manpower, the other is to serve the principle of equality by acting as a bridge between deprived environments and the opportunity structure. The role is essentially interventionist, that is, to detach young people from socio-cultural milieus that inhibit their realization of opportunity or that restrict or bind them in any way. Education should be liberating and that includes liberation from the confines of cultural enclaves or cultural islands. If, as I have argued, the current revival

of ethnicity, of descent group identification, is becoming more important, one of its costs might be sub-cultures which do not actively encourage education and achievement. Where with respect to such values, differences do exist, they are more between social classes than between ethnic or religious groups. Where some groups are lower in the occupational structure as a result of the historical processes I have outlined or because they are still rooted in rural communities, then it is difficult to sort out whether it is the class or the ethnic group which is less supportive of education. Sometimes we can speak of ethno-classes. It is important to be sensitive to the existence of these restrictive environments and to provide a bridge between them and the opportunity structure. In this task you may well be in conflict with ties of family and rights of parents, rights which are inevitably reinforced by ethnic revival since the ethnic group makes its claims through kinship.

Although generally I have been arguing that ethnicity is increasingly less relevant, and that education should provide bridges from historic cultures to the future, I make two exceptions. The first is where an ethnic group is extremely deprived as are our native peoples, and the second is for non-English, non-French speaking immigrants whose cultures may be so different or whose status is so low because of the kind of work they do.

From the point of view of the Indians and the Metis, or of children from the Azores, does the promoting of their own culture help them toward equality in the post-industrial society? There is evidence that strong ethnic identification can enhance a group's self-concept and thus the group provides a firm base from which to achieve. Black and all other things can be beautiful. So can language, and I think it is important to emphasize language rather than culture. Identification with and the use of their own language, particularly in school, may be important in providing opportunity for very low status groups. For example, the use of an immigrant language — say Italian or Portugese and, certainly, the language of native peoples — may help a child in overcoming learning impediments that arise from one language at school and another at home. He acquires some self-confidence when his language is not despised. Such use of language is transitional since in Canada it is important to know French or English or both.

There is accumulating evidence that the schools in considerable measure have failed to provide a bridge to opportunity and that the counselling system has failed even more to operate effectively in this interventionist style. (If you adopt the view that you serve the status quo then you have been more successful.) Progress through the grades, the assignment to particular programmes, encouragement with school work, aspirations and expectations about education beyond high school, knowledge of post-secondary requirements and opportunities, are all very much related to the social class level of students' parents whatever their ethnic origin might be. That would not be of consequence if mental ability fell off as the class structure was descended. In absolute numbers there are many more of high

mental ability in the lower social classes simply because there are more people. A large proportion of this is being wasted. Let me illustrate from some recent research on educational opportunity in Ontario.

We have data on a representative sample of students in grades 10 and 12 in 1971. They were asked how far they would like to continue their education beyond high school. Thirty percent of those in Grade 10 and 37 percent of those in Grade 12 said they would like to graduate from university. The proportion who actually expected to do so was somewhat lower. But when the students (we will take Grade 12 only to demonstrate the point) were split into 6 social class levels, the proportions wanting to graduate from university went from a high of 61 percent for the top class down to 27 percent in the lowest class. Although the picture looked very different when boys and girls were considered separately the class bias existed for both. For Grade 12 two-thirds of all the boys in the top class boys did. Among the girls more than half of the top class wanted to graduate but only one-fifth of the bottom class did.

The picture worsens when we split the group further again by mental ability levels. For example 77 percent of high class, high mental ability boys wanted to graduate from university, but only 46 percent of low social class boys did, the same as the proportion of high social class boys with low mental ability. However, when they considered realistically their prospects, the high mental ability lower class boys, expectations about graduating from university dropped to 37 percent, only a little more than one-third. If the loss of two-thirds of high mental ability boys from the lower social classes is considered a serious loss what about the girls? At all social class levels a smaller proportion of girls than boys either wanted or expected to graduate from university. For the high mental ability girls it went from a high of 56 percent of upper class girls to 30 percent of lower class girls. However, only 27 percent of high mental ability lower class girls expected to graduate from university.

Thus if we consider only the brightest of our young people the public educational system of Ontario can scarcely be said to be intervening appropriately between the lower class culture and the opportunity structure of contemporary society. There is further evidence of this failure when we look at the relative influences of the family and the school on the educational aspirations of students. We asked the question, "Who helps you most in thinking about your future education?" The possible responses were: father, mother, father and mother equally, teacher, school principal or vice-principal, school guidance counsellor, close friends, brothers or sisters, others, and no one helps me. In Grade 10 less than 5 percent of the students at all class levels, both males and females, responded that the school guidance counsellor helped most; for teachers and principals the percentages were less than one. For Grade 12 the situation was much the same. At Grade 10 it was the parents who were most helpful with somewhat over half so responding. Friends were also more important than teachers. What is surprising is that between one-quarter and one-

third responded that no one was helping them. The picture was somewhat different with Grade 12 students where educational aspirations would have been more fixed by experience and by the limited horizons created by particular programmes. The proportion who said no one was helping them rose between 5 and 10 percentage points and the influence of parents fell off correspondingly. There was some increase in the influence of friends for lower class females.

These data would suggest a very modest interventionist role on the part of the school and on the part of those whose role it is to advise. The reason I think is not too difficult to find. The system of public schooling in Canada has never placed a high priority on the counselling role. This is evident from a recently published study by Professor Breton on the career decisions of Canadian youth and the factors affecting them. The data refer to 1965 but they continue to be instructive. Seventy-six percent of secondary schools had no fulltime counsellor. It is clearly an activity combined with other school duties. In one-quarter of the schools no counselling was done at all. In Ontario it was one-third. Forty percent of the students receive between one and a half and two hours of counselling each year.

Moreover, most schools in this study reported considerable community resources — local employers, professional business associations, and labor organizations — available to participate in counselling. No doubt calling in a local business man, a personnel manager, or a labour union official to talk about what it is like out in their world appears to be an important contribution to counselling. It does not cost the school board anything, and with a bit of luck it might even make for an entertaining assembly. On the other hand the disadvantages may be very great. For one thing this type of person is not likely to be very knowledgeable about opportunities in the system as a whole and how these are changing or are likely to change. What is more important, however, is that they are very often the spokesmen of the established values and arrangements of the community. Moreover, their views are often parochial and they do not know what is going on outside. Professor Lucas has recently reminded us in his vivid analysis of mine, mill and railtown, that a million Canadians live in isolated single industry resource based communities in very many of which the division of labour is along ethnic lines with different groups having claims on different kinds of jobs. If, as the Breton data suggest, the smaller the community the less satisfactory the counselling, then it might be assumed that there is greater reliance on resources outside the school. In any case, the more isolated the community, the more it is likely to be subject to traditional pressures and the greater is the need for some bridge out of these.

Of all the tasks facing counsellors perhaps the most difficult is dealing with the pseudo-minority that cuts across the entire ethnic mosaic — that is women. In the multi-ethnic society some women face a double jeopardy in that they belong to neither the dominant ethnic group nor the dominant sex. On the other hand, in some of the quota systems which are developing they can acquire a double ad-

vantage. In Canada that is just slowly appearing and in itself can do very little to correct the injustices that prevail.

Equality of educational and occupational opportunity should be as important an objective for women as it is for men, but we are much further from that goal mainly because despite all that has been said about women's liberation in the last decade by both the shrill and the sensible, traditional attitudes remain firmly entrenched in the minds of both sexes. The demand for a better deal for women is largely from the reasonably well-educated middle class. They are the ones who have acquired skills that are being wasted. They are the ones who feel discriminated against in obtaining access to professional and managerial roles. And they are the ones who are objecting to the split-level suburban subjection to which they have been relegated to work forever in menial chores which their upper class sisters can afford imported domestic servants to do.

The vast majority of workers both male and female cannot escape dull, repetitive, menial jobs of which the work world is made up; most are always subjected to authority in work for which there is little opportunity for advancement. Men are much more highly represented in the drudgery of the blue collar world and the women, at least those who work for pay, in the pleasanter cleaner white collar world. I doubt that in Canada the movement has gone as far as elsewhere into the manual occupations, although the logging industry in B.C. seems to have recruited women. However, even in the lower status occupations, we might anticipate women seeking entrance to the physically more demanding but higher paid jobs. The fact that women's liberation is largely middle class does not make it less of a social force any more than the fact that most minorities are led by articulate middle class people, nor does it make their claims any less valid. It does, however, tend to make us overlook the fact that women's needs may vary as much as they do for men by social class. It is clear, for example, that middle and upper class women have made great gains in educational opportunity. At the higher class levels the aspirations of girls come much closer to those of boys of the same class. In fact a good part of the increase in enrolments in Canadian universities has been because middle class families are now more willing than formerly to spend money to educate their daughters.

However, from the evidence which I presented earlier, the greatest loss of ability is with lower class high mental ability girls. It is also the case with girls from smaller communities and rural areas. Here, it seems to me, there is an enormous interventionist role for public education and its personnel, but one which so far has been neglected. The disadvantages which women suffer in Canada has been extensively documented by the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. On the subject of girls' education the Commission said this:

> Girls need special help in overcoming these pressures of society. Early in their lives they must be shown the implications of educational choices, the wide options from which they can choose, and the way that custom has created divisions of work between men

and women. This help should come from their families, teachers and guidance counsellors.

The Commission then went on to say something about how inadequate the counselling was for girls. Here are some of the things they said: students were dissatisfied with the existing guidance programmes; girls were encouraged to consider either marriage or a career but not both; guidance specialists agreed with traditional patterns of male and female roles and discouraged girls from considering a greater range of possibilities.

If the problems of counselling females was one only of dealing with the entrenched occupational interests of males or of male chauvinism about women and the work world, what you should do would depend on whether you were for the status quo or whether you wanted to change it. But the real problem is the uncertainty in the minds of women in a period of social change. This applies to both girls in school and their mothers. The female liberation movement has presented women's traditional role as degrading because women are seen as serving their families and husbands. Advertising enlarges this portrait. Generally, the woman may well be left with the feeling that society at large has come to despise her job. That can be quite a shock, particularly when one considers the layers of sentiment attached to romantic love and devoted motherhood. From the point of view of the girl in high school the situation is equally difficult. Their role models, taken both from their experience in the home and the popular cultural agencies, are their tradition bound mothers. But they are increasingly told that this should not be so. It is little wonder they are confused, but confusion is an important index of social change. In our study of Ontario high school students we discovered a surprising generation gap. Girls were more traditional and conservative and romantic than their mothers.

We presented the girls with a series of possible scenarios which they might anticipate in their futures and asked them to indicate if such scenarios meant a great deal to them, a fair amount, not very much, or nothing at all. The mothers were correspondingly asked how important they thought these situations ought to be in their daughters' futures. The scenarios included: having a long term career that would require developed skills and give independence; to do community work; to keep a good household; to acquire some skills that would enable her to work outside the home; to have children and to raise and care for them; and to have a mutually rewarding relationship with a man. Forty-three percent of the mothers of Grade 12 girls responded that long term careers should be very important to their daughters, but only 39 percent of their daughters did. Seventeen percent of the girls thought community work very important, but only 10 percent of their mothers did; 48 percent thought to keep a good household was very important, but only 38 percent of the mothers did; 59 percent of the girls thought that to have children and to raise and care for them was very important, but only 42 percent of the mothers did, and 72 percent of the girls thought it very important to have a mutually rewarding relationship with a

man, but less than half (48 percent) of the mothers did.

This evidence indicates that both mothers and their daughters are inclined to the traditional position of women to a degree that must be despairing for those women who want to change things. Accustomed as they are to the inertia of their clientele, they must be particularly disappointed to find that their future battalions are even more thinned out. But it is clear that the girls are career oriented. Their responses to other questions indicated almost all wanted to work outside the home before marriage; half said they would work part time while their children were growing up; 44 percent said they would work full time after their children had grown. It would seem that the girls are attempting to respond to both the old and the new values. It is clear that counselling is a delicate task in a period of change such as we are now experiencing. No doubt you have professional views about how personal values should not be allowed to intrude in your giving of advice. Whether or not you are successful at this, it is essential to develop a view of the future, to be less guided by the past. As I have implied in other contexts, the future calls for flexibility, independence, strength of character, and less reliance on the ready made props, those well defined and unambiguous roles that society used to provide in the matrix of culture.

Finally I want to say something briefly about the third important change which I mentioned at the beginning and with which you might be concerned, and that is what I referred to as the freeing of the educational process and the on-going controversy about schooling and certification. In part the present debate is an outcome of the great binge of educational spending of the 1960s. Educational institutions were becoming fed to the point of satiation and somehow the system began to look ill. The cries of the deschoolers were increasingly heard. For some, schools had come to resemble prisons rather than places where young people expanded their creative potential. Children were being regimented and stifled, and as the criticism mounted it is a wonder that societies for the prevention of cruelty to children did not enter legal actions against school boards.

Condemnation of what went on in the schools was strengthened by allegations that public education generally had failed in its interventionist role of providing a bridge between unfavourable environments and opportunity. Much to the shock of professional educators it was being argued that different amounts of money put into school resources, both human and material, was having very little effect on the outcome of schooling. Rather than breaking down the structure of inequality, schooling served to perpetuate it by giving more to those that already have.

Yet a further stricture upon education, particularly at the higher levels, was its role in certification, its rush to provide inflated credentials for the occupational world. Education had become a product with too hard a sell. But in this inflationary pressure there were buyers also. Different occupational and professional groups were pleased to create a scarcity of their numbers, and, as well, sought increments of social status they thought might come with each ad-

ditional year of schooling. No doubt there was some validity in these observations about educational levels and the content of jobs, but in dealing with this inflationary element in the paper of education there has been a dangerous tendency to throw the baby out with the bathwater — or the principle out with the parchment.

At the time of these external criticisms changes were taking place within educational institutions themselves. One was a reduction in the authority of the schools to tell young people what they should take and in what order they should take it. From the fixed menu there was a shift to the cafeteria. Classes and formal grade levels began to disappear. Also there was some lessening of the controls of the higher jurisdictional levels in the curious belief that if tyranny is closer to home it is easier to put up with. System-wide objective standards were increasingly removed in the interests of greater community control over schools. The teacher has also been liberated from the chains of formal curricular requirements in order supposedly to have greater scope for his or her creative skills. University admissions personnel began to substitute their own standardized tests. In the assessment of students, teachers' ratings, it was argued, ought to be given greater weight because teachers are supposedly closer to the students and were better informed of their capacities. (This theory of the accuracy of measurement as a function of closeness suggests we should all carry letters of recommendation from our spouses.) To reduce the competitiveness of the system, students were graded against their own capacity however that might have been determined. Even in the universities some students felt that if they graded themselves or each other they had achieved all the standards that could rightly be asked of them.

There is no doubt that there was a good deal that was and is wrong with public education, and those who are responsible for it can ignore these criticisms at their peril, but I doubt very much that it was all that deserving of the opprobrium that was heaped upon it. In any case the loosening up of the educational system has meant the demise of achievement as we have known it, and I want to suggest that from the point of view of equality of educational opportunity the changes which have taken place and the downgrading of certification are regressive rather than progressive. As education has become widely accessible it has become downgraded and diluted, and not because its extension has required dipping lower into the ability pool, for as I have shown, even now there is a heavy loss of brighter students.

I see this freeing of public education as a middle class movement. It was middle class parents who organized free schools for their children, just as they had moulded the public system through home and school associations. After all it was their children who were bored by the process because they had learned so much outside of school. When certification is downgraded or is declared redundant their children are less likely to suffer, or may even have a distinct advantage by substituting social contacts for grades and parental acumen for diplomas — after all, on the theory of closeness, who is

better than a parent for a letter of recommendation. And when it comes to the creative unfettered teacher himself so often oriented to middle class values and life styles, the middle class child is a reflection of his own image.

Certification, school grades, arm's length objective examinations, the more remote curricular surveillance, were all part of a liberal appeal to universal standards free of class, ethnic, religious, and sex bias. A certificate that meant something was evidence that you were just as good as the next man or woman wherever both of you might have come from. We never did achieve this happy state because just at the point education became more attractive to those of lower social classes and other less favourable environments, the middle classes began to dismantle public education, and so they may well be in the process of removing one of the most important instruments of upward mobility, the certificate of achievement.

And so the three problems I have tried to present to you are interconnected. The democratization of education by making all levels more accessible to all social groups and both sexes comes at a time when the value of it is called so much into question, and the criteria of achievement and merit are being replaced by benign quotas.

RESUME: On a examiné trois aspects du changement social qui constituent un défi pour les conseillers d'orientation. On soutient que l'accent sur l'identité ethnique est inapproprié dans une société post-industrielle. On suggère aussi que les conseillers devraient faciliter l'accès à une structure d'opportunités aux enfants issus de milieux qui ne valorisent pas l'éducation et le rendement scolaire. Le fait que les conseillers ignorent ce problème est illustré par une étude conduite auprès d'étudiants de niveau secondaire de l'Ontario. L'étude montre l'existence d'une relation étroite entre la classe sociale et les aspirations académiques.

L'étude met aussi en relief l'importance du rôle que devrait exercer les conseillers auprès des jeunes filles en rapport avec leurs besoins d'égalité et leurs aspirations académiques.

Le troisième changement qui affecte le conseiller est la dévaluation du certificat de promotion dans le système scolaire. On soutient que ce fait est nuisible aux enfants des classes défavorisées qui sont ainsi privés de l'un des plus importants moyens de promotion sociale.