A Study of Attitudes Necessary for Development and Their Relationship to Education in Western Cases.

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GLOSSARY OF SAMOAN TERMS

aiga ... extended family
ali'i ... chief
auluma ... semi-formal association of unmarried women of the village
amaga ... body of untitled men of the village
fa'a Samoa ... according to the Samoan way
faulauga ... orator
fale ... Samoan dwelling
fono ... meeting
malaga ... journey or trip
satai ... person of title
mau ... be utterly unco-operative, sullen and obdurate
pule ... authority, the rights to control or dispose of
taule'ale'a ... untitled man or youth
(plural form - taule'alea)
Chapter 1 - INTRODUCTION

The gap between the welfare of the rich nations and the poor nations of today's world has been the focus of growing international concern in the last two decades. As a result, there is now a continual search for effective means, through a wide variety of aid programmes, of reducing the great disparities which exist. In the decade 1960-69 over $15 billion was spent by the more advanced countries on aid and assistance to less developed countries. Steady pressure is now being put on the government of New Zealand by some pressure groups and by international opinion to increase foreign aid from about 0.2% of the gross national product to a minimum level of 1%.

The United Nations has special organisations to initiate and administer, as well as to finance, aid programmes. It is all part of the international concern with the fact that there are rich and poor countries; those that are advanced in modern technology and those that have remained basically the same for centuries; countries where most of the people have sufficient food, clothing, shelter, health services and education, and
countries share a large proportion of the population does not have these things. There is a widespread belief that something ought to be done to make it possible for the second kind of country to reach more nearly to the level of the first kind. This whole process of initiating in poor countries change towards a desired end, such as raising living standards, is what is generally understood as development.

Those countries that have achieved most of the desired ends to a significant degree are called advanced, developed or modernized, nothing static being implied in any of the terms, and those that have achieved only a few or perhaps even none of the desired ends to any significant degree are referred to as developing, emergent, traditional or under-developed.

Development is regarded as being a crucial area of concern for humanitarian, economic and political reasons. Foremost among the humanitarian reasons is the concept of human rights. Food, shelter and self-determination are regarded by many as being among the natural rights of human beings. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a direct expression of this belief. Those who are in a position to do something about the fact that in the world's under-developed nations people do not
enjoy these rights have a moral duty to act. UNESCO, WHO, OECD, ILO and FAO are a direct international expression of this sense of obligation.

Mixed with this concept of human rights is an element of egotism. Relatively developed nations regard themselves as having a set of conditions worthy of emulation, and they have a strong desire to help others to "be like us". Thus Mixon and Brembeck¹ claim that democracy is the basis of development while Feinstein² maintains that communism is an essential element. Under-developed countries themselves also serve to distort our understanding of development when they see it merely as consisting of certain prestige symbols such as modern buildings and a voice in the United Nations.

Developing countries are coming to be regarded as increasingly important economically to advanced countries as possible sources of production and consumption. In advanced countries there are demands for some of the kinds of goods, such as cocoa and rubber, that are produced in the poorer countries, but more important than this, they are often sources of much needed natural resources such as oil and precious metals. Conditions in developing countries make
the production of these goods both costly and uncertain. Not only are the methods inefficient, but access between source and market is often difficult to effect and to maintain. In addition, the political instability generally found in under-developed territories means that it is prudent to obtain as many sources in friendly countries as possible. Current political problems in the Middle East, for example, threaten to reduce the supply of oil available to Western nations, and the sudden loss of an oil market could have far reaching economic repercussions for them. By helping to develop the economy of the poorer nations advanced countries stand to gain stable and reliable markets.

Advanced countries have economies built on continually increasing production, but, as many entrepreneurs are aware, a level of saturation is already a grim possibility for many lines of production within the existing market. Underdeveloped countries are seen as a potential source of consumption for the excess goods of advanced countries. However, a family living in a traditional manner in a remote area is no market for such commodities as motor cars, radios, refrigerators, baths, shoes, soap and books, to list but a few. It takes, among other things, a reasonable level of education to
develop desires for these things, and an expanding economy to be able to afford them in significant quantities.

The political reasons for international concern with development are probably the most powerful motivating force of all. For the first time the poor nations, as Snow\textsuperscript{3} puts it, have noticed the gap and have realized that it can be closed. Internal political agitation and instability as well as hostility towards those groups which appear to be preventing development follows this realization. As both the cause and the result of this hostility developing countries often identify development with political independence. Frequent economic and political independence disruptions have preceded the emergence of a great many of the new states, and suspicion as well as a tendency to use the colonial power as a scapegoat persist. The new indigenous polity becomes faced with the impossible expectations of their people. Costly internal struggles continue, and sometimes the polity tries to divert the great expectations of the people from internal deficiencies to the aggrandizement of the nation by means of border disputes or war. Now that international communications have reached a high degree of speed and efficiency, most countries occupy positions that would be strategic in time of war, thereby
making even extremely under-developed countries politically important. Cuba and the Middle East are cases in point. The recent flood of new states, each with voting rights in the United Nations, has intensified the problem as advanced nations compete with each other for their allegiance.

There is, therefore, an urgent problem of development with a number of dimensions. There are also groups with mixed motives interested in solving it. But while it is relatively easy to see that there is a problem, it is a matter of a different calibre to decide how best to effect a solution. If development is to take place, change is obviously involved. But not just any kind of change; it must be change in a given direction. Anthropologists and sociologists have well substantiated the point that no culture is without change. Each contributor to the point has a particular view as to why certain desired changes do not take place. Spicer's collection of case studies, for example, are all written from the point of view that, because all societies are able to change, it is the ability of the innovator to communicate that determines whether or not a development project will be successful. It is naive, however, to assume that the potential of a group to
change is the same as its potential to change in a specified
direction. Since the advent of modern society in North Amer-
ica, the Comanche Indians have not only survived, but have
achieved the rare feat for an American Indian group of increas-
ing their numbers because of the remarkable ability of their
society to absorb change. No one, however, would rank their
society very far up a development scale.

The inextricably mixed motives of countries involved in
the process of development are more likely to conceal as much
of the real core of the problem as they are to reveal it
clearly. They have a tendency to define directions of change
according to what they desire rather than those which the
process of development itself requires. Obviously, people
such as Feinstein, Hanson and Bresbeck\(^5\) are incorrect in some
of the characteristics that they assert are necessary for
development, because both communist and democratic societies
are in the advanced category. The respective political sys-
tems as they are currently manifested do not appear to be
relevant to our understanding of development. If the possib-
ility of biased attitudes is to be overcome, a concept of the
desirable directions of development based on proven, univers-
ally relevant factors is essential.
A few of the many people who have attempted to build a concept of development have done so by concise definition. Coleman, for example, defines political development, Adams lists three definitions of social development and Hagen defines economic development. In themselves these do not have explanatory value as they all use the term development in its secondary connotation, that is, as the point of arrival, though no absolute standard is necessarily implied in this, rather than as the process by which one arrives. These two connotations are only theoretically distinguishable and in the finest explanations of development they are inextricably mixed. In addition, however, if these are definitions of development, they seem to indicate that there are different dimensions with each writer having dealt with only one of them. There would appear to be some need to co-ordinate them in a development syndrome.

Co-ordination has taken place at the highest level of generalization and abstraction. Parsons, Kluckhohn and Streitbeck and others have subsumed all human interactions into broad theoretical categories and then have shown by rigorous socio-scientific methods that advanced countries exhibit significantly different patterns of dominance in each
category from under-developed countries.

Another popular approach to co-ordination has been to break development down into a wide variety of specific components. This is in fact what Coleson, Adams and Hagen did in order to support their definitions. Writers as far apart in method and interest as Leibenstein, Lipset and Brameld show a significant consensus of the factors which they claim are essential for development, though they often use different terms. Very comprehensive and detailed breakdowns are made by these theorists, some beginning with an economic orientation, others sociological and others in each of the relevant disciplines and by means of methods covering practical experience, logical deduction and hypothetical constructs.

Yet another group of researchers has attempted to delineate the concept of development with measurement as opposed to logical analysis by determining efficient indicators of development based on specific and quantifiable data, as for example, the percentage of the population engaged in agriculture or the number of telephones per thousand of the population. Being both objective and manipulable, this method enables researchers to separate countries into levels of development according to the quantity in which a given variable appears, thus asking it
possible to determine with a little more precision those countries which are most significantly advanced and those most significantly under-developed.

These studies show that while there is some general agreement, precise ranking of countries is not likely because there does not appear to be any one 'pure' indicator. Bhagwati, Harbison and Myers,\textsuperscript{11} despite the very similar variables used, do not have a one to one correspondence in the rankings that they give to various countries. It may not be possible therefore, to obtain a single linear sequence of development because different positions amongst contributing variables can be occupied by various countries at the same general level of development. There are also broad general areas of agreement in the variables chosen to distinguish development from under-development. The three writers mentioned above, for example, concur in giving emphasis to gross national product per capita. In most cases, writers of this kind have been concerned to limit the concept of development to their own points of orientation. For instance, Kahl\textsuperscript{12} is concerned with the establishment of statistical significance for urbanization and social stratification factors, and Harbison and Myers with human resource development.
Each of these three types of approach, the highly generalized, the specific factors and the measurement, has contributed important information to an understanding of the development syndrome, but they all have significant gaps with respect to the relevance of the factors that they postulate. In both the highly generalized studies and the works based on measurement experimentally established significant differences in certain variables between advanced and underdeveloped countries are shown. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck partially show a causal relationship by means of a cross cultural study, but the global generality of their factors renders their work inadequate as part of the concept of development where much more specific changes are required. For example, individualism, one of their variables of relational orientation, may well be dominant in all advanced countries, but it is not necessarily pervasive in all institutions within those countries. A world culture would evolve if this were so, and this is a concept which cannot stand up to even the most superficial examination. Culturally, the Japanese remain a distinct ethnic group and the Americans have also managed to establish a cultural identity of their own. In works where the components are established by measurement no attempt has been made to trace a causal
relationship. A possible exception is Kahl whose variables, while not comprehensive enough to stand alone, can be said to be a necessary part of development.

The remaining type of study, that which is both comprehensive in coverage and reasonably specific, fails to explain the derivation of the characteristics that are selected, and because they are often based on the experiences of the writers, are largely untried as universally essential characteristics. There can be no guarantee that the biases of interested parties or ethnocentrism are not present in studies of this kind.

McClelland's outstanding study, The Achieving Society, is notable in that the method he uses is singularly suitable for establishing the relevance of characteristics for development. Refusing to confine himself to one point in time, he has ranged over all possible significant data, historically and contemporarily, in order to establish a causal relationship between one postulated factor, need Achievement (nA), and economic development.
The contemporary scene is obviously of prime importance to our understanding of development, and this would be particularly so if there were longitudinal studies of recent origin, but it has some disadvantages if used exclusively. Owing to the limited number of studies available, and especially because the contemporary development is greatest amongst predominantly white-skinned peoples and least in predominantly non-white areas, it is easy to become ethnocentric instead of universal in orientation. In addition, in the contemporary situation there is a temptation to become bogged down in the mass of technological innovations that proliferate in the more advanced countries, thus missing the really important issues about the process of development. Apart from the ranking of countries, of what real significance is the fact that advanced countries have so many more telephones per 1,000 of the population than under-developed nations? A crash programme of telephone installation would not make a country advanced.

McClelland's basic plan is simple. Three criteria must be met. Firstly, variables must be common to a significant degree to all those countries commonly agreed to be advanced.
Secondly, they must not exist in any significant degree in those countries readily established as being extremely under-developed. Finally, they must be established as recent innovations in those countries generally agreed to be rapidly developing. These three criteria must be met with reference to both historical and present situations.

The operative words in McClelland’s method are ‘degree of significance’ because, as development is a continuum, it is not to be expected that all characteristics will be absent from under-developed territories, or that they will be perfectly manifested in advanced countries. When a society reaches a level of significance on one or more of the characteristics it is at the stage commonly called ‘take-off’. If the society continues to develop one factor at the expense of others, the imbalance causes what Eisenstadt calls a ‘breakdown of modernization’, and he cites the wars with Japan and Germany as recent examples of this phenomenon.

McClelland’s method of measuring psychological factors in retrospect is admirable in its rigor but fortunately not a necessary condition. Despite his quantification of data, the amount of each factor that is required to be effective
in development cannot be determined by a point on a scale, but rather it must be determined by the degree to which the characteristic becomes a source of influence in a socially meaningful way. This is one of the professional skills of the historian, and so, provided that the historian is competent, his diagnosis of significant influences can be accepted.

Unfortunately, while McClelland has been brilliant in the use of a suitable method, thus filling in an extremely large gap in most of the literature, his work is lacking in the kinds of information this large body of literature does supply. He appears to have fallen into the trap of attempting to describe the process of development without adequately conceptualizing development. Even if it could be said that nA alone causes development, which is by no means conceded, what is it that a significant amount of nA has caused? Development is more than the volume of shipping in the Middle Ages and electricity production in the modern era. Schatz has justifiably criticized McClelland's work for its one factor index.
What The Achieving Society has accomplished is the establishment of the importance of psychological factors, nA being a complex of attitudes and values, to the concept of development. Other writers, while giving psychological factors great importance, have only postulated their necessity. The evidence does appear to be stretched too far when it is claimed that psychological factors are the sole cause of development, and that the kinds of phenomena with which we conceptualize development are merely associations. For example, it does not matter whether or not an increase in nutritional intake per head of the population is achieved by external forces or by means of a change in attitude; if it improves the productivity of the labour force it becomes a causal factor in its own right. Merely being a late starter does not negate this. Being both cause and effect is, in fact, an important fourth criterion to be set in the test of universalism of characteristics necessary for development. It explains why some characteristics can be present in strength in a particular country which has failed to rise on the development scale in spite of them. Kuwait, for example, has a large and increasing gross national product per capita, one of the most powerful indices of development, yet
it remains decidedly an under-developed territory. One rich natural resource has inflated the economy but there has been no commensurate development of other factors as the result of it. Besides, it seems that na itself must have been reinforced as a cause by these other type factors which McClelland grouped together as associations, because his data shows that na has a tendency to decline rapidly once development gets underway\textsuperscript{17}, and as Heilbroner\textsuperscript{18} so ably illustrates, there is nothing to support the thesis that, once underway, the momentum of development will automatically continue. Other studies have supported this thesis of the interrelatedness of motives or attitudes and values with external forces. A recent symposium\textsuperscript{19} found that ecological changes produced changes in attitude but that changes in attitude also produced changes in the external situation.

There are, however, two factors unique to the twentieth century which combine to elevate the attitudinal dimension to a magnitude in the development syndrome almost as great as McClelland would have it. The first is a time factor. Development in Greece, Rome, Italy, Spain, Europe and even in Russia and Japan, while relatively fast in an historical
sense, took upwards of two hundred years to develop from the distance of the tribal communities prevalent in under-developed communities to their present level. Political, economic and humanitarian problems caused by under-development will not wait that long for solution. Natural evolution being no longer viable implies the second unique element of development as a modern phenomenon, that of planned change. In the past, if 'just the right amount of stimuli' occurred, a country developed. Many, however, did not attain this status and, since it is imperative for all societies to develop and as there are many agencies with invested interests not necessarily aligned with development, deliberate planning is essential.

In the following two brief outlines of case studies the role of attitudes in relation to these two exceptional factors becomes clear. The first is from a report of the development of Uzbekistan, a tiny state which became developed in one generation. Russia flooded it with highly skilled expatriates who set up the necessary economic and political mechanisms at the same time that the attitudes which would lead to the acceptance of these things were
taught in schools with the teaching being reinforced by personal example, habitual usage, and the fact that changes in the external situation had taken place. In the case of phosphate mining in the Caroline Islands after World War I, the conditions seemed ideal, both the indigenous people and the foreign company being of one accord in their desire for the project. Despite the mutual interest and good will, as well as the adequate capital, plant and trained manpower, the project which began so well ran into difficulties because the expatriate management did not share, or for that matter even know about, certain attitudes of the indigenous work force.

McClelland's contribution to the delineation of attitudes necessary for development has already been mentioned. While it is sound in what it does cover, it by no means covers the whole field. Lipset's argument is that achievement motivation itself does not account for economic growth, and may actually serve to reduce the supply of talent available for socio-economic development. Thus in cultures where prestige is in non-real capital producing activities, achievement motivation will draw people out of productive activities
tasks as, for example, happens with the over-emphasis on 'white-collar' workers in countries with a desperate need for 'blue-collar' workers. Development itself may more profitably be linked to the purity of the tie between economic achievement and social status. It seems that ni needs also to be accompanied by other attitudes such as the value of material possessions and hard work.

From the highest level of generality a global analysis of psychological development has been achieved in the form of value orientations. These are defined as the main points of reference for the direction of an action at a level of generality higher than that of goals. They are, therefore, not a basis of prediction for behaviour or of personality types. Yet it is at this behavioural level that the sorts of information necessary for the operational delineation of development are required. This is, in fact, the attitudinal level.

A reasonably broad coverage of the attitudinal level has been achieved by a few writers such as Lewis, Leibenstein and Carle\textsuperscript{38}, again from what seems to be a basis of logical analysis and practical experience. Had they sub-
stantiated the relevance of their non-psychological characteristics their analysis would have been sufficient because, regardless of the method used, attitudes cannot be measured directly; they have to be inferred from what is spoken, written or enacted. Logically, it is also possible to derive from postulated actions the attitudes which would most efficiently facilitate that action. If a man continually works hard and assiduously saves part of what he earns, it can be said with confidence that, whatever other motives he may have, he has a favourable attitude to deferred gratification. Is it any less legitimate, if postulated that a man ought to strive to produce excess in order to save, to deduce that deferred gratification will be necessary?

Overall it seems that the existing body of literature has covered all the important aspects necessary to an understanding of development. The two dimensions, the observable manifestations of development and the attitudinal aspects, have received full coverage, as have the methods required with which to establish the relevance of the characteristics appearing in either dimension. Of the two dimensions, the
former is essential in order to assess development and to set the direction in which to move towards the goal; the latter, because of pressing modern problems, is perhaps more important in the achievement of rapid development. However, since no single work can stand alone, there is an urgent need to co-ordinate method and content to build a concept of the universal characteristics of development, and to deduce from this concept the attitudes which will be necessary to achieve it.

Development, as a process towards desirable ends, is considered to be heavily dependent upon education. At least the peoples of under-developed countries have accorded it such a position if social demand and economic commitment are reliable indicators. Hanson and Brenbeck report the observation of a West Pakistan district government official:

"... as I go from one village to another, I find the villagers more united on education than on anything else. A new school is the only thing they'll dig deep into their pockets for. Almost nothing else." 25

Advanced countries have also accorded education an important place in the development of nations. A large proportion of foreign aid is spent on education and teachers
form a large percentage of the skilled expatriate personnel in under-developed countries. International agencies are also heavily committed to this area. UNESCO, as one of its main policies, is committed to the spread of at least elementary education to encompass all children in the elementary school age cohort. Political expediency demands the provision of education because it is socially desired both internally and internationally, and because it is regarded as an economic necessity.

Though there is now a reasonable body of literature on the role of education in development, it is rather unevenly spread. The greatest energy has been expended on its economic contribution, one of the main approaches being to treat education as an investment in human capital. Attempts have been made to measure the return on the investment by adding all costs involved, together with the returns from other sources of investments, and ascribing the residual to education. The other principal approach has been in human resource development. The assumption, borne out through the use of quantifiable data, was made that certain manpower requirements are necessary for certain levels of development.
Lewis pioneered the use of mathematical formula for calculating the educational intake required to meet extrapolated manpower requirements. Sanders and Barth, however, complain about the limitations of the aggregative method used in research of this type on the grounds that:

"It is clearly wrong to assume that any and all education of a given length or level would have the same effects on economic development."  

Research on the contribution of the more specific types of education and levels of education has been scant, and what little there is has been done in terms of its economic contributions.

It is McClelland, however, who makes the vital connection between certain personality qualities necessary for entrepreneurial activity, and hence for economic growth, and education's potential role in the production of these attitudes. Nevertheless, he does not develop the theme, it being subsidiary to his purpose, and the point that Sanders and Barth make, that the quality aspect of education has neither been sufficiently conceptualized nor subjected to empirical research, is well founded.
The role of education in political development has come under scrutiny in two areas: political recruitment and the development of political attitudes leading to intelligent and widespread active participation. The educational contribution to the first category is simply in the provision of skills and knowledge which give the ability to perform the task, as well as the inner security and confidence necessary to effect change. In the latter category a small amount of research, notably by Hess and his associates, has been contributed in the United States setting. Although there might be some important implications in this research it would be undesirable, as yet, to bring it to bear upon the problem of political development. The American political situation, being relatively developed, is such that change is coped with from within the existing structure, whereas in developing countries changes in the existing structure are usually involved.

From an overview of Coleman's collection involving seventeen writers, Heller sums up the main need thus:
"It seems indeed helpful to conceive political socialization - 'the process by which individuals acquire attitudes and feelings toward the political system and towards their role in it' (Coleman pp 18) - as the most important and comprehensive category to apply the analysis of educational contributions to the maintenance and adaptation of political systems."34

His comments on research in response to education's contribution is especially pungent:

"All of these studies have attempted to explore the political orientations of groups who are, as groups, associated with and part of some formal educational setting. Whatever important results these studies have provided, very little is said in them, except inferentially, about the particular role that these educational settings can be shown to play in the formation of political orientations."35

From the educational point of view, Seiler is saying that educational institutions have a role to play, but it is one which has scarcely begun to be explored.

The social role of education has been explored in two main streams of research. The first of these has attempted to associate certain kinds and levels of education with the social behaviour of the individuals who received the education. Relationships between the education and the number of children in the family, between education and Western style living and Western orientation have been established.36
The Ussens and Hodgkin[^1] found that while social behaviour remained traditional in many important spheres, the attitudinal orientations of individuals towards this behaviour had been altered in foreign educated students. This is a valuable beginning to the delineation of the role that education can play. Unfortunately, they were not able to distinguish between the formal educational contribution and the informal education provided by travel and prolonged foreign contact.

The other main stream explores education's role in relation to social structure. While Anderson[^2] issues a reminder that not all kinds of education necessarily produce mobility, Foster[^3] describes how education has become the major instrument of mobility in developing countries to a degree many times greater than it ever occupied during the development of countries now advanced. Changes in family structure and urban-rural distribution are produced by social mobility and hence, if Foster's hypothesis is maintained, by education.

A major social problem arises from the changed behaviour, attitudinal orientations and social structure which
further supports the thesis that education has a major role to play. It is the problem of unemployed, tradition-alienated graduates of the formal education system especially at the tertiary and primary levels. Education cannot, of course, claim to be the sole cause of the instability and discontent generated by this group. Social expectations with respect to the value of education rather than something intrinsic in education itself is more likely to be the most important cause.

Attempts at the intellectual level to solve this problem have been only partially successful. Balogh has strongly advocated increased vocational education to channel individuals away from the already over full 'white collar' occupations. However, while technological and vocational education is certainly necessary in larger quantities than is usually produced in under-developed countries, such a policy hardly deals with the problem in its total social context. Foster's survey of African students' attitudes has shown that it is in part an illusionary quest because the 'white collar' attitude is as much one of economic pragmatism as it is any other attitude, a finding which has been
confirmed in Gouveia's study of the success of technological education in São Paulo as contrasted with other parts of Brazil. Foster, recommending a broad general education, is himself only partially solving the problem because he fails to develop the concept of general education. Furthermore, some of the kinds of attitudes and changes which bring about this social problem are considered to be necessary for development. Also, since it is easier, and certainly politically expedient, for a polity to continue to produce more elementary school graduates than to create jobs for them, the education system needs to consciously promote the kinds of knowledge and attitudes which will enable its graduates to adjust to unstable conditions and develop their own opportunities. The content of the education must begin to exert some influence on social expectations; it must form suitable attitudes and adapt and convert unsuitable ones.

Educators themselves have contributed very little to the literature on the role of education in developing countries. Their main concern has been with efficiency in terms of administration and planning. Beeby and Davis for example, and indeed this is an important area. These have
largely been in response to the manpower approach of the economists. However, despite its administrative bias, the point of Beeby's book, *The Quality of Education in Developing Countries*, is that, in order to meet manpower needs, continual qualitative upgrading of education throughout the system is imperative. Quality of education is, according to Beeby, the most neglected area in developing countries, and yet that area which ought to be one of the main concerns of educators.

Because of its importance, the concept of quality in education requires elaboration, and Beeby's constructs are a most suitable framework within which to do this. He develops a concept of quality encompassing three levels. The simplest level is the classroom concept of quality, that is, the ability in the three Rs and the acquisition of a given range of facts about history, hygiene and the like. At the second level the quality is measured by its productivity in terms of the country's economic requirements. It is at this level that the economist has the most to contribute. Quality at the third level is in terms of 'the final goals we set for ourselves, our children, our tribe, our country'.
In order to begin building a theory at the level of highest universal acceptance Beeby confines himself to quality in the classroom sense. While it may have been sufficient reason for so limiting his work it is hardly a sufficient reason for educators to continue to ignore the very strategic third level. Beeby would not have found this level so prohibitive had he conceptualized it entirely within the context of developmental requirements. With respect to the absolute qualities of persons he is commendable in his contention that common ground is difficult to find, and equally correct in refusing to deal with the problem for these are not the proper concern of expatriates. However, qualities which are desirable because they facilitate development are a different matter. If development is carefully delineated so that universal attitudinal needs become clarified and explicit there is no reason why a high level of agreement cannot be reached. For this reason the terms 'attitude' or 'value', both of which will be discussed later, are preferred to the term 'quality' with reference to persons. There is less danger of mistaking relative quality, which is invariably meant, for absolute quality which is beyond the scope of the problem of development.
Continual on-going research is being undertaken at Beeby's first level of quality, as for example, in techniques for the improvement of the teaching of English as a second language, and in the introduction of new, more suitable curricula. The profuse body of literature at the second level has already been reviewed.

At the third level, it has been shown how important attitudes are to economic, political and social development. Writers in each of these fields believe that education has a major part to play in fostering these, though not an exclusive role of course, and a precise analysis of the role it can play in the context of attitudes for development is called for. As Dewey writes:

"It is not whether the schools shall or shall not influence the course of future social life, but in what direction they shall do so and how. In some fashion or other the schools will influence social life anyway."45

Developing countries cannot afford the lack of consciously formulated purpose or the lack of efficiency in executing that purpose in their struggle to effect rapid, planned change. The educator is, therefore, required to explore the role of education as well as the most effective means of achieving it.
This thesis is a direct response to this very large gap in information about the quality of education in developing countries. In it an attempt will be made to define the attitudes necessary for development, and then to explore the role which the formal education system has in relation to them. While the existing literature will enable the first part of this task to be effected in general, universal and macroscopic terms, the most efficient way to achieve the goals has received almost no empirical exploration that is not set in advanced countries. To meet this need a study of attitudes in relation to the formal education system of Western Samoa will be undertaken.

Part one is concerned with the delineation in detail of the meaning of quality at the third level within the context of development, as well as an exploration of the role of the education system in helping to fulfill the demands of quality with maximum efficiency. The first step, as is obvious from the discussion, must be the building of a concise concept of development from which to derive the attitudes considered to be necessary. By the use of an historical and pragmatic analysis the characteristics which appear in the literature
are tested for their universality, and those which passed the test are to be found in Chapter 2. In the following chapter the attitudes themselves are presented. These are, in fact, the goals or criteria against which the quality of education for development is to be assessed. The model is completed in Chapter 4 by an analysis of education in its role as contributor to the development of the necessary attitudes. Non-educative as well as educative variables are discussed in order to put the educative variables into a reasonable perspective.

Part two deals with the application of the model to the education system of Western Samoa with a view to answering the following questions:

(a) What is the attitudinal base of the education system of Western Samoa? How well equipped is the system for its task as purveyor of the attitudes necessary for development?

(b) What have been the main forces contributing to this base?

(c) How can the education system proceed from here to better fulfill its qualitative role?
To attack the first problem it is necessary to assess the attitudes of the major purveyor of attitudes in the education system, the teacher. But first, in view of the many attitudes which appear to be necessary for development, it was considered that some selection would be essential, which, if carried out carefully, need not impoverish the scope of the investigation, but on the contrary, allow for a deeper coverage. A brief analysis of Samoan culture will indicate which of the modern attitudes can most profitably be ignored on the grounds that most Samoans are likely to hold them, and hence the education system is assumed to have only a minor role to play regarding them. Such an analysis is to be found in Chapter 5. Following this there is a discussion on the construction and administration of the measuring instrument with which an attempt was made to assess the attitudes of teachers in Western Samoa, as well as to assess the contributions of the various educative and non-educative variables.

Chapter 7 consists of an analysis of this data collected in a nation-wide survey of teachers and an attempt to answer the all important third question, the main concern
being with the areas of organization, teacher training and curriculum development. Because this is a macro study, broad in scope and highly generalized, any conclusions recorded in this chapter are necessarily tentative. There are still too many unanswered problems relating to each of the three questions asked about education in Western Samoa to enable more than guidelines to emerge. Some general implications of the study are to be found in Chapter 3.
NOTES


Other possible causes of the differences shown in these two works are the inadequacy of the available data or the difference in time between the two surveys. But, development being more than just the variables they use, in the unlikely event of these being the true and sufficient cause, the point under discussion still holds.


17. See, for example, McClelland's graph of Spanish development, op. cit. pp.132. The differences between the peak of NA and the highest level of development is a matter of hundreds of years, not one or two generations.


24. For the purpose of clarity, the term education is used with reference to formal education unless otherwise stated.


28. Harbison and Myers (1964) op.cit.


35. Pp236.


41. Philip J. Foster, "The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning" in Hanson and Brembeck (1966) op. cit. pp167-176.


45. John Dewey "Educational and Social Change" in Hanson and Brembeck, op. cit., ppl22.
Discussion of the concept of development has hitherto been of a very general nature. A more precise analysis is needed.

A concept is usually defined as the sum of the characteristics of a class which distinguishes all objects, persons and processes that belong to that class from those that do not. Nothing that is specific to only one, two or even 80% of that class can legitimately be included. Each of the characteristics included in the concept must be universal while together they must give a comprehensive coverage of all aspects of that class.

Four criteria require to be set in order to establish the universality of characteristics in the development syndrome.

(1) They must be common to a significant degree to all advanced countries.

(2) They must be established as recent trends in rapidly developing countries.
(3) They must be relatively insignificant in severely under-developed countries.

(4) They must be identifiable as being both cause and effect in relation to other characteristics in advanced countries.

Ideally, illustrations for these criteria should be drawn from major historical periods and applied to all advanced and extremely under-developed countries within each period. McClelland was not able to be as rigorous as this in the application of his method because of the time involved and the lack of available data, although he had only one factor and a team of research workers. For the same reasons, and because of the many factors involved in this study, a rather more rigorous selection of examples is necessary. It will in general be confined to two examples, one contemporary and the other historical, for each of the criteria. The main historical emphasis will be on development in Northern Italy from the fourteenth to the end of the sixteenth century, and on the Iberian peninsula from the fifteenth to the close of the sixteenth century. Contemporary examples of advanced and under-developed countries are largely based on the Harbison and Myers
rankings. Countries at their fourth level of development are in the advanced category, and those at the lower two levels are in the under-developed category. The countries commonly considered to be rapidly developing are Australia, New Zealand, Japan and the U.S.S.R. China is sometimes included as a rapidly developing country, and India as under-developed, because they make an effective contrast in strategies of development and in the resultant progress.

Material to be used as evidence for the modern period will be mainly in terms of quantified data or empirical investigation. Where data of this type are not available there will be admissions based on the consensus of opinion of those experienced in the problems of development. Their informed opinions may well be as valid as the data presented, because reliable and comprehensive statistics of the type from which cross-cultural comparisons could be made are not available for most of the world's nations. For some characteristics errors even in excess of 100% could not alter the relative ranks of some countries. Furthermore, percentages, discrete numbers and other various types of scales will sometimes show different relationships between countries and
variables on the same data and must, therefore, be treated with extreme caution.

A scale may show real differences between countries, but only rarely will it enable us to tell whether the lower point on the scale indicates that the quantity recorded there is sufficient or insufficient to be a significant contributor to development. Clearly there is an arbitrary judgment involved here. There is a tendency to assume, legitimately, but an assumption nevertheless, that if a country is not developing rapidly then the figure which represents it on the scale is insignificant. Similarly, with historical data, there is a need to rely on the judgments of historians. Judging the significance of social, economic, political and intellectual phenomena is an important part of the historian's professional concern, and to this end he utilizes both quantitative and qualitative variables in his analysis. The judgments of historians are therefore also considered as acceptable evidence in support of the universality of a specified characteristic.

Comprehensiveness is ensured by working systematically through all the relevant disciplines that bear directly on
human activity such as geography, economics, sociology, political science and education. Lacking well-defined boundaries between these disciplines, writers have tended to group characteristics somewhat differently under these various headings. They are used, not as discrete dimensions of development, but rather as organizational aids so that systematic coverage can be gained. Psychology has not been included here because this category does not belong to the concept in terms of directly observable variables. Rather, psychological indices are arrived at by deduction from these more direct manifestations and will be treated in the following chapter.

**Geographic and Demographic Factors.**

Once the myth of the biological superiority of the white man began to be questioned it became tempting to try to explain differential development rates in terms of geographical factors. There are now a number of studies which also dispel this explanation as myth.

Climatic factors do appear to have some relevance. A large number of under-developed countries are located in
tropical or sub-tropic climes. However, climate does not represent an insuperable barrier to development. When Indians and Chinese were induced into the Pacific territories, it was found that their working capacity and working habits were not impaired over a number of generations. Similar results were found with Europeans working in tropical Australia. Rich, fertile lands plus a tropical climate may well have aided the development of subsistence type living which is an obstacle to economic growth. In like manner, poor fertility partially accounts for lack of development in other territories as, for example, in the Arab countries. On the other hand, Australia and Israel are examples of countries which have shown that these conditions need be of only secondary importance to the rate of development.

Berle describes the vastly different growth rates of two North American States, Utah and Nevada, despite the fact that they shared similar unfavourable geographic conditions, and that settlement took place about the same time by groups of people from the same ethnic origin.

Rich natural resources are obviously an advantage for growth, but man has usually been able to manipulate his environment to counteract poor natural conditions and modern
technology has made such manipulation considerably more viable. Some under-developed countries, like Indonesia, are rich in natural resources but they have as yet been unable to capitalize significantly on them. Lack of natural resources are a problem to some countries, but they are not essential to guarantee economic growth.

Demographic data are often examined for their contribution to the development syndrome. The most frequent attention is given to a phenomenon known as the demographic transition, which involves a simultaneous increase in birth rate and decrease in infant mortality and the death rate. Created in large part by modern technology with no parallel in history, the demographic transition cannot meet the criteria of a universal characteristic, though it may be relevant to particular cases.

Historically the usual pattern is that of population growth supporting development. Spain, for example, had a rapidly growing population during its emergence as a world power, whereas Portugal was never able to consolidate its gains in the new world because of an extremely small population.
The discrepancy between historical evidence and what appears to be the modern experience may be partly explained by Roselitz's⁶ division of economic growth into two kinds, intensive and extensive. Intensive economic growth occurs when a country increases its productivity within an area already under development. Extensive economic growth occurs where there is an increase in the area under production, as for example, in the utilization of virgin land. In the past development has involved some of both, but mostly the latter, which would obviously be supported by population growth at least to a certain level.

In modern times the advances made in medicine and health promotion techniques have undoubtedly helped to create the demographic transition. Both Russia and Japan, the world's most recently advanced nations, were well on the way to modernization by the time that modern medicine had significantly altered the balance between the birth and the death rates. The use of D.D.T. to destroy insect pests in Ceylon is estimated to have reduced the death rate, previously stable for 15 years, by 33% in two years.
It is possible that a relatively small birth rate is a universal characteristic of development peculiar to our age, but on the evidence so far available, it is a problem best described as specific to particular countries. The following quotations sum up the significance of population growth to the development syndrome. Bauer and Young write:

"It is a familiar phenomenon that Chinese, Lebanese and Indians arrive in what appear to be hopelessly over-populated countries such as the West Indies, make a living there, create employment opportunities for the employment of others as well. Thus the quality and attitudes of the population affect not only the level of the real income but also the numbers of which the income per head is likely to be maximized."7

Neilsoner states what he calls the iron law of economics:

"So long as the amount of saving, coupled with the fruitfulness of the savings, result in a rise in output which is faster than the rise of the population cumulative economic growth will take place."8

The actual distribution of the population does have a universal characteristic for development, that of urbanization. Growth of cities has everywhere throughout history accompanied development. Greek, Roman and Egyptian cities were famous as centres of trade, manufacturing and learning as well as being centres for organized, central government. Cities are focal points of change because their growth is a
phenomenon beyond the scope of traditional social structure, and because contact with accultur al forces is inevitable through reciprocal trade with other areas.

A distinction needs to be made between urbanization which takes place as the result of its serving some function as opposed to the phenomenon of over-urbanization. An advanced country has numerous gradients of urban size where smaller towns support the large cities, and it also has a large proportion of its population living in urban areas. Under-developed territories are under-urbanized in the sense that they do not have a multiplicity of urban areas, and they do not have a large proportion of their populations living in such areas.

**Figure 1: Percentage Urban and Percentage of the Total Population in Cities of 10,000 or more Inhabitants.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage Urban</th>
<th>Cities of 10,000 +</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>England &amp; Wales (1951)</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>51.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel (1951)</td>
<td>77.5</td>
<td>29.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia (1947)</td>
<td>68.9</td>
<td>51.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States (1950)</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>43.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey (1950)</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines (1948)</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India (1961)</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to Hagen, the forced accumulation of 'hostages' into large communities during the Tokugawa era was an important pre-condition to development in Japan. Between 1890 and 1960 the Japanese urban population grew from 18.1% to 51.6%. Figure 2 shows the distribution of the American labour force in 1880, 1900 and 1960. The major shift in the occupational structure away from rural activity to occupations practised in an urban setting during the emergence of the United States as a major advanced country is obvious.

**Figure 2: American Labour Force by Type of Activity.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Activity</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1960</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, Fishing</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Forestry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry, Construction</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Mining</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite the problems created by urbanization, development cannot take place without cities. They are so important that the theme of urban development runs throughout the development syndrome. Phenomena associated with the growth of the cities are frequently used as historical validation of other characteristics.
Economic Development.

The most powerful indicator of economic development is the size of the gross national product per capita. A committee of the United Nations has defined an underdeveloped country simply as one in which:

"the per capita income is low compared with the per capita real income of the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and West Europe."\(^2\)

and Hagen defines economic development as:

"continuous rise in per capita income".\(^3\)

Indeed, so powerful is gross national product as an indicator that it is often used as the supreme measure against which other indicators have been evaluated\(^4\). As it is the chief means by which countries have been ranked, and by which the great periods of economic growth of the past have been determined, it is not necessary to evaluate large and increasing gross national product per capita in terms of the criteria of a universal characteristic. That it is one is a basic assumption.

Fundamental to an increasing gross national product is increased productivity. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries rapidly growing trading centres in Europe attracted
large numbers of the population who had previously been engaged in traditional agriculture. Under the stimulation of growing markets in the towns the peasants began to produce an excess for sale to the town dwellers despite the migration of many of their numbers to the towns. Today in the U.S.A. one farmer supports twenty-four non-food producers. In Africa between two and ten people raise only enough for themselves and one other non-food producer. Australia grows four times more rice per acre than do India and China, and three times more than Indonesia or Thailand.

For development the production of excess or savings is imperative for capital formation. Lewis expresses the relationship between excess production and capital.

"Hard work and capital formation are an excellent formula for economic growth, but whereas capital formation without hard work will also produce substantial growth, hard work without capital formation makes little contribution to development." 15

Savings alone can produce only inflation or hoarding. It is the extent of the savings coupled with their fruitfulness which is the important characteristic of development.

Until entrepreneurs began to form joint stock companies in order to accumulate large amounts of capital, the benefits
of trade were small and accrued only to the few individuals actually engaged in it. Venice was a city literally founded on joint stock enterprises. The Flanders Fleet, begun in 1314, was the largest and most famous of these. Parry stresses the significance for development of large accumulations of capital:

"The beginnings of the Reconnaissance, the first great moves in oceanic discovery, were the work, for the most part, of adventurous Portuguese and Spaniards; but the development of discovery, the foundations of settlement, trade and empire were paid for by the older commercial centres of the Mediterranean and South Germany. To those centres, the profits costly returned."15

A comparison of differences in growth between India and China since 1851, as a result of the fruitfulness of the investment policies of each, has been made by Raj17. He describes their strikingly similar economic structures and similar potential. Both countries recognized the need to build up capital goods industries as part of their development programmes, but there were important policy differences. Where India allocated less monies and had considerable lags in implementation of policy, China concentrated whole-heartedly on the capital goods industries. One aspect of development appears to be similar, China having a gross national product
per capita USD and India having USD, but in addition China has raised the rate of investment, cleared itself of national debt, and is now in a position to reduce the need for foreign exchange.

Some investigators into the problem of economic development have developed a concept of human capital, or to use a broader connotation, human resource development. Curle, for example, describes under-development simply as the "failure to make adequate use of human resources." Human resource development divides logically into two main areas of concern; the knowledge and skills component and the use which is made of skilled manpower.

Continuous growth of knowledge and skills is essential if production is to continually increase. Better ships, more sophisticated instruments and considerable refinement of cartography enabled the expansion of the settlers into the new world. The notable achievements of Portugal through the efforts of Henry the Navigator, were possible because he brought together at his school for sea training at Cape St. Vincent, the wide experience in ocean voyaging of his native Portuguese sailors and the technical knowledge of the Italians
and Germans. When Britain and the Netherlands developed sufficient organizational capacity to compete with Spain and Portugal for commercial interests in the new lands, one of the reasons why they were so successful was the failure of the Iberians to accept knowledge that did not fit into their traditional schema.

"The lessons of homogeneous manning and unified command, like the lessons of the great gun, gained acceptance only gradually. The Spaniards and the Portuguese learned them more slowly than the English and the Dutch. With a more rigid social hierarchy, they were less willing to entrust command to professional seamen and less critical of the sea-going abilities of men entitled to command by birth or military experience." 19

Evidence of the vast difference in knowledge between advanced and under-developed countries is readily available in the daily newspapers. The frontiers to knowledge, such as new weapons and space exploration, are occupied by the advanced nations. In the Meiji era, Japan's efforts to develop rapidly were at first frustrated as a result of indiscriminate borrowing of foreign knowledge and methods. 20 Rapid development resulted when the Japanese were able to adapt the borrowings to suit local conditions and to develop
indigenous research. The development of irrigation tech-
niques, effective fertilizers and farm machinery has account-
ed in large part for the difference in production found, for
example, between the yields of rice per acre in Australia and
China.

Neither historical analysis nor empirical research has
been able to break knowledge down into specific areas select-
ed as being most significant for development. Manpower sur-
veys have been able to determine what quantity of what spec-
ific skills is necessary for a particular purpose, but not
what knowledge and in what level of quality is most suited
to overall development. Logical analysis has produced pro-
tagonists of all persuasions. C.P. Snow puts a strong em-
phasis on science and technology, Balogh produces a case
for applied technology, while Foster attacks the 'vocational
school fallacy' in favour of a broad, general education.²¹
The evidence seems to favour all three of them in some de-
gree. Most of the various kinds of knowledge discussed above
are the products of pure and applied science. The case for
the other kinds of knowledge is put later in this chapter.
'knowledge', therefore, must remain a very general, amorphous characteristic in the development syndrome.

Yet another aspect is the degree to which knowledge is spread among the population. Harbison and Myers measure this by reference to high level manpower, that is, teachers, doctors, scientists and the like, as well as by reference to the possibilities of recruitment to this manpower. They have combined the two most powerful of this latter type of indicator, the adjusted secondary school enrolment ratio plus the tertiary enrolment ratio weighted five times, into a composite index of human resource development. On this index countries at the lowest level of development have scores ranging from 0.3 to 7.8. Advanced countries have a range from 77.1 to 361.3. Before 1975 higher education in Japan was restricted to the upper classes. Now the education level is such that Japan is a Level 4 country on the composite index. Spain and Italy also illustrate the phenomenon of greatly increased spread of knowledge in the early years after 'take-off'.

The reverse side of the human resource development coin is the use which is made of people with varying degrees of knowledge. In developed countries the phenomenon manifests itself through the diversification of labour. Competence in a multiplicity of highly skilled occupations in one person is today inefficient use of human resources. Not only does it take considerable time and practice to acquire a high level of skill, but when this has been acquired it is unproductive for it not to be used as frequently as demand can be made upon it. Maximum utilisation of a skill is achieved if, even though it may be on a single project, it is worked at its highest level of operation. Semi-skilled people cost less to train and can operate at the lower levels where this is practicable. Modernized nations have many overlapping levels to their vertical division of labour, but the main ones in descending order are research, managerial/professional, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled. The difference in divisions of labour are made clear in the diagrammatic representation of modern and tribal differentiation of
labour. (Figure 3, pp61(a).) A pattern of labour similar to the modern pattern, although less differentiated, existed in the labour force responsible for the notable buildings of the Italian Renaissance.

Equally significant is the horizontal diversification of labour partly indicated in Figure 3. The range of possible occupations increases rapidly with development. Many of the Australian indigenous tribes, at the lowest end of the development spectrum, have extremely limited differentiation. There is a division of labour according to the sexes, there is sometimes a chief, and occasionally a tribe will specialize in important artifacts because of its location near the source of a particular raw material. The range of occupations in modern society is too great to list. In relation to the building industry alone there are such groups as carpenters, cabinet makers, plumbers, electricians, transport workers, clerical workers, communications personnel, government officials in town planning, health and the like, paint and paper manufacturers, timber producers and glass manufacturers.
FIG. 3. Schematic representation of the division of labour for the construction of a building.
The extremely diverse activities of the Medici and the Fuggers is one of the reasons why these firms were able to resist the fluctuations in fortune which were common in the financial world of their day. Their organizations were indicative of the range of activities then being undertaken in commerce, agriculture, mining, manufacture and organization.

Many teething troubles are associated with the diversification of labour in developing countries. New occupations have developed, but they have done so with little regard to needs and, in particular, to the middle section of the vertical scale. For example, the Philippines and India have many times more lawyers than there are opportunities for their employment. Similarly, high level manpower is being wasted in India, although there is a chronic shortage, because there are not enough in the technician class to carry out the supportive work for the professional people. In 1959 there were more doctors than there were nurses. Demand for 'white-collar' work to the relative neglect of 'blue-collar' work is a familiar phenomenon in African territories. Japan, the
U.S.A. and the Soviet Union have learned how to overcome this type of imbalance:

"North American, Japanese and Russian experience indicates that the introduction directly into the university of such vocational subjects as animal husbandry, accounting, elementary school teaching, engineering and so forth, as well as a wide dispersion of colleges and universities in provincial and small communities, can have the effect of creating a trained stratum of talent that is motivated to work outside of metropolitan centres, and willing to accept employment that has little appeal to college graduates in the more elitist systems."[24]

Development also requires that wealth be more widely distributed amongst the population. This takes place in two ways; through individual and through group mobility. Individual mobility takes place when the individual acquires skills which are necessary to society or which are luxuries that an expanding economy can support, thus putting him into a position to demand more of the fruits of his labours for himself. Of vital importance are the skills which qualify a person for that rather nebulous socio-economic level, commonly called the middle class, which consists of groups like merchants, traders, business men, bankers and professional workers. Increases in both the
horizontal and the vertical divisions of labour create many opportunities for moving into this class in an advanced country. Group mobility is not necessarily achieved through the acquisition of a skill, but rather by means of organizations which are large enough to bargain effectively for up-graded economic positions and rewards for its members. Unions, professional associations, political parties and co-operatives are the main organizations concerned with group mobility today.

In the present era of unprecedented heights of development, group mobility has even extended to the lowest echelons of society, farm labourers and urban unskilled workers. This way the distribution of wealth continues to extend despite the fact that individual mobility tends to decline as the distance from 'take-off' increases. Yet there must always be some individual mobility because modern industry and commerce demand efficiency, and are willing to pay for it regardless of the social stratum from which it comes.
Upward group mobility has been given as the reason why the ratio of the middle class has remained relatively stable in Britain and in Australia during the twentieth century, as compared with the rapid increase which has taken place in the middle class in the United States during the same period, although all three have continued to develop. Of the three countries, Australia has shown the greatest degree of upward mobility of the working class as a group. Mobility, whether group or individual, is severely limited in under-developed countries where there tends to be a fixed order of economic distribution.

**Figure 4:** Approximate Percentage of the Population in the Various Social Classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>U.S.</th>
<th>Brazil</th>
<th>U.K.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Middle</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Middle</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Lower</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Lower</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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*Note:* These are very rough approximations, mainly because the social classes in the countries are not strictly comparable. An attempt has been made to equate the other countries as nearly as possible to the systems of classes found in the U.S.A.
Union affiliation is typically low as is the opportunity to learn management and other entrepreneurial skills not widely practised in the community. McClelland found a positive correlation between the level of economic growth and the ratio of entrepreneurs to the population at large, both historically and contemporarily. In Italy, South Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, rapid development was accompanied by the growth of guilds and co-operatives at all levels of skill. Sometimes it took a revolution such as the revolt of the Ciompi in Florence in the early fourteenth century, but, whether violently or peacefully, more and more of the population received the right to belong to the above organizations, and thereby to upgrade their economic positions.

It must be remembered that this process is not economic egalitarianism. Economic mobility is only possible where differences in wealth exist. Neither does it imply that the gap between the rich and the poor is necessarily reduced, but merely that increases in the total wealth of the nation or state enables more people to participate in it.
If the interrelatedness of some components of the development syndrome is taken into account it can readily be seen that the distribution of wealth is a necessary factor. Hard work produces savings, which in turn produces investment leading to diversification of labour and increased spread of knowledge or investment in human resources. Thus the population becomes economically mobile, thereby encouraging more people to produce greater savings. The process is accumulative. A decline in development can occur through the withdrawal of any one or more of the variables.

Another characteristic operating within the syndrome is a monetary economy. A highly sophisticated system of exchange is essential to cope with the complexity created by the diversification of labour. Similarly, a powerful method of saving and a flexible means of investment are essential. The Carolingian Empire, although politically strong and stable under Charlemagne, retained its primitive custom of exchange in land. Consequently, land holdings became extremely fragmented, and once the strong hand of
Charles'ne disappeared, the empire disintegrated under frequent and violent ownership disputes. Even during Charles'ne's reign there was no significant economic growth, despite the fact that general conditions were favourable. In the emerging nations and city states of Northern Italy and Europe, where development occurred, coinage systems came into widespread use. The most famous of these, the Venetian ducat and the Florentine florin, were not only established in the most rapidly developing commercial and trading areas, but became established simultaneously with the rapid growth of international trade.

In so far as it is still a problem today, in nearly all countries having a monetary system even though it may be a borrowed one, the characteristic has significance in relation to the internal pervasiveness of monetary exchange. New Zealand farmers who have their adult sons working on the land with them usually pay their sons a monetary salary for their labour. Sons working for their father, chief or other village official in inland New Guinea, receive payment only in kind.
No economic survey would be complete without some mention of agriculture. Under normal conditions an under-developed country has a higher proportion of its population engaged in agriculture than has a developed country. New Zealand, despite the fact that agricultural production is the primary source of income, has only sixteen per cent of the population engaged in agriculture, while Indonesia, although rich in natural resources, has seventy-five per cent. Japan, a peasant society before the Meiji revolution, now has only thirty-nine per cent of the population working on the land. That there are significant differences in the productivity of agricultural labour has been instanced earlier.

To bring about this order of reduction in the agricultural labour force two phenomena are necessary. There must be a growth of cities with all the wealth of opportunities for non-traditional occupations that they bring. Secondly, there must be increased productivity either by hard work or by increased knowledge about methods of production and its use. This completes the full cycle of the economic aspect of the development syndrome.
Social Development.

"Development as a whole involves a complex series of changes in these rates of growth .......... and major changes in these rates depend on the occurrence of fundamental changes in the social structure of the developing society."37

There are six main changes in social structure, defined by Suelser and Lipset as 'interactions between people, or roles', which are readily discernable factors in development. These are social mobility, the decline of the leisure class, increased societal complexity, increased number of impersonal relationships in the society, individual autonomy and the spread of social justice.

Suelser and Lipset consider that the most influential factor in the development of nations is the degree of social mobility. During periods of rapid growth social mobility tends to be markedly dependent upon economic success accruing either to the individual, to society as the result of his efforts, or to both of these. Many writers do not, in fact, distinguish between the two, but refer to them by the single term, socio-economic mobility. Since most of the research into the area of mobility has been done with
this combined concept, it is necessary at this stage to elaborate on the relationship between the two aspects. The beginnings of development of a nation can be seen when men begin to use their occupations as a means to force their way up the social scale. Thus the upper class could be downwardly mobile into the middle class in emerging Britain because economic status began to mean something socially. While the diversification of labour provided opportunity of economic mobility, the complexity of modern society led to a tying of social status to occupation. Opportunity of economic mobility means then, that there is a greater chance for social mobility.

The difference in social class allocation between two advanced countries and a relatively under-developed country is shown in Figure 4. Foster shows that there are more upwardly mobile youths amongst those training for the top economic and social positions in educational institutions in Ghana than in the educational counterparts in the United States, but in terms of the total population such a minute proportion is involved in Ghana that social mobility is negligible. The chance for the lower class to up-grade
itself is remote where educational opportunities are few, because social mobility in developing countries tends to be tied to formal education. Denial of social mobility is given by Hagen as one of the main reasons for the revolution which ushered in modernity in Japan. Yet the potential for development in terms of material and human resources could not have altered significantly during the brief period of the revolution. Hunt and McHale lament the fact that in the new states today economic rewards tend to accrue as the result of political success, thereby making social mobility by means of economic activity a slow and laborious process. Research confirmed this when it was demonstrated that where genuine, perceivable opportunity exists for economic mobility, the social value of 'blue-collar' education improves in under-developed countries.

In the early stages of Spanish power, a relatively fluid socio-economic situation existed. This was not because of any genuine flexibility in the social system, but rather because overseas expansion greatly increased the opportunities within the existing structure as well as
producing new conditions which took time to assimilate. The Pizzaros, Balboa and the like were hidalgos, that is, of the gentleman class, but in Spain they could have been of no social consequence. Economically they might have been lower than most of the peasantry. As the rigidity of the socio-economic structure reasserted itself, the great empire slowly crumbled from within. The crown reclaimed the socio-economic privileges it had granted to the conquistadores, replacing the system of free enterprise that had prevailed in the new lands with a system of officials mostly appointed from the nobility.

There is a tendency for the rate of nobility to decline as development reaches a certain level. Brazil, for example, can continue to increase its upper and middle classes, and still have more than sufficient numbers in the lower classes to perform the work in this category, whereas in the United States and the United Kingdom there is no longer a large gap in the middle class, nor wasteful mass under-employment in the lower class. This appears to be in keeping with the development trends revealed by the Bartison and Myers's data. They found that with all their
indicators the gap in development is greatest between level one countries and level two countries, with a decline in distance between levels two and three and a greater decline between levels three and four. The emphasis in mobility tends to focus upon groups rather than upon the individuals as development increases.

An important consequence of the force of economic success in determining social mobility is that the traditional leisure class, including the priesthood, declines in proportion to the total population as more and more of its members enter into productive as opposed to consumptive activity. Already, in the advanced nations of the world, it is socially disfavored not to work even where there is no economic compulsion to do so. Social rewards are greatest in the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. the more one is able to succeed in economic activity. This is only partly true of Britain. The traditional leisure class is still socially important, but it has been added to by non-hereditary members and, in addition, the class has considerably smaller numbers who are still 'leisured'. This is far from the case in under-developed societies where social reward is higher the further one is removed from productive
activity. Time of harvest is determined by the chief's decree in Paolo. It is one of the most important tasks, yet obviously this is just ritual for, unless the harvest begins when the crop is ready, the tribe would not survive.

The continuing strength of the priesthood in European history during periods of rapid growth was the result of the ability of these classes to enter directly into productive activity. In Northern Italy the traditional upper class was absorbed by the upwardly mobile entrepreneurs, such as the Medici, who entered primarily by means of their economic endeavors, though ostensibly by means of arranged marriages. This new upper class retained its entrepreneurial interests. The Papal See and other important bishoprics also became directly involved in economic activity, not only through their estates, but because the bishops themselves were often members of the wealthy mercantile families who had bought power and were, by their wealth, able to maintain it. The lesser clergy took up clerical and managerial service, yet even this function was being undermined as early as the late middle ages in Italy. Secular clerks were being used more extensively by men of economic stature as they had no other
allegiances to distract them from their work. Modern society has completed the process of replacing priests with clerks, professional managers and doctors. Religious sanction has in turn been usurped by secular law. Empty churches in England and the U.S.S.R. are mute testimony to this fact.

As labour becomes more diversified and the size of the leisure class decreases so society becomes exceedingly complex. While social status is more and more derived from occupation, the great variety of occupations and the overlap of skills on the vertical scale make status difficult to assess. Anderson reports considerable differences in rating of social class by occupation amongst respondents in social surveys in the United States. In under-developed countries there is little differentiation between the position in the family unit, political authority, religious authority and economic position, since all are invested in the elders. In a complex society the individual has many roles and may occupy a different status in each of them.
More important, however, is the extreme complexity of organization and administration which becomes necessary for the maintenance of social integration in the face of increasing differentiation. Increasing differentiation in public control systems is one of Anderson's main themes pertaining to urban development. Naroll has found a high correlation between the degree of occupational specialization and the number of societal organizations in a large number of tribal societies, while the Youngs have established a continuum of development based on organizational complexity in public institutions in Mexico. A scaleogram analysis of educational institutions has shown, in this one field of public endeavour alone, a remarkable number of institutions in advanced countries as opposed to the very few in severely under-developed countries. Spain, under Ferdinand and Isabella, developed a complex and highly organized bureaucracy which effectively co-ordinated Spanish activity on a national level. The fact that the bureaucracy later became one of the causes of the decline of Spain need not obscure its importance in the early stages.
One of the most important manifestations of the impersonalization of human relationships, an important characteristic of development, is the nuclear family. McHale makes a convincing analysis of the types of economy which different family structures produce because of the extent to which personal relationships dominate. He claims that a modernized economy is best served by the nuclear family because of the freedom such units allow for contractual relationships. Such a development is impossible to effect where bilateral extended families are the most common unit, because they are unable to form joint enterprises over time. The kincentric system is intermediary between these two. As a social unit it is less independent than the bilateral system, and must therefore interact with 'out groups' and it also has greater organizational powers because of its fixed membership. He illustrates his point this way:

"The rubber industry is a case in point. The Western organization of production factors is closely identified with large scale plantation complexes, the Chinese with medium sized holdings and the Malay with small holdings. It is not without significance that the Western socio-ecological system is largely non-kincentric, the Chinese is a kincentric system and the Malay a kincentric bilateral system."
All modernized nations have kincentric systems with the partial exception of Japan. The Japanese still retain much of the kincentric organization, but the essence of the system is disappearing as development increases. In the words of Linton:

"In recent times the Japanese have been able to work out a fairly effective adjustment between joint family claims and business efficiency. The families controlling large enterprises marry daughters to their most promising employees, who then take the family name. But the sales of today are showing increasing reluctance to do this."

Since China has begun to develop rapidly this weakening of the traditional family structure in favour of impersonal relationships is believed to have occurred there too.

A familiar barrier to efficiency in under-developed countries, in both the administration and the economy, is the practice of appointing relatives, including members of one's religious sect, to positions as opportunity arises on the sole basis of personal relationships. As McClelland pointed out, an individual in the nuclear family is free to make choices to fill positions based on relevant criteria, because he is not bound by wider family obligations in this sphere of his activity. Indeed, because of the
differentiation of labour, he has little option but to interact with strangers, and even to use his political power, be it only one vote, for the advantage of someone whom he may never have met in a face to face situation. Secularization is also implicit in the consideration of impersonal relationships. Law and medicine, as already noted, gradually replaced the most significant of the priestly functions and, with these functions gone, the priesthood's political and social importance was also reduced.

Painter describes how the feudal system, based on personal relationships within a virtually independent social unit, was gradually replaced by contractual relationships. Nuclear family groups moved into towns where their relationships were expressed through contractual agreement. This was necessary as well as desired, because traders, merchants and artisans are essentially dependent upon a wider clientele for their economic well being; than is possible to establish by personal communication.
A reciprocal relationship exists between the growth of impersonal contracts and the spread of individual autonomy. Where opportunity occurs for the individual to form contracts outside the family he needs to be able to do so in his own right. Where individual autonomy does not exist, impersonal relationships will not be formed.

In the bilateral kincentric system, the individual exists only as part of a group. The only meaningful interaction an individual has outside this primary group is when he is operating as its agent. For example, in traditional Maori society a wrong inflicted on one member of the tribe by an 'outsider' was treated as an insult to the whole group. The tribe took its revenge upon all the members of the group to which the offender belonged. In modern societies each adult member is responsible for his own actions. He participates in economic activities in his own right. Successes and failures reflect only upon him and his immediate dependents. The extreme individual autonomy possible in modern times has little parallel in history, but, in the cities and towns of past eras, individuals did compete for work in their own right, and merchants, similarly invested, traded and formed economic contracts with foreign powers. Individuals
received voting rights as citizens and not as members of a family. Such membership helped qualify a person for citizenship, of course, but as it is in advanced nations today, membership could be gained by a term of residence or oath of allegiance.

Patronage, a familiar phenomenon of the past, enabled a number of able individuals to exercise a reasonable degree of autonomy. Freed from familial and traditional social, economic and political ties, the favoured ones were able to achieve great advantages for their patrons as well as for their country or society. In general, their semi-autonomy was assured provided that they continued to produce favourable results through their actions. Early Spanish and Portuguese development took place in this way, with patronage often given to those who had already successfully exhibited individual action.

A tendency towards social egalitarianism is also a necessary factor in social development. All people do not, of course, become socially equal, though there is the tendency for distances between classes to be reduced by increased social mobility. Rather, egalitarianism implies that rules be
the same for all individuals with all social classes expected to adhere to them. The growth of nationalism is one example of how more and more people become part of the 'in group' which enjoyed social justice. In a limited degree, it also means that minimum living standards be available to all members. For example, in modern societies social services for the poor ensure that minimum needs are met in the same way that the guilds did in earlier times.

Until people become equal before the law, sufficient numbers will not have the strength to exercise their inclination to be autonomous. Changes will be effected only under the extreme condition of revolt or strike. Such conditions do not operate in more than one sphere of activity nor do they survive over time. Equality may be achieved either by usage or by law, but while the latter is a useful starting point, the former is the more efficient. Banfield explains peasant reluctance to form impersonal contracts because of their doubt in their ability to sustain personal autonomy. Only one of the twenty-one peasants he interviewed expressed a preference for large-scale sharecropping because
of the extra gain it would bring. The others thought that getting along with a landlord could be dangerous. Landlords could exert power in the real situation for three reasons; because it was customarily theirs, because of the sheer inertia of those not directly affected by a particular action of the landlord, and because of the lack of confidence of the peasants in their autonomy. Furthermore, even if a peasant could afford to take his case before the law, which was unlikely, public inertia would allow for officials to be bribed or otherwise influenced by the traditional power. 40 Useem and Useem describe the attempts of a foreign educated Indian youth to find employment entirely on his own merit. Because of his family connections, he was continually offered more than his qualifications or his initial bargaining with the employer had entitled him to receive. Indians have equality before the law, but it is not yet socially accepted or expected in behaviour on a widespread scale.

The growth of towns is the only real hope for the rapid establishment of social justice through usage, because an urban economy depends upon impersonal relationships and
individual autonomy. A person of low social status in the tribal setting finds himself working alongside a person of high rank and competing for the positions of responsibility on equal terms. He is likely to generalize this situation to spheres outside the factory as well, provided that these are also outside the immediate influence of the tribe. One of the outcomes of the growth of towns in Italy was that a wider section of the people came to enjoy a greater degree of social justice. Within the city walls a judicial system evolved with the same law for all, regardless of status. Greece and Rome were famous for their systems of social justice at the time of their golden eras, and it was desire for some measure of social justice that was one of the causes of the revolution in Russia and Japan.

Finally, there is one characteristic of social development which underlies all of the above-mentioned structural changes, though it is not itself a structural change. This is continual acculturization, meaning that the country must not turn in on itself but must be in continual contact with foreign influences. The dangers of social isolation are
described by Apter with reference to political ideologies and new political elites, but it applies admirably to all kinds of inward orientation:

"In other words, if a new nation should exhibit a second-rate countenance to the world, it may also find it necessary to invent the criteria of second-rateness. Disguised in the doctrine of each nation's finding its 'own way' in wrestling with internal problems is the danger of self-delusion." 41

Again, it is principally through urbanization that acculturization takes place. Athens flourished as a centre of maritime trade in the Mediterranean at the height of its development. By turning inwardly, early nineteenth-century Greece, after gaining its independence from Turkey, was able to believe itself the direct heir of this earlier glory. The country was even more impoverished by waging costly foreign wars to support its territorial claims, as well as by dissipating its revenues on classical education at the expense of all other kinds. The great cities of Egypt were once centres of acculturization by means of exchange in goods and in scholars. Now Egypt is an under-developed country and its cities, with the exception of Cairo, have been described by a prominent urbanologist 42 as merely an agglomera-
tion of traditional villages where no foreign influence penetrates. Spain also effectively isolated herself from outside influence during the reign of Philip the Second.

"We now know, as it was recognized by some observers even then, that Spain was a hollow shell ......... Philip 2 enforced orthodoxy, excluded all non-Catholic literature and summoned home all students in foreign universities, thus dooming Spain to intellectual stagnation ..... She wasted her peculiar opportunities by driving from her borders the enterprising Jews and the industrious Moriscos."43

Spanish-American communities in the United States which have refused to be acculturated have remained to this day pockets of under-development in a generally well developed country. Japan was forced to open its ports to foreign traders in the late nineteenth century. Other modernized nations keep continual contact with foreign cultures through trade, immigration, student exchange, literature and news media.

Individual autonomy, impersonal relationships and social justice make it possible for acculturation to take place almost unnoticed in advanced countries. New ideas and changes in roles are effectively absorbed into the social
system by means of individual behaviour variations. Any alteration in roles or infiltration of new ideas represents a major threat to the social system of an under-developed country, and hence it is usually accompanied by major social upheavals which tend to intensify resistance to acculturating influences. Furthermore, it seems to the peoples of these countries that acculturation is a one way process with themselves as the sole recipients, thus tending to further intensify resistance to socially meaningful change. They are afraid of losing their identity. Hence, while acculturation is produced by individual autonomy and personal relationships, it also produces them in that they are dependent upon the external influences of the growth of trade and urbanization.

Political Development.

A great deal of ethnocentrism, focusing principally on the two competing ideologies of communism and democracy, surrounds the theory of political development. Either system can accommodate itself to the necessary characteristics. If this were not so, either development would be limited to only
those countries holding a particular ideology, which is demonstrably untrue, or there is no political dimension to the development syndrome. This is also untrue as the argument developed below will demonstrate.

Political development is not a matter of the correctness of a given ideology, rather it is defined as:

"The acquisition by a political system of a consciously sought and qualitatively new and enhanced political capacity as manifested in the successful institutionalization of:
(1) new patterns of integration regulating and containing the tensions and conflicts produced by increased differentiation and
(2) new patterns of participation and resource distribution adequately responsive to the demands generated by the imperatives of equality."

There are four elements in Coleman's definition, namely, organization, integration, diversification and participation, all of which are expected to produce changes in human institutions.

First among human institutions is the family, the smallest social unit. During the treatment of social development it was pointed out that a certain type of family, the extended kin type, inhibits growth because it forms the
major social, religious and political unit whilst having elements that mitigate against long term co-operation and organization. From his observations and empirical investigations in the South of Italy, Banfield lists fourteen reasons why societies of this family type can neither co-operate nor organise effectively in politics. These can be grouped around two characteristics, the degree of centralized control of the polity and the spread of active political participation in the general population.

No significant development has taken place without a considerable amount of centralization. In modern terms this means national control. A central authority that rules by force is reduced in effectiveness as the distance from the source of power increases. The polity is not central in a true sense if it does not have effective control. It can force, but it cannot govern. Centralization plus a high degree of national control is a phenomenon commonly called nationalism. It is defined as:

"a social value which entails acceptance of the state as the impersonal and ultimate arbiter of human affairs."
Spain, during the latter half of the fifteenth century, is an example par excellence of the power of nationalism in development. The outstanding feature of that period was the way in which the grip of the feudal system was broken and widespread allegiance to the crown established. Taxes, differentiated according to means, made the crown richer than any noble in the realm without alienating the nobility or the general population. Effective local police forces, llamadas, established by the crown, but having local officers and being supported by local taxes, gave a sense of identity of the masses with the polity. At the same time the crown was directly and observably responsible for the stability which enabled the farmers and merchants to operate at a maximum level of efficiency. A series of royal councils, composed of experienced nobles, debating important questions, served to unite this powerful section of the population with the polity. All actual decisions, however, whether policy or action, were made by the central authority which was always in control of the situation.

National control eventually became a hollow sham in the Spanish colonies although ethnocentrism remained strong. Lack of legal sub-system autonomy, meaning as it did that
all important decisions were made thousands of miles away and at a time when the need for them had long passed, was compensated by a general convention of 'obey but not enforce'.

A pseudo nationalism, similar to that which existed in the Spanish colonies, developed in many African states prior to independence. It was not based upon genuine national cohesiveness behind a central polity, or even ideology involving a central polity, but rather on the subservience of true differences for the specific purpose of disposing of foreign control. Political independence was immediately followed by fractionation of interest, and regionism and tribalism became common. The recent wars in the Belgian Congo and the present war in Nigeria are cases in point. In other words, the polity was not able to integrate or to contain tensions and conflicts.

Advanced nations are characterized by central, national governments which have powers to override local authorities and which, because of widespread consent of the people and efficient communication systems, reach effectively into all parts of the respective countries. They are, obviously, not
little Utopias, because minor breakdowns occur from time to time but these are more often begun by dislike of a particular government policy than are they a challenge to the concept of national control.

Central control is not sufficient to stand by itself as a universal characteristic. It has an essential correlative, that there be a measure of sub-system autonomy. It allows for structural as well as cultural determinants of change in the political system, thereby fulfilling an integrative need. Spain gradually lost its efficiency as well as its central control because, despite the overwhelming number of bureaucrats employed by the state, all decisions, however trivial, had to be made by a crown no longer invested in the able minds of Ferdinand and Isabella. Where there is responsibility without authority it is inevitable that there will be corruption and inefficiency. In addition there was no flexibility in the Spanish system, and consequently local administrators did not feel themselves to be an integral part of the polity. By establishing semi-independent sub-branches throughout Europe, the Medici firm remained a successful concern despite the fact that the trade routes had by-passed Italy by the end of the
sixteenth century. The standard type of contract signed between the central house and the sub-branch made it quite clear that although the branch could operate independently in most situations, it was subservient to the centre in major decisions. Policy decisions, therefore, emanated from the centre.

Both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. have local government agencies where the effective running of the respective sub-systems takes place. In matters of overriding importance, however, policy is set by the central polity, and the local authorities are expected to operate within the boundaries set by these policies. Periodic clashes occur in developed countries when a sub-system acts outside the policy laid down by the central authority. For example, in Little Rock, Arkansas, local authorities in opposition to the integration of negroes in schools clashed with the national policy. Similarly, in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union regarded the sub-system as having operated outside its general economic and political policy. Although early administration in Australia and the United States took the form of separate
states or provinces, once communications improved they soon found it more viable to combine into a larger unit for overall planning co-ordination, but with local organization still very much to the fore at the level of implementation.

To be effective nationalism depends upon widespread active participation in political affairs. Benfield found that because the peasant of Southern Italy has no sense of identity with the polity, he is not willing to further the interests of the group or community except where it is to his own personal advantage. He may, in fact, actively oppose generally beneficial measures if he sees that others will benefit, but that he will remain unaffected. The peasants believe all officials to be corrupt, and therefore documents and organizations are not to be trusted. Voting is used as an acknowledgement of favours received, not as a means of political participation with a view to future activities. Directives from the polity, including laws, are ignored if they mean change or inconvenience, except for brief periods of direct, personal enforcement by visiting officials.
Through universal suffrage there is widespread political participation at the lowest level of action in modern societies, but once the government is elected the people still participate either by passive consent, as any government contemplating unpopular legislation is aware, or by strikes and demonstrations. At the highest level of participation there are organizations such as pressure groups and political parties to which an individual can become affiliated. Erbe found fourteen studies which showed that the greater the degree of involvement of people in organizations, the greater their political involvement, and eighteen studies showing an association between socio-economic status and political participation. A strong sense of nationalism and the upsurge of economic activity that followed the revolutions in Japan and Russia, gave the masses a sense of participation with the polity. It became one with the economic power, and so was able to make possible this kind of generalization from one type of participation to the other. Participation was one of the chief means by which, as has been noted, the Spanish monarchy secured national unity and control. Ancient Greece is perhaps one of the best
known examples of this phenomenon.

Another characteristic of political development is that the polity must be increasingly impersonalized. Disastrous effects on development have been shown to occur when the unit of personal relationships corresponds to the political unit. Banfield's study confirmed this. The relationship between the ruler and ruled needs to be based on contract alone. Italian and Roman growth were characterized by the development of law, and both Italy and Rome declined in development when the law became only a formality. The individual's relationship within the polity is defined and supported by law in the advanced nations, thus tending to minimize graft and nepotism.

There is a strong interactional effect between this factor and widespread active participation in politics. Individuals will become involved, however minimally, only if there appears to be some chance that the participation will have an effect. Widespread participation will not occur if the government arbitrarily accepts some contributions but rejects others. If the polity is impersonal the individual will participate but, conversely, if there is
not widespread political participation, the chances of personal relationships and corruption dominating the system are greatly increased, for an impersonal system depends upon the watchfulness of the people.

Finally, in addition to the points covered by Benfield, it should be noted that political development consists of the emergence of political authority with economic power. Coleman's definition includes the need for a balance between the forces of egalitarianism and the imperatives of efficiency. Political participation by the masses is the major force for egalitarianism, but in the economic sphere, this would be disastrous as far as efficiency is concerned. Unless the polity identifies itself with the needs of the economy, growth is not likely to be sustained, because only those engaged directly in economic activity at the highest level are sensitive to the feedback from the world's markets.

Communist countries, even with their complete merger between the polity and economic power, had to abandon the economic egalitarian aspect of their ideology. According to Lipset, the government of the United States was effect-
ively active in the economic sphere from its inception, and in a recent television interview J.K. Galbraith claimed that the identification is becoming even stronger now.

Raj's comparison of Indian and Chinese development brought out the relationships between the degree of identification of the polity with the economic dimension and the relative success in growth, and earlier it was pointed out that the greater part of the Portuguese and Spanish earnings passed through their hands into those of the European banker. In addition, the rise of the economic prosperity of the Netherlands has been ascribed to the large number of virtually independently run towns that grew up there. The Dutch transferred the same structure to their overseas acquisitions.

"... for the New Netherland was a commercial not a political creation, the factory of the trading company not a self-governing colony."52

Nevertheless the political rights which the large trading companies received from their respective governments made for a considerable degree of correspondence between the economic and the political sectors in the new lands. Neilsen-Brodersen53 has shown how the failure of the polity to merge
with economic activity is retarding development in the newly independent, but under-developed states of today.

**Intellectual Characteristics.**

One of the most important characteristics of development is the growth of knowledge, and because of its importance some consideration has already been given to it. So far, however, such consideration has been elaborated only in respect to the factual knowledge that can easily be specified. Attention will, therefore, now be directed to that aspect of knowledge not readily classifiable, but which may be referred to as intellectual factors. This general term has been preferred because it has connotations which reach beyond formal education, and yet also encompass it.

The characteristics are: widespread habitual use of the scientific method as a means of assessment and evaluation, and an articulated concern with human relationships, intellectual acculturation and creativity. In addition, there is an important correlative of the growth of knowledge which has so far received only partial attention and thus
needs elaboration; this is the continual expansion of education at all levels.

The continuing expansion of education at all levels contains both quantitative and qualitative elements. As far as the quantitative element is concerned there is a foreseeable and finite end, especially for the primary and secondary education levels, an end which some developed countries have, as far as is functionally possible, attained. That is, they have reached universal attendance of the appropriate age cohort for most of these school grades.

As there is considerable internal pressure by way of public demand as well as international pressure, international oriented agencies having declared it a major policy, to provide at least universal primary education, it is likely that countries will be 'over-developed' at this level in respect to other levels of education and in respect to other areas of development. For example, the Hunt and McHale study shows that, while primary education has been continually expanded in the Philippines, a Philippine achievement test, administered on a large scale in 1947 and in 1958, revealed a significant deterioration in standards.
They attribute the decline to a deliberate acceptance of quantitative goals as guiding criteria for the education system. It is because of their particular application for quantitative educational expansion at the neglected levels of education in developing countries, the words 'continuous' and at 'all levels' have been deliberately included as part of the characteristic.

Some facts and figures illustrating quantitative differences in educational expansion between advanced and underdeveloped countries in the contemporary setting have been given earlier, and there is no need to repeat them here. The rise of the universities is a good historical example of the widening availability of education as development gets under way. Boyd shows that the universities were not unconnected with other developmental variables, in particular with the growth of towns.

"The intimate connection between the universities and the growth of civic independence is shown by the fact that it was in those parts of Southern Europe where the municipalities were freest and most vigorous that the university movement extended with the greatest rapidity. In Italy no fewer than nine universities established themselves by spontaneous growth or by special creation (in some cases only to last for a short time) in the first half of the thirteenth century and as many more were instituted in the next two centuries."
Similar development took place in Spain where six universities were established about the time of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.

The discussion of the quality of education in this context is necessarily limited to quality in the classroom sense, for there is no evidence available with which to establish the wider aspects. For classroom quality the educational background of the teacher, gross differences in the teacher-pupil ratio within an education system, and numbers of students reaching certain educational levels are usually accepted as being qualitatively crucial. Many of the teachers in developing countries are only primary school graduates, while teachers in advanced countries have at least three years secondary education, and some advanced systems of education have tertiary level as a minimum qualification. Similar differences are to be found in teacher training with respect to the length of training and its quality.

Writers on the history of education report a typical pattern of search and to some extent partially successful search, for improved teaching techniques and a revitalized
curriculum in societies that were beginning to develop, and conversely, a stultification of material and methods as countries declined in development. The teaching of rhetoric in Roman education is a case in point.

The scientific method is the habit of asking 'why' and of seeking the answer by rational and empirical means. It applies to the acceptance of facts and changes, as well as to the acceptance of the status quo. In each of the academic disciplines, as well as in major manufacturing firms and the armed services, there is a body of researchers concerned with examining, refining and changing the accepted tenets of knowledge, of human relationships, of the working of the universe and so on.

Labour being so diversified in modern society, people are forced to rely on the specialists for their knowledge, that very body of people whose common interest is the application of the scientific method with two important effects. Firstly, new knowledge and innovations are disseminated throughout the population by means of doctors, lawyers, school teachers and the like. Secondly, in order to maintain his autonomy, the individual must not automatic-
ally accept what he receives from the authorities. He must, in fact, first ascertain whether authority does lie with the people who claim it in the field in which they are claiming it. The challenge by the receivers to the purveyors helps to ensure the continual growth of knowledge and the continual use of the scientific method. For the receivers of knowledge to be able to function in this way they must be habitual users of the scientific methods, but in addition, they must have individual autonomy, the right to make impersonal contracts and to enjoy a degree of social justice without which it would be dangerous for a person to question the traditional authorities, or rather, those with power who claim to be authorities.

The story is told of an African child who, after being told by the teacher that insects had eight legs, discovered for himself by counting them the 'unfortunate fact' that insects had six legs. The production of an insect and a query in school the next day was met by a beating and a firm reassertion by the teacher that insects had eight legs. The much reported passivity of children, and adults in the face of 'authority' in under-developed
territories, testifies to the lack of widespread use of the scientific method there. Even amongst the brightest of African students at Forah Bay College Dswin Harvick reports:

"Academically these students have considerable drive, much self discipline and a lot of intellectual curiosity for socially relevant knowledge. But ....... they lack the habit of asking why, the assumption that causal conditions can be identified, the willingness to treat an event analytically, as an example or case study, rather than descriptively."58

Despite the evidence to the contrary provided by the Christian writings, at the time of the expansion into the new world there were a growing number of intellectuals in Europe who, by rational deduction based upon observation and experimentation, knew the world to be round, and who were prepared to act on that information as, for example, Cadamosto, Cabot and Columbus.

Man's intellectual concern with human relationships has usually been articulated in ideological debate. In Silvert's definition, nationalism was seen to depend upon the widespread growth of a positive ideology or value. Although it has been claimed that neither communism nor democracy is necessary to development the consciously held
ideology which is common to countries professing either is. For it is only when there is such an ideology that the polity can have the authority and the desire to evoke the changes necessary for development.

The most common concern is with the legality of the relationship between the rights of the rulers and the ruled. Italy, chiefly by means of Bologna University, became a centre famous for the study of law. Spain produced some remarkable debates to meet novel circumstances created by the discovery of native peoples who were not only in control of their own lands, but were not easily classifiable as the 'infidel'. In his lectures *De Indis Noviter Inventis*, Francisco de Vitoria postulated for the first time the concept of international law, greater than the authority of either church or state, which recognized the equality and autonomy of nations.

Throughout the history of the United States debate on the relationships between black and white, between federal and state rights, and between individual freedoms and the role of the state in regulating it have been paramount. As a modern nation Russia is founded on an ideological
position, and the fact that that position has undergone several major shifts since the revolution is an indication that consciously formulated debate is an ongoing process there too.

The debate, as is to be expected in changing societies, had some influence in the shaping of the society. Greece carried its concern with democracy into practice, the Laws of Burgos and the New Laws of Spain in the sixteenth century reflect the writings of Vitoria and others, and American and Russian society show similar influences of ideology on practice.

International acculturation has already received some attention in the context of social development and much the same evidence is applicable here. In the past many of the writings of intellectual figures of the day were internationally accepted, or rather, they were accepted by those nations which were beginning to show signs of development. Greek writings became absorbed into the Roman world, and both Roman and Greek works became part of the intellectual world of the Renaissance; the works of Erasmus, Voltaire, Marx and many other such figures were all internationally circulated and read. The fate of Spain as the result of her policy of ex-
clusion of foreign works and foreign students has been mentioned earlier.

Social and economic characteristics of development are necessary if the opportunity for acculturation is to exist. People who are concerned with the production of food for most of their waking hours are not in a position to know that the wider world exists.

For want of a better term, the next characteristic has been called creativity. Reconstruction of existing knowledge and techniques to form new knowledge and new techniques is a part of creativity, as is ideological debate and intellectual acculturation. But the kind of creativity which is being explored here is simply art, drama, music and literature and empathy. All societies have art forms, of course, and some are more sophisticated than others, but it is change in art forms and themes that is the characteristic of development. The English novel, for example, runs a course of considerable change and adaptation as Britain developed following her emergence as a national power. From Spain, during the Reconnaissance, came the first social satire, Cervantes's Don Quixote. Northern
Italy produced remarkable new forms in literature, painting, architecture and sculpture. Modern art forms include photography, cinema and radio, as well as changes in style with the use of traditional media.

It would be difficult to produce empirical evidence to support the thesis that creativity in the limited sphere outlined above influences changes in social structure, economic habits and the like, and that this particular aspect of creativity is therefore a cause as well as an associated effect of the process of development. However, it is generally believed that it does so through generalization from the creative experience to the social situation. Certainly anthropologists have traced marked connections between the drama and dance of tribal societies and their social life, and one phenomenon that seems to be associated with loss of individuality and social justice is the tendency for literature and other art media to become stilted as they become an expression of the will of the political powers.
SUMMARY.

A number of universal characteristics existed at the same time and interacting with each other have been established as being necessary for development. They are found in the political, economic, social and intellectual life of the society and as such are all determined by human activity. The main type of activity can be classified as human organization and co-operation. Each characteristic, if it is to be operative in development, is a link in a circle of inter-dependency, but the circle can be entered at a number of points as it is possible for some of the characteristics to develop independently or to decline in significance while others remain. Whether any such characteristic can continue over time without the support of the whole syndrome is doubted by this writer, but this is a matter outside the immediate concern of this study.

The characteristics are:

1. Urbanization.
2. A large and increasing gross national product per capita.
3. Increased productivity.
8. Continual increase in knowledge and in the spread of it throughout the population.

9. The diversification of labour.

7. A widening distribution of wealth.

8. A monetary economy.

9. A small percentage of the population in agriculture.

10. Increasing opportunity for social mobility based upon economic criteria.

11. The decline of the leisure class (including the priesthood).


13. Impersonalization of most human relationships.


15. A tendency towards social egalitarianism.


17. Centralized control by the polity (nationalism).

18. Widespread political participation.

19. Increasing impersonalization in political relationships.

20. Sub-system autonomy.

21. The identification of the polity with the economic power.

23. Widespread habitual use of the scientific method.
24. Intellectual concern with human relationships.
25. Creativity.
1. These historical periods have been chosen because they are the ones in which the writer is most interested and has studied most closely, and not because they are the periods that 'fit' the theory.

2. Op. cit. pp42-43. Pacific Territories, omitted by Hartigan and Myers are also included in the underdeveloped category.


5. The kinds of problems usually considered to be part of the demographic transition, such as a change in the proportion of adult workers, 'retired' persons and children in society are also unable to be sustained as part of the development syndrome because of this conflicting evidence.


15. Lewis (1965), op. cit. pp42.


23. Ibid. pp102.


25. Robert J. Havighurst, "Education and Social Mobility in Four Societies": Halsey, Floud and Anderson (eds), op. cit. pp112.

26. Charlessagne did, in fact, attempt to introduce a system of coinage, but it did not come into favour with his people.


43. Nels Anderson, op. cit.


44. Despite their opposing political ideologies both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are advanced countries. It could well be that a particular ideology is better for a particular country at a particular time but an hypothesis along these lines is outside the scope of this study.

45. Coleman, (1965) op. cit. pp15.


51. Ibid pp55.

52. Cheyney, op. cit. pp77.

53. Weilbroner, op. cit. pp

54. Ibid pp56ff.


59. Ibid pp85ff.

Chapter 3 - ATTITUDES NECESSARY FOR DEVELOPMENT

"National circumstances do not provide conditions sufficient to account for human behaviour. In the last analysis, social conditions do not either. The fundamental condition is the desire or non-desire of a person or a group of persons."

In the introduction the view was taken that under-developed territories have an over-riding need to change, to change rapidly and to change in a desired direction. Development in modern times was seen to be a process involving a goal and a plan to achieve that goal. Four kinds of evidence were cited in support of the importance of attitude development:

(a) The experiences of men involved in development projects have convinced them that change can be successfully brought about only if the people concerned are prepared to accept it. People in under-developed countries generally want the products of development, but often they want them by magic without having to accept the processes that inevitably accompany them.

(b) The logical analysts deduce that certain attitudes are necessary for the attainment of the characteristics which they have deduced as being necessary for development.
(c) There is some research evidence to support the part played by attitudes in development, as McClelland's work for example.

(d) Without exception the universal characteristics are the products of human activity, and are therefore subject to such manipulations as the people concerned desire. The manipulation that they desire is determined by their attitudes.

Before proceeding to deal with attitudes necessary for development it is important to explore the term 'attitude' in greater detail. In the previous discussion attitudes have been mentioned briefly as being at the behavioural level of operation as opposed to the generalized reference points which constitute values. An attitude may be defined as:

"a state of mind of an individual towards a value..... Attitudes determine for each individual what he will see and hear, and what he will think and what he will do. To borrow a phrase from William James, they 'engender meaning upon the world'; they draw lines about, and segregate an otherwise chaotic environment; they are our methods for finding our way about in an ambiguous universe."
What this means in an actual situation can best be seen by means of an illustration. Self esteem is valued by a particular individual; his state of mind, that is his attitudes, determine what criteria are related to that value. Does he value himself by the amount of money that he has, by his occupation, his working capacity or his ascribed position in the social structure; by his obedience to authority, his educational qualifications, religious affiliations or by the number of friends he has?

As may be readily perceived from this list, itself by no means exhaustive, there is not a fixed attitude or group of attitudes for any particular value; any combination of these attitudes may satisfy the individual desire for self esteem. It is likely, however, that for any individual they will be held in a hierarchy of dominance\(^3\). In the setting of diversity and complexity as found in modern society, it is more important that his attitudes be differentiated in space. Between 8 a.m. and 5 p.m. attitudes of self evaluation in terms of working capacity, amount of money earned and the like may compete for dominance, but at other times of the day, as different roles are assumed, other clusters of attitudes become more appropriate.
Inevitably there will be overlapping and incursions because society, even though highly diversifies, cannot be rigidly compartmentalized if only for the fact that the individuals, of whom society is composed, are not able to compartmentalize their personalities beyond a certain limit. The fact that one may not have to choose between one's self esteem as estimated in terms of friends and working capacity may well be the result of implicit acceptance by the alto and each of his friends of the predominance of 'work' attitudes over 'leisure' attitudes rather than successful compartmentalization of roles and their appropriate attitudes. Even in this case, however, there is an implicit acceptance that there is a time and a place for the leisure attitudes. An important implication of this argument is that the acceptance of differentiated spheres of influence is itself a basic attitude, or rather, group of attitudes of development.

Attitudes as defined above are a phenomenon found only in individuals. Only the individuals who make up society can have attitudes. There are, however, two dimensions to attitudes, each important to development, which show that attitudes and values, individual and society cannot be as easily separated as may have, until now, appeared to be the
case. The first is the state of mind of an individual towards his own actions which may be called his **altro-orientation**, and the second is the state of mind of the individual towards the actions of others, or his **other-orientation**.

Other-orientation is a phenomenon closely akin to what is usually known in the social sciences as an 'expectancy'. But there is an important difference; whereas an expectancy is morally neutral, having been pragmatically determined from practical experience with social behaviour, an other-orientated attitude is an internalized state of mind of what one feels is morally correct for others. A foreign educated Indian youth may expect his business opponents to resort to trickery to gain advantages in the business world because this is the socially determined role of an Indian businessman, but the student may not have a favourable attitude towards it nevertheless.

There need not be a one to one correspondence between these two attitude orientations. For example, it is a common phenomenon in our society that a person who frequently tells not so 'white lies' and helps himself to unattended
pieces of property, has a genuinely held favourable attitude towards honesty and will disapprove of actions similar to his own when they are indulged in by others. Where such a discrepancy does exist, the individual is unaware of it because he tends to define his universe differentially according to the point of reference. But the important point is that an other-oriented attitude, when it does differ from its corresponding alto-oriented attitude, tends to approximate the social norm. Thus not only does it have a close affinity to a value, but it also tends to be socially determined as well as playing its part in the regulation of behaviour.

Its significance in development is immediately apparent. If 95% of the individuals of a society favour hard work with their other-oriented attitude and as few as 10% of these favour hard work for themselves, other factors being equal, the society will, in general, be a hard working one. The respect of others, the chance for promotion and the expectancy of the employers mitigate against the desire of the individuals to 'take it easy' on the job. The men who work hard from their own desire to do so are the determiners of the social norm, and it is important that there be sufficient
of them to ensure that promotion and the like are determined by actual hard work. But it is a fortunate fact for development that large numbers of people do not have personally to desire to work hard before a nation of industrious people can be achieved. In fact, the other-oriented attitude is often an unconscious buffer between what the individual wants for himself and what society 'wants' of him, or what he wants of it.

Being at the behavioural level of operation is not the same as being a predictor of specific pieces of behaviour, but rather it is concerned with the prediction of the effects of behaviour over the long term. Since behaviour takes cognizance of values, attitudes and the external situation and is usually a compromise between them, it is unlikely that there would be only one attitude operating for any particular action or that one attitude will always dominate. A man with a highly favourable attitude towards savings may not save his earnings over a certain period of time. Perhaps his desire for egalitarian marital relationships helps him to decide that his wages for a certain week ought to be spent on the season ticket
to the ballet that his wife would like to have. It may be that his pride in an achievement of his son causes him to spend his excess earnings on a party of celebration for the lad. Over the years, however, it is highly likely that the predicted savings will occur provided that he was, during that time, able to earn in excess of his physical needs.

One important implication for attitudes necessary for development in relation to systems of dominance and differentiation amongst attitudes and to their use in the long term is that if one cluster of attitudes predominates in all spheres over others, then regardless of the presence or absence of the others, these are the only ones which will have long term effects. Where obedience upwards in the social hierarchy is favoured more than savings and the upper echelon of that society do not favour savings, the bulk of the population, however strong their desire to save, will not do so except in short spasmodic bursts or unusual circumstances such as the forced exile of the upper class by a foreign power.
Another implication is an extension of the first. It is that all the attitudes necessary for development must be present in significant strength if a society is to develop rapidly. In the example of savings given above it was readily apparent that in order to produce savings some other supportive attitudes were necessary. One writer has expressed it this way:

"All of the elements of the saving set must be present if saving is to occur, and no prediction concerning saving is possible if only a few of the elements exist. A peasant may be able to predict accurately the behaviour of others but this alone will not lead to saving; what if he can predict that other villagers will be resentful if he does not spend money on a fiesta? Saving is possible only when the set is complete. The fact that some elements of this set are also members of other sets (e.g. that of hard work) indicates that it will be difficult to establish the savings set by itself, and that concerted efforts to establish a number of sets simultaneously may be advisable."

This point can also be arrived at by logical deduction. If all the characteristics are necessary for development and the attitudes are necessary to produce these characteristics then it follows that all the attitudes also need to be produced. In addition, as it was with the universal characteristics, any one attitude which develops at the expense of the others could well lead to breakdowns in modern-
isation, as happened in Germany and Japan with rather drastic world repercussions. It could well be that the beginnings of a major breakdown are occurring in the United States, where the rather extreme attitude towards individual autonomy has left thousands of Negroes and new immigrants, as well as white Americans, in a state of extreme poverty and discontent, just as it could be that discontent amongst this part of the population may bring about a modification in this dominant attitude and thus further extend development in that country.

A third implication is that there is not necessarily a one to one correspondence between a universal characteristic of development and an attitude. It has just been shown that attitudes are to be found in mutually supportive clusters and that some are part of many clusters and say, therefore, be directly relevant to many of the universal characteristics. Apart from this complication there are some characteristics that do not indicate what specific human activity is involved, and thus do not have an immediately perceivable supportive attitude. A large and increasing gross national product per capita is a case in
point; all the attitudes for economic development could be subsumed under this one characteristic, but unless they were closely identified with the other economic characteristics the connection between them and gross national product would be rather tenuous. It is theoretically possible, since all the characteristics are connected in a circle of interdependency as are the attitudes necessary to produce them, to derive all the attitudes needed for development from an exploration of only one characteristic. However, to do this it becomes necessary to make long range inferences, and the further one gets from the simple hypothetical situation of one action, one attitude, the greater the chance of bias and other inaccuracies and therefore of decreasing the claim to universality.

The procedure for arriving at the attitudes necessary for development was explained in the introduction as being simply a matter of deriving them by logical inference from the universal characteristics. For reasons discussed above it is desirable, for validity, to get as close a one to one correspondence between attitude and characteristic as is possible, but it was also pointed out that exact matching
is not to be expected. In an attempt to avoid inaccuracies the list appearing below was composed in three steps:

(a) The list of characteristics was carefully worked through, attitudes being derived where possible for each. The list of attitudes was then co-ordinated to avoid tedious repetition. The characteristics from which each attitude was derived are given in brackets, the number references being those that appear alongside the characteristics in the list at the end of the previous chapter.

(b) The list was then compared with references to attitudes appearing in the relevant literature in order to check that no apparently important attitude had been missed or that no attitude had been included that other writers by deduction and experience had not included. The intention of this move was not to automatically exclude or include any attitude as the result of the check, but rather to guard against bias or carelessness.
(c) A list of attitudes necessary for development was sent to a number of people who were familiar with the problem of development, some of whom were academics and others of administrative experience in developing countries. The list that they received did not coincide exactly with the completed lists of either step (a) or (b) above, because at the time it was despatched both of them were in very embryonic form. They were told that it was an a priori list and they were asked to comment on its appropriateness and comprehensiveness. It was believed that, because attitudes are always a matter of interpretation, this three pronged attack on the problem could bring the method as near to a pragmatic one as is possible.

The following are the attitudes considered necessary for development:

1. Regular work habits, industry and work honesty. The latter refers to honest effort in return for wages whether supervised or not, responsibility in the use of employer's property and the like. (1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10).
3. Inquiring, critical and experimental outlook.  
(3, 5, 6, 13, 14, 16, 23, 24, 25).

3. Commitment to long term planning.  
(1, 2, 4, 8, 13, 14, 17, 19, 31, 35.)

4. Interest in material things.  
(2, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14.)

5. Acceptance of achievement norms, that is, experience and education above ascribed status and age, a sense of balance between education and experience and deeds above words, official position or social status.  
(2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 25.)

6. Commitment to deferred gratification, thrift and the accumulation of wealth for the individual and for the society.  
(2, 3, 4, 5, 12, 14, 19.)

7. Interest in non-traditional forms of investment, for example, industry and savings banks.  
(3, 3, 4, 6, 11, 13, 14, 16, 25.)

8. Desire for change.  
(1, 4, 10, 15, 16, 23, 34, 35.)
9. Acceptance of legal norms, namely, contract before personal relationships and law before religion or custom. (1, 3, 4, 12, 13, 14, 15, 24.)

10. Recognition of the importance of time and punctuality. (3, 13, 15, 20, 23.)

11. Respect for accuracy. (3, 5, 6, 8, 20, 22, 23.)

12. Sense of balance between the individual and society, between obligation to the wider group and individual independence. It can apply among other things to occupational choice, political activity, spending and investment patterns, and the number and type of laws. (3, 4, 7, 11, 13, 15, 18, 19, 21, 24.)

13. Acceptance of equal behavioural rights for all including political, legal and social rights; racial, tribal and district equality; women's rights. (3, 4, 7, 10, 14, 15, 24.)

14. Acceptance of dissent and tolerance of criticism from either indigenous or foreign sources. (5, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 25.)
15. Acceptance of control by a legal, central authority. (13, 17, 18, 19.)

16. Belief in personal responsibility in accord with authority and legal and social rights. (3, 6, 10, 13, 14, 15, 18.)

17. Willingness to delegate authority and to co-operate with equals. (1, 3, 6, 12, 13, 20.)

18. Delight in the imagination. (5, 14, 16, 22, 25.)

19. Desire to participate in public affairs, including active participation and public watchfulness. (13, 14, 18, 19.)

20. Desire to learn regardless of whether the source is foreign or indigenous and whether it is from peers, superiors or inferiors, and regardless of possible conflicts with existing beliefs, customs, practices and past or present commitments. (5, 16, 23, 23, 25.)

21. Aspiration both for oneself and for the group of which one forms an integral part. It springs from a belief in the possibility of advancing self socially, econ-
omically and politically, and the desire to do so as well as from a belief in the future of one's district, tribe and nation. (3, 7, 10, 14, 13, 23.)

Three problems arising from this list of attitudes present themselves for analysis. The first two, the problems of rationality and of Westernization, are distinguished by their lack of relevance to the subject, but in view of their emotional significance to the problem of development and the attention they are usually given in discussions of this nature, it is prudent at the very least to demonstrate their irrelevance. The third problem is the all important question of when attitudes become significant.

(1) Rationality.

It is usually assumed that development is the product of rational behaviour while under-development is maintained by the continuance of irrational behaviour based on belief in magic and the like. Yet if this were so there would be no need for attitudes to enter into the discussion on development. The facts could be collected, examined and a
decision reached on this basis. But the truth of the matter is that facts in themselves are seldom sufficient for decision making. Each individual has a frame of reference shaped by his attitudes and his culture, and it is this that determines how he will define the problem, what facts he will judge to be relevant to it and which alternative he will choose from the array of possible solutions. Little credit accrues to the citizen in a modernized society who claims that only the people who vote for his political party have possession of the facts or are acting rationally.

In a society where social prestige is centered on the accumulation of wealth the individual may be motivated to invest his money, but in a society where social prestige is centered upon perceived generosity a person may be motivated to spend his money on luxuries for idle relatives. Both are acting rationally in respect to the external situation or the facts as they perceive them if they value and seek social prestige. Were they to exchange societies and continue to value social prestige, but also to continue to hold the same attitudes towards the use of money, then both could
be behaving equally irrationally. Lipset shows how, on the kinds of economic criteria that are nowadays believed to constitute rational behaviour, one of the major inventions, the printing press, should never have been launched into society.

(ii) **Westernization.**

The second important issue is the point of view that the attitudes held to be necessary for development are all Western, and that to advocate their adoption is nothing more than to suggest that under-developed countries become Westernized. However, if the attitudes as postulated are indeed necessary for development, then inevitably they will appear in strength in Western nations because development is costly to be found in these countries. But since the attitudes which appear here do not cover the whole range of human attitudes it is not being mooted that to accept them is to become little Americas or United Kingdoms. What is being suggested is that under-developed countries become developed. If, in this process, they are able to keep some of their most cherished values, such as hospitality and
generosity, so much the better. There is nothing in the attitudes per se that demands that these qualities be relinquished.

Many of the so-called Western attitudes may be seen in historical perspective to be recent innovations in Western society. For example, the desire for change and novelty in a socially meaningful way is an innovation in that it has increased in intensity and in its spread amongst the populations of the Western world, Russia and Japan, only as those countries emerged as rapidly developing nations. What better evidence to show that it is a developmental attitude and not merely a Western one?

(iii) The Significance Level.

The question then arises, is not this array of attitudes somewhat idealistic, for in the light of it how developed are the advanced countries? How many people in New Zealand society desire to work hard, to be thrifty or to practice work honesty? In other words, when can it be said that the number and intensity of attitudes are
significant? On a universal scale this is a question which can only be answered by a truism: an attitude is significant when it is producing the desired result. An examination of some of the possible interactions influencing the significance of attitudes readily demonstrates the foolishness of any attempt to be more precise than this. Only until such time as the 'ifs' appearing in the illustrations below can be substituted by known factors, as it is possible to do in the case of specific countries, can hypotheses of levels of significance be formed intelligently. Even then, as the following discussion aims to show, the level of significance is necessarily peculiar to one place and one point in time.

Foremost amongst factors determining the level of significance of attitudes is the physical environment. If the land is rich, well developed and agriculture highly mechanized, the attitudes towards regular work and work honesty within a farming community need not be intense for development to be maintained. If there is a ready market, fertile soil and a perceivable relationship between regular work and amount of profit, favourable attitudes may need to
be only moderate in intensity in a comparatively small number of farmers for take-off to occur. The effects of extravagant use of stationery, of workers using the firm's time for personal chores, or of a broken contract will have considerably different effects for a firm with almost no profit margin than it will for a firm with a high profit margin or for a poor country and a rich country. Climatic conditions, market availability, communications systems, population density and so on all interact to determine the level of significance for any specified attitude.

The social environment is also a significant factor determining the role of attitudes necessary for development. Let the physical environment be ideal for rapid development but the demands of landlords, tribal chiefs, religious groups, government taxes or the claims of relatives deprive him of the fruits of his labour, and development will not take place without a very intense attitude favouring hard work or supportive attitudes such as devotion to an emperor who demands hard work. If there is a lack of desirable ways in which to spend excess earnings or lack of desirable reasons for accum-
ulating them favourable attitudes would indeed need to be intense in those people who did desire to deviate from the social norm.

The strengths and weaknesses of other attitudes, since they all interact with each other, is perhaps an obvious factor. Despite the overall interaction there are some clusters of attitudes which, if intense in a large proportion of the population, need some of the other clusters of attitudes only slightly. Attitudes relevant to individual autonomy and nationalism are cases in point, so much so that some people even go as far as to see them as being mutually exclusive. Where attitudes appropriate to nationalism are very strong, take-off can occur with many of the attitudes appropriate to the individual being minimal. However, achievement norms and some tolerance for creativity, even if amongst a highly selected group, are necessary. But to return to work attitudes, where both the physical and social environment are favourable but the individual does not want to alter his methods of cultivation, the work attitudes will need to be extremely intense in many farmers for take-off to occur.
The quality of the attitudes is also important. Is it better for development that 1% of the population are intensely concerned with regular and honest work, or is it preferable that 10% be moderately concerned? Will 10% of the population with alto-oriented honest work attitudes be more effective instruments for development than a higher proportion who are exclusively other-oriented? The personal attributes of the attitude holders must also be considered; the calibre of the person, his social standing and imitability, his political authority and his sphere of contact. The answers to these questions have only just begun to be explored.

So far in this discussion consideration has been given to the existence of all the attitudes in society only. Does the individual need to hold all of them in order to become an effective instrument for development? The assumption is that he does not, for each individual can make a unique contribution. Human behaviour does not have to be consistently either liberal or traditional. Though he may be strongly opposing many elements of social development an entrepreneur can still be an invaluable help to his country through his economic activity as long as his opposition to social develop-
ment is not completely successful. As successful entre-
preneurial activity is dependent upon the application of
achievement norms and of ability to keep abreast of modern
innovations, it is highly improbable that he could so
prevent social development.

Intellectual variables are also determinants of the
significance level for attitudes. Knowledge about control
of the environment, of the best production methods, the
workings of society and an understanding of people, the
grasping of the possibility of equally valid alternative
courses of action both in new situations and with respect
to the status quo all help to determine how intense such
attitudes will need to be.

All these sources of interactions form brief summaries
of the various parts of the concept of development, the
psychological factors included. They serve as a reminder
that attitudes do not stand alone as the cause of develop-
ment; the development syndrome is a mass of interacting,
mutually dependent variables. There is a correspondingly
large number of possible levels of significance for the
attitudinal dimension. The question becomes not 'how well developed does an attitude need to be' but rather, 'what attitudes are necessary for development?'.

There is a basic assumption arising out of the theory of the role of attitudes in development, that if a country is not developing rapidly then, whatever its present situation regarding attitudes, more are needed. The task for an under-developed country is not so much to measure how much more intense or widespread an attitude ought to become, but which attitudes it needs. Is there a missing link in the circle of attitudes that is nullifying the effects of already existing important attitudes? And the next important question, therefore, is to consider what can be done about it.


3. For the development of this theory see Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, op.cit.

4. In under-developed countries the same hierarchy tends to dominate in political, social, economic and religious spheres, as well as in work and leisure activities. In developed countries the spheres of influence become differentiated according to achievement, contract and equality of behavior rights.

5. Useem and Useem, op.cit.


7. Lipset, op.cit.

8. The point has been partially substantiated by Levine, who shows that conservatism and liberalism do not form a uni-dimensional scale. Daniel U. Levine, "Socio-Economic Attitudinal Correlates of the Educational Viewpoint". *The Journal of Experimental Education* 33: 253-261, Spring, 1965.
Chapter 4 - THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN ATTITUDE DEVELOPMENT

There is little point in suggesting that such is known about the role education has played or can play in fostering the attitudes necessary for development. Two facts that are certain, however, are that a good deal of importance is ascribed to education, and that changes in attitude as expressed in verbal statements and in behaviour patterns do take place as the result of it.

The importance ascribed to education in the literature on development has been reviewed earlier. This can also be readily demonstrated from the use which rapidly developing countries and others have made of it. For example, in its attempts to foster healthy attitudes towards manual labour and the manual labourer, the Soviet Union required its secondary school students to attend and to work in factories or farms for a short period. In order to ensure favourable attitudes towards the current political ideology students at the universities are required to attend classes on political doctrine. Despite the stringent conditions in which the Cubans have lived for the last ten years allegiance to
the polity is reported to be still exceedingly strong there. From the almost exclusively political content of the text-books used in literacy campaigns of that country there can be little doubt that the Cuban authorities regard education as a vital factor in the maintenance of this attitude of allegiance.

Japanese text-books (1900-1929) for moral education, themselves a strange phenomenon in the light of the modern Western conception of education, contained twenty-two lessons on service in the public interest, twenty-three on diligence and twenty-three on filial duty, while only nine were devoted to good deeds and moral character, eight to charity and eight to brotherhood. In the U.S.A. national integration is being actively fostered in the schools by the daily flag raising ceremony.

In the pre-independence discussions some members of the Western Samoan Legislature expressed considerable doubt about the expansion of education in their country because of their fear that it could re-orient the attitudes of their youth. The view is clearly expressed in the words of
one member:

"I am weighing these two subjects in my mind ...... whether to fill up the technical positions of the government as suggested (by putting one hundred Samoans a year through high school and the like) or protect the customs of the country ...... I do not know whether the outcome would result in the abolishment of our customs in the future." 4

But the importance of education in attitude development does not stem only from the use which the purveyors of political ideologies are concerned that it have. There are factors about education which add considerable substance to the belief in its importance. Education, used here in its broadest connotations, is believed to be the process by which people, and especially the young, are 'socialized' in order to enable them to perpetuate the existence of the society. As a socializer, whatever other functions may be ascribed to it, education has three basic functions, namely: the imparting of basic skills and knowledge, the inculcation of appropriate behaviour norms, attitudes and ideologies, and personal satisfaction for the individual. When these functions cannot be filled by natural means, that is, by observation and imitation in adult society, other agencies, most often a formal education system, are developed to handle the task.
Since it could be argued that the only function that natural methods cannot handle in society is the first, the important task of imparting knowledge, and that the family and tribe can still handle the attitudinal dimension, it is necessary to elaborate those reasons why institutionalized education can be expected to profitably take on this role in order to facilitate development.

Children learn many of their value orientations and attitudes while they are young, and during childhood the individual spends a large proportion of his waking moments at school. While the main implication of research such as that of Hess and Easton is that the child receives his attitudes while he is very young, there are other researches which indicate that attitudes can be changed or modified by continual verbal repetition of contrary attitudes, by empathy, by the introduction of contrary facts, by the prestige of the person who communicates the new attitude, and by changes in the actual social situation. This latter can occur by the individual observing or being led by the teacher to observe that his previous interpretations of the social situation
were erroneous or by actual changes happening around him. The Harvard project on the Soviet social system\textsuperscript{8} indicates that even adults are not immune to this kind of attitudinal adjustment, but it seems likely that, because it deals with children in whom attitudes are not as strongly reinforced as they are by the time adulthood is reached, the education system is in a strategic position to do something about the shaping of attitudes.

This is particularly applicable to under-developed territories because competition for school entrance and the tying of jobs to formal educational qualifications have endowed the formal education system with an aura of authority and prestige, and secondly because the school is the only institution where children have continual, prolonged contact that is not of the indigenous kind. Where development involves change from an indigenous culture, education is readily seen to be an opportunity par excellence for the achievement of rapid, peaceful change.

Two other reasons for an education system to adopt the role of imparter of modern attitudes are implicit in the above discussion. The first is that in developing countries
the attitudes which are considered necessary for development are invariably not the same as those which are prevalent in the home or village. Thus it is imperative that the opportunity offered by formal education be grasped. Under such conditions of attitudinal conflict between the society and education it is not possible to tell just how effective the education system can be, for there is little research in this area. Some of the possibilities, however, are discussed below.

The second reason applies to all societies where a small degree of complexity has been achieved - in fact to all those societies where there is a genuine need for institutionalized education. For in such societies it is unlikely that the non-school environment will provide the child with a complete set of attitudes towards all aspects of life. Where change and diversification are features of society and the status quo can no longer be guaranteed, the child needs to be equipped to face new decisions and handle situations which are beyond the experience of his family. The school itself is one such situation. Forming a semi-autonomous unit that bears little resemblance to family or village life, it requires that certain attitudes and certain
behaviour be developed, and it punishes or reinforces accordingly. The child is not able to observe or imitate all the necessary elements of life because many adults work behind closed doors, and at tasks which require a good deal of understanding and experience to interpret. The more a country develops, the less obvious is the link between what is observed and what is in fact causing that which is observed to occur.

In addition to such social and psychological factors the importance of the school for attitude development derives from two reasons which are intrinsic to education with respect to its basic function of imparting skills and knowledge. The first is that while skills may be neutral, very little knowledge is devoid of attitudinal elements. It is not proposed to define knowledge here, for that is an exceedingly complex task, but merely to maintain that it entails the mobility, that is, the generalization and reversibility, of facts. Even the acceptance of what is and what is not knowledge depends upon the attitudinal framework of the individual. A member of a medical unit once commented on the losing battle the medical team had had in trying to
persuade tribesmen in a remote Pacific territory that the injections given by them had cured leprosy when the signs of having been inflicted with the illness remained. These same tribesmen would have had little difficulty in believing that the 'evil' had left the patient who had received a similar injection by the local witch doctor.

Not only are facts without attitudes seldom sufficient for decision making, but skills, however effectively achieved, are often not enough without a supportive set of attitudes to achieve the purpose of perpetuating the existence of the society for which they are taught. Some people who are trained for a particular job, instead of carrying out the job, fill a position of negligible social importance perhaps because it offers greater monetary gain, greater social prestige or more time for leisure activities. These attitudes are not of themselves detrimental of course, if they lead to socially significant occupations. Still others may occupy a position for which their education has fitted them, but use the position in ways other than that for which they are receiving payment. Teachers take up taxi driving, a doctor leaves his own country for the more lucrative salary
offered by a rich country; a government official diverts funds and energies into projects for his own benefit; a skilled mechanic wastes three-quarters of his working hours, and so on.

While the existence of these undesirable habits may not be of any lasting significance in a modern country where some wastage of funds and human resources can be carried, in an under-developed country where these commodities are acutely scarce, such practices not only keep the country concerned more dependent than it need be upon overseas aid, but cause some of its energies to be spent on the sheer physical needs of the population thereby helping to reduce its powers of self-determination. The tying of government positions, by far the most numerous occupations to be offered, to educational qualifications in developing countries adds further weight to this point.

Finally, but by no means on account of relative unimportance, schools are purveyors of attitudes because the student expects them to play this role. From a study of the opinions of pupils in both senior and junior grades in Australia Oser and Emery conclude:
"These complimentary findings indicate what is the basic character of this school. They demonstrate strikingly that for the child the school is primarily a social situation. More specifically it is a coercive situation dominated by a teacher possessing higher status than the children who demands that the social skills necessary to get on with the dominant teacher and his peers shall be developed."

A survey of student attitudes towards the function of the school in Kenya and Tanzania revealed that the same expectancy, but with an even greater degree of acceptance of this role, existed for the students in these countries. (See Figure 5.)

**Figure 5:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose of Schools</th>
<th>Secondary Schools (Weighted index)</th>
<th>Kenya</th>
<th>Tanzania</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good citizens</td>
<td>859</td>
<td>867</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skills for jobs</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>620</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For exams</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>585</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious (good persons)</td>
<td>547</td>
<td>428</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African traditions and customs</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above discussion has been concerned with the major factors that show how the school is in a position to change attitudes. This section, while it could be a major factor in the support of the importance of schools in attitude development, also provides a major reason why schools should
so concern themselves. This is simply that changes in attitude do occur as the result of an education. Common sense demands that, this being the case, the schools be aware of the ones thus placed upon them. It must also be made quite clear, however, that there is little evidence as yet that tells us more than this simple fact: that schools do change some attitudes in some students. There has been little attempt to break education down into its component levels nor, in particular, into quality levels, or to examine education according to its disciplines. In addition, great caution is needed in the cross-cultural comparison of data, for there can be no guarantee that different social conditions, social expectancies, attitudinal norms and qualities in education will ensure that what education can do in one country can also be achieved by it in another country.

The most common type of evidence is that which has its source in the universities. Students from India and South East Asia, but with a foreign education, reported that the greatest changes occurred in their attitudes and their personalities, with personal freedom and work related attitudes,
particularly work honesty and personal aspiration, having the most frequent mention.12

Answers to questionnaires on political attitudes distributed in five countries, Italy, Mexico, Germany, the United States and Great Britain, made it clear that education was singularly effective in the development of modern attitudes. Almond and Verba sum up their finding thus:

"Throughout this study we have reported differences among several educational groups. As in most other studies of political attitudes, our data show that educational attainment appears to have the most important demographic effect on political attitudes. Among the variables usually investigated - sex, place of residence, occupation, income, age and so on - none compares with the education variable in the extent to which it seems to determine political attitudes. The uneducated man or the man with limited education is a different political actor from the man who had achieved a higher education."13

Hyman, Payaslioglu and Frey,14 although they did not find significant changes in the Westernization of attitudes in two universities in Turkey between freshmen and senior students, did find that at the public university where students frequently had a traditional family background, a blending of Western and traditional attitudes was common.
Also at the university level of education are reports of variation in attitude due to the subject taken. They indicate that the degree of liberalization of attitude is dependent upon the occupation for which the individual is being prepared. Liberalization is found to be greatest among social science majors, moderate among the human and natural scientists, and weak among business and engineering students. Whilst in themselves these findings are of minor significance in indicating that education can change attitudes, if Vreeland and Bidwell are correct in their contention that it is the instructional goals of the teachers rather than the content of the subject matter that is important to civic attitudes, this would indeed accord education a powerful role in attitude development.

The attention of research has been rather less at the lower levels of education. Perhaps the most important is Jahoda's study of adult class students in Ghana, for it covers both changes in behaviour (style of living) and verbal behaviour, and attempts to distinguish between those with only elementary education (classified 'lows') and those with an education above that level ('highs'). Although he found a wide intra-group range with some overlap between groups,
there were marked differences in Westernization between the 'highs' and the 'lows'. It is, in fact, a hopeful sign for the effects of elementary school in attitude development that many of the 'lows' had achieved some degree of Westernization.

The Koff and van der Muhl survey seems to indicate that there is little liberalizing of attitudes towards the function of primary schools in Kenya and Tanzania, the pupils being heavily attainment oriented. They suggest, however, that the very stringent selection procedures for entrance into secondary schools in societies where the value of elementary education is rapidly declining may be the cause of this. If so, then it is not that the elementary system cannot liberalize attitudes, but rather that in these countries the system itself is promoting conditions which minimize its attitudinal role.

It may be seen then that education has the power to modify, change and reinforce attitudes in students because of certain favourable social, psychological and intellectual conditions associated with the education system. The system
has at its disposal four instruments or agents with which to capitalize on these conditions, namely, school organization, the curriculum, teaching method, and the teacher. It is, therefore, now proposed to explore each of these instruments to assess their contribution it can make to the development of desirable attitudes. Ranging as it does from kindergarten to the tertiary level, and involving individuals from five years to twenty-five years of age, education cannot profitably be explored in this context unless it is broken down into levels. In view of the fact that by far the greater proportion of youngsters who receive an education do so only at elementary level, coupled with the fact that, from the point of view of attitude development, this is the most neglected area, it is proposed to limit this exploration to elementary and lower high school.

**School Organization.**

As a semi-autonomous sub-system the school sets up its own social structure with its hierarchy of authority, defined roles and formal and informal controls. It rewards those who comply with the values, orientations and attitudes that are
instrumental in shaping the structure of that system, and punishes those who do not comply. The school organization, therefore, if it is to promote development must manifest itself in the likeness of as many of the universal characteristics as it can, bearing in mind that it has a specialized function and that it is dealing with children. The central authority, usually the ministry or department, is not usually in a position to directly enforce most aspects of its policy, except from time to time through its visiting officers, its treatment of teachers, and perhaps by means of national examinations for the selection of pupils for promotion based upon the achievement scores. Most of the characteristics of development, such as social justice, pupil participation, acculturization, sub-system autonomy, impersonalization of relationships and the like, can be effected only through school organization via the headmasters and teachers who are responsible for the implementation of departmental policy. Without a policy incorporating these characteristics, however, there is little hope that they will be manifested in school organization.
The Curriculum.

The point has already been made that knowledge is not necessarily neutral. Even facts have to be put into a context that is meaningful to the pupil, as they will be whether pupils are given guidance in doing this or not, though children are generally receptive to cues from the teacher if such are given. For example, what does it seem that India became an independent republic in 1948; does it seem that the Indian way of life has been vindicated, that Indians ought to be grateful to Britain, or perhaps that India now has all that matters? An education department can structure its curriculum so that an attitudinal context is clearly included, but ultimately it is the teacher who will interpret the curriculum to the students as such by things such as choice of words, gesture, emphasis, position in the array of facts and enthusiasm or lack of it, as by explicit statements. What the teacher believes in will influence whatever is to be found in the curriculum, especially if it is a so-called 'neutral' one. Yet a curriculum too obviously loaded with attitudinal teachings that are
not shared by the teacher, the child or the wider society, run the risk of isolating the school from life.

Some subjects of the curriculum allow for a greater variety of attitudes to be expressed than others. It can be imagined, for example, that the same desire for accuracy and use of scientific method would be equally manifested by a good teacher in a Russian public school as by a teacher of the same quality in a conservative English independent school during a mathematics lesson, but one cannot imagine that the attitudinal parallelism would be found during a study of Orwell's novel Animal Farm in those schools.

Fielder berates the over-protection of children that is common in social studies syllabuses in the U.S.A. He claims, for example, that 'city government is portrayed as a kind of boy scout scout den presided over by a scoutmaster'. This lack of reality in the curriculum is probably extremely unproductive for development in the long term in situations where social change is inevitable; pre-war Germany and Japan are both examples of countries where overt but unrealistic representation of past and present was a strong element in the curriculum. In developing countries it can engender the
idealization of the past and hence foster deliberate attempts to avoid change, and especially acculturation.

The curriculum is important to the development of modern attitudes because it provides the range and frequency of experiences from which it is possible to learn attitudes. It does this simply by selecting and ordering the material to be learnt. Whether it is more effective if the attitudinal elements are implicit or explicit, overtly taught or covertly assimilated has yet to be established. If a teacher's attitudes are not aligned with the curriculum the effectiveness is probably reduced, the more so the younger the child, but if the curriculum avoids situations through which modern attitudes can be expressed the probability that they will be assimilated is greatly lessened.

The Teaching Method.

Most of the research into the effects of teaching method has been carried out in modernized countries, particularly in the U.S.A., and has been concerned with the relationship between teaching method and pupil attainment rather than pupil attitudes, although relevant factors such as creativity and
the use of the scientific method have recently been included in the concept of attainment. The state of research in this area points tentatively in favour of the 'indirect', non-authoritarian methods as being more likely to produce student receptivity to the teacher, and more willingness to participate in the classroom activities. Whether this is significant in developing countries where pupil participation during lessons would most often be a startling innovation, is not certain. The Almond and Verba study found that it was not significant for the degree of participation in the political sphere or for the development of political attitudes. However, this is rather shaky evidence because it is based on the respondents' remembering whether they participated in school.

In a previous illustration it was seen how an African child was actively discouraged by the authoritarianism of the teacher, from indulging in empirical investigation. This kind of illustration is frequent enough in under-developed countries, and it supports the hypothesis that teaching method on a gross level has a place to play in the development of attitudes in such countries. Shafer attributes the
failure of the American attempt to liberalize German Social studies teaching to the point where it would actively encourage some of the characteristics of social development to the rejection of suitable non-authoritarian methods by the German teachers. The children's questions, for example, were observed to be all information seeking, and not the results of critical thinking or based on their opinions.

Methods are likely to be effective in the shaping and directing of attitudes according to a number of factors, not the least of which is the perceived role of the teacher by teachers themselves, by pupils and by society, as well as the level of education of the teacher and the teacher's belief in the method which he is using. In the illustrations used above some of these factors can be seen to be operating in addition to the method of teaching used. In the case of the child and the insect, teacher ignorance and his perceived role as fount of all knowledge, probably played as great a part in the censor of the child as his authoritarian method.
Since each of these variables will be different for each country, the responsibility falls on the education department to try to determine more clearly whether method is indeed the crucial feature in the development of attitudes, and to incorporate its findings in teacher training and in refresher courses, as well as to attempt to persuade teachers to accept them. Not the least among these tasks is the development of suitable means of evaluation for the continual upgrading of this work. It is possible for a teacher to go through the form of a particular method without the essence of it being presented, as happened in Germany. Once again, the crucial factor about teaching method is the attitudes of the teachers.

There is a basic assumption in this exploration of the role of teaching method; it is that, basically, attitudes are 'caught' by the child, not 'taught' by the teacher. The above consideration, therefore, is concerned not so much with the teaching of attitudes per se but with the methods of teaching the subjects with which the school is normally concerned, in a manner that ensures that the basic attitudinal elements inherent in modern knowledge, modern politics, modern economics and modern society are there to be grasped by
the child. If, however, a society decides to teach attitudes as a subject much the same considerations would apply.

The Teacher.

It is possible to infer from the evidence pertaining to attitude change, three contributory causes as to how education promotes modernized attitudes in students. The first is that the education which the individual receives enables him to gain a more stimulating and challenging occupation than the non-educated or poorly educated are able to attain. This would be especially true of the secondary level in developing countries and of tertiary education in all countries, and it would appear that these levels respectively are indeed where the major liberalization of attitudes occurs. The second is that through attendance at an educational institution an individual becomes influenced by his peers, either as part of a peer group which he finds sufficiently socially satisfying and supportive so that he no longer needs the conventions of the other social groups with whom he has contact, or by individual peer group members who are social deviants and with whom he could not otherwise have come into contact.
had he not attended school. The third case is that somewhere in the context of the education system itself the student has discovered for himself a model (or models) which he has found more attractive or more habitual than the one which he previously followed. Included here are those models which he filled from his learning at school because his non-school environment did not have one for a particular situation.

Over the first two the education system has little control, though it can manipulate through its organization the chances of either cause becoming operative for its students. The third cause, however, is entirely an internal one; school organization, teaching method, the curriculum or the teacher could all have provided that model, but in all, the teacher is central.

He is instrumental in determining what model the curriculum, the school organization and the classroom procedures will present. What the teacher believes or is prepared to accept is probably the most significant factor in determining how successfully the education system in an under-developed country can promote modern attitudes. Adams, during his
discussion of the role of the school in promoting attitudes, claims that one of the most significant steps to be taken could be the redefining of the teacher's role as 'pro vocat our of self'.

Students in Tanzania and Kenya exhibited, on an aggregate, a high degree of trust in the teacher as model of the good citizen as is shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6 - Percentage of Students Who Mentioned Different Agents as Having Taught Them the Most About Being Good Citizens.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agents</th>
<th>Kenya Primary</th>
<th>Kenya Secondary</th>
<th>Tanzania Primary</th>
<th>Tanzania Secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents and Relatives</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politicians</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Leaders</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others - no answer</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Primary pupils were allowed only one choice; secondary pupils were allowed two.

In addition, these students were prepared to trust the teacher's interpretation of events in their respective countries as second only to the radio and the newspaper, and much more than they were prepared to accept such knowledge from parents, relatives and old folk.
Just how much the teacher's unique position as a model will influence students is an unknown factor, and until further research in developing countries is carried out, it will not be profitable to speculate. Some of the variables, however, can be identified as:

(a) teacher's personality,
(b) strength of teacher's commitment to the attitudes,
(c) ways in which the teacher goes about imparting his attitudes,
(d) continuity of attitudes throughout the school,
(e) support within the education system (department policy, inspectors etc.),
(f) support provided by the curriculum outline or the freedom given in it,
(g) quality of the teacher training and the level of education of the teacher,
(h) alignment of teacher's attitudes with the social norms,
(i) pragmatic value of the attitude,
(j) whether the teacher is in his own village or a strange one, and whether he is indigenous or an expatriate,
(k) prestige of teaching as a role in the village,
(l) breadth of the role expectancy of teaching in the
village and in the classroom, that is, does it include
mores, good citizenship and the like,
(a) pupil personality factors.

In whatever way these variables interact, it would
appear that if the teacher is to be an effective instrument
in the development of modern attitudes, he must first be
committed to them himself; even if his commitment is verbal
and persists only during the appropriate lessons, there is
some hope that the attitudes will be assimilated. The educa-
tion department has the means through its officers, teacher
training, refresher courses and curriculum construction to
help teachers obtain the desired attitudes in its powerful
role as the teachers of teachers, provided that it is willing
to see itself in this role.

The Ethical Issue.

The ideal of teachers and schools not being neutral is
an anathema to those educators who see the teacher's role as
one which puts facts before the children and lets them decide
for themselves. Yet for so many there is an implicit assump-
tion in this stand that the most desirable attitudes can
be arrived at by a rational process. Rationality in the
effective domain is by no means assured, and if this method
should fail the fact must be faced that, because of our
neglect in this area, children may lose their chance of a
future where they have sufficient clothing and shelter,
sufficient nutrition and self-determination, which are the
products of development. Furthermore, the desire to allow
others to judge for themselves from selected facts, itself
stems from attitudes favouring individual independence,
social egalitarianism, sub-system autonomy, intellectual
concern with human relationships and the impersonalization
of human relationships. It also involves a certain degree
of intellectual development and practice on matters of minor
importance before a person is able to handle such unstructured
situations for himself.

It has not been suggested that in using the schools for
the dissemination of attitudes children be forced to accept
what the teacher tells them even if this could be done in
the attitudinal domain, except in as far as the inevitable
social controls are concerned; that teachers become puppets
of a political system or an education department; that they
be encouraged to openly promote any attitudes that they
please, or any other of the attributes ascribed to indoc-
trination.

There are, however, some positive reasons why the
schools in under-developed countries have an obligation to
promote attitudes for development. The first is that child-
ren learn attitudes by observation and by imitation. Their
level of intellectual development is such that they are un-
able to conceptualize neutrality, and thus the school will
be perceived as an agent of certain attitudes. It is surely
better that these attitudes be those that promote developmen.
The second reason is admirably expressed by King:

"If school simply offers schooling, and it is not
seen as an initiation (into either a new social
content or a different 'world view'), all that
has happened is that a young person has been
taken out of his familiar matrix and left naked
and alone."34

It is here that some education systems have largely failed
with the mass of their unemployed, discontented graduates.
Another reason is simply that the education system is the
most comprehensive and well established large agent an under-
developed society possesses in its search for modernization.
It is usually because of this search that parents send their children to school at great cost to themselves, and it is because of this search that national governments are prepared to part with a proportion of their over-stretched revenues. What right does an education system have to refuse to put its full weight behind this quest, even if it may seem showing those parents and that polity that it will cost more socially, politically and perhaps, economically, than they had at first anticipated?
NOTES

1. Ibid pp22ff.


3. Classifications are according to the Research Bureau of the Ministry of Education in Japan's Growth & Education op. cit. pp90, Table 31.


5. This last function is one still open to dispute. In the opinion of the writer it is important to development in that, if achieved in the school, it brings about a seeking of knowledge and education beyond that offered during the years of formal schooling, and far beyond the restrictions imposed by examinations. However, this function, as applied to the needs of development only, has been subsumed under the other two purposes of education and does not, therefore, feature in the ensuing discussion.


(i) J.D. Kruaboltz and Barbara Varechorst, "Molders of Pupil Attitude", Personnel and Guidance Journal 43: 442-5, Jan. 55. (The importance of the source of communication.)
(ii) Alex Inkeles, "Social Change and Social Character: the Role of Parental Mediation." Journal of Social Issues 12: 43-83, No. 4, 1956. (Changes in attitude as the result of major social changes.)

(iii) Irving L. Janis and Bert T. King, "The Influence of Role-Playing on Opinion Change." in Jehoda and Warren (eds), op.cit. pp235 ff. (Attitude change through empathy and verbalization.)

8. Reported by Inkeles, op.cit.

9. A rather broad concept of "perpetuating a society's existence" is involved in this argument. The position taken is that, with modern communications, modern political, economic and demographic conditions demand that a country either develops or it declines. This is especially true of societies within countries who can easily be swallowed up by more dominant social groups.


Useem & Useem (1965) op.cit.


23. Kolf and Van Der Vuhl, op. cit. pp24, Table 2.

Chapter 5 - ATTITUDES AND THE WESTERN SAMOA SITUATION

The application of the model of attitudes necessary for development in relation to the education system of Western Samoa involves an attempt to assess the attitudinal component of the various instruments of the education system. One method would be to attempt to assess, by means of the literature and reports of personal experiences, the attitudes or potential attitudes which are to be found in each of these instruments. There are, however, very few such sources even in small part, in the education system as it is at present. While this method might, therefore, be of value in revealing those attitudes which are a common social phenomenon it is to be hoped and, in view of the greater exposure to education and acculturation, to be expected that within the education system a greater incidence and intensity of the development of attitudes will be found. For the task of assessing these a more precise method of assessment such as an attitude scale is called for.
In a macro study of this size there is great danger in attempting to assess too much too broadly and hence ending up with little of value. It is, therefore, desirable as well as expedient to select for measurement only that which can be handled, if not completely, at least adequately.

The theoretical model itself suggests ways in which the selection can be made without seriously limiting the study. Some modern attitudes are likely to exist in any society, although, as long as they continue to remain without the others of the cluster, they are essentially potential contributors only to development. If such attitudes can be identified they can be assumed to be common social phenomenon and can, therefore, reasonably be ignored in the attempt to assess by measurement the attitudinal needs of the society, and hence of the education system.

From the earlier discussion it is also to be expected that these isolated modern attitudes will be few in number in a developing society. As there is still likely to be too much material to measure it is also necessary to take a
selection by the application of the same principle, but in reverse. Western Samoan society can be explored to reveal which of the development attitudes appear to be most noticeably absent. Most, if not all, of the measurement may then be directed to these top priority needs.

A second method of selection would be to eliminate some of the educational instruments. Each instrument would clearly require a different method of measurement and obviously would be a smoother exercise. Since the major source of educational quality for development is the teacher, it was felt that the principal effort must be directed towards the assessment of teachers' attitudes.

Before attempting to determine the attitudinal priorities of Western Samoa, it is desirable to present a brief overview of the traditional society around which the remainder of the discussion can be anchored. The word 'traditional' in this context is used as meaning the way in which the greater part of Samoa existed in the earlier part of this century, no real attempt is being made to describe Samoa prior to European contact. The following description is essentially an overview
being both brief, highly generalized and simplified.  

Social Organization.

Traditional Samoan society consists of two basic interacting units, those of familial relationships and those of locality. It is kincentric in that meaningful relationships occur within the aiga or extended family as the result of mutual dependence and obligation. The basis of relationships with out groups is essentially one of expediency and hence is amoral. Membership of aiga and hence of locality by way of aiga, is bilateral. The individual may occupy a position in any of the many semi-independent units in each of the villages within which he has blood ties or has been adopted. Shifts in residence and hence in immediate allegiance are therefore a common phenomenon.

Social interactions in the village are dominated by a rigid social hierarchy in which every member, from highest to lowest, has a fixed place that is determined by title and by age. The titled men of the village are either ali'i or fa'auluga, that is, chiefs or orators. Obedience is ex-
tracted down the hierarchy and is reinforced daily by a multitude of customs such as the position in the home in which the person may sit and the speech used in addressing him.

Dictatorship is rendered highly improbable because the matai or man of title, for each family or sub-unit of the family, is elected from among the aiga by the people who are to serve him, and may also be rejected by them if he proves unsuitable. Another reason is that the individual who finds his lot onerous is able to transfer himself to the services of another matai to whom he is related. An abundance of food and shelter, and the ease with which these are produced, is the foundation upon which a third reason for the lack of dominance is based. Politeness, ceremony and face-saving activity are, because of the ease with which physical needs are met, immensely more important to Samoan society than is action. By the use of polite verbal acquiescence, followed at a later date by an obfuscent apology or clever excuse, the individual who was not able to pass an unpleasant task to a subordinate may still be able to avoid it without punishment.
In avoiding the possibilities of dictatorship the social system has built in a resistance to innovation. Individuals who wish to deviate can not, in general, certain positions where they can make an impact, since the prestige of the family or tribe is invested in its titles. The title is given to the one whom it is believed will bring most honour to it by excelling within the existing custom. In addition, the matai of the village can exercise a veto upon the choice of the sub-unit by imposing fines or socially ostracizing the deviant matai and his supporters.

Innovation can take place, of course, if a matai and his adherents are in favour of it. If perceptively successful such innovations are often greatly admired and imitated. The innovation is essentially a group effort.

Social approbation is the most singularly important form of control in Samoan society, thereby being a powerful influence for conservatism. Most social interactions take place in groups, the matai in their council, the women in their committees, untitled youths in the amava and the unmarried women and the wives of lesser matai in the analua. The Samoan is, therefore, socially and emotionally vulnerable
to the approval of the group. They live in open dwellings with close physical proximity where it is impossible to act unobserved. The Samoans do not find this oppressive because it is balanced by a high degree of tolerance for individuality in structurally unimportant activities such as dancing and when a person is _rūru_, that is, when he becomes temporarily unco-operative, sullen and obdurate. However, no social value or prestige is attached to these activities. Each person is accepted as a member of a group regardless of the contribution he makes as an individual.

The method of election, while it avoids dictatorship unusual, also keeps Samoan society in a state of continual faction even within the small sub-units of families. For each title there will be a number of candidates with adequate qualifications, and people concerned with the results of the election will be found to be an adherent of one or other of the candidates.
The Political Structure.

Stanner describes the condition of life in Western Samoa as consisting of continual political faction. The Samoans neither develop a sense of belonging to a nation, nor do they develop a lasting solution to faction struggles by conceding authority to persons or titles.

Each village is virtually an independent state in miniature. It consists of a number of sub-units, each presided over by its own matai. The fono a matai is responsible for all the important decisions relating to the village.

The villages are loosely formulated into district alliances held together by certain titles belonging to the district, although held by one family, and for which the various villages in which a member of that family resides competes. District councils meet at irregular intervals. Precedence at these gatherings is decided mainly on the basis of the title itself, but since it is possible for a clever chief or orator to advance the prestige of his title, it is important that the title holders be able men and that
they never neglect to exercise even the smallest of their rights.

On the national level there are four supreme titles forming two power groups. The general purpose of having two groups of titles appears to be the creation of a sophisticated balance of power, although it is possible, intermarriage between the leading families being common, for all four national titles to be held by one person at a particular time.

There is an ongoing debate as to the power which national and district organizations did have, although in times of war it is acknowledged that the districts did have a positive and united function. Whichever it was, however, the point is well taken that shifts in the allegiance and changes in title 'were more important in the telling than in the consequence.' Supremacy in Samoa was for ceremonial precedence and prestige rather than dominance. The major political unit was the village.

Formal decision making tended to be a long slow process in which everyone entitled to speak at the fono did so, not only for the contribution that he had to make, but
in order to safeguard his right to speak. Oratory was also enjoyed for its own sake. Discussion continued, with frequent breaks or perhaps days in duration, until it was possible to announce that a unanimous decision had been reached. Minorities who had refused to acquiesce in this custom were forced into exile until such time as they returned apologetically and paid fines of contrition. Everything was then likely to continue as if the incident had not taken place. If the dissenting group was large enough it might refuse to be exiled, in which case it became an independent village. In this way villages multiplied and the society, based upon conformity within social units, was well equipped to contain dissent.

Most of the decisions were actually made informally before this formal debate between métai and between the métai and his adherents. At the formal debate it was to the voice which had the greatest power through weight of adherents that the decision would normally go. Most debates were concerned with matters of ceremony and precedence, and problems were considered only after they had been clearly and acutely manifested.
The Economy.

Essentially subsistence in nature, the Samoan traditional economy is based upon agriculture and fishing. Most of the villages are coastal with easy access to sea or lagoon and with the village land stretching inland. Only a small proportion of the time of the available work force was necessarily spent on the production of the village food supply.

A village usually owned more land than it had under cultivation. Agriculture, although it supplied most of the necessities of life, sea, therefore, held in minor regard. Where ceremony and ritual were a way of life, it is significant that labouring, planting or harvesting received no such attention. It was usually the task of the youth of both sexes who worked in agriculture, with fishing being regarded as more of a chiefly task.

Control of communal land resides with the matai who may exercise his gale in several ways. He may, for example, divide it among the taule'lea under his jurisdiction, or he may have it worked as a communal plot, but no individual
could own the land or guarantee his sons the use of it.

Pule over the land carries considerable prestige and there were many 'border' disputes between villages to this effect. However, what is done on the land is of no significance to the social value of the pule.

Like the land on which it grows, the produce was communally owned and customarily distributed down the hierarchy. Private ownership was unknown. Food, clothing or shelter were automatically the right of all in the village, and as long as these things were available there was no poverty as modern societies know it. With communal ownership, no way of accumulating excess production, the social certainty of production and the lack of poverty, the giving and receiving of food or symbolic wealth such as 'fine-mata' became ceremonially important. Hospitality, food and shelter were extended to the unknown traveller as an insurance for the time when the host village might want to make a malaga. In time of need such as the devastation of crops, this reciprocity could be readily perceived to be a very effective, humane and pleasant social security system. A relative has a social obligation to give to those of his aiga who are in need, just as social control ensures that the individual will not be
rapacious in his demands.

In a system where social and physical needs are set by virtue of membership, and the possessions are distributed on the same basis, there was little incentive to produce more, to produce efficiently, to labour well or to labour regularly. Economic activities have enjoyed negligible prestige and have occupied the bare sinus of time and effort.

Religion.

Samoans are a religious people. The most distinguished house to be found in the village is the pastor's, and the most imposing building is the church. Fund raising activities, ceremonies and other important aspects of village life are centred around the church. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the pastor, although he does not hold a traditional title, is usually one of the most important influences in the village. Neither is it surprising that Samoa produces many more pastors than she is able to employ. Nearly 20% of all these in paid employment in the villages in modern times are church employees. The church, although
introduced by European missionaries is, in many cases, essentially a Samoan institution and a positive force in strengthening Samoan conservatism.

From this brief overview it is clear that traditional Samoan society had several features closely resembling some of the universal characteristics, as for example, the distribution of wealth. In a modern society wealth can be equated with sufficient food, clothing and shelter, time for and availability of a few leisure pursuits, and some assurance that these things will continue. Samoa had all of these. Widespread political participation was also possible within each community as the members elected the matai who were then dependent upon their active support. Also, since the matai had control of the land and labour, there was a close identification of the polity with the economy, although there was no such phenomenon as economic power.

If the Samoan continues in its present strength, Samoa is in danger of losing those features of which it is justly proud without having established other effective means of achieving the same ends. This is because the means of
establishing economic power are now not only available in Western Samoa, but are essential if she is to become an advanced nation. Population growth, the depletion of some village lands, and the fact that the Samoans now desire schools, modern medicine, imported goods and a national government, means that unless the people engage in economic activity they will no longer be able to support themselves in a traditional manner. Excess must be produced for these things. Lack of economic power will leave the country dependent upon charity, and hence to manipulation by foreign powers, or to exploitation by those few of their own number who do accumulate effective capital and the power that goes with it.

Now that it is possible for an individual to amass personal wealth and to find the means of deriving satisfaction from sources other than traditional ones, the belief in the inherent goodness and generosity of his people, a belief that Keeling claims originated from the missionaries who mistook reciprocity of Samoan giving for selflessness and brotherly love, is not only naive, but dangerous to his freedom in the long term. It prevents them from making adequate social adjustments to the changing situation.
Another important reason why tradition needs to be modified is that there is now a considerable body of landless people who are dependent upon employment for their daily living. Poverty is already a reality to some of these people.

Isolated in the village unit and without a sense of national unity, many Samosans are unaware of these problems which show signs of intensifying rather than of abating.

It is ironical that those groups who advocate a return and rigid adherence to custom force modernization and ethnocultural identity into a position of being mutually exclusive where they have never been, thus inviting the chaos which they had hoped to avoid. An excellent example of this occurs in the story of the young village chief, Tamatafa, who neglected many of the time-consuming social activities to develop a plantation. His village demanded, by the action that the members took, that he either give up all his 'Sasapan-ness' or his economic activity despite the benefits that such activity obviously brought.
Present day Samoa does, however, exhibit many socially meaningful modifications in custom in some individuals and in some areas. Were the country to be placed in the Harrison and Myers development scale it would at least be at the second level. It is, in fact, showing a good many of the universal characteristics in limited form. Urbanization has begun to emerge around the port of Apia, which, although in some ways still a collection of 30 adjoining villages, has many of the features of an urban community. It has some impersonalization in employment, diversification of labour, educational facilities and open discussion concerning human relationships and the place of custom. In addition to Apia there are several other district centres for medical health services and secondary education, as well as an administrative centre at Tuaivi on the second main island, Savai'i. A port is being built at Asau on the farthest side of Savai'i, which, as the new American timber milling plan gets underway, is likely to develop into an urban area that could rival Apia.

What then, is preventing these beginnings from snowballing into rapid development? The answer is that most of these characteristics have been the result of imposition by external
forces and many of the attitudes that would support and extend the beginnings that have been made are not present in sufficient strength or degree.

Development has been confined mostly to the areas in close proximity to the urban area, with the exception of a few areas under the rule of a progressive matai, where there are perceivable changes in the external situation. For example, the presence of a police force and a written law has meant that the village council no longer has complete control over what members may or may not do. Radio and the cinema provide acculturating opportunities of which the Samoans are avidly availing themselves. Each village now has a local store, many being sub-branches of the large trading firms in Apia, but others are locally owned and operated. Many villages now contribute produce, especially bananas and coconuts, for which they receive a cash income and some supply the Apia market with domestic goods. Dwellings involving European building materials are to be found in increasing numbers in villages, especially along the coast of Upolu.
Stace, writing in general terms, but in the context of a paper concerned with economic development in Western Samoa, sums up the problem thus:

"It is being recognized by governments that problems of development are basically problems of attitude rather than of physical resources. Even the poorest of countries today have the assurance of great improvement in their standards of living if the people concerned want economic progress whole-heartedly and are prepared to meet the price in new social disciplines and willingness to discard outmoded methods. The people in general and their leaders in particular must desire progress, and their institutions must encourage and protect the industrious and the enterprising."3

One of Barrington's conclusions from his study relating the development of education to the social history of Western Samoa is that:

"The history of Samoan education after 1945 provides additional evidence that further research into the kinds of attitudes which are necessary for socio-economic development would be justified."10

Some of the universal characteristics are openly and widely opposed by the Samoan elite and by those with elite aspirations. They are:
(a) the impersonalization of human relationships,
(b) individual autonomy,
(c) social egalitarianism,
(d) acculturation,
(e) widespread political participation,
(f) intellectual concern with human relationships.
These are, without exception, political and social characteristics, clearly demonstrating that Samoa, although desiring economic development, wishes to avoid change.

Opposition to most of the above characteristics is written into the law. It is, for example, only the matai who can vote in national elections, be elected to parliament, or gain leases and credit for the development of land. To support these conditions the argument is often advanced that, since the matai is elected from amongst the people who serve him, the Western Samoan system is egalitarian and has mass participation. Traditionally this may well have been true. Modern politics, however, need independent action and a strong sense of nationalism, which the traditional matai system is not equipped to handle. Mass participation needs to be national as well as local. Furthermore, there are a number of young, enterprising and educated Samoans who
express no desire to be, as they regard it, encumbered by a title. Another important point is that the kinds of abilities which are necessary for a good matai are not necessarily the same qualities which are best suited to a national politician.

The lands and titles court, an important institution in Western Samoa, exists to settle lands and titles disputes in accordance with the unwritten traditions of fa'a Samoa. It is, therefore, a powerful instrument of conservatism. Stanner¹¹ recounts an incident where a taule'ale'a was ordered to leave the land he had cultivated, not through any recognised fault of his own, but because it 'was good for him to live in the traditional Samoan manner'. Thus the court manifested the Samoan opposition to individual autonomy.

Samoan resistance to outside influence is a well established fact. They have, for example, remained unimpressed with the ways of the white man, absorbing from them only that which could be readily assimilated into the existing social structure. The desire to remain culturally isolated was the basis of the reluctance of the Samoan legislator¹² to support
the extension of secondary education. It also accounts, until very recently, for the strong resistance to tourism. At present there is no tourist accommodation out of Apia, although it is possible to get accommodation at the small, local ‘ehau of Salelesoaga on Savai'i.

Seven attitudes directly relevant to the above characteristics appear to be necessary if development is to be achieved:

1. The acceptance of achievement norms.
2. A sense of balance between the individual and society.
3. The acceptance of equal behavioural rights.
4. The acceptance of dissent and criticism.
5. An enquiring, critical and experimental outlook.
6. Individual autonomy.
7. A desire for change.

A heavy emphasis should therefore be given to these attitudes in the application of the development model to Western Samoa.

It is not enough to consider only those aspects which are overtly opposed by the elite. There are other universal characteristics that are being effectively retarded by inertia and indifference. The greater part of Samoan politics,
emphasizing ceremony rather than the formation and implementation of policy and plans, is devoid of economic and social meaningfulness. Political actors are not accustomed to long-term planning, or to the taking of responsibility for the consequences of the decisions or lack of decision that they make. That words speak louder than deeds is a fact recognized by two prominent Samoan writers, Sā'ia'i and Ala'ilima, as being one of the most lamentable handicaps in the development of Western Samoa. It is also an important theme in the works of expatriate writers. Keenig, for example, quotes the following statement delivered in a Legislative Assembly debate:

"(As regards) the word 'Government', does it mean that if anything goes wrong it will be to the discredit not only of this Assembly but ......... Western Samoa as well? ....... (I prefer) the word 'Administration'. Should anything go wrong the blame would be only on the Heads of the Departments and the High Commissioner." 14

Sā'ia'i's exposition, intended to be a glorification of the matai system, contains many examples of tāle'ias and women taking the punishments or the abasements for the contraventions of the law by son of title. Traditionally the individual took personal responsibility only to
the extent of expiating offences, including murder, by ceremonial self-abasement.

In the area of differentiation of human activity, the principle of contract being as binding as personal relationships is another attitude which appears to be relatively weak in Samoan society. Davidson reported that there was a marked reluctance amongst leading Samoans to take executive office. This was not because of any doubt as to their ability to handle such positions but rather because they 'did not feel that their aiga and their districts could accept the refusal of requests for special favours'. The failure of co-operatives run by Samoans is attributable to the lack of acceptance of differentiation and of the principle of contract. A teachers' co-operative based upon principles similar to the New Zealand Public Service Association collapsed after a very short period because the demands of relatives and of superiors led it into bankruptcy.

Work-related attitudes are of such vital importance to Western Samoan development that there is not a noteworthy piece of literature touching on development that does not
devote a considerable amount of attention to them. The problem stems from the relative unimportance attached to labouring and entrepreneurial activity in traditional society, as well as from the fact that community living tends to deprive the individual of the fruits of labour and thus undermines the economic necessity to work beyond subsistence needs.

To Stace, one of the overriding problems for efficiency and increased production is idleness or under-employment. The Samoans are capable of exceptionally energetic and continuous labour for a short period in connection with a specific project such as the building of a new church. These efforts, being for a very specific purpose, do not last over time. For those engaged in regular employment, absenteeism and lateness, supported by customs such as being able to stone for the lack of action by verbal means, is common. While it is probable that the present shortage of employment opportunities may do much to check these abuses of the employers' time, the kinds of pressures caused by this are not conducive to development.
Some amusing anecdotes relating to the lack of modern work attitudes habits appear in Irwin's book, *Samoa, a Teacher's Tale*. The main concern of villagers and inspectors alike during Irwin's *Malaka* was not that a teacher had not worked consistently at his task, but first that his neglect should have been discovered on 'our' village.

There is a special need for the development of regular work habits. Village agriculture, in addition to supplying 75% of Western Samoan income from exports, is the sole income source for 83.6% of the population.

The desire to learn is a necessary companion to regular work habits in the field of agriculture, if not in all other fields. There is not only a need to spend more time producing, but the production must become more efficient. Depleted soils need fertilizer, young banana plants should be continually seeded and spraying must be carried out regularly. Modern techniques may be taught in the schools, but the matai can decide that he will not allow taule'iea to contradict his policies or to teach him in agriculture. Ala'ilisa, in his discussion on the inadequacies of much of the technical aid given to Western Samoa, makes the point that the Samoans
politely "thank God you have come" and file the reports and blueprints away in a drawer.

**Low Priority Attitudes.**

The accumulation of capital, although looking large as a problem from the economic view is largely a matter of investment in non-traditional avenues. The Sasamoans have shown that they are able to accumulate large amounts of capital for village projects. For example, in 1952 the village of Sala'ila, in cash and produce accumulated £227,000, including £5,000 on credit from local merchants, for an important village wedding. Accounts of Sasoan behaviour during the war years show clearly that the Sasamoans have an interest in monetary gain and in material things. There is, therefore, little need to emphasize these two kinds of attitudes.

Another modern attitude with which the Sasamoans appear to be well endowed is aspiration. From important executive positions to relatively minor ones, the number of applications received from people with hopelessly inadequate qualifications is considerable. Barrington showed that, amongst high
school pupils there was generally a greater aspiration expressed than was possible for most of the pupils to attain. The survey also showed that the pupils were aware of the probable realities of their future occupations.

Aspiration for Western Samoa as a nation is also exceptionally high but, unfortunately, seeming to lack in realism. For example, in reply to his query regarding population problems Keeling received this reply from what he has described as an influential and progressive pastor:

"How do we know that God intends the Samoans to remain only in Samoa; perhaps He is preparing them as His special people, so that when the rest of the world is destroyed by atom warfare they may repeople it as Noah did after the flood."

The development of nationalism would help in channelling this kind of aspiration into productive activity where great effort is demanded, but little individual socio-economic credit accrues as is the case with the dedicated classroom teacher and the agriculture department labourer.

Two attitudes can be omitted, despite their importance, on the grounds that it is obviously strongly related to
others in a cluster. The first is the sense of balance between the individual and the society. This attitude is essentially a means by which the extreme individualism, as demonstrated by the Southern Italian peasants, is balanced against the complete lack of socially meaningful individual autonomy in the traditional Samoan society. Where one extreme exists, as with Western Samoa, the measurement of the opposite extreme and the mid-position between the extremes can be expected to yield repetitive results. The second is the acceptance of personal responsibility, according to one's social and legal rights. In the under-developed setting these social and legal rights may not include the acceptance of personal responsibility. The acceptance of modern social and legal rights is a co-requisite to the acceptance of personal responsibility according to them. Items measuring behavioural rights, achievement norms and legal norms will, therefore, be sufficient in this sector of the attitudinal field.

One aspect of the acceptance of equal behavioural rights can also be omitted. Modern conditions suggest that within the education system equal behavioural rights for women may no longer be the problem it once was. The two highest pro-

fessional positions, that of Director of Education and Principal of the Teachers' Training College are held by women. The ratio of boys to girls in the high schools, and especially in Samoa College, seem to indicate that the education system is not discriminating in this fashion. Only at the fifth form level do boys in government schools outnumber girls, suggesting that if discrimination does take place, it is because of parental rather than internal influences. In Teachers' Training College in 1966 females numbered 131 to 53 males. Females in the government professional staff that year numbered 416 and males 417.32.
SUMMARY.

Although all the modern attitudes are necessary for development on the basis of the existing situation in Western Samoa, it is possible to determine a list of priorities. The nine attitudes that appear to be most crucial are:

1. a desire for change,
2. regular work habits, industry and work honesty,
3. an inquiring, critical and experimental outlook,
4. the acceptance of achievement norms,
5. the acceptance of legal norms,
6. the acceptance of equal behavioural rights for all,
7. the acceptance of dissent and tolerance for criticism,
8. a degree of individual autonomy,
9. the desire to learn.

Of least importance for measurement in the Samoan situation are:

1. aspiration,
2. an interest in material things,
3. a sense of balance between the individual and society,
4. the place of women.
NOTES (Chapter 5)

1. Ibid pp 127.

2. A number of excellent works which cover the field in detail are mentioned below.


4. Melua Eber, "Samoa Kinship and Political Structure: An Archeological Test to Decide Between the Two Alternative Reconstructions"

and

Derek Freeman, "Anthropological Theorizing and Historical Scholarship: A Reply to M. Eber


6. Inland villages were most frequently formed as the result of exile and war.


12. Ibid pp146.


22. Figures are from the Annual Report of the Education Department, Western Samoa, 1968.
This chapter will be concerned with the task of the measurement of teachers' attitudes. The first problem was to decide, after consideration of the problems involved, upon the most suitable form of measurement. Secondly, it was decided to include for study certain variables, especially educational variables, in an attempt to assess the consequences that these have had on the development of teacher attitudes. A third step was the actual construction of an attitude scale and its administration in Western Samoa.

The Choice of an Attitude Scale.

The ability to record the maximum amount of information in the minimum amount of time is the first essential feature of the measuring instrument, as there is still a large amount of information to be covered despite the selection of attitudes that was made in the previous chapter. Furthermore, the teacher's time, always a valuable commodity, and his co-operation which is important in a project of this kind, are essential considerations. While it can be asked of a
teacher to spare some twenty minutes to half an hour, any more than this is likely to be regarded as an imposition.

Representative sampling of the total population is usually the most economical and efficient method of obtaining the maximum generalization required by the problem. In developing countries, however, there are several factors which make such sampling rather difficult. The most important of these is that their education departments are usually over-worked, under-staffed and lacking in both human and monetary resources. Consequently, the kinds of information necessary to make a representative sample are often not available. It was thought that since Western Samoa is a small country an attempt could be made to reach the whole of the teaching population. Travel problems, always great in developing countries, would scarcely be greater on such a basis and, provided that only a short time per teacher were to be involved, this would not make unreasonable demands upon the education system.

The measurement of attitudes of the whole teaching population creates problems of its own. It means that the distribution and administration of scales may need to be handled
by people who are not trained in test administration. Certainly, in planning for the administration this possibility could not be ignored. The measuring instrument needs then, to be objectively administered, suited to group administration, easy to administer, and easy for the participants to fill in.

The study is to be seen as involving cross-cultural measurement because Western Samoa has both indigenous and expatriate teachers, and secondly because there are no objective attitude scales designed for use there. A third reason is that the attitudes that have been selected for measurement have been chosen because it is believed that they are not common in Western Samoan society.

Cross-cultural measurement also poses some unique problems. Literate nations have available certain response habits that are automatic to the general population, such as codifying information about oneself and filling in gaps in a sentence. In Western Samoa, although most of the people are literate, these kinds of responses are not habitualized. Keesing gives a stern warning against the use of opinion surveys for the general population of Samoa on the
grounds that, in the traditional culture, individual opinions are not expressed openly, and there is a resentment against the giving of opinions by people in areas where they have no traditional authority to so speak. These would be rather formidable problems, but the primary object being the measurement of teacher attitude, Keesing's statement need not be more than a caution. It does suggest, however, that it would be easier if the measurement was not obviously provocative and that it was able to be confidential. The attitude scale needs, therefore, to be a written one and perhaps to have low face validity.

Cross-cultural testing also presents the problem of translation. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck have the following caution to make:

"Anyone who has attempted cross-cultural testing, using the medium of language, is well aware of the deep and as yet bridgeless chasms which separate the linguistically ordered thought ways of the peoples of varying cultural traditions. It is even said that it is not really possible to translate meaningfully from one language to another group of related languages - Indo-European languages for example. And the chasms are broader and deeper still when the task is that of translating ideas into the language of non-literate societies which are extremely varied."
Obviously Kluckhohn and Stroutbeck do not believe that it is not possible to translate meaningfully since they set about doing just this, but it is a valuable warning that some safeguards regarding the translation be used.

Observation, the use of projective techniques and case studies are clearly not able to meet the criteria to satisfy the problems outlined above. Sherwood, in an interesting research into some work attitudes of African clerks, used an essay type approach with a check list. She encountered difficulties with language and the time involved in the administration. It was decided, therefore, to use an attitude scale.

Two types of attitude scale have been successfully used for intensive cross-cultural measurement. They are the Thurstone-Chave method of equal appearing intervals and the semantic differential. In order to evaluate the feasibility of the respective methods a plan of construction for each was made based on an estimated requirement of fifty items. (Figure 7.)
### Figure 7: The Construction of an Attitude Scale

#### (a) Semantic Differential

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stages</th>
<th>People involved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Construct 50 concepts</td>
<td>8 Samoans and test construction experts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Select appropriate scales</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-test</td>
<td>30-35 Samoans.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### (b) Thurstone-Chave

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stages</th>
<th>People involved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Construct 100 items</td>
<td>8 Samoans and test construction experts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevance test</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre judge trial to determine the kind of judges needed</td>
<td>36 (minimum) Samoans, Europeans, and Europeans with experience in developing countries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judging</td>
<td>50 (minimum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of test items.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-test</td>
<td>30-35 Samoans.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Against the many positive advantages of the Thurstone-Chave method, including high reliability and objective quantification of attitudes, two major disadvantages were clearly revealed in the outline. Firstly, a large number of people would be involved in the test construction. Whether these would need to be Samoans, Europeans familiar with Samoa, people familiar with under-development in general, or just people of reasonable ability is as yet unknown, but unless a pre-trial revealed otherwise it would be foolish to use more than the first two categories. Yet to find enough willing contributors with the desired qualifications could be time consuming, costly and possibly unfruitful in the end. Secondly, even a cursory glance at the two plans shows that the Thurstone-Chave type scale is laborious to produce. Many more items are needed than will actually be used. This seems not only excessive construction, but more work for judges, and considerably more problems with translation.

The most serious handicap of the semantic differential is a linguistic one. The traditional Samoan language does not have effective means for dealing with comparative and superlative comparisons. The 'black-white' response set
required for the Thurstone-Chave type scale is more suited to that traditional language pattern. Osgood\textsuperscript{6}, however, suggests that the seven point scale be reduced to five points for situations such as this, thereby reducing judgment to the comparative dimension only. Once having decided whether he is positively or negatively inclined towards the concept, the respondent has only to decide whether or not he is very much in favour or only slightly in favour. The assumption was made that teachers in Western Samoa, who are at least partially conversant with English, would be able to handle a five point scale competently\textsuperscript{7}.

The positive advantages of the semantic differential are many. It is amenable to a powerful mode of analysis, has high reliability and validity and yet is relatively simple to construct. Osgood\textsuperscript{8} reports a test retest reliability on each of six concepts as having a mean of 0.91. He cites examples of correlations between the Cuttsman and Thurstone-Chave scales which are considerably greater than chance. Because the rating methods are less dependent on the comprehension of verbal material than most other types of attitude scale, it is less tied to a specific culture and therefore useful in societies where the literacy component
is not strong. Of great importance is the fact that its purpose is less obvious and it can be expected, therefore, that bias is less likely to play a prominent role in the responses. The large number of ratings that it is possible to make for each concept enables not only deeper levels of attitude and hence sensitivity to slight differences to be measured, but also for a large quantity of data to be collected in a short time. Osgood claims that the slowest college student can make one hundred ratings per minute, that is, ten concepts each with ten scales, once he gets under way. The semantic differential, then, appears to meet the essential requirements.

The Variables.

Not only is it important in planning for quality in education to discover what teacher attitudes are, it is also useful as a guide to future development to attempt the assessment of the probable causes of the differences in teacher attitudes.
In this, there are both educative and non-educative variables to be considered. The primary aim is to study the effects which the educative variables have had on teacher attitudes because it is rare that the education system can most readily adapt itself, if some adaptation is seen as desirable. Non-educative variables need to be considered because behavioural theory and research have shown that they do play a major role in the development of attitudes. If these were neglected it would be possible, for example, to ascribe differences in attitude to the extent of teaching experience while it may only be the age differences in operation.

Non-educative variables which are considered to play an important role in the development of attitudes are as follows:

(a) sex,
(b) age,
(c) socio-economic status,
(d) size of family,
(e) travel experience.
The educative variables are:

(a) educational background:
   (i) how much,
   (ii) what courses,

(b) years of teaching experience,

(c) level of teaching,

(d) training,

(e) refresher courses,

(f) urban/rural experience.

Several of these variables proved unsuccessful for analysis as planned.

The urban/rural variable was subsequently ignored because it was inadequately answered by many of the participants, probably because of confusion arising from the exact meaning of the word 'Apia' which can mean one of the fifty villages within the urban area or the area itself. Teachers' refresher courses, which are compulsory in Western Samoa, could not be classified as a variable at the global level at which the information was requested. On similar grounds it was decided that the course which the teachers took at high school could not be profitably examined, especially as a large number of older Samoan teachers did not attend a high
school. The teacher training variable also proved not to be amenable to analysis as there were few teachers who had not received training, and the question had been framed only for this gross type of information. The variable teaching experience was, as might have been expected, strongly related to age, and it was decided to ignore this variable too.

Of the non-educative variables only socio-economic status was not suitable for analysis, as was suspected, although it was felt to be worth an attempt. Classifying one's self according to a non-traditional occupation of one's father or relative, if he has such an occupation, is neither common nor uniform in Western Samoa nor is there any direct comparability between traditional social levels and modern socio-economic ones.

Some Principles of Construction.

During discussion on the method of deriving attitudes from concepts one point became clear, that is, that it is extremely difficult to isolate a 'pure' attitude in a particular concept because it is unlikely that one attitude will
be the sole cause of a particular response. Other attitudes in the cluster, recent experiences and the immediate external situation will have interacted in unknown quantities to produce the response. As attitudes had already been drawn by inference from the universal characteristics, concepts which captured the essence and the spirit of the universal characteristics would be ideally suited for the attitude scale.

There are three advantages in attacking the problem in this way. Firstly there would be a number of estimates of a particular attitude thereby giving a greater degree of certainty that it had played a role in the final response. Secondly, there is the advantage of having multi-measures of attitude while using a minimum number of concepts since one item can be a partial measure of more than one attitude. Finally, it would yield estimates of the attitude in a variety of situations involving different hierarchies of attitudinal dominance, varying external situations and a range of recent experiences.10

Difficulties in interpretation resulting from the construction of concepts in this way will, however, occur in the
amount of material to be handled. Each concept may need to be handled in several different sub-groupings as well as by itself. But more important is the warning issued earlier, that the closer an attitude is to a characteristic, the less chance there is of bias entering into the interpretation. It is to be borne in mind, therefore, that although the aim is not to produce a concept that will elicit a 'pure' attitude, there should still be as close relationship between attitude, concept and characteristic as possible.

With these points in mind as well as the list of priorities of attitudes, thirty-seven concepts were constructed to give measures of eleven attitudes. One attitude, the desire to learn, appeared to be too obviously related to the work that respondents would be doing, and therefore, likely to attract inflated, supportive answers. It was thought that it would be more profitable to look obliquely, though no less valuably, at the area in that teachers would be asked to express their attitudes towards some purposes of education. In this way some light could be shed upon the major emphasis on learning, or, how is the 'desire to learn' made up of other interests. Sixteen of the
most heavily evaluative bi-polar scales were chosen from Osgood's list with considerable care given to the words which appear in his cross cultural comparison.

It was decided that responses to twenty concepts each with six scales would be all that could reasonably be expected of teachers and still maintain co-operation and interest. This, it was estimated, would occupy from 15 to 25 minutes of the teacher's time. Rather than reduce the already restricted range of attitudes covered by the thirty-seven concepts it was thought advisable to use two tests. The numbers of teachers involved would be sufficient to enable the use of two test forms which could be alternated in a pile so that random distribution would be achieved and the major problems of sampling avoided.

The Construction.

Items were randomized for the order of appearance and for their place in the forms A or B, except that those relating to certain attitudes which appeared directly to complement each other were included in the same form. Similarly the scales for each item were randomly presented both in order of appearance and in the positioning of the positive
and negative poles. Three items were duplicated in each form\textsuperscript{12}, with the same concept opening each script. The concept 'compulsory school attendance' was chosen for this as it was not expected to be a particularly vital concept in this context. Questions, uncertainties and doubts of the respondents could profitably be dissipated on this concept whereas they may have been perpetuated by a more controversial and difficult one.

These principles having been decided, the test construction passed through three stages: content validity, a translation stage and a pre-testing stage.

The list of concepts and scales was circulated to a panel consisting of test construction experts, a Polynesian language expert and two Samoans who held responsible positions in the community\textsuperscript{12}. They discussed the relevance of the concepts to the attitudes, the construction of the items, the relevance of the scales to concepts and the meaningfulness and translatability of the content to the Samoan situation. In this way there was immediate feedback between the test construction experts and their alterations and the feasibility of the work for translation.
Two panels of translators, each headed by one of the two Samoans who were in the construction panel, were used. The first group translated the English into Samoan and the second group, working independently a few days later, converted the Samoan translation back into English. They were asked to do so in a very literal fashion so that it could be determined just how comparable the meanings were, where there was the least doubt about the retranslation this second panel were consulted and given the original English version to aid them. The final form was submitted to the leaders from each panel for final ratification.

The pre-trial test was not intended to be a pilot study in the full sense of the word. Its main purpose was administrative as it set out to answer these questions:

1. Could this group of young Samoans manage the technique of the semantic differential when it was presented for the first time and in their own language?
2. Could they read and follow the instructions, the organization of the test form and the concepts?
3. Which of the eight scales for each concept appeared to be the most useful?
No more than this was attempted because the group bore little relation to the sample except that they were all Samoans with varying levels of education. The answers to the first two questions were satisfactory, and since all the eight scales appeared to be operating effectively an arbitrary choice was made as to which two of the scales were to be deleted.

Although in these three stages the construction of the test was complete there was a further step to be taken, that is, to send the scripts to the Department of Education in Western Samoa for approval. A few very minor alterations were made with respect to the quality of the Samoan as a result, but there were no alterations in the content.

The attitude scale was designed to be entirely self-administering because, in planning on a large scale from outside the country concerned, the possibility, even though this was not desirable, that some of the scripts would have to be sent out to the participants had to be kept in mind. The most desirable method, because of the strangeness which this type of rating scale could be expected to have for many of the teachers and the Samoan preference for verbal communi-
cation, would be for trained administrators to give instructions and to verbalize the way in which he would fill in an example test item. The instructions for these sample items are to be found in Appendix B. In addition to the example, a few printing errors, irredeemable because the tests were produced only a matter of hours before they were to be used, had to be mentioned.

The scripts were administered in one of three ways to those teachers who were willing to participate. In the government schools they were administered by school inspectors as they went about their general activities after they had received a brief training session. Some of the mission schools were also approached personally by the writer and one of the school inspectors. These were special visits for the sole purpose of administering the scales. Other teachers were reached by despatching the scripts to schools which could not otherwise be reached in the time available. The numbers involved in this category were not large, and the printed instructions for test administrators were sent to each school along with the scripts. A few of those scripts did not come back, and a very small number of isolated government schools proved impossible to reach in the time
available. The number of teachers who were missed was, fortunately, very small. Tests were also administered to the trainees in the teachers' college.

Reliability.

The reliability of the semantic differential as a technique in the measurement of attitudes has been discussed earlier. For this particular scale a split-half correlation was taken in order to attempt to justify the proposal to add together the scores from each of the six scales to make a single score for each item or concept. The Samoan sample of fifty scripts for each form was selected randomly from within each of the cells of the sex, age and education level matrix. Over 80% of the correlations were above 0.80.

A test-retest correlation was attempted for each of the Samoan forms and between the Samoan and English equivalent scripts. While it was recognized that attitudes may not be stable over time, indeed it is hoped that some are susceptible to modifications, and that fluctuations are also to be expected according to the mood of the individual, some measure of stability for the scale was desirable. It did
not prove possible, the European population being geographically scattered, to obtain sufficient numbers of retest scripts for an English correlation to be made.

Those items with correlation coefficients of less than 0.45 on both Samoan and English-Samoan retests were rejected. Thirty of the thirty-seven items were accepted on this criterion. The coefficients for these thirty appear in Appendix C.

Several factors contributed towards the decision to use this level of acceptance. The Samoan test retest, due to sampling problems and the need to maintain absolute autonomy, was carried out on the only group available, the teacher trainees. The second year group of fifty students was offered for this purpose, twenty-five for each form, and the tests were administered on two Friday evenings separated by fourteen days. With absences and a few scripts that were not completed, the final number for each form was reduced to eighteen, thereby making a rather small, homogeneous group. This, added to by a slight swing towards conservatism on the part of those students who had previously revisited, and in view of comments from some students that
they were apprehensive about having to put their names to scripts, suggest that the correlations are lower than could be expected had there been ideal conditions.

The English-Samoan retest was made using the only group where sufficient numbers of reasonably competent bilingual people were to be found, the fifth and sixth form English class at Samoa College. The attempt suffered from disadvantages similar to the Samoan retest in that the numbers were small, the group homogeneous and with a number of students having omitted items, although in this case there was no apparent apprehension.

A further two items were ignored in the analysis of results because other items that supported them as measures of the same attitude had been rejected and both were meaningless when standing alone. The discussion of results, therefore, centres around a total of twenty-eight items measuring nine attitudes.
1. It was, in fact, necessary to construct the scale while negotiations for co-operation were still being undertaken with the Education Department in Western Samoa.


3. An unsuccessful attempt was made to measure attitudes of a cross section of a village population and it was fairly obvious that Keesing's point is still valid.


7. The tendency to use the extremes of the scales was still quite marked in many cases.


10. A matrix of intercorrelations amongst items (Appendix D) shows that most items do indeed measure only slightly related things. The clusters that are exceptions to this are discussed during the analysis of results.
12. The items were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Compulsory school attendance</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) A pupil questions the accuracy of something taught at school</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) A shopkeeper allows his friend to open an account although he knows he will not get paid</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first item was deleted because the group of items it was designed to supplement were rejected for their low reliability. To avoid duplication only one set of results for each of the other two items (one each from the A and B forms) appears in the analysis.

13. Members of the panel were:

**Test Construction:**
- Mr. E. Keeling, Lecturer in Education.
- Mr. E. Lenz, Senior Lecturer in Education.
- Dr. G. Wathall, Lecturer in Education.
- Dr. E. Sendon, Senior Lecturer in Education.

**Translatability:**
- Dr. E. Duff, Curator, Canterbury Museum.
- Rev. E. Paletoese, Minister of Religion.
- Miss E. Cramley, Secondary School Teacher.

14. These panels were composed of a clerical worker, a nurse trainee and students attending university in New Zealand.

15. The only item that caused bother was "You go to school for personal satisfaction" which had to be replaced by "You go to school to become a better person" itself subsequently rejected because of its low reliability.
18. The Samoan youth group of a local church kindly consented to make themselves available for this. Twenty-one young Samoans participated.

17. Almost 1,000 teachers and teacher trainees participated. Of these 30 were rejected as being unsatisfactorily completed. This represents over 3% of the Western Samoan teaching force. All these scores contributed to the mean Samoan score. Many teachers, however, left one or more spaces blank on the information sheets hence some of the analyses of variance were conducted on different numbers of scripts. A further 10% approx. were effected on one or more of the variables.

18. Ibid pp 213.


20. There was reason to believe that Samoan teachers would be especially suspicious of such documents because of the recent measures by the Education Department to economize by culling out the most inefficient teachers. Annual Report of the Education Department, Western Samoa, 1968. Introduction, ppi.

21. The items ignored are:
(a) Compulsory school attendance.
(b) The government gives an order to the village council. The two attitudes to which these and most of the other rejected items belonged were the acceptance of legal, central control and attitude towards widespread, active participation.
Chapter 7 - THE RESULTS

The data from the attitude scale will be discussed in two ways. Firstly, they will be organized around some of the attitudes or attitudinal clusters which are listed in Chapter 3, including all of those listed as top priority in Chapter 5. Secondly, they will be discussed in terms of the effects of the educative and non educative variables.

The mean scores for each item and for each sub-grouping are given in tables. The possible range of scores is 0 - 30. Those below eighteen are on the disapproval side of the continuum and scores above eighteen register approval for the concept.

The Attitudes.

In the following discussion mean scores for the indigenous group and the expatriate groups are considered separately. The expatriates are small in number and according to the variables by which the indigenous teachers are subdivided are extremely homogeneous. They used an English version of the attitude scale and their results show them to be atypical of the teaching force in general. Nevertheless,
they are an important part of the Samoan educational scene and, as such, cannot be ignored. Where sub-group scores appear, therefore, they refer to the responses of the indigenous teachers only.

Major variables appearing in this section of the discussion of results are:

(a) **Origin**, that is, the type or level of education in which the teachers are involved. There are four categories:

- TTC: teacher trainees,
- HS: high school teachers,
- PS: primary school teachers,
- D: department staff, that is, inspectors, training college lecturers and other department members directly involved with teaching.

(b) **Education**, that is, the amount of personal, formal education that the teachers have received. There are two categories:

1. Less than three years high school education,
2. Three years or more high school education.
Crude though this index of level of education is, it represents an important division within the Western Samoa education system. The greatest government high school dropout occurs at this point, and it is the division recently made as to the minimum qualification for acceptance into teachers training college. In addition, to differentiate further would have eliminated young people from the lower categories and older teachers from the upper category.

(c) Travel.

There are two categories:

1. Under four months foreign travel.
2. Four months and over spent abroad.

Originally the scale had been subdivided into four categories:

(i) No travel.
(ii) 1 - 3 months.
(iii) 4 - 9 months.
(iv) 10 months and above.

The two last categories embraced a very small number of people, whilst the third category involved a large number of people, thus there seemed to be a natural division between the first two groups and the last two.
Attitudes Towards Work. (Figure 8.)

In their responses to the four items that are deemed to be measures of attitudes towards regularity and punctuality of work effort the Samoan teachers have strongly expressed their support. When Samoan habits are directly mentioned, however, the support is lessened. A boss's objection to employees taking time off to attend village functions is only mildly approved.

The most interesting item of the group is the last one where disapproval of absenteeism becomes lessened when a village function is involved. The mean responses to this item vary with origin ranging from strong approval from the department staff, less disapproval from secondary and primary school teachers to approval by the teacher trainees. It is an attitude that becomes more modern with age and with travel with the interesting exception that travel without a minimum of three years high school education appears to bring a decided swing towards traditionalism. (Figure 12.) Apart from its interactional effect with travel, education does not emerge as a variable for the modification of attitudes in this cluster.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gender Mean</th>
<th>Gender Mean</th>
<th>Gender Mean</th>
<th>Gender Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>An employee is</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>often late for</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A boss is</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>often away</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from work.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A boss is angry</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when an employee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is away from</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work to attend</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>village function</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An employee is</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absent from</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from work but</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goes to village</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>functions.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- *x* significant at .05
- **xx** significant at .01
- **xxx** significant at .001
Where Samoan custom is not directly involved the primary teachers and the department members express modern attitudes more strongly than the others, but as soon as fa'a Samoa becomes involved, the pattern shows trainees and primary school teachers more traditional and high school and department staff more modern. Travel and education do not play the role of developers of modern attitudes until the work concept comes into conflict with traditional demands. Increasing age appears to have an intensifying effect on the modernization of work habits. The expatriate attitudes are similar to the Samoan attitudes except that Europeans have a weaker disapproval of the boss's absence.

The responses to the work honesty items (Figure 9) tend to support the pattern found above. Strong disapproval for the person who does not work as hard when the boss is away is registered by all, with the secondary teachers and teacher trainees being less disapproving. The action of the shopkeeper and the clerk are both behaviours typical of fa'a Samoa and disapproval is considerably less for these two. In fact, for the clerk's behaviour teacher trainees and primary teachers show approval. The department members are the most disapproving. Overseas travel shows the effect


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Work Force</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>When the boss is away a person does not need to work so hard.</td>
<td>The shopkeeper allows his friend clerk tries to open an account get special although he known privileges for he will not get his village paid.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex 1.</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expatriate Man</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin T.T.C.</td>
<td></td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.C.</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.C.</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>22.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex 1.</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel 1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 1.</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>21.3</td>
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<td>8.9</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of modernizing work honesty attitudes and again, education does not emerge as a factor in the development of work honesty attitudes.

The European response to the first two items shows disapproval similar in strength to the Samoan response, except that they are considerably more disapproving of the government clerk who allows fa'a Samoa to intrude into his work responsibility.

Desire for Change. (Figure 10)

Since all the items were chosen to reflect attitudes that are expected not to be prevalent in Western Samoa, responses to any one of them could be taken to represent a desire for change. Two complementary items were, however, designed especially for the overt expression of a desire for change. They are, Samoan custom and innovation, or as the literal translation reads, new customs. In general there is a strong approval for the former but an evenly spread reaction to the latter. The expatriates, whilst still approving of fa'a Samoa, are significantly less approving of the former and considerably more approving of innovation than any other group within the teaching service.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Custom Innovation</th>
<th>Expat Innovation</th>
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<td>25.1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>25.1</td>
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<td>27.9</td>
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<td>27.9</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The pattern amongst the various origins is the same as that which emerged when Senua custom entered into the items that assessed work-related attitudes. The teacher trainees and primary teachers responses are both more traditionally oriented with their higher approval for custom and lower approval for innovation, and the other two groups responses are more modern in orientation. Travel again emerges as a modifier of traditional attitudes, especially when interacting with education. (Figure 12). Education appears as a modifier of attitude in the expected direction.

The Acceptance of Achievement Norms. (Figure 11.)

The items designed to measure attitude towards the use of achievement norms are distinguished by the great variability of the responses. The respondents, all being salary earners, could well be expected to support the items that indicate that the son who does the work should receive the economic reward, and this does indeed appear to be the case. However, the government official who refuses to employ a relative because he has insufficient qualification receives only the slightest approval. His behaviour is a far greater
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Factor</th>
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<th>CI 95%</th>
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</thead>
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<td>22.8, 32.9</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
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<td>25.7</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
deviation from the traditionally expected behaviour than the first concept.

Although not statistically significant, the pattern of responses amongst the subgroups displays the same pattern of high school and department respondents showing stronger development oriented attitudes than the other two groups. Similarly, education and travel appear to operate as strengtheners of modern attitudes.

The expatriate group diverges considerably from the indigenous group in the strength of their approval for the use of achievement norms by the government official. This difference is considerable when the means are directly compared and represents one of the greatest differences to be found between the indigenous teachers and the expatriates.

**The Acceptance of Legal Norms (Figure 13.)**

The three items in this group each represent a different aspect of the acceptance of legal norms, and the mean scores accurately reflect these differences. Disapproval, but with some inter-group variation, is shown for the person
Figure 12. Interactions between education and age and education and travel experience.

key: Education categories: 1—— 2.——

Samoan custom

Innovation

Any person not of the village but living there for some months, shares in the decisions of the village council.

An employee is absent from work but goes to village function.

You go to school to get passes in external examinations.

You go to school to get passes in external examinations.

Age Categories
FIGURE 12. (Cont)

Western Samoa

Age Categories

Travel Categories

Western Samoa

Age Categories

Travel Categories

The Samoan Government

Age Categories

Travel Categories

Your Village

Age Categories

Travel Categories

Aiga
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>The shopkeeper allows his friend to open an account although he knows he will not get paid.</th>
<th>An employee is absent from work but goes to village functions.</th>
<th>A government clerk tries to get special privileges for his village.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sample Mean</td>
<td>12.2</td>
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<td>12.9</td>
<td>12.5&lt;sup&gt;xxx&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
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<td>19.1&lt;sup&gt;xx&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>20.1&lt;sup&gt;xxx&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>E.5</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>15.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>P.8</td>
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<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education 1.</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel 1.</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>15.8&lt;sup&gt;xx&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>21.0&lt;sup&gt;xxx&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>2.</td>
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<td>J.</td>
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<td>12.6</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>21.7&lt;sup&gt;xxx&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
who leaves the modern work situation to take part in the traditional village function. Dissapoval by all sub-
groups is also shown for the poor business behaviour of the shopkeeper in relation to his friends in connection
with monetary matters, but approval is accorded the person who tries to get special privileges for his village. This
latter is a much stronger traditional behaviour than the others. The rule of contract is not strongly established
when personal relationships are specifically involved, but is considerably less when money for the individual is not
involved but personal relationships are.

The items exhibit a similar pattern of response in the sub-groupings to what has previously emerged. Department
and high school respondents are more often similar in attitude and more development oriented, with the teacher trainees
being the least development oriented. Education and travel appear to have a favourable effect on the acceptance of legal
norms. The development oriented attitude related to contract for regular work is, as mentioned before, strengthened by in-
creasing age.
On one of the three items there is a marked difference between the expatriates' and the indigenous teachers' mean responses. Where the indigenous response appears to be development oriented there is no significant difference, but where the traditional attitude appears to be stronger than the modern one, the expatriate deviation from the group is especially marked. The Samoan teachers, for example, approve of the clerk's action but the expatriates show disapproval.

The Acceptance of Equal Behavioural Rights and of Individual Autonomy. (Figure 14.)

Three items of a very similar structure but each with a different actor were designed to measure these attitudes. The principle, that of freedom of action to do as one believes is right, is a measure of individual autonomy in the social setting, and the variation of actor from matai through the neutral 'sam' to the taule'ale'a is indicative of the degree of equality of behaviour. The mean score follows these three actors in the same descending order, there being approval for the matai, very slight approval for the sam and disapproval for the taule'ale'a. The indigenous
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin (i.e.</th>
<th>27.4</th>
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<th>15.7%</th>
<th>14.9%</th>
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<tbody>
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</tr>
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<td>26.5</td>
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<td>19.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>13.5%</td>
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<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>22.3</td>
<td>19.7%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>19.7%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex 1.</td>
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<td>22.7</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Expatriate M. | 23.2% | 21.3 | 25.0% | 23.0% |
| Sexen Noon   | 26.8 | 22.9 | 19.4 | 14.4 |

Any person not of the village but living there for some months agrees with Sexen custom or not. All men believe as he thinks is in accord with Sexen custom or not. A man believes as he thinks is in accord with Sexen custom or not. As entitled men believe as he thinks is right even though it is not in accord with Sexen custom or not.
teachers are almost equally divided in their acceptance or reluctance to accept the principle of individual autonomy and equal behavioural rights.

The responses to the principle of autonomy, as best exemplified when the actor is unqualified, exhibit the same pattern of responses that has characterized most of the other attitudinal clusters. The secondary school and department respondents, the more highly educated, the overseas traveller and the older teachers, for the most part, show the strongest approval. The responses of these groups are more nearly the same across the three items, thereby indicating acceptance of equal behavioural rights.

There is slightly less approval for the taluiele's but his action is expressed more as a direct confrontation with fa'a Samoa and so this slight drop could be predicted and may not reflect a real difference in the behavioural rights accorded to him.

The reaction to the natai as actor presents two important differences. The more educated and the older Samoan teachers approve less of natai freedom of action than those of lower education and age. The former are also the people
who approved less of the matai system (Figure 13). These results are in keeping with the comments of some educated young people that they had no desire to be 'encumbered' by a title and those of an older respondent who, having just stated categorically that a man should always do as he believes is right, added that the matai, having accepted a position of responsibility must accept the responsibilities that went with it. Traditionally, a matai has a considerable amount of freedom of action, and his desire to go outside the few boundaries he has may well lead to exploitation of the people. Secondly, the bulk of the indigenous teachers do not appear to regard the matai as being on the same behavioural level as other people.

The expatriate response resembles that of the secondary school teachers and department members, except that it gives greater support to the right of the untitled man to independent action.

A fourth item, designed to illustrate whether some measure of behavioural rights could be extended to non-village members, was strongly approved. In view of the ease with which a person can become a village member, it is possible
that this item is not as useful as it at first seemed. In fact, the weaker approval recorded by the European group and the more educated Sasanian teachers seems to indicate that this item represented to them rather more of an extension of Sasanian custom than a modification of it, especially in view of the strength of the attitude favouring equal behavioural rights expressed by these two groups on the other three items in this cluster.

_Inquiring and Critical Outlook, (Figure 15.)_

An inquiring and critical outlook within the education setting is given approval by all sections of the teaching population. There is strong approval for the pupil action and less approval for the teacher action. It is reasonable to expect, of course, that this would be an inflated expression of support, as the content of these items is likely to have been stressed by the education department in teaching method courses, social studies and the like, but this is a point that will be discussed later.

The next five items in this cluster have less face validity as measures of the attitude under consideration un-
### Figure 15. Inquiring and Critical Outlook

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Value(s)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| An untitled man behaves as he thinks is right even though it is not in accord with Samoan custom. | 14.4\
<p>| Expatiate in.              | 23.0     | 27.0                       | 28.4                       |
| Origin T.T.C.              | 14.9XX   | 23.1X                      | 27.6                       |
| 1.                           | 22.7     | 22.9                       | 28.3                       |
| 2.                           | 13.6     | 25.7                       | 28.3                       |
| B.                           | 21.8     | 28.0                       |                            |
| F. 1.                       | 13.9X    | 25.5                       | 28.4                       |
| 2.                           | 19.1     | 24.9                       | 27.7                       |
| Travel 1.                   | 13.9XX   | 25.8                       | 28.1                       |
| 2.                           | 19.2     | 25.0                       | 27.8                       |
| Age 1.                      | 14.2     | 25.5                       | 28.1                       |
| 2.                           | 15.3     | 25.9                       | 28.3                       |
| 3.                           | 20.0     | 26.1                       | 27.6                       |
| Sex 1.                      | 15.6X    | 24.0                       | 27.5                       |
| 2.                           | 13.3     | 25.2                       | 28.4                       |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Eastern State</th>
<th>The Second Government</th>
<th>Metni</th>
<th>Year Village</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Season Mean</td>
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<td>25.6*</td>
<td>27.0*</td>
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<td>26.0*</td>
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<tr>
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<td>27.1</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
less the traditional Samoan reluctance to make or accept overt inquiry or criticisms of the existing situation is taken into account. It can reasonably be expected that in any country where a proportion of the populating is enquiring and critical there will be some reserve in attitude towards the major social institutions. The validity of this assumption is demonstrated by the rather dramatic way in which the results, shown in Figures 14 and 15, conform to the expected pattern of response. Increase in travel experience, education and age are associated with the kind of reserve that indicates criticism and/or inquiry. Differences in these major variables have been marked enough to sometimes cut across the origin categories, although where this happens the differences are not statistically significant and do not affect the relative position of the secondary school teachers. Education has a particularly marked effect, with age and travel, in strengthening the expression of a critical outlook.

Although approving of these Samoan institutions, the expatriate group are considerably more critical than the indigenous group, a result which is easily predictable, not only because the European teachers are expected to be more
development oriented as a group, but in this case, simply because it is easier for foreigners to be aware of weaknesses in another system or to dislike a strange system.

The interrelationships existing amongst these items indicate that there is some concept of the socio-political system that is being expressed as was intended and not just specific responses to a specific matai or village.

The acceptance of dissent and tolerance for criticism, although not exactly the reverse side of the coin of an inquiring and critical outlook, can also be measured by some of these items. Because it is the teachers themselves who are approving of the pupil disputing the 'facts' they are registering in strength the acceptance of dissent. The same doubt about the inflation of response to this item is raised, however. The item 'An untitled man behaves as he thinks is right even though it is not in accord with Samoan custom' tends to reinforce this suspicion of inflation. The untitled man, in acting this way, is dissenting from his accepted role and the results clearly show that the bulk of teacher opinion is opposed to this. It is also shown, however, that marked inroads upon this unfavourable attitude are made possible by
increased education, overseas travel and, less markedly, by age. Department members and secondary teachers have clearly indicated that they are willing to accept this form of dissent, as have the expatriate teachers.

**An Interest in Non-Traditional Forms of Investment.**
(Figure 16.)

One form of non-traditional investment is strongly supported by all groups within the teaching service. It is tourism. The tourist trade has been functioning in Western Samoa in a small but successful way for a considerable number of years now, and has benefited those who have invested however small the investment, and however socially and economically unimportant the investor.

A second type of investment, that of private enterprise instead of working for the government, drew a more cautious and hence mixed response. Many attempts to begin a personal business, or a private group enterprise, have ended in bankruptcy besides which, working for the government has connotations of security of tenure and of prestige.

Travel is the only variable that appears to add signif-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Tourism</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Student Mean</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expatriate Mean</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>22.4</td>
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<td>S.S.</td>
<td>18.9</td>
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<td>P.S.</td>
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<td>A.</td>
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<td>B.</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>26.5</td>
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<td>C.</td>
<td>21.5</td>
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<td>Travel 1.</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>23.8</td>
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<td>Age 1.</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>21.4</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
icantly to the approval for this form of investment. Again it is the trainee teachers who take the most conservative stand, but, although not surprisingly, it is the primary teachers who combine with the high school teachers in being more development oriented. These are the people who have been immersed in government service and perhaps see that it does not bring the rapid promotion and prestige that the general population expect a 'government job' to carry.

The expatriate teachers differ significantly on one of the items in this cluster. They are less approving of tourism. There may well be an element of protectionism in this expatriate attitude in view of the fact that they were also less approving of a stranger taking part in the village council. Private business investment is more strongly supported by this group, however.

**Attitudes Towards Learning.** (Figure 17.)

The concept 'school' was included in this group of items as a point of comparison, the results being, of course, highly favourable amongst all groups.

There is a matrix of intercorrelations between the other
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>You go to school</th>
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<td>to get passes in</td>
<td>27.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>to earn more</td>
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<td>external exams -</td>
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<td>money later,</td>
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<td>jobs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Season Exam</td>
<td>20.0**</td>
<td>23.1**</td>
<td>24.1**</td>
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<tr>
<td>Expatriate Em.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Origin F.T.</td>
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<td>25.5</td>
<td>23.9</td>
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<td>27.7</td>
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<td>25.2**</td>
<td>20.16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Travel 1.</td>
<td>27.9**</td>
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<td>2.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age 1.</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>27.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>27.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sex 1.</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>26.2**</td>
<td>25.5**</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>25.3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The order of importance of the items is:

1. You go to school to get a good job.
2. You go to school to earn more money later.
3. You go to school to get passes in external examinations.

All the items contain important reasons to go to school but none are sufficient reasons. From the sonower point of view and from the point of view of learning, the desire to
get a good job is more significant than the others. The individual profit motive is important to some of the universal characteristics such as the production of excess and the accumulation of individual and group wealth. It is, however, not a particularly healthy aspect of a 'desire to learn'. To get passes in external examinations, while unfortunately a necessary prerequisite to access to higher education and therefore important, is an extremely limited aim in respect to learning, and one which, it is hypothesized, probably does more harm than good to the quality of education if it is held in strength.

The expatriate group, approving of all three aims, but with some reserve, has ranked the aims in the above order. The Sasanian group, while strongly supporting the desire to learn for a good job, ranks passes in external examinations above earning more money later, and gives it very strong support. Modifications to the strength in the importance attached to passing examinations occurs with increasing education, travel and age, but is particularly marked when education and travel experience occur together. (Figure 18, 19.) Origin plays no significant part in the modifications of this attitudinal cluster but the typical pattern is still
discernible.

No absolute assessment of the state of attitudes necessary for development in relation to the education system of Western Samoa has been attempted in the discussion of results, and indeed, no absolute is possible. It has been hypothesized that certain attitudes that could bring about the universal characteristics of development are relatively weak in Western Samoa. The expressed attitudes of three minority groups have supported this contention, at least as it applies to the attitudes that were chosen for investigation. The first such group are expatriate teachers who have not only come from advanced countries but have, in the main, a high level of education, extensive (by the standards of the variable travel as used in the analysis of the indigenous teachers' responses) travel experience, and are in general more development oriented than the bulk of teachers. Within the Samoan group the two minority groups, high school teachers and department members are usually more development oriented, though often less so than the expatriates. It suggests that the majority of teachers are less development oriented than their leaders, and in some cases
lack of this orientation is cause for concern. There is, for example, a heavy examination orientation in the learning situation which, since only 3% of pupils enrolled in Western Samoan schools ever sit for New Zealand School Certificate, the first major external examination, is very alarming. Very strong support is given to the traditional social structure with its basic institutions, the matai system, age relationships and village organization, which does not bode well for the reasoned and orderly modification required in the social system for the achievement of individual autonomy, social mobility, acculturation and other related universal characteristics.

Rather it seems likely that the teaching about Samoa and its history and customs may be inclined to take the form of the idealization of the 'golden age' rather than be inquiring and critical, and hence constructive.

It appears too, that some forms of nepotism with the consequent failing to allow for the acceptance of various differentiations in human activity is still quite widespread within the education system. The impersonalization of relationships cannot be achieved in any significant degree
while nepotism is still operating with some force.

The desire for change, needed to effect the orderly and rapid achievement of the universal characteristics, is only very weakly expressed, and this is especially so when compared with the strength of the approval given to the existing custom and with the trend evidenced throughout the attitude scale, for development attitudes to become weaker where it meant a conflict with fa'a Samoa, as for example, with the work related attitudes.

THE EDUCATIVE AND NON EDUCATIVE VARIABLES.

Origin.

A pattern of responses according to origin has already been discussed. The department members and high school teachers, both very small groups in terms of number but very important in terms of influence, are more nearly alike and usually more modern in attitude. Although only ten of the twenty-eight items used gave statistically significant differences for origin in all but four items of the twenty-eight this pattern was maintained for the department staff. Three of the four such items were the social institutions of
matel, some and village systems. Since many of the people
concerned would have held titles and or positions of res-
ponsibility within the villages and their kin groups this
response is understandable. The fourth deviation, where
minimum approval is given to the man preferring his own
business to government service has already been discussed.

The high school teachers also deviated from their
position on only four items. They are less severe on ab-
senteeism by the boss, upon lateness and not working so hard,
but they are still strongly disapproving there being little
difference in the absolute scores. In the fourth case they
are less approving of high school teachers' encouraging
pupils to form their own opinions about the Samoan way of
life. Possibly it was not the principle that caused the
lowering of the score but that some teachers saw this as
being outside the scope of their duties. It is still a
disappointing deviation, however, if these teachers are to
play a full role in the quality of education for development.
Na'ia'i's point, that if teachers are to take the role of
developers of attitude they must first see themselves in this
role, is well taken.
The higher development orientation of these two groups is both desirable and to be expected. Department members are usually selected for their abilities in teaching and in the quality of their ideas and, as it seems in this case, for their progressiveness. High school teachers are more highly educated than their colleagues in the teaching service and, in the case of Western Samoa, are more likely to have travelled overseas. This finding is in keeping with earlier claims for the part that teacher attitude plays in the development of pupil attitude. The Koff and van der Muhl study showed that it was in the secondary school that deviations from the traditional attitude were to be found.

Teacher trainees appear to be the most poorly equipped with the development oriented attitudes. Traditionally, young people on the threshold of competing for positions of responsibility were anxious to excel at conformity in order to be thought suitable to lead in the preservation and extension of the prestige of the group. Yet in developing countries the expectation is that motivation for change will come from the youth, and the apparent lack of modern attitudes by these young teachers may be a serious problem. Certainly it is a phenomenon that needs a careful and critical examination.
Education.

Where education appears to play a significant role as a cause of difference in attitude it clearly operates towards their modernization. Such a role becomes clear in only four of the nine attitudes examined above, somewhat less than might have been expected from it. The four attitudes are those towards education, equal behavioural rights, an inquiring and critical outlook and desire for change.

A closer examination of the education variable in relation to these four suggests that the modernization effect tends to be bringing dissatisfaction rather than the more positive aspects. For example, in the response to the items measuring desire for change and in inquiring and critical outlook the educational 'highs' are more critical of the existing institutions in relation to the educational 'lows' than they are in favour of innovation. Their rather more marked reserve towards the natal, village and nipa systems are not matched by a more marked desire for modernized work attitudes or for the use of legal and achievement norms. But their reaction to the purpose of education shows a reserve about the value of examination orientation and it could
be hypothesized that the 'highs' although aware of the weaknesses in the status quo have no understanding of why there are weaknesses and what could be done to overcome them.

The division into two categories, however, gives a rather crude index of the role of education. More information about it can be gained from the responses of the secondary school teachers who have, in the main, received some tertiary education. Most of these teachers, however, have also travelled overseas in order to attend tertiary institutions which often accounts for the very marked travel and education interactions that have occurred in some responses.

**Travel.**

Overseas travel, limited though the experience may have been, is the most powerful variable examined in this study for the modernization of attitudes, and is further evidence of the place of acculturation as a universal characteristic of development.

Statistical significance is not shown for differences in attitude on only three of the nine attitudes under dis-
cussion and in these three, the use of achievement norms, interest in non-traditional forms of investment and regular work habits, the scores still show this difference.

More detailed study of this variable, as for example, a qualitative analysis of what it is about foreign travel that is effecting the change, is needed before this finding can lead to a full examination of implications for the upgrading of quality in education in Western Samoa. Some pertinent questions can and will be raised and hypotheses made nevertheless.

Age.

Increase in the age of teachers emerges as a variable in attitude development in some areas. No relationship is evident in attitude development for the desire of change, work honesty, the use of legal norms or interest in non-traditional investment. A clear relationship exists for regular work habits, an inquiring and critical outlook and equal behavioural rights. It appears as though the average elder is aware of some of the limitations of the existing Samoan situation while still desiring the 'social security' benefits, such as being extended credit when one is a credit
risk, that are inherent in it. They do, however, strongly appreciate the need to work hard and regularly.

Possibly with greater age and greater authority within the traditional system being synonymous, the older teachers are able to look at it more critically than their younger colleagues. Stronger approval for hard and regular work could well be a function of teaching experience which shows that such effort is not only necessary but brings results within the teaching service, refresher courses or other forms of pressure from the department. At least it would be advantageous for an employing body to so evaluate its measures to improve quality and to achieve it cost efficiently.

Sex.

No discussion of this variable has so far been undertaken because, where there has been any differentiation of note in attitude according to sex it operates in the same direction. On the average, the male teacher is more development oriented than the female teacher.
**Siblings.**

The kind of familial structure that exists in Western Samoa was expected to render non-operative the number of siblings in the family as a source of variance in the area of this study, but in view of the importance it sometimes assumes in more sociological and psychological studies in advanced societies, it was decided to make an analysis of variance for it. The expectation was confirmed. Only one item[^1] had a statistically significant difference and in terms of the variable appears to be meaningless. Such a result could well have been due to chance.

**IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION IN WESTERN SAMOA.**

Before implications may be drawn from these findings it is necessary to explore just what it is that a score on the attitude scale might mean, for it can no longer be accepted that a verbalized attitude is a measure of attitude.

[^1]: 15

It would be futile to try to decide whether the score represents alto or other oriented attitudes for, most often, such differentiation would add nothing significant to the
obtained results. Responses on a few items are likely to be inflated by being consciously department oriented, such as hard and regular work and the classroom based critical inquiry items because these both feature in department policy. For one item in particular there is some evidence to support this belief. Many respondents wanted to be reassured that the item "A pupil questions the accuracy of something taught in schools" actually meant what it said. It was, however, the only item that occasioned more than an isolated comment.

There are three reasons for believing the results to be useful measures upon which to base conclusions:

1. While some individual scores could represent distortion they are likely to do so towards the general feelings within the population. A mean score usually reflects this core of common feeling anyway.

2. Even if verbal material does not parallel the behavioural attitude it must be remembered that in the classroom such teacher behaviour is verbally expressed.

3. Nothing was at stake for the teachers. Anonymity was given and the items were generally not of a contentious nature. Such comments as were made upon the reception
of the scale by those who took it, and by others who knew people who took it, all supported this point.

It must also be remembered that only one aspect of educational quality is represented here, and presumably one that would lose its meaning, drawing forth responses to please the scale administrators, if anything important for the individual did depend upon the outcome. It cannot, therefore, be overtly used as part of teacher assessment or trainee selection.

Some of the findings of this study support an hypothesis that there is a correlation between this level and the classroom level of quality.

1. The amount of education teachers have had, assumed to be an important factor in teaching ability as illustrated in the moves to continually increase the minimum educational qualification, is also associated with an increase in the intensity of the development attitudes. This is especially evident with secondary school teachers.

2. People in the highest and most prestigious positions in the teaching service, the department members, chosen amongst other things for their classroom ability, also
have greater development orientation in their attitudes than the majority of teachers.

3. Expatriate teachers, used to help raise the quality of education in Western Samoa until sufficient teachers can become highly educated and trained, have markedly development oriented attitudes.

A third point to bear in mind is that these findings are still at a gross level of differentiation. Their principal use should be to give direction as to which areas of the total field of the investigation are the most profitable to investigate in depth. Such implications as are drawn will, therefore, be rather sure in the form of questions than of definitive statements, although some suggestions as to answers will also be made.

Implications for Organization.

1. Does responsibility, as suggested, might have contributed towards the more favourable attitudes of department members and older teachers, increase the awareness of the need for development attitudes? Responsibility within an organization operating upon principles that are modern would represent a
perceived real change in the external situation thereby making such attitudes both relevant and rational. If so, how can the system incorporate more responsibility for the classroom teacher into the everyday running of the school? One possibility lies in the evaluation and promotion of children, not only from class to class, but also between the various levels of education. Group discussions between teachers and heads of schools resulting in recommendations for selections to high school can gradually come to replace the present heavy emphasis upon examinations. In this way, quality at the level that has been investigated here, can be considered along with that at the classroom level. The existing system of selection for the government high schools, with the results of increasing education and the responses of young people being less favourable than was expected, would appear to need some such modification.

4. The results show that many teachers are still dominated by traditional 

sino and village claims. What support and encouragement need the system build in to enable the teacher not only to want, but also to be able, to differentiate his obligations to his employers from those to his village?

would, for example, the placement of teachers in villages
where they have little or no close connections be supportive of the development of this ability to differentiate? Observation, both within classrooms and in the village, in the absence of formal, standardized instruments, is a useful evaluative technique that can readily be applied to investigate the best use of teacher placement for the maximum utilization of teacher ability and attitude. Some controlled experimentation as to whether teacher placement itself, or perhaps a system of personal application by teachers as operates in New Zealand, is most advantageous for the development of teacher morale and quality in education could be set up.

3. There is a need for the department to continually express and manifest in its organization the universal characteristics as were discussed in Chapter 4 in order to make the development attitudes more rational than conflicting and mutually exclusive traditional ones.

Implications for the Content of Education.

There are two facets to this aspect of education: a communications problem and the width and depth of experiences provided.
1. How can communication best be effected between people who have different values and attitudes? The fact that this is a very real problem in Western Samoa is easily illustrated by means of the aims of the social studies curriculum in its concern with values and attitudes. The second of the Values of Concern as stated in the curriculum is:

"That it is important to behave well towards other people in the family, school and village, and always to act in a way you believe to be right."16

On the attitude scale almost half of the teachers in Western Samoa disapprove of the widespread application of this principle expressed in the last part of the Concern. The primary teachers, with whom the curriculum is mainly concerned, are the strongest opposers.

Three solutions to the problem of the communication of the department and its members appear within the text of the social studies curriculum itself. The first is the preparation of supplementary material, background information for the teacher, and teaching aids. Such material was to provide suggestions for teaching method, and to enrich the width and depth of experience for class and teachers. Suggestions as to how this could be done using existing department resources
are also included. Secondly, it is suggested that two or three teachers be trained as specialists in the new curriculum who will have a peripatetic, teacher advisory and teacher supportive role. A third suggestion was for special instruction at teacher refresher courses. When these suggestions can be implemented, the value of the social studies curriculum will be enhanced.

In addition to the problem of communication with teachers, there is one of communication with pupils when, as must often be the case as teachers modify their attitudes, teacher attitudes are different from those that are being learnt by the child outside the school. Some general comments have been made about this problem, and particularly with reference to teaching method.\(^\text{17}\)

2. In the experiences provided by the curriculum, is Sasa being presented in schools with a realistic and/or world perspective? For example, are the problems, some of which are mentioned in Chapter 6, being honestly put, and solutions alternative to traditional ones, as international travellers from Sasa can see and experience in operation, being discussed? One of the Concerns of the social studies curriculum
for primary and district high schools is:

"That all people no matter where they may live, what religion they may follow, what language they speak, what colour or race they may be, or what customs they practice are human beings with similar desires, hopes, feelings and needs but often different ways of meeting them."  

Such concern appears to be reflected in the content of the curriculum but cannot be achieved without taking some of the measures mentioned above. Width may be achieved without understanding being increased.

The science curriculum that has recently been constructed for Forms I-IV incorporates experiences that it is hoped will bring about some of the developmental attitudes through the use of critical inquiry focuses upon the local situation. Learning to challenge or investigate with an open mind what is not recognized as being one's own situation is not necessarily learning not to accept blindly.

Two areas of curriculum have been adapted to the Samoan situation for the primary school, but that of the high school. Samoanization of the high school appears to be necessary, if
difficult to effect in view of the tie with New Zealand or British school certificates for entrance to higher education. However, these need not be insurmountable difficulties because:

(a) New Zealand University Entrance examination is now being taken in Western Samoa and a different examination structure is now possible. For example, an indigenous examination after three years of high school could replace the present four year course for New Zealand School Certificate with two years further education still being available for preparation for the University Entrance examination.

(b) The recent changes in structure of the New Zealand School Certificate from the pass or fail situation to a system where all results of each paper are given in marks allows for greater flexibility. Students can now take as few as one subject from New Zealand and have Samoan subjects as well. Some possibilities are:

(i) that students take one, two or any other combination of subjects from New Zealand as well as Samoan oriented courses, while selected students do the
full N.Z.S.C. or G.C.E. programme.

(ii) that the taking of N.Z.S.C. be staggered over two or three years so that Samoan relevant material can be included.

3. The University of the South Pacific is open to negotiation for the acceptance of indigenous or part indigenous and part New Zealand qualifications as presumably, are the New Zealand universities. The Western Samoan accountancy courses have succeeded in obtaining professional recognition in New Zealand.

Proposals such as these need time, money and specialist personnel to effect, but international aid such as was obtained for the construction of the new science curriculum, is often available for concrete proposals for the improvement of education.

Implications Concerning the Use of Expatriate Teachers.

Differences in values and attitudes between expatriate teachers and those of the children they teach are likely to cause a communication problem that may do much to diminish the significance of the fact that these teachers tend to be
more development oriented than the indigenous teachers. Familiarization classes are a possibility that could profitably be implemented without additional cost, though not without effort and interest, if this problem was carefully examined by the expatriate employers in conjunction with Samoan educators.

Implications for Teacher Training.

Two types of teacher training will be discussed; training for those entering the profession and additional training for practising teachers.

1. In relation to other groups within the teaching service the trainees appear in the most unfavourable position. Most of the comments that have been made above about the organization and content of education are also applicable to the Teachers' Training College.

One phenomenon that occurred frequently in the data sheets at the end of the scripts suggests that there is an urgent need to develop opportunities for responsibility within the college. The question 'What school did you attend?' frequently elicited the response 'Teacher Training College'.
It appears likely that students are conceptualizing themselves as still part of the traditional hierarchy where they receive from above and impart to those below. The creation of a non-school atmosphere may well aid the development of trainees and young teachers.

An implication arising from this point is that attempts to build an appreciation of the concepts and structure of the subjects rather than emphasis upon the techniques of teaching the subject, that is, teacher education rather than teacher training, may be a more profitable approach. While 'tram line' guidance for teachers may have been essential to get the indigenous system of education functioning, this need has ceased to be dominant.19

4. Training for practising teachers takes one of two forms and preferably both.

(a) Peripatetic subject specialists and district inspectors20 act as advisors and as liaison officers between the department and the classroom teacher. This method of training teachers is already operating in Western Samoa. There is, as appears to be the case in every country, need for some of these people but in Samoa the special need is for the subject specialists.
A district inspector cannot be expected to become a subject matter expert in all fields. The nature of his job, which involves visiting each school in his area at least once a month, does not allow for the continuous, consolidating re-training that a subject specialist is able to achieve.

Financial difficulties and a decrease in the number of expatriate teachers have posed a problem, but the need for a re-emphasis towards the training and use of specialists is evident. This finding is supported by the comment of the UNESCO Science Advisor in a report arising from an intensive investigation into the functioning of the basic science programme:

"It is considered, however, a short term view to remove the Samoan counterpart from the Science Project .......... he had, on all evidence, been a considerable asset in all parts of development and progress." 

(b) Teachers' refresher courses are a common phenomenon in Western Samoa. The important question with these is how can they be evaluated? With so few peripatetic staff available a heavy burden is laid upon the refresher course. Evaluation needs to include attitude modification, especially as expressed in more sensitive interpretation of curriculum mater-
ial and the development of concepts rather than efforts at evaluation without reference to changes in teaching quality back in the classroom. Methods by which such evaluation can be achieved are seen as one of the most urgent needs revealed in this investigation. With many teachers in the system exhibiting attitudes that are not strongly conducive to development peripatetic teachers and refresher courses are the means by which exposure to new concepts and hence modified attitudes can be brought about. Where resources are scarce the most efficient use of them must clearly be impartially and thoroughly investigated.

SUMMARY OF MAJOR IMPLICATIONS.

Research in depth is urgently needed into:

1. The promotion of children from class to class and between levels of education particularly where selection is involved.

2. The placement of teachers with morale and efficiency as the key areas of concern.

3. The most efficient use of refresher courses for primary school teachers, and the development of effective methods of evaluation of such courses, both with explicit refer-
ence to attitudinal outcomes.

4. The most efficient teaching method for the communication of attitudes:
   (a) to teachers, and
   (b) from teachers to children.

5. The most suitable content and supportive materials that will be effective in developing and reinforcing modern attitudes with particular reference to the high schools. This includes investigation into the use (or non-use) of external examinations with reference to the achievement of quality in the greatest number of pupils.

6. The communication problems of expatriate teachers and the development of orientation courses for them.

7. Selection procedures for entrance to the teachers' college.

8. The balance between personal education and training within the teachers' training college course.
NOTES (Chapter 7.)

1. Two teachers from other Pacific Islands were included in the indigenous category.

2. Passes in the Samoan Public Service Examination, which some teachers had secured by part time study, were included in this category.

3. Travel to American Samoa was not allowed as 'foreign' because of the similar traditional social structure between the Two Samoas.

4. The statistical procedure used for the analysis of variance is the least-squares procedure described by Snedecor. (Snedecor, G. W., (5th ed. 1956). Statistical Method. Ames Iowa: Iowa State College Press.) Because of unequal numbers in cells an estimate is made of what the mean score for each category would have been had the numbers been equal. Thus each mean represents an approximation which is likely to vary slightly as the data are categorized in different ways.

5. It is important to reiterate at this point that rationality is not involved in the measurement. Village life and participation in it is still vitally important for most Samoans.

6. Ibid. pp199.

7. The intercorrelations between items support this point.

    | Correlations | Indigenous | Exatriate |
    |--------------|------------|-----------|
    | A matai behaves x A taule'ale'a behaves | .0 | .7 |
    | A matai behaves x A man behaves | .0 | .5 |
    | A taule'ale'a behaves x A man behaves | .7 | .7 |

8. Ibid. pp277.
9. The correlations are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indigenous</th>
<th>Expatriate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matai x aiga</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matai x village</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village x aiga</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Samoa x Samoan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. In Western Samoa a government job has connotations of a clerical or administrative post and in this situation an interest in private enterprise is not traditional nor a usual method of investment.


12. Some anomalies with individual items occur and they were mentioned as each item was discussed, as for example on pp254.


14. 'Tourism'.

15. Ibid pp41.

16. Social Studies Syllabus, Infants to Form IV, Department of Education, Western Samoa. The underlining is mine.

17. Ibid pp166.


19. Teacher training began with students from Standard 4 classes. The new minimum qualification is now three years high school education. The achievement in the development of high schools has been extremely rapid.
20. These inspectors are not all directly concerned with grading and are, therefore, able to act as advisors.

Chapter 8 - IN CONCLUSION

The setting up of the model of development in both its physical and psychological aspects and the practical applications of the model in Western Samoa was intended, not to prove the empirically based theory, but rather to demonstrate that it is a useful concept for the basis of a preliminary investigation of quality in education in developing countries. The nature of the problem has been set out in such a way that the extent of the problem can be investigated in any specific situation. Such investigation at the gross and general level that has been developed here will, at best, indicate the areas within a particular system that can most profitably be examined in depth.

A number of points of general significance have emerged, however:

1. The role of education is clearly more extensive than most studies of development and education have allowed. Human resource development, at present the principal area of focus in educational planning, if the link between the observable characteristics and the attitudinal dimension are real, may be limiting the possibilities for development that
can accrue through long term planning. Of necessity, such planning must incorporate both these aspects if even the human resource targets are to be met.

A new dimension is thus added to the problem of balance between quantity and quality in educational development. There is a need to investigate the minimum level of education below which there is little chance of producing quality in its fullest sense in order to decide upon:

(a) the minimum qualification for teachers,

(b) the minimum amount of education, given the quality of the teachers and other factors within the system, that is needed if education can legitimately be regarded as an investment deserving priority in allocation of scarce resources, and

(c) arising from the above two points, the priorities in educational planning.

Educational expansion that involves the use of teachers below the minimum qualification and an increase in enrolment that will, through resource limitations, involve the teaching of pupils for a period insufficient for any meaningful education to have been effected is creating its own problems of wastage.
3. Localization of the curriculum and the type of education to be given are raised as important issues. Modification of existing attitudes is likely to take place only if there is some new perception of the pupil's environment to make them appear inadequate.

4. Exposure to acculturating influences, as in prolonged travel, is a powerful means of modifying attitudes. Three significant issues arise from this point:

(a) The learning of a foreign language is important in countries that do not have an established body of literature, text books, films and the like, in conjunction with a localized curriculum incorporating a width and depth of experience.

(b) Overseas scholarships and exchange of students and teachers probably have important roles for a longer period in the process of development than is often thought.

(c) Tertiary education and teacher education in developing countries might best be carried out in institutions drawing students from a range of ethnic, national and tribal origins. Colleges that are the joint responsibility of two or more territories may
be more profitable educationally than those
designed exclusively for a particular territory,
or for a particular minority or majority group
within it.

5. The extent and the nature of the contribution of many
factors of quality in education are, as yet, not clearly
defined. Constant evaluation of the elements within the
education system, especially in the area of quality which
is difficult to observe and assess, is imperative. Changes
that are injected into a system must be carefully and con-
tinually assessed with reference to the qualitative dimension.
Thus the shortcomings inherent in drawing implications from
broad, general overviews of the kind undertaken here, can be
gradually identified and overcome.

6. Finally, the study has shown that there is a multitude
of general, theoretical, empirical and experimental investiga-
tions relating to education and development, and it is
profitable to collate and integrate these as a vital pre-
requisite to co-ordinated empirical research. This is not,
however, a substitute for empirical research. The value of
macro studies lies in their being able to shed some light
upon the extent and complexity of the problem and to indicate the areas that need intensive investigation.
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APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

THE ATTITUDE SCALES AS THEY APPEARED TO THE PARTICIPANTS

Four forms were employed and they appear below in the following order:

- Samoan Script, Form A
- Samoan Script, Form B
- English Script, Form A
- English Script, Form B

In each case the instructions and the data sheets were included, but for obvious reasons, they are printed with the A Forms only here.

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1 Going to a typist's error a small number of items in the Samoan Script were given scales with six spaces instead of the required five. As time and finance did not allow for a reprinting the sixth space was filled in and participants warned to ignore it. The error is not reproduced here since it is not information which has significant relevance to the study.
O se vaega tua lelei o se mataupu nataou te fa'amomoe o le a fa'amomoi xe a'os'e'aga i Samoa i Sigilo. O le sutui o lelei su'e'aga, o le famaletona o leu laiona i mataupu ua ta'ua i lalo. Ui fa'amomoi o, ine ia fa'aalaite mo sai ou sataupa, sa le talitona o le a fa'salia i se tasi, o le ma lea ua rua ai ona fautua atu ai, ine ia le tuia iou suania i su o se vaega o le pepe.

O le se sili ona tasi, ia ma sai lea tali sa o i fa'sili ua tuaia. I le asataga o itua tu'a taitasi o lo'o i ai se mataupu e ao ina faitaia ina le fa'aavatea. I lalo i'e o lo'o i ai lii o sanatu fa'a'afagai. Fa'amoga le lii ua suania, e fa'salia ai ou sanatu i astaupu ta'itasi.

O se fa'aata'ita'iga lelei:
Afa i ua e laiona o le mataupu ua fa'salia ua le le o le sanatu suamua, ona e tasi ina lea o se vai o ma le fa'amomina.

tatau : / / / / / / / / / / : le tatau
Afa i le tatau sa le sanatu sulisuli, ona e tasi ina le fa'a'apens

A teu istalata i le sanatu suamua ona e tasi ina le fa'a'apens

tatau : / / / / / / / / : le tatau
Le a teu istalata i le sanatu sulisuli ona e tasi ina le fa'a'apens

Afa'i e le fetaui se manatu ma le mataupu o lo'o ileiloina, ia fa'ailoaga lau tali i le avaoa tutotou.

tatau : ___ : ___ : / : ___ : le tatau
Taumafai ona hautu ou mafaufauga, ina ia le fa'asogaina le avaoa tutotou.

TAUA:

Tautuana ma oe ia tu'u tonu lau tali (✓) i totonuga lemu o le avaoa sa'o

: ___ : ___ : / : ___ : Fa'aspea

: ___ : ___ : / : ___ : sua le Fa'aspea

E tatau ona e tali uma ia fesili. 'Aua ne'i tu'us se fesili e tasi.

'Aua fo'i ne'i sili atu i lo le tasi se tali o se fesili. Taumafai ia pu'upu'u le taimi e te fa'asogaina i leni su'esu'ega. 'Aua le fa'asaluvalotina le taimi i se fesili e tasi. O le manatu suamua lava e tau i ai lou mafaufau, o le sea lena e mana'ona. Ae fa'amolemoa tali fa'asete, manatua e mana'ona loa lagena sa'o i le mataupu.
Form A:

Item 1:

Fa'amalosia le o tamaiti i le a'oga.

alailu i luma: aga'i i tua
le tsua: tsua
atamai: valea
lelei: leaga
le aoga: aoga
ta'uleaga'ina: ta'ulelele

2. I ma'ai ona fai o se pisinisi a le toga i lave i se le fia
galue no le nało.

alailu i luma: aga'i i tua
tsua: le tsua

alailu i luma: aga'i i tua
tsua: le tsua

alailu i luma: aga'i i tua
tsua: le tsua

In the original script only one item appeared on each page.
3. Fa toaina o se tagata se vaega o lona totogi i le fa′le teatupe i le toto gi ta′itiai.

alalu i luma: aga′i i tua

taua: le taua

vaivali: malosi

taua: le tauapulea

leaga: lelei

atena: valoa

4. Aganu′u ma to fa′u-Saroa.

leaga: lelei

taua: le taua

alalu i luma: aga′i i tua

sega: le sega

ta′uleagaina: ta′uleleia

feita′aga′i: fa′alefani
5. Ua fa'atomu e le Malo le fono a lo'ua nu'a.

feitaga'i:________: fealofani
mataala:________: paie
aga'i i tua:________: alualu i luma
mantu:________: le mantu
taua:________: le taua
leaga:________: lelei

6. O le a'oka'ina o aataupa tau - Samoa i a'oga.

alualu i luma:________: aga'i i tua
le taua:________: taua
atamai:________: valea
lelei:________: leaga
le aoga:________: aoga
taule'againa:________: ta'ulele'ia
7. O se tagata i se ofina o le malo ua taumafai le mana uma e lona nu'u mea lelei.

mama : _____________: 'ele'elea
le mana'onia : _____________: mana'onia
lelei : _____________: leaga
malosi : _____________: vaiva'i
tatau : _____________: le tatau
valea : _____________: atamai

8. Oa ita le puie i le tia'i galuega o le tagata faigaluega ona o mea fa'a le nu'u.

tatau : _____________: le tatau
lelei : _____________: leaga
valea : _____________: atamai
ta'uleleia : _____________: taule'againe
'ehe'elea : _____________: mama
soga : _____________: le soga
3. ʻO le amanaʻia e loʻu muʻu le faʻatonuga mai le Fono a Faipule ona e le soga tonu mo le muʻu.

feitagaʻi: fealofani
mataala: paie
agaʻi i tua: abalu i luma
mautu: le maunu
taua: le taua
leaga: lelei

10. ʻO faasileiga e se taumatiiti sʻoga le toni sa le faʻamaoni o mea na aʻoga a i le sʻoga.

abalu i luma: agaʻi i tua
le taua: taua
atamai: valea
lelei: leaga
le soga: soga
taʻuleaga: taʻulelei
11. Ua fa'atagaina e le faatasoloa se 'aitalafa a lang co e ui lava ina lautipona o le a le totogina.

maua : __________: _________: _________: 'ele'elea
le mana'ona : __________: _________: _________: mana'ona
lei : __________: _________: _________: leaga
malosi : __________: _________: _________: vaivai
tatau : __________: _________: _________: le tatau
va'a : __________: _________: _________: stmai

12. Ua paiota se taule'a no sui o le Fono a Faipule.

feita'agi : __________: _________: _________: falo'afe
mataala : __________: _________: _________: paie
aga'i i tua : __________: _________: _________: alualu i lua
sautu : __________: _________: _________: le sautu
taua : __________: _________: _________: le taua
leaga : __________: _________: _________: lelei
13.  Ua fantauina o le fa'a'oga o se a'oga manuia i le tai a'oga i le a'oga fa'a-Samoa.
    alualu i luma: _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ aga'i i tua
    le tua: _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ teua
    atesai: _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ vales
    lelei: _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ leaga
    le aoga: _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ aoga
    te'ulelagaina: _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ ta'ulelea

    feitaga'i: _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ fa'alofa
    mataalua: _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ paie
    aga'i i tua: _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ alualu i luma
    saitu: _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ le saitu
    tana: _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ le tua
    leaga: _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ lelei
15. Ha masani ena tua'i so'o le tagata faigaodeledega i lana galuega.

tatau: ����: le tatau
lelei: ����: leaga
va'a: ����: atama
ata'uleleia: ����: ta'uleagaina
'ele'elea: ����: naa
no'ga: ����: le no'ga

16. O le Nulo Samoa.

feitaga'i: ��: fesalofani
matasia: ����: paie
aga'i i tua: ��: alualu i luma
mautu: ��: le mautu
ta'a: ��: le ta'a
leaga: ��: lelei
17. آگان ای فوا

لاگا: یکتایی: لیلیتی
تاتا: یکتایی: لی تاتا
الاخیالو لاما: یکتایی: آگایی تا
سوا: یکتایی: لی سوا
تا ویلاگاین: یکتایی: تا ویلیسا
فاوتاگایی: یکتایی: فاولوفانی

18. یک سولو اتی آگاه

تاتا: یکتایی: لی تاتا
لیلی: یکتایی: لیلیتی
واهل: یکتایی: واهلی
تا ویلاگاین: یکتایی: تا ویلاگاین
"ه"ی ثالی: یکتایی: هاها
سوا: یکتایی: لی سوا
19. ʻVa le faigalueba se tagata faigalueba se alu i rea teu le suʻu.

tatau :____:____:____:____: le tatau
lelei :____:____:____:____: leega
vaesa :____:____:____:____: atama'i
ta'uleleia :____:____:____:____: ta'ulesegaina
'ele'elea :____:____:____:____: maná
soga :____:____:____:____: le soga

20. ʻA le i ai le pule i le aso atoa, ona manatu ai lea o le tagata faigalueba, a lelei se rea o tatau ai ona galue famesoni o ia.

  maná :____:____:____:____: 'ele'elea
le mana'oniia :____:____:____:____: mana'oniia
lelei :____:____:____:____: leega
va'osai :____:____:____:____: vaivai
tatau :____:____:____:____: le tatau
vaesa :____:____:____:____: atama'i
Fa'amalololo faiteu lelei ma fa'atupu se'o avanoa una.

Matua ___________ teausaga.

Tane ___________ Fafine ___________

Afa'i e 'oe se faia'oga fa'atupu le vaega lelei:

1. Ua fia teausaga talu ona e faia'oga ___________

2. Ua fia teausaga talu ona e faia'oga i Apia ___________

3. Ua fia teausaga sa e faia'oga ai i se atum'u 'ese ___________

4. Ua fia teausaga sa e a'oga fa'afaia'oga ai ___________

5. O fea na e a'oga fa'afaia'oga ai ___________

6. O a'oga a faia'oga (courses) sa e 'wanu? ___________

Vatsupu ___________

7. Pe na e faigaluega e 'ese mai i lo le faia'oga?

Ituaiga ___________

Afa'i e le e 'oe se faia'oga fa'atupu le vaega lelei:

1. O le a lau galuega o lo'o fai nei ___________

2. Pe sa a'os'ena 'oe no se ituaiga galuega ___________

   Le ituaiga ___________ umi ___________

3. Ua fia nei teausaga talu ona e tu'ua le a'oga ___________

Fa'atupu uma lelei vaega:

1. O le a le vaega sa e gata ai ___________

2. O le a le umi sa e i ai i a'oga moualuluga ___________

   teausaga.
3. O a au mataupu sa ave i a'oga saualuluga

4. O fea le a'oga saualuga ua e i ai

Atunuu.

5. Pe sa e o'i nisi a'oa'oga e 'ene sui i a'oa'oga ua

tuasia i luga?

Ituaiga ——— Nofoaga ——— Usi

6. O ai ni su tuai pasi ua naua?

Iega o le tuai pasi ——— Atunuu

Galuega a le Tua

Pe to'a'ia ni cu uso sa ni cu tusanga?

Po ua e alu eae atu sai Canoa i Sisifo?

Afai e ioe, ta'u mai le atunuu ——— umi

Afai e te nofo i Upolu po ua e oo i Savaii?

Manono po'o Apolima?

Afai e te nofo i Savaii, Manono po'o Apolima, po ua e oo i

Upolu?

O ce o se matai?
1. Fa'amalosia le o o tauti i le a'oga.

slualu i luma:____:____:____:____: aga' i i tua
le tauta:___:____:____:____: tauta
atamai:____:____:____:____: valoa
lelei:___:____:____:____: lelei
le a'oga:___:____:____:____: a'oga
ta'uleagaina:____:____:____:____: ta'uleleia

2. Tupe mai galuaga e 'oei mai i galuaga e tasi mai ai, ia faa'aoga e le tagata lava ia.

slualu i luma:____:____:____:____: aga' i i tua
tauta:___:____:____:____: le tauta
ta'uleagaina:____:____:____:____: ta'uleleia
vaivai:____:____:____:____: maloisi
lelei:___:____:____:____: lelei
atamai:___:____:____:____: valoa
3. Paseme po' o se fa'asili'a o tupe aitāla'fu.

alului i luma : _______ ____ ; aiga'i i tua
taua : _______ ____ ; le taua
ta'ulelega'ina : _______ ____ ; ta'uleleia
vaivai : _______ ____ ; alosi
leaga : _______ ____ ; lelei
ata'asi : _______ ____ ; vales

4. E te alu i le a'oga ina ia avea oe se ta'gata e aili ona lelei.

alului i luma : _______ ____ ; aiga'i i tua
le taua : _______ ____ ; taua
ata'asi : _______ ____ ; vales
lelei : _______ ____ ; leaga
le aoga : _______ ____ ; aoga
ta'ulelega'ina : _______ ____ ; ta'uleleia
5. O lo'u nu'u.
  feitaga'i: ________; faalofani
  mataala: ________; paie
  aiga'i i tua: ________; alualu i luma
  mautu: ________; le mautu
  tua: ________; le tua
  leaga: ________; lelelai

6. E te alu i le a'oga ina ia maue sau galuga lelelai.
  alualu i luma: ________; aiga'i i tua
  le tua: ________; taea
  atsai: ________; valea
  lelelai: ________; leaga
  le aoga: ________; aoga
  ta'uleagaina: ________; ta'ulelela
B.

7. O sə tasi e i sə sə gəluəgə mədəluəgə e le Ma'sə ne to le-
əənə sə gəluəgə sə sənə səgə ənə e le'ı ə'ənə cənə i
lən sətəgələuəgə.

mənə : ə'ənə ə'ənə
mənə'ənə : ə'ənə ə'ənə
sələi : ə'ənə ə'ənə
sələi : ə'ənə ə'ənə
tənə : ə'ənə ə'ənə
ve'a : ə'ənə ə'ənə
ve'a : ə'ənə ə'ənə
atənə : ə'ənə ə'ənə

B.

8. Uə fəi e le təgətə ləva lə le mənə na ələcə e sa'ə
sənə ləva pə lele'ı ma əgənə'ə fə'ə-əmə pə lele'ı.

lele'ı : ə'ənə ə'ənə
lele'ı : ə'ənə ə'ənə
tənə : ə'ənə ə'ənə
tənə : ə'ənə ə'ənə
sləuələ i ləu : ə'ənə ə'ənə
e'ə'ənə i ləu
sləuələ : ə'ənə ə'ənə
e'ə'ənə
sləuələ : ə'ənə ə'ənə
e'ə'ənə
sləuələ : ə'ənə ə'ənə
e'ə'ənə
sləuələ : ə'ənə ə'ənə
e'ə'ənə
sləuələ : ə'ənə ə'ənə
e'ə'ənə
sləuələ : ə'ənə ə'ənə
e'ə'ənə
sləuələ : ə'ənə ə'ənə
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sləuələ : ə'ənə ə'ənə
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sləuələ : ə'ənə ə'ənə
e'ə'ənə
sləuələ : ə'ənə ə'ənə
e'ə'ənə
sləuələ : ə'ənə ə'ənə
e'ə'ənə
8.

9. Matau teu fe'alaga'i mai fa'a.

alu'lu i luma : a'iga'iga'i i tua
le tāua : le tāua
ta'uleaga'ina : ta'uleleia
valvai : vaalosi
le'aga : lele'i
atasi : valea

10. Va se tama'i ti a'oga na le fa'amoni o se na a'oga'ina a le a'oga.

alu'lu i luma : a'iga'iga'i i tua
le tāua : tāua
atasi : valea
lele'i : lele'i
le'aga : a'oga
a'oga : ta'uleaga'ina
11. 'Ua fa'ataga'ina e le fastauloa se 'aitaifu a lene no e ui lava ina seutinoa o le a le tetogiina.

    mana : ""; mana'omia : ""; lelei : ""; seu seu : ""; lega : ""
    makan'omia : ""; mana'omia
    lelei : ""; lega
    seu seu : ""; vaiva
    tatau : ""; tatau
    vales : ""; atamai

12. So'o se tagata ua l ai le ma'ua se samina e tale ia nofo na ase o ia i filifiliga a le ma'ua.

    feitaga'i : ""; fonalofani
    sata'a : ""; paia
    aga'i i tua : ""; aulaulu i luca
    mautu : ""; la seutu
    tatau : ""; la tatau
    lega : ""; lelei

alualu i lusa: ogai i tua
le taua: le leleia
atemai: valau
lelei: leaga
le aoga: aoga
ta'uleagaina: ta'uleleia


feitaga'i: fa'aloafani
matasala: paie
agai i tua: alualu i lusa
maatu: le maatu
taua: le taua
leaga: leleia
15. Æ te alu i le a'oga ina ia saua ni au tupa se tele i sau o sau.

alu lu le: le tusa: atama: le sa: le soga: t'a'uleagaina:

g'ag'i i tua: tusa: valea: leaga: le soga: t'a'uleleia


feitu: mata: ag'i i tua: nautu: tusa: le leaga:

feitahi: paia: alalu i luca: le sa: le leleia
17. "Na fai e se taule'ale'a le oea ua ia sanatu ua sa'o,
e ui lava ina le tua ci sa agamu fa'a-Samoa.

leaga : __ : __ : __ : __ : lelei

taua : __ : __ : __ : __ : le taua

alualu i luma : __ : __ : __ : __ : aga'i i tua

soga : __ : __ : __ : __ : le soga

ta'uleagaina : __ : __ : __ : __ : ta'uleleia

feitaga'i : __ : __ : __ : __ : fealofani

18. E te alu i le a'oga ina ia pasi au su'ega sai fafo.

alualu i luma : : : : : : aga'i i tua


atamai : : : : : valsa

lelei : : : : : leaga

le soga : : : : : soga

Ta'uleagaina : : : : : Ta'uleleia
19.  Ua talitomu se stai i ana amiega ua sa'u na ua talafeagai si na agamu'u fan-Saroe.

leaga:___________: lelei
taua:___________: le taua
alualu i lusa:___________: aca'i i tua
soga:___________: le soga
ta'uleagaina:___________: ta'uuleleia
feitaga'i:___________: fealofoani

20.  Ua fa'ailea a se tagata i lona aiga mataupu fasi'ilolilo
tau le galuega.

mau:___________: 'ele'elex
le mana'oxia:___________: mana'oxia
lelei:___________: leaga
malosi:___________: vaivai
tatau:___________: le tatau
valea:___________: atasei
This is an important part of a study which we hope will be of some benefit to education in Western Samoa. We want to find out your true feelings about certain ideas. Because we want you to give your true impressions your name is not required anywhere on the booklet. All answers will be strictly confidential. It is important that you fill in all the details asked as carefully and as accurately as possible.

At the top of each page is an idea which you are to read very carefully. Underneath it are the scales with which you are to judge the idea. The idea is to be judged on each one of the scales in turn.

Here is how the scales are used:

If you feel that the concept at the top of the page is very much like one end of the scale, you should place a mark as shown:

```
      fair : X:----:----:----:---- : unfair
```

or

```
      fair :----:----:----:----:---:---- : unfair
```

But if you think that the idea is only a little like one end of the scale you should put a mark

```
      high :---: X:----:----:---- : low
```

or
high: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: low

Be sure to put your mark near the end of the scale which you think resembles the idea.

If you think that the idea cannot be described by either end of the scale, irrelevant or neutral, then you use the middle space like this:

active: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: passive

but if possible try to make a judgment about the idea so that you do not have to use the middle space.

IMPORTANT: Make sure you put the mark in the middle of the space like this:

fair: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: unfair

not like this

fair: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: unfair

NEVER PUT MORE THAN ONE MARK ON A SCALE.

Work at a fairly high speed through the tests. Do not worry or puzzle over any individual items. It is your first impressions, the immediate feeling about the items that we want. On the other hand, please do not be careless, because we want your true feelings.
1. Compulsory school attendance.

progressive: ___________________ regressive
important: ___________________ unimportant
wise: ___________________ foolish
good: ___________________ bad
useless: ___________________ useful
disreputable: ___________________ reputable

2. A man starts his own business instead of working for the government.

progressive: ___________________ regressive
important: ___________________ unimportant
disreputable: ___________________ reputable
weak: ___________________ strong
bad: ___________________ good
wise: ___________________ foolish
3. Each payday a man puts some of his wages into a savings account.

   progressive: ______:_____:_____:_____:_____: regressive
   important: ______:_____:_____:_____:_____: unimportant
   disreputable: ______:_____:_____:_____:_____: reputable
   weak: ______:_____:_____:_____:_____: strong
   bad: ______:_____:_____:_____:_____: good
   wise: ______:_____:_____:_____:_____: foolish

4. Sasanian custom.

   bad: ______:_____:_____:_____:_____: good
   important: ______:_____:_____:_____:_____: unimportant
   progressive: ______:_____:_____:_____:_____: regressive
   useful: ______:_____:_____:_____:_____: useless
   reputable: ______:_____:_____:_____:_____: disreputable
   dissonant: ______:_____:_____:_____:_____: harmonious
5. The government gives an order to the village council.

dissonant: __________; harmonious
alert: __________; lazy
progressive: __________; regressive
firm: __________; unstable
important: __________; unimportant
bad: __________; good


progressive: __________; regressive
important: __________; unimportant
wise: __________; foolish
good: __________; bad
useless: __________; useful
disreputable: __________; reputable
7. A government clerk tries to get special privileges for his village.

- clean : dirty
- unwanted : wanted
- good : bad
- strong : weak
- necessary : unnecessary
- foolish : wise

8. A boss is angry when an employee is absent from work to attend village functions.

- necessary : unnecessary
- good : bad
- foolish : wise
- reputable : disreputable
- dirty : clean
- useful : useless
9. The village council ignores an order from the Fono a Fapia because it is not directly useful to the village.

dissonant: harmonious
alert: lazy
progressive: regressive
firm: unstable
important: unimportant
bad: good

10. A pupil questions the accuracy of something taught in school.

progressive: regressive
important: unimportant
wise: foolish
good: bad
useless: useful
disreputable: reputable
11. The shopkeeper allows his friend to open an account although he knows he will not get paid.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{clean} & : \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ \text{ dirty} \\
\text{unwanted} & : \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ \text{ wanted} \\
\text{good} & : \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ \text{ bad} \\
\text{strong} & : \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ \text{ weak} \\
\text{necessary} & : \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ \text{ unnecessary} \\
\text{foolish} & : \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ \text{ wise}
\end{align*}
\]

12. An entitled man is eligible to vote in the election of the government.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dissonant} & : \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ \text{ harmonious} \\
\text{alert} & : \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ \text{ lazy} \\
\text{progressive} & : \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ \text{ regressive} \\
\text{firm} & : \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ \text{ unstable} \\
\text{important} & : \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ \text{ unimportant} \\
\text{bad} & : \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ \text{ good}
\end{align*}
\]
13. A high school teacher encourages his pupils to form their own opinions about the Samoan way of life.

progressive : ______:____:____:____:____: regressive
important : ______:____:____:____:____: unimportant
size : ______:____:____:____:____: foolish
good : ______:____:____:____:____: bad
useless : ______:____:____:____:____: useful
disreputable : ______:____:____:____:____: reputable

14. Western Samoa.

dissonant : ______:____:____:____:____: harmonious
alert : ______:____:____:____:____: lazy
progressive : ______:____:____:____:____: regressive
timid : ______:____:____:____:____: unstable
important : ______:____:____:____:____: unimportant
bad : ______:____:____:____:____: good
15. An employee is often late for work.

necessary: __:____:_____:_____: unnecessary

good: __:____:_____:_____: bad

foolish: __:____:_____:_____: wise

reputable: __:____:_____:_____: disreputable

dirty: __:____:_____:_____: clean

useful: __:____:_____:_____: useless


dissonant: __:____:_____:_____: harmonious

alert: __:____:_____:_____: lazy

progressive: __:____:_____:_____: regressive

firm: __:____:_____:_____: unstable

important: __:____:_____:_____: unimportant

bad: __:____:_____:_____: good
17. Innovation.

bad:____:____:____:____:____: good
important:____:____:____:____:____: unimportant
progressive:____:____:____:____:____: regressive
useful:____:____:____:____:____: useless
reputable:____:____:____:____:____: disreputable
dissonant:____:____:____:____:____: harsious

18. A boss is often away from work.

necessary:____:____:____:____:____: unnecessary
good:____:____:____:____:____: bad
foolish:____:____:____:____:____: wise
reputable:____:____:____:____:____: disreputable
dirty:____:____:____:____:____: clean
useful:____:____:____:____:____: useless
18. An employee is absent from work but goes to the village functions.

necessary : unnecessary
good : bad
foolish : wise
reputable : disreputable
dirty : clean
useful : useless

20. When the boss is away a person does not need to work so hard.

clean : dirty
unwanted : wanted
good : bad
strong : weak
necessary : unnecessary
foolish : wise
PLEASE READ CAREFULLY AND FILL IN ALL THE APPROPRIATE PLACES.

Age __________ years

Sex __________

IF YOU ARE A TEACHER FILL IN THIS SECTION:
1. How many years have you been teaching?
2. How many years have you been teaching in Samoa?
3. How many years have you taught in Apia?
4. How many years training did you have?
5. Where did you train?
6. How many teacher's courses have you been to?

IF YOU ARE NOT A TEACHER FILL IN THIS SECTION:
1. What is your present occupation?
4. What, if any, training have you had? How long?
3. How many years since you left school?

FILL IN ALL OF THIS SECTION:
1. How long did you go to secondary school?
2. What standard did you reach at school?
3. What course did you take?

5. Other kinds of education?
   What kinds __________ what country __________
   Length __________

   What qualifications have you?
   Name of certificate __________ Country of issue __________

   Father's occupation? __________

   How many children in your family? __________

   Which is your native country? __________

   How long have you been in Western Samoa? __________

   Have you been to Savai'i? __________

   Excluding Western Samoa and your own country, have you lived in any other countries? There?

   __________

   More than three __________
1. Compulsory school attendance.

progressive : __:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: regressive
important : __:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: unimportant
wise : __:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: foolish
good : __:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: bad
useless : __:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: useful
disreputable : __:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: reputable

2. Money from extra work is for a man's own use.

progressive : __:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: regressive
important : __:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: unimportant
disreputable : __:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: reputable
weak : __:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: strong
bad : __:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: good
wise : __:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: foolish
3. Interest on money loaned or borrowed.

progressive: ______:______:______:______: regressive
important: ______:______:______:______: unimportant
disreputable: ______:______:______:______: reputable
seek: ______:______:______:______: strong
bad: ______:______:______:______: good
ciss: ______:______:______:______: foolish

4. You go to school to become a better person.

progressive: ______:______:______:______: regressive
important: ______:______:______:______: unimportant
ciss: ______:______:______:______: foolish
good: ______:______:______:______: bad
useless: ______:______:______:______: useful
disreputable: ______:______:______:______: reputable
5. The community or neighbourhood in which you live in Western Samoa.

dissonant: ____________; harmonious
clert: ____________; lazy
progressive: ____________; regressive
firi: ____________; unstable
important: ____________; unimportant
bad: ____________; good

6. You go to school to get a good job.

progressive: ____________; regressive
important: ____________; unimportant
size: ____________; foolish
good: ____________; bad
useless: ____________; useful
disreputable: ____________; reputable
7. A man has a high government position but he does not give his relative a government job because he is not properly trained for it.

- clean : ______:_______: dirty
- unwanted : ______:_______: wanted
- good : ______:_______: bad
- strong : ______:_______: weak
- necessary : ______:_______: unnecessary
- foolish : ______:_______: wise

8. A man behaves as he thinks is right whether it is in accord with custom or whether it is not.

- bad : ______:_______: good
- important : ______:_______: unimportant
- progressive : ______:_______: regressive
- useful : ______:_______: useless
- reputable : ______:_______: disreputable
- dissonant : ______:_______: harmonious

progressive: __________: regressive
important: __________: unimportant
disreputable: __________: reputable
weak: __________: strong
bad: __________: good
wise: __________: foolish

10. A pupil questions the accuracy of something taught in school.

progressive: __________: regressive
important: __________: unimportant
wise: __________: foolish
good: __________: bad
useless: __________: useful
disreputable: __________: reputable
11. The shopkeeper allows his friend to open an account although he knows that he will not get paid.

clean : clean dirty
unsanted : unsanted wanted
good : good bad
strong : strong weak
necessary : necessary unnecessary
foolish : foolish wise

12. Any person, not of the village but living there for some time, shares in the decisions of the village council.

dissonant : dissonant harmonious
alert : alert lazy
progressive : progressive regressive
firm : firm unstable
important : important unimportant
bad : bad good

progressive: ____________: regressive
important: ____________: unimportant
wise: ____________: foolish
good: ____________: bad
useless: ____________: useful
disreputable: ____________: reputable

14. Family group (extended family).

dissent: ____________: harmonious
alert: ____________: lazy
progressive: ____________: regressive
firm: ____________: unstable
important: ____________: unimportant
bad: ____________: good
15. You go to school in order to earn more money later.

progressive: __________; regressive
important: __________; unimportant
care: __________; foolish
good: __________; bad
useless: __________; useful
disreputable: __________; reputable


dissident: __________; harmonious
alert: __________; lazy
progressive: __________; regressive
first: __________; unstable
important: __________; unimportant
bad: __________; good
17. An untitled man behaves as he thinks is right even though it is not in accord with Samoan custom.

bad : ______:____:____:____:____: good
important : ______:____:____:____:____: unimportant
progressive : ______:____:____:____:____: regressive
useful : ______:____:____:____:____: useless
reputable : ______:____:____:____:____: disreputable
dissonant : ______:____:____:____:____: harmonious

18. You go to school to get passes in external examinations.

progressive : ______:____:____:____:____: regressive
important : ______:____:____:____:____: unimportant
wise : ______:____:____:____:____: foolish
good : ______:____:____:____:____: bad
useless : ______:____:____:____:____: useful
disreputable : ______:____:____:____:____: reputable
19. A matel behaves as he thinks is right even though it is not in accord with custom.

bad : __:____:____:____:____: good
important : __:____:____:____:____: unimportant
progressive : __:____:____:____:____: regressive
useful : __:____:____:____:____: useless
reputable : __:____:____:____:____: disreputable
dissonant : __:____:____:____:____: harmonious

20. A person tells his aiga about confidential matters at work.

clean : __:____:____:____:____: dirty
unsanted : __:____:____:____:____: wanted
good : __:____:____:____:____: bad
strong : __:____:____:____:____: weak
necessary : __:____:____:____:____: unnecessary
foolish : __:____:____:____:____: wise
APPENDIX E.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR ADMINISTRATION

Although each test booklet was intended to be self-administering, in view of the strangeness which this type of scale would have for most Samoan teachers, it was considered advisable that, in addition to the normal "putting at ease" function of an administrator, a demonstration scale involving the use of each of the points on the scale. In most cases the demonstration was given by administrators after they had received a brief training session. The notes appearing below were sent to the headmasters of a number of mission schools which the writer and/or the trained administrators were unable, for reasons of time and distance, to visit personally.

Introduction.

Introduce the questionnaire briefly as a nation-wide project. Teachers in government and mission schools are doing it.

Stress the need to answer carefully and honestly about every idea in the booklet. The papers are strictly confidential and nobody can gain or lose by taking part. But the whole project will be useless if you do not put what you yourself think. Do not worry about what other people will think.

Ask teachers to read the instructions on p. 41—carefully. While this is being done put this example on the blackboard:

O se fale talinafo tou i Apia.

tatau : ______:_____:_____:_____: le tatau

tuai : ______:_____:_____:_____: you

teluva : ______:_____:_____:_____: ase

valesa : ______:_____:_____:_____: atamai
when the instructions have been read, go over the example verbalizing thus:

Here is an example of the work. This is what you do. (Read the item.) O se faale talimalo fou i Apia. Is it necessary or unnecessary? I think it is necessary (point to the word tatau and to the appropriate spaces as you go along). Now I must ask myself is it very necessary or just a little bit necessary. I think that we have some hotels in Apia so it is only a bit necessary. I put the tick here:

\[
\text{tatau : } \square : \square : \square : \square : \square : \text{ le tatau}
\]

You may want to put the tick somewhere else. How I go on to the next one.

O se faale talimalo fou i Apia

Is it old or new? It says a new hotel so I think it is new. I think it is very new so the tick goes here:

\[
\text{ } \square : \square : \square : \square : \text{ fou}
\]

O se faale talimalo fou i Apia.

Is it fast or slow? I cannot tell with this one. I will have to use the middle space like this:

\[
\text{telewae : } \square : \square : \square : \square : \text{ gese}
\]

The middle space is for occasions when you just cannot judge or where it does not seem to make sense.

O se faale talimalo fou i Apia.

Is it wise or foolish? I think it is just a little bit wise so the tick goes here:

\[
\text{vaalea : } \square : \square : \square : \square : \text{ atamai}
\]
Now you are ready to start. But first let me point out a few mistakes in the booklet to watch for. There should only be five spaces. Some pages were printed with six and one has been scribbled out like this (show a page - there are plenty in Form B). Some pages have a bit of space at the end where a space is partly rubbed out. Be especially careful not to use that (show pp39 as example). If you make a mistake put a ring around it and a cross through it like this.

Are there any questions?

Hints for Administrator.

Try to answer any questions during the test but always only to clarify. Strict neutrality is important. The person is always to respond to the action of the subject of an item e.g. "The boss is angry when the worker is absent" - respond to the boss being angry. Sometimes it is necessary to point out that it does not matter if the idea is not true or may never happen - the question is simply "what do you think about this idea - is it good or bad" etc.

At the End.

Ask teachers to add to the bottom of p44 whether it is a government or mission school (put the initials of the mission e.g. L.E.S., C.C.C. etc.) and whether it is high, intermediate or primary. Thank the teachers for their co-operation.
APPENDIX C.  THE STORY OF TAUMAFA

Taumafa was a young chief in his twenties. When he returned from New Zealand where he had been educated, his father abdicated and gave up his title to him. In the minds of the family the son's qualifications warranted tangible recognition. But as a matal Taumafa was not a success. He was highly critical of traditional ways. He would see each day occupied by a meeting, a wedding, a court case, a cricket match, a fishing expedition or by the restoration of a village pig fence. Some of these events would take several days. And the result? One or two days a week were all his aiga could spare for the land and the production of twenty cases of bananas a month, a little copra and some cases.

This was too much for Taumafa. He and his wife withdrew from the village and cleared an area of forest for his 'plantation' and his house. The 'plantation' prospered. He produced a hundred cases of bananas a month, bought European clothes, added to the house and bought a truck. But rather than gaining village approval his behaviour was the object of opprobrious scorn. 'What is the use of this person if he just works for himself and does nothing for the village?' was the general feeling.

His disgrace had started before he left the village where he had ignored many of his duties, and soon disapproval was heaped on all members of his family. Later, at the first signs of newly-son prosperity he was fined five pigs and 40 taka for floating village ways. To this he was indifferent and the fine he paid readily. He extended his plantation but was unable to find boys to work for him because they did not wish to antagonize their chiefs and jeopardise their future chances of a title. The village decided to ostracise the family and to shun others who had dealings with the wayward Taumafa. Pressure was brought to bear on his children, and even Taumafa and his wife had doubts about security in their old age or in sickness. The leadership of the aiga
was once more accused by his father, who, along with other members of the group, suffered considerably from the behaviour of their renegade kinsman. Finally, because of Taumafā's behaviour, a large fine was imposed on the ageing.

Taumafā felt he could allow the suffering and his own insanity to continue no longer. He set about redeeming the honour of the ageing, paid the fine and propitiated the village by his actions. His truck was sold, he returned to the village and at last his wife felt she could again hold her head high among her colleagues of the women's committee. Taumafā himself took part in village activities and fishing parties. And within a very few weeks the once thriving 'plantation' started to deteriorate, fast succumbing to the aggressive 'mile-a-minute'. Taumafā had little time for farming. His whole time for weeks ahead was taken up with visits, working parties and convocations on affairs of family, village, church and politics. His money income had almost disappeared and for the first time in his adult life he was happy. Freedom for him changed from cold individual loneliness to the warmth of social activity and approval among his fellow men.
### Appendix B: Matrix of Intercorrelations Between Items

#### (a) Arabic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
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<th>10</th>
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<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>0.7</td>
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<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
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<td>2</td>
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**Form A**

- \( N = 47 \)

**Form B**

- \( N = 57 \)
1. Western Samoa.

2. The Samoan Government.

3. The government gives an order to the village council.

4. The shopkeeper allows his friend to open an account although he knows he will not get paid.

5. A government clerk tries to get special privileges for his village.

6. When the boss is easy a person does not need to work so hard.

7. Samoan custom.

8. Innovation.

9. Compulsory school attendance.

10. A high school teacher encourages his pupils to form their own opinions about the Samoan way of life.

11. A man starts his own business instead of working for the government.

12. An employee is often late for work.

13. An employee is absent from work but goes to the village functions.

14. A boss is angry when an employee is absent from work to attend village functions.

15. A boss is often away from work.

16. Your village.

17. Chief.

18. Any person, not of the village but living there for some time shares in the decision of the village council.
19. Aiga.

20. A man has a high government job but he does not give his relative a government job because he is not properly trained for it.

21. A man behaves as he thinks is right whether it is in accord with Samoan custom or not.

22. A matai behaves as he thinks is right even though it is not in accord with Samoan custom.

23. A taule'ala'a behaves as he thinks is right even though it is not in accord with Samoan custom.


25. You go to school to earn core money later.

26. You go to school to get passes in external examinations.

27. You go to school to get a good job.

28. A pupil questions the accuracy of something taught in school.

29. Tourism.

30. Money from extra work is for a man's own use.
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| 19                 | 2.94   | 0.91        | 8.08| 2.03    |
| 20                 | 0.86   | 0.42        | 0.17| 2.03    |
| 21                 | 0.10   | 0.42        | 0.17| 2.03    |
| 22                 | 0.23   | 0.84        | 5.12| 1.83    |
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### Appendix F

**Correlation Coefficients Between Split Scales**

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*Key to numbering system is in Appendix B.*
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<td>3.5</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. N = 18

B. N = 19

I Each group was divided in half, one half to do the English script first and the other to begin with the Bannan script.

II Since most of the pupils did not reside in their 'own' village while they attended Bannan College it is not to be expected that this item, reading as it does, 'your village' in the Bannan script and 'the neighbourhood in which you live' in the English script, would correlate with this group of respondents.