PEOPLE OF THE HORNBILL: A COURSE IN SOCIAL STUDIES BASED ON ANTHROPOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

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A course in social studies for young adolescents was developed, based on social and cultural anthropology and consisting of thirteen televised lessons, discussion topics, and class activities. Aspects of culture as influenced by a group's physical environment, traditions, and contacts with other cultures are studied.

Lesson One was televised and shown to three grade 7 classes. One group had no discussion, one had discussion delayed 24 hours, and one had an immediate discussion. All groups wrote a researcher-devised evaluation 24 hours after the last treatment and a retention post-test two weeks later.

The discussion groups had higher scores than the non-discussion group in factual and concept learning (immediate $p<.001$ delayed $p<.01$). There were no significant differences among the groups in map skills or affective and cognitive learning. There were no significant differences between the discussion groups. There were no significant differences among the groups in retention.

PREFACE

With the world rapidly shrinking in both variety and space while North American culture is losing many of its traditional traits but not yet replacing them with more meaningful ones, it seems that the public schools alone have retained sufficient authority and have the access to resources that enables them to help young people to understand some of the forces that are shaping their world and to prepare themselves for the time when they will be active participants in their society.

Social studies has long been a blanket term for the combination of geography and history. This course proposes a new basis for the subject--social and cultural anthropology. While inspiring a number of courses in the United States, anthropology has yet to make any impact on the social studies in Canada, except insofar as anthropological materials are used in native studies.

Anthropology is a rewarding study, but its value in the school curriculum comes more from its basic philosophy than its methods or discoveries. It has been suggested that anthropology will supersede the traditional humanities as the essential ingredient of a liberal education. No other discipline can contribute so much to intercultural understanding and to a more sophisticated relationship with one's

own culture.

The multi-disciplinary nature of anthropology and the many skills demanded by a thesis equivalent have made it imperative to seek advice and help from a wide variety of sources.

In Sarawak the supervision of Lucas Chin of the Sarawak Museum was especially helpful. Lloyd Jones, now at the Center for International Co-operation in Thunder Bay, arranged my stay with an Iban family. My host, Andrew Gumba, has since come to Canada and has continued to act as a resource person here.

In technical matters, Thomas Allan and Leonard Weinstein have provided much valuable advice, while Leslie Takach did a monumental job in refining my almost non-existent graphic talents. I would especially like to thank the students of Ed-Tech. 685-4 for giving up a Saturday and being so patient during a long day of shooting. Aida Sobrevinas made a charming and intelligent Iban maiden.

Advice and help has come from many people in the Department of Education. Florence Stevens has been a never-failing support. Frances Friedman has helped refine my understanding of social studies. David Mitchell has not only been a source of much good advice but has been that absolute essential in any intellectual endeavour--someone to argue with.

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As the social studies have been moving from the traditional confines of history and geography to the wider interests of the human sciences, the integration of media and social teaching has kept pace. Filmstrips, multi-media kits, and films have been the most used audio-visual resources, with records and overhead transparencies also popular; but imaginative teachers have probably used every learning device or technique so far developed to enrich their classes. However, relatively few entire courses in social studies have been developed around the use of media as the main teaching strategy over the entire period of the course.

This thesis-equivalent attempts to develop such a social studies course using the medium of television and based upon social and cultural anthropology. As such, it not only uses a teaching medium that has still not found general acceptance in our schools, but it incorporates a very different conception of the meaning and function of the social studies from the commonly accepted one. Despite the exotic location of the primary study group, this is not an area study, as a geographically based course would be, nor is it primarily historical despite necessary appeals to historical explanations. Rather, like social and cultural anthropology, the course is eclectic, taking concepts, generalizations,

and methods from any discipline that promises to illuminate the human condition.

The course consists of thirteen, half-hour television programs illustrating and explaining the influences of the physical environment, tradition, and contact with other cultures on the life-style of the Iban, a Dayak people in the state of Sarawak in Malaysia. Each program makes explicit comparisons with modern North American life-styles, and the teacher's notes contain suggestions for other comparisons and contrasts. The general goal of each program is to provide the student with a set of concepts and generalizations about a particular social topic which he can apply to the analysis of any other culture in which he has an interest. The major goals of the entire course are that the students will gain at the very least a respect for other cultures and an increased awareness of their own.

Several operational definitions should be made at this point to clarify my use of some common, but disputed, terms.

The term goal shall be used to indicate an aim of broad scope and some abstraction which cannot be reduced to an observable phenomenon without redefinition into one or more behavioural objectives.

The term culture shall refer to the various configurations of material possessions, beliefs, behaviour, and language that various human groups have acquired. A culture shal refer to one of these configurations. This term will be

used when referring to a group of people and their life-style when the emphasis is on these extra-personal traits.

The term society shall refer to the patterns of interaction which human groups develop. A society shall refer to one human group and its social patterns. It is used here when referring to a single group of people when the emphasis is on its patterns of interaction rather than on other aspects of its culture.

PART I

SOCIAL STUDIES, ANTHROPOLOGY, AND MEDIA

CHAPTER I

GOALS AND THE SOCIAL STUDIES

General Education

One cannot prepare a course in social studies without a careful study of the major goals of the subject; and, since social studies bear such a close relationship to the adult life in a society, some attention should also be paid to the aims of general education. Goals arise out of felt lacks or problems in a culture that its educational facilities are expected to satisfy or correct.

Analysis of these needs and problems is open to considerable personal interpretation, however, as well as to gross differences in the subtlety of approach. For example, John Porter lists these problems: urbanization, industrialization, women's liberation, and ethnic conflict. His remedies are to keep adolescents in school longer and to transmit "positive" values about education.[1]

On the other hand, one might share John Leddy's view of the world and his basic charter of education:

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[1] John Porter, "Social Change and the Aims and Problems of Education in Canada," in Teaching for Tomorrow: A Symposium on the Social Studies in Canada, ed. John Lewis (n. p.: Thomas Nelson and Sons (Canada), 1969), pp. 213-219.

> Man is set above the animal creation, endowed with the power of reason and a will free to act, expected to make his way in a world governed by a natural order which he can come to understand and to utilize through the effort of his own study. There is truth and man can know it. There is a larger design which gives meaning and direction to individual destinies.[1]

Although obviously a very personal interpretation of the world situation, Leddy's analysis does have the merit of leading to a far more complete set of goals than Porter's Effective communication, full consideration of the ideas and values that are contributing to social change, and the realization that we do not know everything and that we are just beginning our development; these are the aims Leddy proposes for general education.[2]

Similar goals, with the specification of a critical study of cultural givens and alternatives are expressed by Jean Piaget:

> The principle goal of education is to create men who are capable of doing new things, not simply of repeating what other generations have done--men who are creative, inventive, and discoverers. The second goal of education is to form minds which can be critical, can verify, and not accept everything they are offered. The great danger to-day is of slogans, collective opinions, ready made trends of thought. We have to be able to resist individually, to criticize, to distinguish between what is proven and what is not.[3]

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[1] John F. Leddy, "The Aims of Education," in The Aims of Education, ed. Freeman K. Stewart, Conference Study No. 1 (Ottawa: Canadian Conference on Education , 1961), p. 15.

[2] Ibid., pp. 18-19.

[3] Jean Piaget, No Source, quoted by David Elkind, Children and Adolescents: Interpretive Essays on Jean Piaget (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 25.

Theodore Brameld presents a view of the role of education and the goals following from that view that bridges the gap between general education and social education. Like Piaget, he opposes the simple transfer of cultural givens, but he does not advocate such a radical attitude of individualism. Brameld appears to have a more balanced set of goals than Piaget, more suited to mass education where not every student can be expected to develop the insights that would qualify him to be a critical innovator.

> 'Education' is an institution dedicated to the transmission of 'culture' as an objectified reality, and hence primarily to teaching how and why the young must learn to accept its mandates. It is also concerned with teaching how and why the young may through successive generations learn to operate it and hence to analyse, to modify, perhaps ultimately to redesign the culture of which they and their fellow humans are, after all, its efficient causes.[1]

Social Education

Having established that general education has close connections with social phenomena, let us turn to some goals expressed by social educators. As in all education, but the dichotomy is sharper in the social studies, goals reflect two opposing philosophies of education. On the side of the socially-oriented educators are Wesley and Cartwright who state, "The primary purpose of social studies is to help produce people who participate effectively in the mainte-

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[1] Theodore Brameld, Cultural Foundations of Education: An Interdisciplinary Exploration (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), p. 55.

nance and improvement of society,"[1] while Neville V. Scarfe represents the discipline-oriented ones in advocating the production of men with a "rational grasp on themselves, their surroundings, and the relationships between them."[2]

Debate between advocates of a social orientation in the social studies and advocates of a discipline orientation has been longstanding, going back at least to Dewey. The question is a complicated one, as each position implies a particular view of man and of the possibilities of education. Discipline-oriented educators tend to believe in individual development resulting from rational mastery of subject matter and method. They feel that the disciplines were developed to solve certain problems and that they remain the most valid methods of dealing with these problems. Discipline-oriented educators tend to prefer the transmission of cultural adaptations (the disciplines) in school and to be wary of the promotion of divergent thinking among the young, who have not yet assimilated the cultural norms of their group. Nontheless, in a sense, discipline-oriented educators promote individualism more than socially-oriented educators, for they maintain that the application of a discipline to the study of a problem gives the greatest rein to

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[1]Edgar Bruce Wesley and William H. Cartwright, Teaching Social Studies in Elementary Schools (3rd. ed.; Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1968), p. 33.

[2]Neville V. Scarfe, "Aims of Education in a Free Society," in Social Foundations of Canadian Education, ed. Anand Malik (Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall, 1969), p. 10.

personal, rational investigation. Socially-oriented educators, on the other hand, see the group as more important than the individual, and they are less interested in transmitting time-honoured materials in certain selected areas than in developing generalized abilities, which will serve the common good in a variety of unpredictable circumstances. Personal development is not just a mastery of facts and methods but the gaining of attitudes and values suited to one's culture.

Study of any yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies will show that it has long been the fashion in the United States to reject the discipline approach to social studies, and in DIGGEES Progr. 71-55A the Québec Ministère de l'Education follows suit. In so far as this is breaking the stranglehold history and geography have held on social studies, this fashion is beneficial. However, to move directly into studying prejudice, unemployment, or immigration without any theoretical basis for investigation is tantamount to allowing a free-for-all in the classroom.

Most opposing philosophies can be synthesized and educational ones are no exception. Combining the two orientations can be defended on several grounds. Charlotte Crabtree call for a synthesis on strictly pedagogical grounds. She defines inquiry as the process whereby the learner participates in the social sciences and acquires their organizing principles and analytic tools, which he can use to further his studies in order to make informed decisions in

in the larger society.[1] The second aim lends itself to the best learning design, she says, since the acquisition of discipline methodology is insufficient by itself; analytic skill must be supplemented with synthesizing skills and with making judgments if students are to actually incorporate their knowledge. It must have meaning for them and be related to their lives.

This course will synthesize the two approaches more from a value standpoint than a methodological one. While the school should expose the child to his cultural past, it is impossible to transfer it to him wholesale. Hence the necessity of developing his abilities and his values so that he can either work within its framework studying the areas of most interest to him, or become an innovator in the areas where he sees the need for change. The enculturative part of education guides him in choosing his area, and the developmental part teaches him to deal with it. The use of the disciplines helps organize problems and data from the larger world, as well as indicating possible ways of dealing with them, while the social orientation of the entire course helps isolate problems for study and provides a value rational for solving them.

Jerome Bruner argues from a similar position. Educa-

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[1] Charlotte Crabtree, "Supporting Reflective Thinking in the Classroom," in Effective Thinking in the Social Studies, ed. Jean Fair and Fannie R. Shaftel, Thirty-seventh Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies (Washington, D. C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1967), p. 79.

tion transmits some aprts of the accumulated knowledge, style, and values of a culture; and thus it shapes the impulses, consciousness, and way of life of the individual. However, it should also develop "the processes of intelligence so that the individual is capable of going beyond the cultural ways of his social world, able to innovate in however modest a way so that he can create an interior culture of his own."[1] Everyone takes some parts of his heritage to himself, but it cannot be adopted totally. One must creatively reinterpret one's culture for oneself.

The implications of this extend both to course content and to methods, because it is not an automatic result of schooling that any one's reinterpretation of his culture will be a valid one. If his horizons were not broadened by school, the past will likely be accepted unquestioned; if methods of inquiry were not taught, naive, even destructive, dissent may result. Bruner goes on to discuss the relationship of content and goals:

> Education, by giving shape and expression to experience, can also be the <u>main</u> principle instrument for setting limits on the enterprise of mind. The guarantee against limits is in the sense of alternatives. Education must, then, be not only a process that transmits culture but also one that provides alternative views of the world and strengthens the will to explore them.[2]

From this overview of general goals and their rationale in the social studies, it must be evident that I

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[1]Jerome Bruner, <u>On Knowing: Essays for the Left Hand</u> (New York: Atheneum, 1968), p. 116.

[2]<u>Ibid</u>., p. 117.

believe goals should arise out of perceived needs in a society (Why else call it social studies?) and that goals should have both a discipline and a social-value orientation.

There will be no exhaustive investigation of felt needs in this study. It would be presumptuous in the extreme to analyse social needs without adequate research, and of little use to present them to the reader in less than several volumes. While accepting the existence of many problems and deficiencies in our modern North American culture, I address myself in this course only to these two primary questions:

1. How do we make a young person aware of the workings of his society, for only thus can we try to ensure rational criticism and directed social change?

2. How do we prepare him to live in a shrinking world without inadvertently bringing about a homogenized world culture?

In the next chapter, the stated goals of anthropology teachers show that they are concerned with precisely these questions. The building of theory that contributes to man's understanding of himself and others is the central aim of the discipline.

CHAPTER II

ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Jerome Bruner recommends the use of frontier disciplines in school curricula, partly to shake the student out of his complacency and partly to help him see the ongoing, developmental nature of knowledge. If both aims were to be incorporated in one discipline from the social sciences, it could be none other than anthropology. Anthropology is intimately concerned with culture and society, their values and their problems. Unlike its sister discipline, sociology, anthropology is no slave of the statistical table, and its emphasis on comparative techniques makes it suited to modern inquiry-centred methods of teaching. Yet anthropology is a discipline, although not a traditional school subject, with an eclectic nature that embraces the concerns of all the other social sciences.

As George Spindler states, "No other of the social sciences provides the integration, however loose, for so much that is so important concerning man and his behaviour."[1] He goes on to say, "the implication is clear

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[1] George D. Spindler, "Anthropology and Education: An Overview," in Education and Culture: Anthropological Approaches, ed. George D. Spindler (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), p. 54.

that anthropology should be used to contribute to general education more widely than it is,"[1] and that, "it should be taught as an introduction to a new perspective on human life, as a way of thinking we may call 'human objectivity'."[2] He feels anthropology is properly part of the high school curriculum.

"Human objectivity" is a short term for a most complicated concept. Both educators and anthropologists have placed it at the center of the spectrum of goals for the study and practice of the discipline. Franz Boas, one of the fathers of anthropology, discussed it in these terms:

> The objective study of types of culture that have developed on historically independent lines or that have grown to be fundamentally distinct enables the anthropologist to differentiate clearly between those phases of life that are valid for all mankind and others that are culturally defined. Supplied with this knowledge he reaches a standpoint that enables him to view our own civilization critically, and to enter into a comparative study of values with a mind relatively uninfluenced by the emotions elicited by the automatically regulated behaviour in which he participates as a member of our society.[3]

Boas was writing about the effects of anthropology upon its practitioners, but others have taken these results and turned them around into goals for the teaching of the discipline. Robert Redfield, who advocates an anthropology course be given at some point in the high school curriculum that includes a penetrating study of one society in contrast

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[1] Ibid., p. 55. [2] Ibid.

[3] Franz Boas, Anthropology and Modern Life (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1932), p. 207.

with our own, makes this analysis of subject goals:

> The end in view here is to bring the young person to understand that every normal human being is reared in a society with ways of life characteristic of that society: that these ways 'make sense' as one way is seen to be related to the next, consistent with it and supporting it; that the motives which people have and the values which they embrace are derived, generally speaking, from this traditional culture. The further objective is to lead the young person to look back on his own culture from the vantage point secured in the understanding gained of other cultures and thus achieve that objectivity and capacity to consider thoughtfully his own conduct and the institutions of his own culture which are, in part, a result of thinking as if within another culture.[1]

The same goals are expressed more succinctly by Frederick O. Gearing in an article entitled, "Why Indians." Firstly, one gains a recognition that any culturally patterned behaviour, however bizarre it may at first seem to an outside observer, at bottom makes sense, is believable, and is fully human. One's reaction to strange, even repellent, behaviour should be a desire to learn more, not horror or amusement.[2] Secondly, the study of anthropology helps one to see well, that is with accuracy and some completeness, the social world immediately around.[3] Gearing feels that the first objective, an attitude of suspended judgment, is essential for comfortable, effective functioning in the

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[1]Robert Redfield, "A Contribution of Anthropology to the Education of Teachers," in Cultural Relevance and Educational Issues: Readings in Anthropology and Education, ed. Francis A. Ianni and Edward Storey (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1973), p. 204.

[2]Frederick O. Gearing, "Why Indians," ibid., p. 4.

[3]Ibid., p. 9.

modern world. Study of another culture with its problems and its different configurations of influences and effects distances the problems that adolescents may be having in adapting to their own culture, and that can help them to express themselves more freely about their concerns.

All writers who advocate the use of anthropology in school curricula make approximately the same appeals. However, George Kneller has misgivings about basing a social studies course on such a rapidly changing discipline.[1] But is not change an envigorating, if unavoidable, concomitant of "frontierness"? At any rate, the change seems to be concentrated more in the anthropologist's perception of his role and in the linguistic and physical anthropology subdisciplines. Concentration on a single well-documented group for the core of this course, bringing in references to other groups where it will clarify generalizations, is one way to accomodate change, since the additional references can change from year to year.

There is no radical reinterpretation of the major goals of anthropology in this course. The felt needs which were expressed at the end of Chapter I obviously have a close relationship to the generally accepted goals. This course takes the goals developed by practitioners of anthropology and seeks to operationalize them through its content and methodology.

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[1] George F. Kneller, Educational Anthropology: An Introduction (New York: John Wily and Sons, 1965), p. 144.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULA BASED ON ANTHROPOLOGY

While it is by no means a common basis for social studies curricula, the acceptance of anthropology in primary and secondary schooling has been growing in recent years. There is now a small number of commercially available courses, which can be divided into two categories according to whether they purport to teach the discipline itself or to conduct an area study from an anthropological standpoint.

Discipline-oriented Courses

The first discipline-oriented course was the Anthropology Curriculum Project of the University of Georgia. This began as a curriculum for grades one to seven. It is deductively structured on basic concepts from major areas of anthropological research such as evolution, race, culture, technology, kinship, and life cycle. Grades one and four study culture, grades two and five study old and new world prehistory, grades three and six study cultural change, and seven studies life cycles.[1] Secondary school topics have now been added, including language, political anthropology,

[1] Bob L. Taylor and Thomas L. Groom, Social Studies Education Projects: An ASCD Index (Washington, D. C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, National Education Association, 1971), p. 1.

value systems, and race, caste and prejudice.

The curriculum uses no media but textbooks and concentrates on conceptual learning, by which is meant not only abstract, generalizable ideas, but also the very detailed vocabulary of the professional archeologist and ethnologist. Discipline methodology is introduced as early as the grade two theme on archeology. No explicit attempt is made in the primary grades to relate the anthropology curriculum to other school subjects or to student interests. This work is seen as strictly preparatory to a familiarity with and ability to use anthropological concepts in adult life. The secondary part, because of the problem nature of its study areas, is multi-disciplinary.

Reviewing this curriculum, Haley concludes that in the hands of an imaginative teacher there are opportunities for inductive learning and that students seem to enjoy mastering the strange new vocabulary. Nevertheless, there is considerable jargon and very specialized studies for such an early age.[1] One wonders how young children who have really had no experience of their own culture as yet can handle concepts like culture trait, cluster, and area.

The Anthropology Curriculum Study Project formerly associated with the University of Chicago is more expansive than the Georgia project. Four kits commercially available are titled: Studying Societies, Origins of Humanness, The

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[1] Francis Haley, "Analysis of 26 Projects," Social Education, XXXVI (November, 1972), p. 747.

Emergence of Complex Societies, and Modernization and Traditional Cultures. Contained in the kits are tapes, films, overhead transparencies, worksheets, recordings, replicas of artifacts, filmstrips, slides, maps, reading sheets, evidence cards, books, and a teaching manual with daily instructions and objectives. Needless to say, the course is inquiry oriented, inculcating the analytical concepts of the discipline by forcing the student to use the methods of its professionals.[1]

Since both cognitive and affective objectives are explicit in this curriculum, it appears to be a better vehicle for social learning than the Georgia project, yet it retains an historical emphasis in the subject matter from the early days of the project when one of its objectives was to develop materials from anthropology that could be used in world history and culture courses.

Another curriculum based on anthropology as a discipline is the famous Man: A Course of Study, produced by the Educational Development Center. As the title suggests, it is not a course on the discipline itself, but neither is it an area study; rather it is an inquiry into three deeply felt questions about the "proper study of man":

> What is human about human beings?
> How did they get that way?

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[1] Frederick R. Smith and C. Benjamin Cox, New Strategies and Curriculum in Social Studies ("New Trends in Curriculum and Instruction"; Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1969), p. 134.

How can they be made more so?[1]

Jerome Bruner uses the term "aspirations" for the concept which I have termed goals. These are the general aims of the course; they are not reduced to behavioural objectives by the publishers:

> 1. to give pupils respect for and confidence in the power of their own minds.
> 2. to give them respect for, moreover, the powers of thought concerning the human condition, man's plight and his social life.
> 3. to provide them with a set of workable models, that make it simpler to analyse the nature of the social world in which they live and the conditions in which man finds himself.
> 4. to impart a sense of respect for the capacities and plight of man as a species, for his origins, for his potential, for his humanity.
> 5. to leave the student with a sense of the unfinished business of man's evolution.[2]

The curriculum uses books and audiovisual materials such as filmstrips, records, maps, posters, and photomurals. Activities are supplied in the form of games, animal studies, and observation projects. The data include field notes, songs, journals, poems, and stories. However, the crux of the course is the twenty-seven films, mostly on animal behaviour and on the Netsilik Eskimo.

In following the curriculum, on studies first the salmon with a view to understanding the concept of life cycle, adaptation, and natural selection. These concepts are repeated for the herring gull, with the addition of territo-

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[1] Jerome Bruner, "The Growth of Mind," American Psychologist, XX (December, 1965), 1011.

[2] Ibid., p. 1012.

riality, parenthood, and aggression. The study of baboons then combines all these ideas into the concept of social organization. Only at this point are humans introduced, to show the traits that set them off from the animals. Five topics are concentrated on: tool making, language, social organization, prolonged childhood, and the urge to explain.

There are two simultaneous forms of instruction in the curriculum, problem finding and problem solving. Both cognitive and affective means are used to encourage creative problem finding. There is much simulation and role playing to help pupils find points of contrast and comparison between what they discover in the resource material and their own lives. After they have defined their own problems, a more directed form of inquiry enables them to come up with at least partial solutions.[1]

Bruner's aspirations for the course have cognitive, affective, and skill components; even though they are not operationalized as behavioural objectives, they inform every aspect of the course. Haley believes that it is one of the finest social studies curricula in existence, both because of the usefulness of the learnings it presents and the humane philosophy underlying it.[2]

Area Studies

The use of the National Film Board series on the Netsilik Eskimo in Man: A Course of Study makes part of

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[1] Haley, loc. cit., p. 742. [2] Ibid.

that curriculum an area study. Area studies are more common in anthropologically based social studies curricula than discipline studies. They have developed out of geographically based area studies as the social studies have broadened their horizons. Area studies may treat only one country or several geographically related cultures, or they may take one topic and examine its manifestation in several cultures through contrast and comparison.

An example of a curriculum on a culture area is the Asian Studies Inquiry Project directed by John Michaelis. The materials consist of several resource bundles consisting of reprints of original material, sometimes of a controversial nature. The bundles deal with: Asian Thought--Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Chinese painting, Chinese popular fiction, and Gandhi; Changing patterns in Asian Life--East meets West, Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese revolution, life in Communist China, modernization in Japan, and relations be- China and the United States; Traditional Patterns in Asian Life--man and his environment in Asia, food and survival in Asia, clan and caste in village India, and cultural patterns in Asian life. The curriculum uses the disciplines of anthropology, economics, geography, and philosophy but avoids a discipline-centred approach.

In fact, the major goals of the Asian Studies Inquiry Project lift it above a simple area study. Asian material is used to stimulate reflection about issues of universal concern that promote insight into the life of all

mankind. Some of the problems studied are man's relation to man, the purpose of government, spirituality, and progress. The curriculum incorporates cognitive objectives from Bloom's Taxonomy, in particular, interpreting information, analysing it, and synthesizing it in an inquiry program using open-ended questions and discussion. (Here is a sample question, "Do you feel it is possible to introduce the science and technology of one culture into another while maintaining the traditional values of the native culture?")[1]

This curriculum appears to be a balanced and intelligent attempt to teach older adolescents about culture and the human condition. The lack of audiovisuals restricts it to students who have already formed concepts about the appearance of things Asian. It is unfortunate that Asia must be reduced to China and Japan with only a glance at India, but the organization, as well as the goals, helps to prevent giving the notion that all Asia is one and the same culture. Since great care is taken to interpret Asian cultural phenomena on Asian terms, one common fault of area studies, a basic ethnocentric bias, is avoided.

One source of such bias could be the political orientation of an author. This may take the form of propoganda for or against some controversial aspect of the study society. It may take the form of using the study materials to justify some policy of the students' own nation, as in

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[1] anon., "Asian Studies Inquiry Program," Social Education, XXXIV (April, 1970), 435.

the book Peoples of the China Seas by Elizabeth Clark. It treats Indochina, Malaya, Indonesia, and the Philippines from the geographical, economic, and cultural viewpoints, and the tenor of the politics can be gathered from this list of study questions:

> 1. Should "self-determination of nations" apply to nations whose scientific, military, and economic progress is slow?
> 2. When should nations remain colonial holdings? When have they a right to their independence?
> 3. Should it be left to the people of a nation to decide whether they should be independent, or should other nations decide for them?
> 4. What differences have you noticed in the ways the United States, the Netherlands, France, and England [sic] have treated their colonies?
> 5. How do you account for these differences? Can you be sure which system is the right one?[1]

Another source of ethnocentric bias is not so blatant, but potentially more dangerous, since it cannot be seen and questioned by the students. It arises from the fact that most area studies focused on one culture are presented in the early grades. The Taba curriculum has its Communities around the World section in grade three.[2] The new orientation for the social studies in Québec recommends area studies for children aged nine to ten,[3] and the Ontario

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[1] Elizabeth Allerton Clark, Peoples of the China Seas, ed. Maxwell S. Stewart (St. Louis, Mo.: Institute of Pacific Relations and Webster Publishing Co., 1942), p. 94.

[2] Mary C. Durkin, Grade Three: Four Communities around the World ("Taba Social Studies Curriculum"; Menlo Park, Calif.: Addisson-Wesley Publishing Co., 1969), p. 1.

[3] Québec, Ministère de l'Education, The New Orientation Proposed for the Teaching of the Social Sciences in the Elementary School DIGEES Progr. 71-55A, July 14, 1971, p. 13.

educational television series People and Places is designed for the junior division in elementary school.[1] Two problems are caused by this grade orientation that lower the value of these studies as sources of transferable understandings and concepts about culture and society.

First, area studies are still tied to geography in that they are titled and justified on geographical grounds. People of the Niger Delta is one of the ETVO programs; the Taba curriculum teaches about people of a Norwegian fiord, Canada'a arctic, and people of Thailand. It appears that the ecological niche of these societies is more important than their cultures.

Area studies have traditionally come near the beginning of a child's social education, probably because of their interest and motivating value. There was no difficulty in this when the emphasis was on geography, but a serious problem is raised as these studies take on a more anthropological orientation. By retaining the old time slot for area studies one is trying to teach people whose cognitive development is still incomplete a subject of great abstraction and ambiguity. The level of the students demands emphasis on highly visible, concrete aspects of the foreign culture, which may be reduced to the level of folklore.

The second problem is that young children have insufficient awareness of their own culture to be able to

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[1] Ontario, Department of Education, ETV Branch, People and Places: Teacher's Guide Toronto; 1969-70, p. 3.

perceive its dynamics, let alone those of a radically different culture. To expose children to area studies before they are ready is to risk oversimplification or misrepresentation of the study culture, incorporating ethnocentric bias simply because all the parts of the study culture were not taken into consideration.

Implications

Although it is arguable that area studies are the best way to incorporate anthropological materials into the school curriculum, educators must take account of the greater complexity of these materials as compared to geographic studies. Thus area studies should be rescheduled to a time when the student is likely to have a grasp of his own culture, and his cognitive growth has reached the point where he can handle the very abstract notions of an anthropologically based course.

The first area study should be in great depth about one society, definitely not a wide culture area and probably not a country, if the goal is to provide concepts and generalizations about culture and not to provide information about some political or geographic entity. There should be many references to other cultures, especially those from the same area, but if there is too much skipping around, or if only the perfect illustrations from many cultures are used for each abstract concept, then all sense of culture as a system is lost.

I submit that the first culture a child studies should not be psychologically too distant from his own. This is partly in recognition of the school's role in enculturation but mainly to prevent a disservice being done to the study culture through misunderstanding. Work on radically different cultures should await a greater level of maturity than young adolescents possess.

The intensive study of a limited number of cultures is one teaching style Bruner and Spindler found in use in American college introductory courses. They claim many advantages for this method. It communicates the total picture of complex ways of life best. The use of ethnographic data helps the student create his own cognitive patterns and develop his own concepts for use in other studies. This inductive methodology provides a motivating illusion of discovery, approximating the work of a real anthropologist. Perhaps the most important result of using this method is that the sense of finality of the deductive approach is avoided, and the students learn to live with ambiguity and uncertainty.

Books alone could lead to imaginative but incorrect ideas among unsophisticated students. Most commercial curricula use some form of media. Chapter IV will review a selection of these audiovisual media.

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[1]Edward M. Bruner and George D. Spindler, "The Introductory Course in Cultural Anthropology," in The Teaching of Anthropology, ed. David G. Mandelbaum, Gabriel W. Lasker, and Ethel M. Albert (n. p.: American Anthropological Association, 1963), p. 144.

CHAPTER IV

MEDIA AND THE TEACHING OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Some Methodological Considerations

As the descriptions of commercially available social studies courses based on anthropology indicated, there is a wide variation in the amount and kinds of media used in social education today. The University of Georgia's Anthropology Curriculum Project uses no audio-visual aids at all, while the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project of the University of Chicago used a great variety.

One point of interest regarding the use of media in such curricula is that the films, records, etc. are meant to be used as resource material, much as a real anthropologist would use his primary data. The films in Man: A Course of Study are in a format that permits individual viewing and personal research, and it is a specific objective of the University of Chicago project that students shall incorporate concepts of the discipline by behaving like young practitioners of it.

This specific use of media is in sharp contrast to standard classroom usage where media, if used at all, are intended to motivate further study or to enrich traditional classroom teaching. This is not meant to disparage standard

teaching; motivation is a serious problem and the inherent interest factor in media, especially with film and television, is one reason social studies curriculum specialists suggest their use. As Jarolimek says, students are accustomed to be interested in the vicarious experiences they see on television; performers are generally more interesting than real people.[1]

Enrichment is another problem, however. It is a very fuzzy concept, despite being the stated aim of educational television in Ontario. Enrichment has to do with expanding on classroom teaching, but not supplanting it. The producers of educational television programs have certain advantages over the classroom teacher such as more money, more time, access to more materials and expert resource persons. However, they are not to take advantage of these circumstances and start teaching their subjects. What they produce should remain outside the necessary requirements of the course of studies, a boon if used but not a loss if ignored or if the school has no access to the programming.[2]

That this is the only possible position for a government agency to take when many of its school systems cannot take advantage of ETV because of cost or technical difficulties is obvious. It also stems from a democratic desire

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[1] John Jarolimek, Social Studies in Elementary Education (4th ed.; New York: MacMillan, 1971), pp. 140-41.

[2] Interview with Gerard Boudreau, ETVO, Toronto, Ontario, December 15, 1971.

for autonomy within school districts. However, is it possible that there are certain advantages to the use of media that should raise them from the status of enrichment to that of neeessities?

Film and television are media only slightly removed from reality, whereas print presents reality encoded in language, needing decoding by the reader. People who have never seen members of a particular foreign culture are in some danger of forming erroneous notions about them, simply because they are forced to use their imaginations to interpret what they read. Print media also tend to impose an organization on the material that is more pervasive than in film or television and that may stifle a young person's tentative attempts to make his own sense out of it.

John MacDonald discusses these differences in the media in A Philosophy of Education. He sees print as too intellectual and impersonal to achieve the affective objective of reducing the ethnocentrism of the student. "To actually see these people, however, as they live their daily lives and meet the needs and demands of life by the practice of their own skills and customs is one sure way of sensing their common humanity."[1] The use of media to supply almost firsthand knowledge ensures that the student keeps an interest in concrete reality even when building abstract hypotheses and theories. On the other hand he warns that there

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[1] John MacDonald, A Philosophy of Education (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1965), p. 157.

must be teacher directed discussion supplementing the use of media and that the student must apply his own analysis and synthesis to the raw data from the media presentation if it is to have any lasting value.[1]

Elsa Marcussen, president of the UNESCO-sponsored International Centre of Films for Children and Young People, quotes a young Czech concerning the value of television for intercultural understanding:

> If I am to honour and respect a person I must know him to make sure he deserves it. The same is true of nations. I should like to get with the aid of TV as comprehensive a picture as possible of life, culture and politics of other countries. We should have the means of getting to know, at least in this way, the life and aims of ordinary people all over the world. Of course such programs call for absolute honesty.[2]

To see is to experience, if only in a small way.

Anthropologists are divided concerning the use of media in their classes. In evaluating their opinions, one must keep in mind that professional anthropologists do not often teach younger adolescents, and so their conclusions may not be valid for the audience at which this course is aimed. Many of the contributers to The Teaching of Anthropology (edited by Mandelbaum, Lasker, and Albert) use film in their college courses and advocate its use as a resource. Less use is made of other media. However, at least one writer, David French disapproves of film and television

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[1] Ibid., p. 159.

[2] Elsa B. Marcussen, "A Portrait of the Child as Mediaviewer," Journal of Education (Halifax), XVIII (January-February, 1969), 39.

for a reason only an anthropologist would be expected to develop.

He does not deny that film and television have the power to transmit information. In fact, he advocates their use in graduate courses as sources of data for analysis. Yet in undergraduate classes he feels the student is still too culture-bound to the notion that media are for entertainment. Should media be used, he says, viewing must be preceded with readings, lectures, and discussions in order to raise "audience members at least to the level of students."[1] An educator would not be quite so pessimistic about media; while recognizing that there is a problem because of ingrained response patterns to media as entertainment, he would nevertheless actively seek ways of circumventing these patterns, such as assigned readings, lectures, and discussions. He does not accept this particular cultural trait as an immutable fact.

Social studies specialists follow two themes in their suggestions for ensuring that media are used for learning and not relaxation. Like French, they advocate considerable preparation and follow-up surrounding the presentation. This is necessary to accomodate individual differences and to give the students a chance to ask questions or express ideas, both learning necessities for which the media

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[1] David H. French, "Anthropology and the Methodology of Teaching," in The Teaching of Anthropology, ed. David G. Mandelbaum, Gabriel W. Lasker, and Ethel M. Albert (n. p.: American Anthropological Association, 1963), p. 175.

do not as provide. Classroom work is also needed to examine the larger implications of what has been seen on film or television, since by their very visual nature they present raw data better than they analyse or synthesize it. Nor would any socially-minded educator wish to perform those operations for the student.

Another suggestion for ensuring the proper atmosphere during class viewing of film or television is to build opportunities for active response into the program. This could be overt, like having students raise their hands when they hear a new word that was studied in the preparation session, thus motivating close attention to the audio of the program; or it may be covert, as when the studio teacher poses questions and waits a short time for the students to make silent answers. Harold Wigren says the built-in responses increase learning and promote discussion in the classroom.[1]

One caveat concerning programs teaching concepts from the social sciences should be mentioned. Many such films use a story drama to give interest to the material. Eight of the twelve programs in the Ontario series People and Places use this approach. However, Martorella claims that a narrative drama is distracting and reduces the

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[1]Harold E. Wigren, "Do Students Learn from Media," Journal of Education (Halifax), XVIII (January-February, 1969), 26.

teaching value of the program.[1] It would seem virtually impossible to have both a story drama and a studio teacher to whom the students could respond.

From this review of the literature on the use of media in teaching social studies several conclusions may be drawn. It seems evident that students like media and see them as ways of getting more concrete information than they can with print or lectures. Generally teachers accept the research that shows that film and television teach at least as well as classroom teachers. A concern of the educator is how to maximize the learning from a media presentation.

This social studies course is designed to use television, and the question naturally arises of what characteristics of this medium make it more suited to the goals of the course than any other medium. Records, slides, and filmstrips are too static for my purposes. The lack of a host or hostess, such as could be used in film or TV, distances the material from the student, turns it into data with no emotional content.

The final choice between television and film was made on the grounds of this emotional content. Film style commonly uses an unseen narrator, while television style commonly uses an announcer or seen narrator. To achieve the objective of inducing a friendly feeling in the students

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[1]Peter H. Martorella, Concept Learning in the Social Studies: Models for Structuring Curriculum (Scranton, Penn.: Intext Educational Publishers, 1971), p. 129.

towards a representative of the study society, I wished to have the narrator on camera, speaking directly to the students. This was felt to provide the best opportunity for attitudes to be formed about this person.

Examples of Media Productions on Other Cultures

It is impossible to do more than touch on the wide variety of media available for teaching about other cultures. I shall make only a few general remarks illustrated by examples drawn from commercial sources and then describe several films dealing with the study area of this course.

Educational media seem to concentrate on teaching about technology (in the sense used by Taylor--that aspect of culture devoted to the production and utilization of material objects)[1] rather than on social relationships. Undoubtedly this is the easiest part of a culture to pictorialize, but it does seem a gross oversimplification to reduce a culture to: prehistoric man, man and the environment, food, clothing, shelter, and the races of mankind. A recently available set of transparencies from 3M Company covers only those topics.[2] The Netsilik series of the NFB has as a main objective the examination in close detail of many

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[1] Robert B. Taylor, Cultural Ways: A Compact Introduction to Cultural Anthropology (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1969), p. 52.

[2] 3M Company, Visually Oriented Teaching Materials: School Catalogue (London, Ont.: Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Co., 1969), p. 25.

technical activities in Eskimo daily life.[1]

The geographical emphasis of many films has been mentioned in connection with the geographical emphasis of area studies. This cultural ecology interest is evident in the films recommended by the Ministère de l'Education du Québec in its bibliography for use in elementary social science teaching: Life in Hot Wet Lands, Life in Northern Lands, Oasis, Nile in Egypt, and Norwegian Fjord are the names of some of the films recommended for teaching about distant communities. Only three out of eleven films have names implying a primary interest in people.[2]

Another point of discussion that should be raised concerning commercial films about other cultures is their "folklore" approach. Happily, this is not so common as the geographical approach. Only three out of the twelve programs in the People and Places series do it: St. Malo (study topic--why Bretons play bag-pipes and wear kilts, life and adventures of a famous pirate), Sunday in Barcelona (folk arts), and Junior Sargent Beats Pan (Trinidad steel drums).[3] Interesting as the customs of other societies are, they do not serve as good sources of learnings about society and

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[1]Canada, National Film Board, Netsilik Eskimo Series, n. p., n. d., p. 2.

[2]Québec, Ministère de l'Education, Bibliography for Use with the Elementary Social Sciences Programme, March, 1972, p. 19.

[3]Ontario, Department of Education, ETV Branch, People and Places: Teacher's Guide, Toronto, 1969-70, passim.

culture in the general sense.

Another problem of using films and television is the small amount of time allowed for presenting vast amounts of information. The NFB series on the Netsilik Eskimo is probably the only commercially available attempt to do full justice to a culture. There are twenty-one half-hour parts to the series, grouped around customary activities of the different seasons. These films may be regarded as ethnographic studies. There is no commentary and no introduction beyond indicating the season, the temperature, and the location. The only audio is the conversation of the Netsilik and the natural sounds of the environment.

The children's series The Stories of Tuktu has voice-over commentary and Kabluna music. These shorter films were cut from the same raw footage as the Netsilik series. They were never intended to be educational, except for showing Eskimo life in a pleasant way. The Netsilik series requires but also rewards careful use in a well-structured course. Because of the language barrier, and partly because of the sheer beauty of the films, students may be tempted just to sit back and enjoy them. Under the guidance of the class teacher a great deal, especially about cultural ecology, can be learned from this series.

Films on Sarawak

There has been no such exhaustive treatment of the study group for this course. The Malaysian government has

released a fair number of films in the United States through its mission to the United Nations. These tend to be of a ceremonial or folklore nature like the investiture of a state king, or they are of a rather chauvinistic nature like Semarak Sarawak--progress in Sarawak since union.

Privately made films are hampered by their short length. William Geddes, an endearingly sympathetic ethnologist, has made a thirty-eight minute film about his research group, the Land Dayaks of Mentu Tapuh. In thirty-eight minutes he has packed food-gathering, field work, religion and ceremony, canoe building, games, and dancing.[1] That is quite a feat. Although Geddes weaves together the different aspects of Land Dayak culture wonderfully well in his ethnography, it does not seem possible to convey the interrelationships of so many things in one short film. Certainly not if, like this film, it is free of interpretation.

Another film, Malaysian River Boy, is a fifteen minute study of two families from the Iban and Chinese societies on the Rajang River. Family life, customs, eating habits, and home interiors are shown as well as principle cash crops and a little about the export system.[2] Again, there is the problem of time, compounded by the decision to

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[1]National Information Center for Educational Media, Index to 16mm. Educational Films (4th ed.; Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1973), I, 593.

[2]Carman Educational Associates, New Releases: 16mm Films from Carman (n. p.: Carman Educational Associates, n. d.), p. 1.

give two cultures equal coverage. This film also has a story line, although not a very strong one. The cultural elements shown are the obvious visual ones criticized above; this film, even though very interesting, cannot add much to an abstract appreciation of society and culture.

The final program reviewed is a colour film made for BBC television by Tom Harrisson, the former curator of the Sarawak Museum. It is about the Iban and, unfortunately, takes the folklore approach. Much of it is about a diving contest, a sort of trial by ordeal, but nothing is said about the Iban jury system or the normal procedure of resolving disputes by compromise. Like the other films discussed here, it is interesting, but tries to do too much without an organizing idea, and so it latches onto the most picturesque features of the culture. One other remark, Harrisson did not have lights for interior shooting, so much of the daily life, as well as the distinctive architecture, had to be omitted.

Implications

By planning this course in thirteen segments it is hoped to avoid the common fault of superficiality. Each program deals with one aspect of the Iban culture, so that influences and effects are grouped together, although each program has more or less strong connections with every other program. There is folklore, but it is introduced in the context of the Iban's own interests, as it was in the Netsilik

film on life in the winter camp.

Unlike the Netsilik series, the proposed course uses a narrator who is (or portrays) a member of the study group. Reading problems made it too difficult to use the young Iban who had been my informant in Sarawak. The narrator provides a focus for attitudes developed by the student. She acts as studio teacher, explaining things seen, directing attention, and posing questions intended to help students relate bits of information. Finally, the narrator is intended to embody the young modern Iban, caught between tradition and westernization.

The narrator is made necessary by the difference between this series and most other social studies films. This series is primarily concerned with social relationships. The technology of Iban life is probably the least important subject in the programs. As the above discussion has shown, technology is one of the main subjects of social studies films. Social relationships, influences of tradition and other cultures, in short, the processes of a society are very hard to show only visually.

Ease of visualization is not the only reason for a technical orientation in social studies films. Many are aimed at an age group not expected to understand abstract concepts and the subtle interrelationships of social life. This series is designed for an older group than presently receives area studies in Quebec. The basis of this choice of audience is presented in Chapter V.

CHAPTER V

THE INTENDED AUDIENCE

The program series and course in social studies is planned for students in late elementary or junior high school, grades seven and eight. That achievement level was chosen partly in view of the findings of develôpmental psychology and partly for organizational reasons.

It was felt that, as yet, the Canadian high school is still too rigid an institution to accomodate a free-ranging interdisciplinary course like this in the intermediate and senior grades. However, the junior division in Québec high school now follows the directives of the Ministère de l'Education found in DIGEES Progr. 71-55A and has foregone the teaching of history and geography as separate subjects. The document recommends that the social sciences be taught as methods of observing Reality. The disciplines of economics, sociology, demography, and ethnology are specifically mentioned in these instructions.[1] This official sanction of a free-er interpretation of the term social studies in the lower grades influenced the choice of a late elementary-early high school audience.

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[1] Québec, Ministère de l'Education, The New Orientation Proposed for the Teaching of the Social Sciences in the Elementary School DIGEES Progr. 71-55A, July 14, 1971, p. 4.

Developmental Psychology

It was the research on the mental development of children that determined the choice of a late elementary audience. Whether one phrases it iconic vs. ratiocinative mode of representation or concrete vs. formal operational thought, research shows that at approximately the age of twelve the cognitive processes with which a child makes sense of the mass of surrounding stimuli undergo a profound change. Bruner attributes this to increased facility in and reliance on language, and he maintains that this symbolic mode has been present in the child and developing ever since he began to speak. Piaget does not set so much store on language. He feels that the onset of formal operational thought is a function of general maturation. The difference in terminology and theory does not matter in the present case; both are agreed that early adolescence marks the beginning of cognitive processes similar to those of adults.

Through experimentation Bruner has isolated four major differences in the thought processes of the twelve-thirteen year old group and younger children. In the game Twenty Questions younger children make each separate question a hypothesis, but young adolescents begin to show an awareness of hierarchy by organizing their questions in a directed sequence. Young adolescents also organize what they see into a frame of reference that transcends the isolated bits of visible information. To apply a concept from communications theory, they can make use of the redundancy in

the environment because of their newly developed organizing abilities. They can use such logical tools as implication to draw more from a situation than is explicit in it. This sense of pattern gives the thinking of young adolescents an organized persistence that is much more efficient for solving problems than the dogged attempts of under twelves. Young adolescents can also make use of indirect information, already known states or constraints which are not given in the immediate problem.[1] These experimental findings might be resolved into the conclusion that by the onset of adolescence chidren have begun to exercise a certain autonomy in their relations with knowledge. They have started to organize it in their own individual ways and they are capable of applying previously aquired facts, concepts, or generalizations to new situations. This ability is crucial to learning in a course like this, which relies very much on comparison of things given with things discovered or previously known by the students. Bruner's discovery that young adolescents demonstrate an organizing ability of a different order from that of younger children is evidence in favour of postponing serious social studies until that age. The maze of influences and effects found in every culture could only be confusing to younger students.

Piaget's own work on adolescent logical thinking seems less applicable to the present discussion than some of

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[1] Jerome Bruner, On Knowing: Essays for the Left Hand (New York: Atheneum, 1968), pp. 85-87.

the popularizations of it for educators. Elkind brings out several points of importance. Age twelve marks the entry into the formal operational mode of thought, which means the child's thinking is not bound to concrete, factual stimuli, but he can reason about hypothetical or contrary-to-fact situations. Thought itself can become an object of reflection, using symbols of symbols. Only the adolescent can take many variables in a problem into consideration at one time. This is very important, for any course that purports to deal with human lifestyles honestly must at all costs avoid simplistic and facile explanations. Students who can see different sides to a question and can balance different variables in a problem will get the most benefit from such a course. This social studies course also aims to prepare its students to criticize and improve their own society. Piaget says that not until adolescence can one imagine ideal situations. Not bound to the here and now, the adolescent can deal with the future, suddenly become a reality.[1]

There is another researcher who relies on experimentation to investigate adolescent thinking and whose work must be examined at this juncture. E. A. Peel, an educational psychologist, has drawn some interesting conclusions about the abilities of twelve and thirteen year olds. The main source of his findings is a series of experiments

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[1] David Elkind, A Sympathetic Understanding of the Child Six to Sixteen (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971), p. 126.

performed by himself and others at the University of Birmingham. Generally a problem was set out in a short paragraph, and the subject was to make a defended judgment. The judgments were rated on a three point scale: (1) tautological, premise-denying, partial, and inconsistent responses, (2) circumstantial and descriptive accounts often using only one piece of information, (3) imaginative-comprehensive explanations using independent ideas and seeing the problem in their terms.[1]

Peel has demonstrated a much larger difference in the thought processes of younger and older adolescents than either Bruner or Piaget describe. In general the capacity to imagine possibilities was found in only a minority of subjects before the ages of thirteen-fifteen; their evaluations of the test problems were dominated by circumstantial or descriptive comment.

Breaking down the act of judgment into four components: arousal of interest, imagining and formulating hypotheses, selection and rejection of hypotheses, and hypothetical-deductive reasoning, Peel found significantly lower performance among young adolescents in all areas. Up to ages thirteen-fourteen subjects advanced only limited hypotheses. Good quality hypotheses, taking into account all aspects of the problem, appeared only at fourteen plus. In selecting and rejecting hypotheses, young adolescents appeared to have

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[1] E. A. Peel, The Nature of Adolescent Judgment (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1971), p. 25.

severe difficulties keeping more than one problem element or hypothesis in mind, and so they did not possess the materials to consider a problem comprehensively or in terms of all the possibilties. Finally, he found little evidence of the ability to sustain a deductive argument until fifteen or later.[1]

The elements determining the point of interface between circumstantial-descriptive thought and imaginative explanation are not only age, I.Q., socio-economic status, and language ability level, but also the subject matter of the problem. Those of a social-culturally familiar kind evoked more mature responses than those of a technical or non-social nature.[2] Yet elsewhere Peel states that in social or communal relations the more subtle interrelations and balances among individuals and groups are not perceived until mid to late adolescence, sometimes not even until adulthood.[3]

Do the implications of Peel's research mean that a course on the workings of society should be put off until senior high school or college? It would be unfortunate indeed if a large part of our society were prevented from learning about it simply because they left school too soon. However, Peel's work can be criticized both on the basis of his experimentation and in the context of this course.

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[1] Ibid., p. 153. [2] Ibid., pp. 57 and 152.

[3] Ibid., p. 99.

Peel uses an extremely rigorous set of criteria to rank the subject's judgments, but nowhere does he state the exact instructions given. Those who wrote short responses were penalized, but one cannot tell if they were aware that they had to answer as fully as possible. In one problem the subjects were asked to pick out the area of most concern to a manufacturer from three possibilities and then to defend their choice. Full points were assigned only to the one subject who picked all three--a clear disregard for the instruction in this case. In another case subjects were penalized for reading a certain implication into the problem instead of remaining strictly logical. The use of implication is a very common adult short-cut in thinking, and both Bruner and Piaget see its use as one of the marks of the appearance of more mature thought. Thus Peel's conclusions are less potent in our consideration of the target audience.

A more important circumstance for this course is that all Peel's subjects acted individually and without aid or instruction in the problem solving method. Sheer numbers in a class situation would remove the problem of limited hypotheses and possibly also that of being unable to recall details during hypothesis selection. In Peel's experimental scheme, hypothesis testing consisted solely of deductive reasoning. In this course a variety of information gathering methods, plus discussion, plus supervised organization of the findings is expected to overcome any deficiencies in the students' thinking.

The foregoing investigations have been concerned with the mental or conceptual development of the child; but a curriculum, to use a shop-worn phrase, must be directed at the whole child. For more information about general child development we turn to Arnold Gesell and David Elkind.

Gesell used a painstaking interview technique to gather information from and about children aged six to sixteen. Here are some pertinent remarks about twelves and thirteens. Bright twelve-year-olds show an increase in the abilities of arranging, classifying, and generalizing; they have not fully attained these abilities. Again, here is an indication that pedagogical techniques for promoting more mature thought must actually be built into the curriculum. Twelves are fascinated by travel and strange places, a motivating factor in the case of this course. And, twelves ought to be fed at school![1] It was this unexpected bit of information that led to the inclusion of an Iban meal among the learning activities. Preparing and eating the meal uses Bruner's iconic mode of learning.

Thirteens possess a generally broader outlook. They see more sides of a problem and are not so dogmatic in discussions; in fact, they very much enjoy analysis and discussion. They are curious, with a wider awareness of world affairs and a need to pursue ideas. However, the thirteen-

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[1]Arnold Gesell, Frances L. Ilg, and Louise Bates Ames, Youth: The Years from Ten to Sixteen (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1956), p. 45.

year-old is more likely to act blasé about the colourful aspects of other cultures that caught twelve's attention.[1]

Elkind relies very heavily on Gesell in his comments on adolescents. He says young adolescents are vehement critics of home and school, but they do not go beyond their experience to general social issues and institutions.[2] They are idealistic and engage a great deal in their new ability to imagine contrary-to-fact situations, but they entirely lack the ability to translate their intentions into practical applications.[3] This suggests that students should be helped to form plans and supervised as they carry them out. One small practical step in the development of international understanding would be to have the students obtain Iban penpals (through the Centre for International Co-operation in Thunder Bay, Ontario).

With adolescence comes prejudice. This was probably latent in childhood, inculcated unconsciously by parental behaviour, but did not manifest itself until the child was able to think of people in general categories.[4] This overt prejudice, coupled with the new ability to think about thinking, suggests that the study of stereotypes and prejudices be made part of this course. In particular the concept primitive will be examined and the question of ethnocentric bias studied.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 168-172. [2] David Elkind, op. cit., p. 131.
[3] Ibid., p. 109. [4] Ibid., p. 108.

Educational Philosophy

I have examined some of the findings of developmental psychology and discussed their implications for this course. I shall turn now to several more intuitive opinions.

The first is from Dr. Robert McClure, a medical missionary whose most recent posting was with the Iban of Sarawak; since his return he has been lecturing on; "What the concrete jungle can learn from the green jungle." He has this to say on high schools and social change:

> ...but I think that as we look on our society and find out, have some of the defects pointed out in a friendly way, a constructive way, I think we can correct these things slowly. I think we'll correct them by example, and I think perhaps people are interested; perhaps it's the effect of Watergate, perhaps it's the effect of increased violence in our urban community, perhaps a number of these things make us realize now. We are rethinking our standards in Canada, and I'm very glad of it. I think Canadians are extremely receptive to this, and I find them most receptive in the high school, in that age group. I find them more receptive than adults are; and I think the hope lies, of course, in our young people. And these social changes can be brought about. If you look at the social changes that have been brought about in China, Singapore, Malay [sic], Thailand, Taiwan; people say, 'These changes have been brought in one generation,' and we say that's a long time--33 years--and they say, 'Oh no. That's not one generation. One generation is five years--the time that a high school student enters high school till he leaves high school.' You can bring about terrific social changes, and I do not think we've tried to use our high schools to bring about social changes and improvements in our country the way we could have done. I think it is a field yet to be cultivated.[1]

If, as Dr. McClure says, high school is a most fertile place for new ideas about society to be taught, the

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[1] Interview with Robert McClure, Montréal, Québec, April 22, 1975.

editors of Social Studies for Young Adolescents add the further impression that these students are very interested in such ideas:

> Junior highers, perhaps more than other students, are characterized by curiosity and are concerned with the world about them. They are concerned with the world that they are beginning to analyse and evaluate, the world in which they will live.[1]

This observation supports the intention of the course that the concepts and constructs developed in the study of a simpler society be also applied to investigation of the student's own culture.

In a much more philosophical tone, Alfred North Whitehead sees ages eight to twelve as the years of wonder in his tripartite division of education into the ages of romance, precision, and generalization. He feels that the first period should be devoted to exposure to the areas of further study, designed to arouse interest and a certain basic competency but not to stifle interest with the more abstract, detailed work which must come with the age of precision.[2] This social studies course is meant to balance precariously between these two stages. It draws elements from a number of social science disciplines, but in itself delves deeply into none of them. Its source materials are

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[1] Julian C. Aldrich and Eugene Cottle, eds. Social Studies for Young Adolescents: Programmes for Grades 7, 8, and 9 (3rd ed.; Washington, D. C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1967), p. 14.

[2] Alfred North Whitehead, The Aims of Education (New York: The Free Press, 1967), p. 32.

not statistics and government reports but the more or less subjective writings of native and Western peoples of all walks of life. The student will not be able to construct a micro-economic demand curve, but he will understand the concept needs and the necessity of economic choice. And, hopefully, he will have become intrigued by the complex concepts society and culture and eager to tackle them in greater depth during his next educational stage.

PART II

PEOPLE OF THE HORNBILL: A SOCIAL STUDIES COURSE IN THIRTEEN TELEVISED LESSONS

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL COURSE DESCRIPTION

Course Goals

The course is based on concepts and generalizations developed in the field of social and cultural anthropology. This limitation of scope has to do with the fact that this is not a course in anthropology but in social studies. However essential the other branches of anthropology such as physical anthropology, linguistics, and archeology are to a well-rounded, mature view of mankind, they are nevertheless not strictly social in nature. In omitting them, one runs the risk of giving a distorted view of the discipline, but gains instead a better focus for the attainment of goals and objectives relating to social learning.

There are two major goals for the course: to help students avoid a-priori, ethnocentric judgment in contacts with other cultures, and to help students become more aware of the influences and processes that are shaping their own culture. Each of these goals has an important implication for the theoretical foundation of the course. From the first goal follows the importance of developing attitudes of cultural relativism, and from the second follows the importance of the concept of holism.

The sum of the parts of a culture is not a collec-

tion of traits but a system with every part locked more or less securely to every other part. In a proper ethnographic study no part can be taken in complete isolation from the rest. William Geddes' report on the Land Dayaks of Sarawak is a fine example of a sensitive observer making connections between various aspects of a culture. If a culture is studied as a system, then it follows that the processes which bind together the different parts are almost more important for understanding the culture as a whole than the individual traits. The concept of holism is at the root of the anthropologist's question: "What do I not know?" when faced with incomprehensible behaviour.

If a young person is to begin to understand some of the workings of his own culture, he must be brought to see it as a system of interrelated parts. Each part responds to different influences and affects different areas of life, but they all interact to form the culture.

Asking "What do I not know?" shows that the anthropologist has suspended judgment on his study culture until he has all his data. This is an example of cultural relativism, the opposite of ethnocentrism. Cultural relativism is the attitude which informed the goals relating to other cultures that were discussed in Chapter II.

Ethnocentrism is the attitude that one's own culture is superior to all others and a valid standard by which to judge the behaviour of other groups. Ethnocentrism has been and to some extent still is a valuable protective device.

preventing fragmentation of social groups and the adoption of maladaptive traits. However, when one cultural group gains great power and prestige, as Western forms of civilization have, then there is a considerable danger that its ethnocentric behaviour may seriously harm and even destroy weaker societies. Even well-intentioned actions by people insensitive to differences in values or social structures can cause traumatic upheavals. (The classic study of this sort of meddling is Lauriston Sharp's "Steel Axes for Stone Age Australians".)[1]

Cultural relativism does not mean an attitude that every person is free to behave just as he pleases, nor that every culture is the best it can be, or that there is no basis on which to judge between different cultures. Individuals are part of their societies and must operate by their commonly accepted rules. Each culture is a response to a different set of circumstances--ecological, historical, and inter-cultural. It solves some of the problems humans face very well, but others not so well. For the purposes of this course cultural relativism will be understood to be the viewing of any group's behaviour in its own context.

Holism and cultural relativism are then the two sides of one coin. The student of culture studies the parts in order to create a picture of the whole, and he studies

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[1] Lauriston Sharp, "Steel Axes for Stone Age Australians," in Economic Anthropology: Readings in Theory and Analysis, ed. Edward E. LeClair and Harold K. Schneider (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968).

the whole in order to get a perspective on the parts.

Why Iban?

The goals of this course are to be achieved through study of the social system and cultural traits of the Iban of Sarawak, Malaysia. The question naturally arises of why a native Canadian group was not chosen. There are several reasons (not the least of which was the opportunity to do personal research in Sarawak:).

Although some anthropologists, like Robert Redfield, advocate using radically different cultures from our own as models for study, one must remember that they are prescribing for much more mature students than those for whom this course is intended. The Ibans are closer in a social-psychological sense to modern North American norms than our own native groups and consequently easier for a young person to understand and empathize with.

Secondly, it was felt a model from a distant and little known country might serve in addition to motivate learning about international affairs and the interdependency of nations, for the Iban are closely bound economically to the developed world through their rubber production.

The Iban are not a static, "primitive" group; they are adapting actively to the twentieth century, not colliding with it. Study of the Iban gives a good opportunity to study culture change as a natural and inevitable process.

Finally, study of the Iban also allows for study of

cultural contacts with three more advanced groups: the Chinese, the Malays, and the Europeans (a blanket term for Caucasians). Until very recently the Iban were the largest ethnic group in Sarawak; now they are second to the Chinese.

Theoretical Outline of the Course

The course includes the areas of study which any introductory text in social and cultural anthropology would include: kinship, enculturation, social control, economics, religion, etc. However, unlike most texts, these divisions of the subject do not constitute the organizing principle of the course.

In order to facilitate seeing cultures as systems, the primary organizers of the course are the sources of the influences which are shaping present-day Iban behaviour. The major generalization of the course is that, "The culture of a group is influenced by its physical environment, its traditions, and its contacts with other cultures."

The next organizing concept is the objects of these influences. Since this is a social studies course, Raymond Firth's analysis from Elements of Social Organization has been adopted. He sees four areas in social behaviour that reflect the influences felt by a group and that interact to create the group's social structure. Social alignments are the groupings within a society; social media are the material manifestations of culture; social controls are systems of technical or empirical knowledge used by the society and its

accepted systems of behaviour, law, ritual, and mythology; social standards are the values of a group.

Each of the thirteen television programs takes an example from one of these areas and examines how behaviour in that area has been influenced. Each area is represented three times in the series, with the exception of social controls, which appears only twice in a specific reference, though as an area of concern it underlies nearly all the programs.

The third organizing principle is that the programs show both continuity and change in Iban culture. It would be an incomplete picture of the dynamics of a culture if all aspects of it were shown to be changing at the same rate. In this series the dynamics are not preset because of some theoretical viewpoint but follow from the actual case.

The final organizing principle is that the problems a society faces are found in three different areas. They concern man's relations with his physical environment, his fellow men, and the supernatural. In designing this course, some of the problem areas fell naturally under certain sources of influence, but in trying to avoid a simplistic view of Iban culture it became obvious that many of the programs required multiple problem sources.

Figure 1 summarizes what has been described about the theoretical outline of the course. The first column contains the main subjects of each of the thirteen programs in order of viewing. The second column shows which of Firth's

Chart 1.--Theoretical Outline of the Course

HOLISM					
PROGRAM	SOCIAL ELEMENTS	PROBLEM SOURCES	SOURCE OF INFLUENCE	DYNAMIC S	DYNAMIC C
Geography Communications Settlement		environment society	physical environment	X	0
Longhouse Daily Life	media	environment society	physical environment	X	0
Hill Padi Daily Life	alignment	environment society supernatural	physical environment	X	0
Cash Crops Jungle Bejalai	standards	environment society	physical environment	0	X
Family Life Kinship	alignment	society supernatural environment	tradition	X	0
Padi Harvest Padi Ritual	media	environment supernatural society	tradition	X	0
Head Hunting Ritual Personality	standards	society supernatural	tradition	0	X
Government Social Control	controls	society	tradition	x	x
Enculturation Education	controls	society environment supernatural	cultural contact	0	X
Cash Economy Trade Co-ops	media	society	cultural contact	0	X
Religious Conversion	standards	supernatural society environment	cultural contact	0	X
Town Dwellers Bejalai Resettlement	alignment	society environment	cultural contact	x	x
Art		supernatural environment society	all sources	x	x

social elements are of particular importance in each program. Column three shows the sources of problems connected with each program subject. These sources are arranged in descending order of importance for each program; environment stands for physical environment. The fourth column contains the sources of influence that shape Iban responses to the problems shown in each program. The series is designed basically around these influences, as is evident from study of the chart. The last program is meant to embody all the sources of influence. The last column shows the dynamics (the pattern of change of a system) within each program. The dynamics is broken done into relative stability, "S", and relative change, "C". Large "X's" and "O's" indicate respectively considerable and little emphasis on the aspect of the dynamics in which column they are found, while equal sized "x's" indicate equal emphasis in the program on each end of the dynamic continuum.

CHAPTER VII.

PEOPLE OF THE HORNBILL: SCRIPT OF PROGRAM ONE

CAMERA 2 C. U. HORNBILL	MUSIC: GONGS
SUPER CAMERA 3 GRAPHIC	MUSIC: GONGS
FADE OUT CAMERA 3	
CAMERA 2 ZOOM OUT TO L. S. NARRATOR PICKS UP CARVING LISTENS TO GONGS	
CAMERA 1 HEAD AND SHOULDERS OF NARRATOR	FADE OUT MUSIC UNDER FIRST SENTENCES It feels very, very good to hear that music again. It was music from my country. I have been away now for one year, but I still get homesick sometimes.
SMILES TO STUDENTS	Hi! I'm Kumang Gumba. I come from Malaysia, actually the state of Sarawak, and I am an Iban.

How many of you know where Sarawak is?

LOOKS AT STUDENTS

PAUSE

Ah! That's good. So many people ask me, "Sarawak? Is that in Africa?" It's like those jokes about Americans thinking they can go skiing in Canada in August.

Actually, I didn't know very much about Canada when I came. Of course, I had never seen snow, but back in October, I even thought the trees were sick and dying.

CAMERA 1

ZOOM OUT TO M. S.

NARRATOR STILL HOLDS CARVING

I'm sure you think that's pretty stupid, but I have a feeling that if you came to Sarawak to live with the Iban, you would have even more trouble than I had figuring out why people act the way they do.

I'm going to help you to understand my people, the Iban and just maybe to understand yourselves better, by showing you some films and objects from

HOLDS OUT CARVING

Sarawak. Like this carving:

This bird is the great hornbill. I had quite a surprise when I visited the Granby Zoo a while ago. I had been so proud of being modern and flying to Montreal to study--but the hornbill beat me to it:

CAMERA 3
SLIDE OF HORNBILL

If you ever see him, take a good look at his bill. I think you will agree that the artist who carved this bill was trying to make it look very special indeed. Why do you suppose he went to all that trouble?

CAMERA 1
M. S.

LOOKS AT THE STUDENTS

PAUSE

In the old days, Ibans used to tell stories about how the gods would be invited down to earth to attend our gawai--you would say "festivals". When a man in one longhouse had done something especially important; perhaps he had come home from a raid with an enemy head; his village would send out invitations to a gawai both to

the other longhouses nearby and to the gods. The gods lived a fearsome distance away in a country of their own, and the only messenger who could cross the forests and swamps and mountains was Antu Ribut--the wind--who could just fly over all the obstacles. When the gods came down to earth, they were each in the form of a bird, and this is Singalong Burong, the most powerful and the god of war. At the gawai huge carvings of him were set up on poles facing the enemy country so that he could fly there and peck the eyes out of the enemies of the Iban.

CAMERA 2

C. U. OF CARVING

ZOOM OUT TO M. S.

The human guests did not have such an easy time. First of all, it could take days just to get the invitations to the other longhouses, and travel was such a hot, sticky, messy job that the guests would not put on their good clothes until they

had almost arrived. After all, would you want to fight with a crocodile, wearing ten pounds of silver belts?

CAMERA 2
ZOOM OUT TO L. S.
PUTS DOWN HORNBILL

I don't believe those old stories about the hornbill. Most young Iban like me who have been to school have forgotten the old gods. But I think that when the hornbill was chosen to represent the strongest god, my people were saying, "It is so hard for us ordinary people to move around and do the things we want--like raid enemy longhouses--that it must be supernatural that this bird has so much freedom." Maybe, now that it is a lot easier for me to get around and see other kinds of people, I don't have to imagine special powers reserved just for the gods.

There certainly are lots of other kinds of people in Sarawak. Malaysia is a multi-racial country like Canada, and

I think Sarawak is very much like Quebec. In Quebec you have the French and the English and the Indians, with little patches of other people.

CAMERA 3
SLIDES OF
MALAYS,
CHINESE,
AND DAYAKS

In Sarawak we have the Malays and the Chinese and the Dayaks. The Malays and the Chinese have had the best education, and so they do the same sorts of jobs as the French and the English in Quebec. They work for the government and they run all sorts of businesses.

And then there are the Dayaks. They are our native peoples, just like yours are called Indians, but of course, we know that every tribe is different.

Even though we have lived in Sarawak longer than the Chinese or the Malays, we have tended to stay on our farms in the deep interior of the state. It is only very recently with better education and better

communications that we have begun to take an active part in running our country.

CAMERA 2
L. S
NARRATOR AND
MAP OF QUEBEC

Here is Quebec again. Up here live the Cree, one of your Indian bands. Around here live the French, and most of the English live in towns around here.

TEARS OFF MAP 1
REVEALS MAP OF
SARAWAK
NARRATOR POINTS
OUT AREA

Now here is Sarawak. This is the area where the Iban live. We have enough land for farming and we can still find some forest for hunting and gathering produce.

POINTS OUT AREAS

The Malays mostly live here, much nearer the sea than the Iban, and the Chinese live mainly in towns, though a lot have farms in this area. Just like the Indians in Quebec, not very many Iban live in large towns or cities.

ZOOM IN TO UNDUP RIVER
ON MAP

The closest town to my home is Simanggang. Batu Lintang is too small to be marked on your map, but if you measure along

MARKS LOCATION

PAN TO HEAD AND SHOULDERS

TELECINE
RAINFOREST AT BATU LINTANG

CAMERA 1
HEAD AND SHOULDERS

the River Undup twenty miles from Simanggang, you will find the place where I come from near the border with Indonesia.

Twenty miles doesn't seem very far in Canada. It's about the distance from Montreal to places on the West Island. But, do you know, there are people in Batu Lintang who have never gone to Simanggang!

Take a close look at this film and you should be able to figure out a couple of reasons why...

FADE IN MUSIC
PAUSE

There's not very much in that picture but trees, is there? I expect you Canadians call that a jungle, but we just say rainforest. Much nicer word.

PAUSE

And what was in the background?

Yes, you're right. I had to climb up high to get that shot and I can tell you, it was very

TELECINE

CLOSE RAINFOREST

CAMERA 1

L. S.

NARRATOR WITH DUKU AT HER FEET, PICKS UP DUKU

DRAWS DUKU

SMASHES SET FLOOR

tough going.

Let's go right into the rainforest.

PAUSE

Doesn't look too bad when you are just standing still!

PAUSE

FADE OUT MUSIC

Don't you believe it! You have to <u>hack</u> your way through. This is a duku; perhaps you have heard the Malay word for it--<u>parang</u>. It is just a little one, about the size I kept in my book bag when I was going to primary school. I had to walk a very long way, and even though there was a path, I still used my duku to cut down plants growing on it or to chop up little trees. Once when I was with several friends we caught a king cobra.

PAUSE

Mincemeat!

My father carries his duku every day and when he picks some new land to farm, he has to make

a brand new path, chopping and slashing away.

CHOP! SLASH!

PAUSE

Oof! I get tired just pretending. Try it with a hundred pound load slung from your forehead.

CAMERA 2

L. S.

INCLUDING MAP 2

"So why walk?" you are probably saying, "What are roads for?"

Well, the fact is, there just aren't very many roads in Sarawak.

This is the main road between our two most important towns, Kuching and Sibu, with some small roads going off it, but that is about all.

CHALKS IN ROAD

PAUSE

Roads need a good land surface, plenty of materials, and lots of money. Much of our land is too swampy or too hilly for roads. We don't have enough stone (in fact, we import stone from Hong Kong) and Malaysia is still a developing country.

There are a lot more important things to spend our money on besides roads.

PAN AND ZOOM IN TO NARRATOR'S FACE

I can see you think that is a little strange. How are we going to get around, sell our farm products, and keep in touch with other people?

PAUSE

What happened in Canada before there were roads? How did the old explorers travel? Champlain, or the coureurs de bois?

Think about it as you watch this bit of film.

TELECINE

TRANSITION FROM FOREST TO RIVER

PAUSE. AT 15 SECONDS

Have you got it yet?

PAUSE

CAMERA 1

C. U.

You knew all the time, didn't you? Just as in Canada long ago, our rivers are our highways.

Let me take you on a journey through Sarawak.

TELECINE

SEA AND RIVER MOUTH

We are going to start at the

sea and go upriver until we get to Batu Lintang, where I come from.

The land out here at the ocean is very flat and swampy. The river isn't very wide here because it has split up into many different channels, called a delta.

We are in the main channel of the delta now, on a large ocean going boat.

MANGROVE TREES

This part of the delta is lined with mangrove trees.

MANGROVE ROOTS

They have funny roots that hold them up out of the water at high tide.

NIPAH SWAMP

If we could get a canoe, we could explore the nipah swamp. These palms grow in the tiny streams of the delta, and the Malays come here to gather palm leaves for mats and baskets and roofing.

RAJANG RIVER

As the land gets a little higher, we leave the delta behind and we can see just one

very wide river channel.

OUTSKIRTS OF SIBU

After a few hours travel, we arrive at a very large town. Our ocean vessel is going to dock here, and we shall change to a river boat.

EMBARKING ON THE EXPRESS

I have decided to take you by express boat for the next part of the trip. They are the fastest boats on the river, and they keep a definite schedule, like your intercity busses.

The express boats are very popular. I think the Chinese who own them must make lots of money.

LAUNCHES LINED UP

But the express is not the only kind of boat on the river. If you can't afford an express, or if you have lots of time to kill, you can use a Chinese launch. Launches carry cargo as well as passengers, but we also see many small transport ships.

CARGO BOATS

EXPRESS BOAT

Oh! The down express!

I wish you could hear it. Like a jet engine!

The express boats do not carry cargo, but you can bring your bags and even your pets on board. Most people have chickens!

CAMERA 3
SLIDE OF
KAPIT DOCK

Well, we finally made it! I shouldn't complain; before the express boats, that trip used to take several days of paddling.

MARKET SCENES

Hm... What's going on here?

We call this town we docked at a <u>bazaar</u>. Now, I know you Canadians don't call towns "bazaars", but you <u>do</u> know what goes on at, say, a church bazaar. So, I think you can figure out why this is so busy.

TELECINE
CANOE WITH OUTBOARD

But it is time to go back to the high dock and see if my brother has come yet. Hm... that one looks right--a traditional dugout canoe--with a modern outboard motor.

MARKET CANOE
PADDLED CANOE

PAUSE

O! I thought everyone had an outboard.

ENTEBAN RIVER

We have turned off the main

river now, We shall turn into one more stream, and the going will get much more difficult. Here are three problems we face.

SHALLOWS
LOW LOG BRIDGE
ROCKS
FAR WATERFALL
CLOSE WATERFALL

FADE IN MUSIC

CAMERA 3
SLIDE OF LONGHOUSE

TELECINE
ARRIVAL

FADE MUSIC UNDER VOICE

But at last it's up that old slippery log to the longhouse.

FADE UP MUSIC
FADE MUSIC OUT WITH FILM

CAMERA 2
C. U.

You can see that the welcoming party thinks picture-taking is pretty weird.

ZOOM OUT TO INCLUDE MAP SHOWING BALEH REGION AND BATU LINTANG

Now, I have a problem for you. If I want to go visit my uncle who lives on the Baleh River, here; and I'm starting out at Batu Lintang, here; do I take the direct route, across the mountains and through the

jungle...WITH ITS SNAKES AND LEECHES!

FAST PAN TO NARRATOR

WIGGLY FINGER ACROSS FACE

JUMP:

I guess it is obvious that I do not, but you are going to have to figure out just what it is that I do instead. O. K.?

We have talked a lot about transportation in Sarawak while we took that trip into the interior. Now I'm going to make a big jump.

CAMERA 1

MAP OF POINT CLAIRE

Do you know what the map represents? This is the West Island around Point Claire. When I go out there to visit one of my new Canadian friends, I notice some surprising similarities to the transportation pattern back in Malaysia.

The big difference is in the fact that you have roads, not rivers, but just watch...

I start out from the bus terminal in downtown Montreal,

ZOOM IN TO MAP
FOLLOWING COMMENTARY

getting one of those big intercity busses. That coach takes me out the Trans-Canada to Fairview Shopping Center. To get down to Point Claire I have to change to a local Brisebois bus. It's not nearly as big and luxurious as the coach, and it takes its time about getting to Point Claire. We stop at every crossroad to let people on or off.

Now, once I get off the Brisebois bus in Point Claire, I have two choices. I can walk up to my friend's house on the left there, or I can phone for a lift. But I can't get any more public transportation.

I want you to notice where the shopping malls are on this map. The really big one is Fairview, where the coach let me off, but there are a number of small ones up this road, usually on corners. And at the end there is downtown Point Claire. Can

you see how these shopping places might be related to the types of transportation I used?

CAMERA 2

MAP OF RAJANG RIVER

Well, I'm going to make you do just that for one of the rivers in Sarawak. This is the Rajang, one of Sarawak's most important rivers. I am going to tell you about every important physical feature while you have a good look at the map...but I am not going to tell you anything about the boats we would use. It is your job to imagine what sort of transportation is most suited to each part of the river.

ZOOM IN TO DELTA

Here is the delta...this channel is the ship channel. At this point the delta is left behind and the Rajang is getting shallower, though it is now only one channel. Here is Sibu, a very large town. There is a long stretch before any other special geographical feature. That's the Pelagus Rapids away up here. All

PAN ACROSS MAP

FOLLOWING COMMENTARY

the rivers in this area, called the Baleh, are quite fast with many rapids. Just before the Pelagus Rapids is the town of Kapit, and there are several other bazaars on the river. Here is Ngemah and here is Kanowit.

ZOOM OUT TO SHOW ALL MAP

I'll let the camera go over that again for you. Remember, the question is, "What sort of transportation would an Iban use in each part of the Rajang?"

CAMERA 1
BALEH REGION

We are going to zero in on the Baleh region now. This is country that the Iban have pioneered. My cousins live in a longhouse about ten miles up the river at the bottom, but when their parents were first married they lived up north, right on the Baleh. Ibans had been living there for about forty years, and the land was getting so worn out that only lalang would grow.

ZOOM IN ON WHITE SPOT AT TOP OF MAP

They couldn't make a li[illegible]ang so they had to move out into a pioneer area. They got together

TILT DOWN SLOWLY

TO WHITE SPOT
AT BOTTOM OF MAP

ZOOM OUT TO SHOW
LONGHOUSE

some of the members of the old longhouse and several new families and claimed this tiver by building their first longhouse at its mouth. In the last twenty years they have moved the longhouse once, and when the land nearby seems to be getting tired, they will move again. You notice that they keep building on the river bank.

By now you know one reason why we Iban build on the edges of rivers. Watch this film closely to get three other reasons.

TELECINE
IBAN GIRL BATHING,
WASHING, GETTING WATER

PAUSE

CAMERA 1
C. U.
NARRATOR

Every once in a while someone from the Malaysian government goes up into the Baleh to do an agricultural survey to try to get the people to grow more rubber and pepper, so they can earn lots of money

and so on. But advisors don't come very often; it is terribly far away from the agricultural college. More often they just broadcast advice over the radio (every longhouse has been given a transistor radio). My uncle usually shuts it off or tries to find some rock music from Singapore when the agricultural program comes on.

He gets quite angry about all this advice. "Humph! What do those fellows know about my problems? That one who comes around isn't so bad, but the radio one! I'll bet he never got his hands dirty in his life. If we grew rubber we would have to live close to the rubber garden, right? You have to gather your rubber every morning. So what would we do about rice when the land close to the rubber garden gets worn out. Am I supposed to spend my days travelling between two farms, just to please some

NARRATOR PRETENDS TO BE UNCLE

government official who thinks Malaysia should export more products? Besides, where am I supposed to sell this stuff? There's no bazaar nearby, so I would have to go all the way down to Kapit. There's a couple of days wasted! Plus the fact that every time I go to Kapit, someone wants to buy out the shops! To say nothing of the daughter whining about getting a permanent. Ridiculous, squiggly little curls:"

RESUMES OWN PERSONALITY

Whew! He does come on rather strong. But he is right about one thing. There are no bazaars close to his home in the Baleh.

CAMERA 2
SKETCH OF KAPIT

Here is a map of Kapit, the closest town. Remember, it is the last town on the Rajang before the Pelagus Rapids. In front is the main dock and there are a few private ones. The center part of town is the old fort and a little bazaar section. Up on the hill is the

TILT UP AND PAN
TO FOLLOW COMMENTARY

hospital, the Methodist mission, and a residence for government officials. There are no large godowns in Kapit, probably because most of the Iban in the area are like my uncle and don't bother growing too much rubber and pepper for sale; therefore the Chinese shopkeepers do not need large warehouses for storage.

CAMERA 1
MAP OF RAJANG RIVER
M. S.
TWO MIDDLE TOWNS
AND THEIR RIVERS

This next map shows you the locations of Ngemah and Kanowit, much closer to Sibu and the ocean than was Kapit. They are much larger towns but not nearly so pretty. You can't see the river for the godowns, and the bazaar areas are very crowded. They have a lot more ugly modern buildings too, like hotels and schools. You'll notice that each town is at the mouth of a little river.

CAMERA 2
L. S.
NARRATOR

There you have just three bazaars on the Rajang. They have something in common. In fact,

just about every bazaar in Sarawak has that same thing in common. Have you figured out what it is?

I'm going to show you our two most important towns now--Kuching, our capital, and Sibu. They may be very much larger than any bazaar, but they still have that same thing in common.

TELECINE

KUCHING

DOWNTOWN HARBOUR

Kuching is about twenty miles by river from the sea; many streets of shops and government buildings, docks all along the waterfront, many godowns and even some factories. No other rivers close by, though, and no rapids either.

PAUSE

That sign says Dunlop. Can you tell what that has to do with our rubber?

PAUSE

SIBU HARBOUR

This is Sibu, about eighty miles up the Rajang from the sea. Although it is not as large a place as Kuching, its

waterfront has more activity and it has even more factories. Factories are pretty rare things in Sarawak.

PAUSE

CAMERA 1
M. S.
NARRATOR

There were clues about that "something in common" in those two films. Something that Kuching and Sibu have in common with Montreal and New York and London and even Toronto since they built the Seaway...

SUDDENLY LOOKS VERY EMBARRASSED

Umm... I guess it's about time for the big confession.

TELECINE
IBAN MAIDEN WASHING AT BATU LINTANG

This is Batu Lintang taken from the river side.

PAUSE

Something's missing, isn't it?

PAUSE

Well, let's take a look at the other side.

THE BUS AT BATU LINTANG

CAMERA 1
C. U. OF NARRATOR

I'm not lying!

Several years ago there was

a war between my country, Malaysia, and Indonesia. I did live in a longhouse on a river at that time, very close to the border. It was not safe there, so the government moved us to Batu Lintang at the end of the road they had built for the army.

We don't live in a longhouse any more. The families in my village all decided to build separate houses. Now it is a lot easier to tell who is rich and who is poor.

SLOW ZOOM OUT TO INCLUDE FULL FIGURE

We live just around the corner from three Chinese shops. What a time saver to just pop in for anything we need! My mother doesn't bother weaving her own cloth any more. Now we all wear nice printed sarongs like this one. And there are no hours of paddling just to get to a shop to buy a few shotgun shells.

PUZZLED LOOK

Not that we really want any shells now. I haven't seen any

bear or deer for years. The fish have all disappeared too....

It's a long walk back to our farms, but then, we don't really need all that land any more. Everybody planted rubber and pepper, so we have a cash income and can buy the rice we need.

STILL PUZZLED

Or, umm...we can when rubber prices are high enough. It's funny how you Canadian consumers determine how well we Iban eat by the amount you buy.

And now that we have them, rubber gardens are going to keep us from ever moving away. A rubber garden is a longterm investment. Once you have gone to the trouble and expense of planting, you don't just get up and leave.

EXASPERATED

But Ibans have always been on the move!

Maybe my uncle has the right idea.

BRIGHTENS

But then, Batu Lintang is much more interesting than some

longhouse up a backwoods creek.

Other villages moved here also, so there are lots of people to talk to. There are enough children for a primary school with five teachers. We are very proud that the principal comes from our own village.

It certainly is wonderful to just hop on a bus for Simanggang. The older folk don't bother, but I like to see a movie or just look in the shops. They are so much more interesting than the ones in Batu Lintang. Even if you don't have any money, you can still dream, right?

By the way, do you like my new permanent?

People come out on the bus as well. Like agricultural advisors who have good ideas for improving our crops. They got us to build a smokehouse for our rubber and a co-operative shop.

Some other kinds of people come too--tourists! I don't

DISGUSTED

	know what they expect to see in Batu Lintang. Look man... We're not natives! We just live here.
SERIOUS	One day I took that bus to Simanggang and went to boarding school, and five years later I took it on the first step of my journey to Canada.
ZOOM IN TO FACE	I wonder what I would be doing now if there had never been any bus...
	GENTLY FADE IN MUSIC UNDER FINAL SENTENCES
	...if I had never been at school and had never seen the rich tourists. What if I still lived in a longhouse far up some jungle river.
	I wonder if I... am really... any happier.
CAMERA 3	MUSIC UP
BACKGROUND GRAPHIC	
SUPER CAMERA 2	
CREDIT	
FADE OUT CAMERAS 2 & 3	FADE OUT MUSIC

CHAPTER VIII

NOTES TO THE USER FOR PROGRAM ONE OF PEOPLE OF THE HORNBILL

Introduction

People of the Hornbill is a social studies course based on social and cultural anthropology intended for students in senior elementary or junior high schools. In its thirteen televised lessons and the class work that follows, students will be examining some of the forces that have shaped the culture of the Iban, one of the native ethnic groups of the state of Sarawak in Malaysia. In each program there is a specific contrast or comparison between the Iban material and modern North American culture, which should be developed and expanded by the teacher in the discussion. Suggestions are made in the notes for the programs about examples from other cultures which can also be used.

Program One serves as an introduction to the series as a whole, while demonstrating the relationships between the geographical features of an area, the communications system in the area, and the settlement patterns to be found there. As an introductory program, some of the material is not specifically needed to develop understandings in this area, but forms a background to this and all the programs.

The teacher is advised to use the copy of the script that is included when preparing class follow-up, to mark off points relevant to further discussion and as an aide-mémoire.

Since anthropology is a new discipline to be used in the average school, teachers should do more advance preparation for this course than is normally necessary. A good popular ethnology of the Iban will be found in Vanishing World: The Ibans of Borneo. Other books and articles on the Iban are found in the bibliographies for each program. At least one introductory text in social and cultural anthropology should be read before beginning the course. Cultural Ways: A Compact Introduction to Cultural Anthropology is an inexpensive paperback. A very practical guide to teaching strategies will be found in A Teacher's Handbook to Elementary Social Studies: An Inductive Approach by Hilda Taba.

Content

Major Generalization

Settlement patterns are influenced by prevailing communications systems, which are in turn strongly influenced by geographical features. A change in the communications system will be reflected by a change in life style.

Discipline Emphasis

Geography.--physical geography, human geography

Anthropology.--cultural ecology, cultural change

Concepts

Major.--communication, settlement pattern, physical features, cultural change

Contributing.--transportation, bazaar

Foreign Words.--gawai, duku, gedown

Knowledge

The program is roughly divided into sections which deal with each of the following generalizations plus an introduction. The generalizations are arranged in three levels of abstraction, moving from concrete effects of physical features, through the combined effects of geography and technology, to the social and psychological effects of this combination. Class work on the program should proceed in the order of the levels, as the lower ones provide the basis for the development of the higher ones.

Level 1 Generalization 1

Certain geographical features can present obstacles to transportation and communication.

Supporting objectives.--After pre-viewing, viewing, and discussion it is intended that the student know the location of Sarawak and that it is a state of Malaysia, can describe the geography of Sarawak in general terms, know that there are few roads in Sarawak, know that most travelling in Sarawak is done by river, and can list physical features that impede travelling and road construction.

Level 2 Generalization 2

One theoretical model of a transportation system consists of three levels: large-scale, long distance transport with a restricted route and limited stops, medium range transport with more stops and a greater variety of routes, and small-scale, usually short distance individual transportation with unlimited stops and routes. The three levels can be correlated with certain geographical features.

Supporting objectives.----it is intended that the student know that most travelling in Sarawak is done by river, can describe the three levels of transportation found in Sarawak, and can mark the areas of predominance of each type of transportation on a map showing critical geographical features.

Level 2 Generalization 3

The communications system of an area consists of the transportation system plus whatever other media the prevailing technology permits.

Supporting objectives.----it is intended that the student know that sending a message in Sarawak usually involves travelling, and know that Ibans possess transistor radios but not telephones.

Level 3 Generalization 4

Transportation patterns and settlement patterns can be correlated. Large-scale transportation connects major population centers; medium-scale transportation connects

smaller centers with each other and nearby major centers; individual transport, while it can be used in all areas, predominates in areas of sparse or scattered population. Settlements are generally located on or near a society's normal communication routes.

Supporting objectives.---...it is intended that the student know that Iban longhouses are built on riverbanks, can shade in on a map the areas where most Iban live, and can mark the areas of predominance of each type of transportation on a map marked with towns and longhouses.

Level 3 Generalization 5

One function of towns is as transfer points between different levels of transportation. Major commercial centers are located at the interface between large-scale and medium-scale systems. Smaller commercial centers are located at the interface between medium-scale and individual transportation.

Supporting objectives.---...it is intended that the student know that most bazaars in Sarawak are located at the juncture of two rivers (one a tributary of the other), know that some bazaars are located at the upriver limits of navigation for medium-scale transportation, and know that major commercial centers in Sarawak are located at the upriver limits of navigation for ocean going vessels.

Level 3 Generalization 6

Changes in the communications pattern provoke cultural change. Changes in the settlement pattern provoke

cultural change.

Supporting objectives.----it is intended that the student can list four or five ways Kumang's life is different from that of her uncle, or has changed from her own lifestyle before being moved to the end of the road.

Note on the supporting objectives.--While the generalizations can be applied to all cultures, the supporting facts which constitute the knowledge objectives are drawn only from the Iban material. In order to provide the best opportunities for discovery of the generalizations, the teacher must present other facts drawn from other cultures for the students to compare and contrast with the Iban material. This comparison material may come from the experiences of teacher and students, or it may be found in texts or other audio-visual sources. The teacher should choose and organize the other facts in such a way as to make the generalizations understandable and relevant to each class.

Note on the generalizations.--It is obvious and must be brought out in the class discussions that these generalizations about communication and settlement do not constitute a complete or adequate explanation of settlement pattern. Questioning should elicit other influences such as ease of making a living, need for defence, proximity to family or friends, custom, etc.

Using the Program

Pre-viewing

Before viewing the program the students should know the location of Sarawak and that it is a state of Malaysia. If time permits, map skills may be taught or reviewed by having students find Sarawak on a world or Asian map by means of latitude and longitude.

Once the location is established, ask students for their expectations about climate, appearance of the country, occupations, etc. Try not to let the suggestions stray too far from the topic of the program so that most of them can be resolved by it. You may wish to distribute copies of the student maps before this discussion, in which case the lack of roads will surely be noticed.

The student essay My Adventure by Boat included in the teacher's package may be read at this point, in which case students should be asked what new information it adds to change their expectations.

The post-viewing discussion focusses on four concepts: geography, communications, settlement patterns, and cultural change. Students should be aware that they are viewing with the aim of collecting information about these areas, but they should be given the opportunity of developing the terms for the concepts by themselves. A Study Areas sheet with spaces marked: What the land looks like, How people get in touch with one another, Where people live and

work, Why towns and cities are built, and Some reasons why people change the way they live, which includes spaces for note-taking, might be distributed before viewing, or the study area be listed on the chalkboard. The important thing is that the students have a clear idea of the purpose of viewing so that the television production does not degenerate into entertainment.

Post-viewing

Discussion should focus on the study areas, building from the more concrete to the more abstract. It is suggested that facts be collated and discussed for each area, and then a general statement be constructed which organizes the facts. This will require teacher help at first, but as the pattern becomes familiar students will volunteer generalizations. On no account are the generalizations to be taught to the class in a rote fashion. They must be developed by the students themselves.

Other cultures can then be examined in the light of the generalizations. Perhaps the generalizations will have to be revised; perhaps they will already be powerful enough to explain the new situation; but students should see that they are only theories, useful so long as they help make sense of data, or point the way to the sort of data needed to understand a new situation.

Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: The Clarification of Educational Goals: Handbook I provides a

convenient hierarchy of cognitive skills around which to arrange the discussion. Stages of the taxonomy have been selected and arranged for this lesson, and some suggestions for operationalizing the abstract terms of the taxonomy are included. Taba's A Teacher's Handbook to Elementary Social Studies is useful for the methodology of promoting these various thinking processes.

The following outline presents this selection in the order in which the cognitive skills are likely to be used in lessons generated by this program. The list is not exhaustive, but is a guide for lesson planning. Remember, cognitive skills will be more important to the student in future than any facts he may learn about Ibans.

Cognitive Skills

I. Comprehension.--translation from visual material to verbal description, interpretation of factual materials as belonging to different areas of study

A. listing such things as problems of travel, reasons for location of longhouses, changes in lifestyles

B. grouping information discovered about each study area

C. categorizing information discovered about each study area

II. Comprehension.--extrapolation of tendencies from data

A. relating items on several lists or relating items on one list into a whole

B. generalizing by making a broad statement about the relationships discovered

III. Analysis.--of relationships and of elements in a message

A. explanation of cause and effect relationships between lists

B. ability to distinguish between objective and subjective information

IV. Synthesis.--derivation of a set of abstract relationships

A. hypothesizing about new situations or about changes in the Iban situation

V. Application.--the use of generalizations in new situations

A. prediction about other situations using self-formulated generalizations and hypotheses

B. posing of incisive questions designed to test hypotheses

VI. Evaluation.--in terms of internal and external criteria

A. judgment concerning adequacy of information for forming hypotheses

B. judgment between old and modern Iban lifestyles on the basis of information so far received

The affective objectives of this program are introductory to that of the entire series, "The student will view other cultures with an attempt at empathy, avoiding a priori

ethnocentric bias." Affective objectives can be divided into two aspects: the emotional response which it is desired that the student develop and elements and techniques of valuing which can be applied to other situations calling for value judgments.

Affective Objectives

I. Emotional.--After viewing, the student will have a friendly feeling towards Kumang and want to know more about her. This objective can be correlated to "willingness to respond" in Krathwohl et al's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: Handbook II: Affective Domain.

II. Valuational.--As an introductory program, this does not purport to develop any very high level of valuing. Kumang and her uncle represent different values in Iban life, but the differences are not developed in this program in nearly the detail of later ones. Teachers may wish to ignore objective "C" for the present, or they may allow students to choose between the two lifestyles only to have them modify their choices at a later time, thus teaching that valuing should not be rigid and unresponsive to new information. The valuing objectives follow.

A. awareness of the difficulty of the terrain, of some differences in customs between Ibans and North Americans, and of some changes within Iban culture

B. responding by appreciating the strengths needed to

deal with the terrain, by having empathy for the psychological factors involved in cultural change, and by being able to verbalize some of the conflicting values of Kumang and her uncle

C. practice valuing by choosing and defending one of these conflicting values.

The learning skills area of objectives refers to useful abilities that will serve the student well throughout his school and indeed all his future life. Skills can include library usage, map usage, group conduct, oral presentation, and essay writing. It must not be assumed that students will naturally pick up these skills in the course of their education. They must be taught and reviewed whenever needed. This course uses skills of visual learning and map usage plus library skills and class presentation skills. It is expected that by grades seven and eight the relevant skills except for visual learning will have been covered. Despite the proliferation of audio-visual aids, however, visual learning is a skill rather neglected in our culture.

Throughout this course the student is to learn to use television as a source of knowledge, not entertainment. He is also to learn critical analysis through viewing, examining the visual presentation for editorialization and bias. The skill objective for this first program is intended to be the first step on the way to sophistication in visual learning, instilling the realization that pictorial material

can be the source of applicable information. The objective is, "Given directions that information on a certain topic is contained in a visual sequence, the student can find and verbalize material relevant to his area of further in depth investigation."

Areas for Contrast and Comparison

caravan routes and oases in North Africa; settlement in New France, growth of larger centers and the difference in lifestyles and values of town dwellers and habitants; effects of first transcontinental railway, growth of towns on railway route (students may see sections of The National Dream; effects of the Seaway; growth and decay of small towns, especially Newfoundland outports; comparison and contrast between modern urban and rural lifestyles

Suggested Activities and Discussion Topics

A topographical model of Sarawak could be constructed and marked with cities and bazaars. Students could then visualize the transportation and communication system and its relationship to physical features. A second model of a different area may be made for comparison.

A visit to a port, airport, or trucking firm will show the transhipment of goods. The various levels of transportation in Canada should be discussed after this visit.

Consider the impact of cars and television on modern North American culture.

Consider some of the economic and governmental

problems of a riverine state.

Continuity of Ideas Chart

Each program outline contains a chart which shows how the content of the program is related to that of the other programs in the series. These charts are aide-mémoires for teaching later programs. The points in the charts serve as reminders of things already seen or ideas hinted at earlier and now come to fruition. Conversely, in the earlier lessons the charts indicate which ideas will recur. In this case the teacher can alert the class to seemingly minor aspects of the presentation which will take on their true importance later. Study of the charts as a group will show the over-all structure of the course.

Bibliography

Background Works

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Brown Ina Corinne, Understanding Other Cultures. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963.

Jones Emrys. Human Geography: An Introduction to Man and his World. rev. ed. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1965.

Krathwohl, David, Bloom, Benjamin, and Masia, Bertram. Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: Handbook II: Affective Domain. New York: David McKay Co., 1964.

Sady, Rachel Reese. Perspectives from Anthropology. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1969.

Chart 2.--Communications and Settlement: Continuity of Ideas

Longhouse Daily Life	introduces concept longhouse developed fully in program 2
Hill Padi Daily Life	mentions growing of rice
Cash Crops Jungle Bejalai	mentions growing of rubber and pepper and relates these activities to proximity to urban centers
Family Life Kinship	evidently much freedom is given children if Kumang could go to boarding school and come to Canada
Padi Harvest Padi Ritual	
Head Hunting Ritual Personality	the carrying of the <u>duku</u> is emphasized
Government Social Control	
Enculturation Education	education in schools is related to proximity to urban centers. Secondary education is found only in urban centers.
Cash Economy Trade Co-ops	participation in the cash economy is related to proximity to urban centers. Only Chinese are mentioned as businessmen.
Religious Conversion	
Town Dwellers Bejalai Resettlement	Kumang went on bejalai by coming to Canada.
Art	carving of hornbill is shown and related to myth and religious practices

Taba, Hilda and Others. A Teacher's Handbook to Elementary Social Studies: An Inductive Approach. 2nd ed. Reading, Mass.: Addisson-Wesley Publishing Co., 1971.

Taylor, Robert B. Cultural Ways: A Compact Introduction to Cultural Anthropology. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1969.

Iban Material for Teachers

Teachers may want to use parts of the following as student material. Vanishing World is the basic recommended source for all.

Jackson, James C. Sarawak: A Geographical Survey of a Developing State. London: University of London Press, 1968.

Lee Yong Leng. Population and Settlement in Sarawak. Singapore: Asia Pacific Press, 1970.

MacDonald, Malcolm. Borneo People. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, and Co., 1956.

Wright, Leigh, Morrisson, Hedda, and Wong, K. F. Vanishing World: The Ibans of Borneo. New York: Weatherhill/Serasia, 1972.

Iban Material for Students

Dickson, M. G. Sarawak and Its People. Kuching, Sarawak: Borneo Literature Bureau, 1964.

Morrisson, Hedda Hammer. Sarawak. 2nd ed. Singapore: Donald Moore Press, 1965.

Wright, Leigh, Morrisson, Hedda, and Wong. K. F. Vanishing World: The Ibans of Borneo. New York: Weatherhill/Serasia, 1972.

CHAPTER IX

PROGRAMS TWO THROUGH THIRTEEN: OUTLINES

The remaining twelve programs in the series are summarized in this chapter. It is impossible to state exactly the format and content of each program, for a series like this should grow naturally out of longterm, firsthand research on the study group. However, anthropological theory provides a framework of topics to be included that can be more or less filled in from study of the ethnographic literature. One can predict the situations which will illustrate the larger concepts and generalizations, but one must bear in mind that suggestions for program format are no more than well-informed predictions.

It is equally difficult to determine exact objectives for programs whose formats are not finally set, and therefore in these outlines the course goals are not operationalized but translated down only as far as general ideas which should be studied through consideration of the Iban material. These are referred to as study points.

Each outline is introduced by the major generalization it deals with. The discipline emphasis is a guide to further background reading, should it be necessary. A full discussion of the Iban material, in lieu of a script, is included.

Program Two: Longhouse and Daily Life

Major Generalization

The site plan of a community is determined partly by the interaction of physical environment and level of technology, and partly by felt needs of the group either in the present or operative past. The community plan, in turn, influences the life style of the group

Discipline Emphasis

Cultural geography

Social and cultural anthropology

Concepts

Major.--site plan, technology

Contributing.--longhouse

Foreign Words.--bilek, ruai, tanju, sadau, tangga

Content Outline

Iban material.--form and function of a longhouse and its various parts; historical and ecological reasons for building longhouses; some social reasons for (or influences of) longhouses; daily activities in the longhouse.

Two personal stories are included. Kumang's uncle and aunt tell why they might prefer to build a single family dwelling when it comes time to renew the longhouse, and the uncle tells of his problems in getting the communal log stairs repaired.

Contrast and comparison within the program is made

with Kumang's own two family house in Batu Lintang.

Discussion of the Iban material.--The longhouse made up of individually owned apartments is the traditional community plan of the Iban. While to an outsider the site plan might suggest communal living, in reality even the "public" areas of the longhouse are privately owned, and access to sections of them may be denied by the families concerned. Different parts of the longhouse are used for different purposes, much of the daily work being carried out in the "public" corridor.

Because of the private ownership each segment of the longhouse may be built of different materials depending on the wealth of the owner, and maintenance will depend on his interest and goodwill. The only part of the building that is common is the log stairway to the main door, and that only means that no one wants to take personal responsibility for repairs to it.

Longhouses are the normal indigenous community plan in Sarawak. The reasons for this are historical, ecological, economic, and social. Longhouses set on high posts provided protection in numbers against enemy raids in the recent past. Longhouses on posts also provide some protection against animals, reptiles, and large insects, while resisting floods better than small houses. (Housing is built on river banks.) The longhouse makes the most efficient use of materials; only the first settler needs to build two walls. This is an important consideration since a well-built apartment takes a

couple two to three years in their non-food-getting time just to collect and prepare the material. Longhouses allow a social structure with considerable freedom yet a built-in cohesion. There is always a choice between the public and the private sections of the apartment, so that social contact is not forced. Nevertheless, it is always easy to meet other people, and small groups for work purposes or just socializing are constantly forming and reforming. This process has helped to weaken the force of kinship ties in Iban society. The close living of the longhouse tends to exacerbate disputes and has led to the development of the characteristic Iban courts of law in which the whole longhouse acts as an informal jury and which try always to reach a compromise decision so as to soothe feelings and prevent further conflict.

There are disadvantages to longhouse life as well. My informant's aunt and uncle explained to me why they would not resettle in a longhouse. In general, it seemed they wanted to become more independent, able to set their own standards in the appearance of their house and the behaviour of their children. They also felt the close living in the longhouse fostered too much material competition.

Study Points

Relationships between physical environments, life styles, and building style or community plans.--building materials; ecological influences on building styles; eco-

logical influences on life styles in turn influencing building styles. cf. yurts, Newfoundland outports, Quebec farming communities, Eskimo skin and snow houses, high rise buildings in various cultures as a response to pressure on space.

Effects of historical background on community form. cf. towns constructed for defense in Europe.

Effects of community forms on life styles, and vice versa.--longhouse styles of other Borneo groups; Kumang's new home contrasted with the longhouse. cf. Iroquois longhouse, Hong Kong high rises, Quebec and Ontario farming communities, appartment and single family dwelling living.

Suggested Activities

Students might build a model of a longhouse, each contributing one apartment. Except for size and general choice of materials let each be finished in its own way. Put together to show the diversity yet essential similarity of the real apartments.

Bibliography

Full bibliographic information is to be found in the main bibliography of the thesis-equivalent. The student essays are part of a collection made from Sarawak secondary school yearbooks by the writer.

Teacher.--Derek Freeman, Report on the Iban.

Emrys Jones, Human Geography.

Chart 3.--Site Plan and Daily Life
Continuity of Ideas

Geography Communications Settlement	clarifies references to longhouse amplifies references to building on rivers
Hill Padi Daily Life	a companion program on daily activities
Cash Crops Jungle Bejalai	objects seen in longhouse purchased through sale of cash crops or jungle produce
Family Life Kinship	a companion program on home activities of the family
Padi Harvest Padi Ritual	padi storage bins shown
Head Hunting Ritual Personality	prefigures as heads are shown in corridor
Government Social Control	strongly prefigures as story of house repairs is told
Enculturation Education	students require kerosene lanterns for evening study
Cash Economy Trade Co-ops	prefigures as lanterns, kerosene, furniture, etc. indicate a desire and need to participate in the cash economy
Religious Conversion	
Town Dwellers Bejalai Resettlement	objects seen in apartments brought back from bejalai or sent by town dwelling relatives
Art	artisans seen at work in longhouse, some art objects seen in apartments, singers and storytellers seen

Lee Yong Leng, "The Long HOuse and Dyak Settlements in British Borneo," Oriental Geographer.

Leigh Wright, Hedda Morrisson, and K. F. Wong, Vanishing World: The Ibans of Borneo.

Students.--M. G. Dickson, Sarawak and Its People.

W. R. Geddes, Nine Dyak Nights.

Hedda Hammer Morrisson, Life in a Longhouse.

Hedda Hammer Morrisson, Sarawak.

Leigh Wright, Hedda Morrisson, and K. F. Wong, Vanishing World: The Ibans of Borneo.

Student essays by Dingat and Subang.

Program Three: Hill Padi

Major Generalization

Subsistence forms are influenced by physical environment and level of technology, and tend to be very conservative.

Discipline Emphasis

Cultural anthropology

Cultural geography

Ecology

Concepts

Major.--subsistence, shifting cultivation

Contributing.--slash and burn or swidden agriculture

Foreign Words.--padi, lalang, ketap, sintang, dampa

Content Outline

Iban material.--stages of hill padi farming; rituals associated with early stages of padi farming; division of labour in padi farming; ecological effects of slash and burn agriculture

Discussion of Iban material.--Padi (unhusked rice) farming is the traditional subsistence form and mainstay of Iban life. Besides providing the main element of diet and one of the main economic activities, padi farming has wide ecological ramifications and is the focus of traditional Iban religion.

Soils in Sarawak are poor and subject to leaching in the heavy, tropical rain. Nutrients are stored more in the jungle trees than in the soil; this fact plus the level of traditional Iban technology has determined the use of slash and burn land clearing. The ash left on the land fertilizes it. Two successive crops is all the land can bear or it will be depleted beyond regeneration. Where there is no access to primary forest the problem of land depletion is very serious and is a factor in the growing importance of permanent cash crops.

The padi growing cycle takes eleven months, from land clearing in May and June, burning in August, and sowing in September. The fields are weeded until the grain is almost mature, then merely guarded from birds and animals. The harvest occurs in March. The times of burning and harvesting are set for all farms within the longhouse but will

differ among longhouses.

The padi cycle is initiated by a longhouse meeting at which it is decided to farm a particular area. Families possessing land parcels near each other in this area will form work groups and often live together in a smaller longhouse called a dampa built near the farms. Certain auguries are performed to validate the choice of area, and certain ceremonies such as the Gawai Batu (Whetstone Feast) provide a propitious beginning to the work.

Clearing is done in groups of families, the young men vying to cut the most difficult trees. This job and carrying home the heavy baskets of padi at harvest are the only farm duties a young man does not find below his dignity. Sowing is done in groups, the men making holes in the earth and the women casting in the seed.

Until harvest time the daily care of the farms falls to the women who weed and guard them in small family groups or alone. This economic importance of women's labour has perhaps given them the position of respect and freedom they enjoy within the Iban's characteristically democratic society. The young men do not participate at all in farm work, leaving the longhouse instead to go on long money-making, adventure-seeking journeys. The male head of the family may goo away or may work on fences or hunt nearby; at any rate he will participate in the day-to-day care of the farm only if there are insufficient womenfolk in his family.

This program is concerned mainly with the daily

activities associated with padi cultivation, but several other implications of this subsistence form will be mentioned. The shifting nature of the farming as old areas are left fallow and new ones used has helped to form the democratic nature of Iban society. No one need stay under a despotic ruler, for no one is tied to any piece of land. Besides being food padi has a central spiritual significance in traditional Iban culture. The early ceremonies in the padi cycle serve to get everyone in the longhouse started at the same optimum time, as well as functioning as work and information exchanges. Since this program is not primarily concerned with padi ritual, these secular functions of ceremony will be emphasized.

Other crops such as cucumber, pumpkin, casava, and corn are grown in the padi fields. Fruit trees are planted near the longhouses and are individually owned, no matter who owns the land on which they are found. The men supplement the diet with deer, boar, and other game. Various jungle foodstufs are collected, and pigs and chickens are domesticated. These and other food related activities are noted briefly in the program.

Study Points

Subsistence economies as influenced by physical environment and levels of technology.--cf. characteristic subsistence economies of other cultures such as Eskimos, African herders, various North American Indian cultures,

economies of different groups in same geographic area such as Indians and early French colonists in Quebec, changes in farming procedures as a result of advances in technology.

Ecological effects of different farming practices. effects of poorly regulated slash and burn agriculture, stock management, and rotation of crops; good and poor management of North American farms; the fad of "natural" farming; cf. the denuding of land in the middle east by goat raising, the Mid-West dust bowl.

Essentially conservative nature of subsistence economies.--With a very small capital base a subsistence farmer tends to prefer methods that are familiar, cheap, and with known risks. Change must be accompanied by a very high likelihood of success or it is not worth the gamble. cf. any traditional agricultural community involved in development (see teacher's bibliography).

Relationship between subsistence economy and political organization.--democratic nature of shifting agriculturalist communities; cf. other governmental forms often found in connection with particular economies such as patriarchal bands associated with herding, as in Arabic society.

Economic value of daily activities.--Why do people do the work they do? What value has it for themselves and for the society as a whole?

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Chart 4.--Hill Padi and Daily Life
Continuity of Ideas

Geography Communications Settlement	ecological effects of dry padi farming
Longhouse Daily Life	a companion program on daily activities
Cash Crops Jungle Bejalai	a companion program on major economic activities, bejalai are mentioned
Family Life Kinship	a companion program showing outdoor activities of family groups
Padi Harvest Padi Ritual	strongly prefigures by showing importance of padi and activities associated with it up to the point of harvest
Head Hunting Ritual Personality	some rituals are shown and associated with the values and concerns of the group
Government Social Control	initial meeting of farmers shows self-government at work; type of agriculture is associated with type of government
Enculturation Education	children seen at work on farms learning future roles; children seen at meetings and ceremonies
Cash Economy Trade Co-ops	farm tools are simple and could be made at home but are now usually bought from a Chinese trader
Religious Conversion	no specific reference, but basis of traditional religion is set in the program
Town Dwellers Bejalai Resettlement	
Art	pig traps and ritual objects seen on farms

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Program Four: Cash Crops

Major Generalization

The source of a cash income is influenced by physical environment, level of technology, and existing cultural patterns. The introduction of a cash crop is a result of and a precursor to basic changes in life style and values.

Discipline Emphasis

Cultural anthropology

Cultural geography

Economics

Concepts

Major.--cash crop

Contributing.--smallholding

Foreign Words.--bejalai, jelutong, rotan, damar

Content Outline

Iban material.--traditional sources of cash income from jungle expeditions to collect saleable products; modern cash crops of rubber and pepper

Discussion of Iban material.--Cash for luxuries and a few necessities such as salt has traditionally been earned by the sale of jungle products collected on expeditions of Iban males, especially young, adventurous men. Jelutong is used in chewing gum, rotan is rattan, and damar is used in varnish. To these products may be added birds' nests for the Chinese soup and various items in the Chinese pharmacopeia. A bejalai in search of jungle produce will be shown with its rituals and taboos.

Although once the main source of cash in Iban culture jungle bejalai are greatly reduced in importance now because of the declining acreage of primary forest and new demands for cash. Pressure on land in inhabited areas has also contributed to the need for more efficient sources of

income. More and more the Iban are turning to rubber and pepper smallholding to provide for a growing number of cash needs, now including even rice.

Rubber and pepper are government-encouraged crops. Both require large capital outlays and a considerable wait before income is produced. Government subventions help relieve the financial burdens of setting up. The government is continuing the historical Sarawak practice of discouraging plantation agriculture with its attendent problems of absentee ownership and imported labour, and is actively encouraging smallholding (family farms) and co-operation within villages through communal shops and rubber smoke-houses.

Rubber and pepper incomes are very closely bound to world economic conditions. Rubber especially responds to war prospects, and I suspect the oil crisis may also have influenced a return to natural rubber. World conditions are reflected in the day-to-day prices offered by the Chinese shopkeepers. This in turn determines whether or not the farmer will bother tapping his trees. The Ibans of Batu Lintang showed a fine sense of economizing in their response to market conditions. Other native groups, like the Land Dyaks whom Geddes studied, are not as interested in getting a certain return on a certain amout of labour. They treat their rubber like a bank, he says, to be tapped for income when they need the money, regardless of prevailing market conditions.

Rubber and pepper are labour-intensive crops,

another reason for the lessening importance of native padi growing. Also, padi can never be gown in the dry form in permanent farms, so if cash crops are adopted padi farms will likely have to be located some distance away. Cash cropping can cause social problems in the longhouse as individual families opt out of the communal cutting and burning. Cash croppers also tend to live near their holdings and may exert such pressure on the longhouse that it breaks up.

Smallholding rubber is not very good quality because of poor methods and the fact that few people have access to a rubber smokehouse. As a consequence prices are very low. Some Iban take this as a reason to forego the trouble and uncertainty of getting involved in the cash economy, but this sort of independence is becoming more and more difficult to maintain. Needs and expectations are changing.

The Anglican priest of Sanduk will be shown making a parish visit and suggesting some other cash sources, such as pig or fish farming, pineapples, cocoa or coffee, even crocodile farming. The Ibans politely but firmly turn down each proposal.

Study Points

Subsistence economy and cash economy.--comparison and contrast between the two areas of economic activity among the Iban; who engages in each, the needs each fulfills, the satisfactions each provides, and the extent to which each is integrated into Iban culture. cf. examples

from Transforming Traditional Agriculture, family farms and modern agribusiness.

Pressures on a culture leading to a change from a subsistence to a cash economy.--taxation (often the only cash need), government development schemes; ecological pressure as the land no longer supports traditional agriculture; population pressure; rising expectations satisfiable only with cash; the fact that as more people change to cash crop farming it becomes increasingly difficult for the remainder to operate in traditional ways.

Conservative nature of small-scale cash crop farming.--With a very small capital base Ibans are unwilling to take the risk of developing unusual sources of cash income; reasons for modern North American initiative in commercial ventures such as education, financial security, and a fund of experience upon which anyone may draw; contrast between Iban and North American situations.

Integration of cash crop farming into traditional culture.--Rubber and pepper do not provide the Iban with the same emotional satisfaction as padi, nor have they elicited any ritual responses; conflicts between cash croppers and traditionalists can be serious. cf. enclosure in nineteenth-century Britain and in the American West.

Suggested Activities

A visit to an industry that uses rubber or to a spice importing firm will demonstrate how Sarawak crops are

Chart 5.--Cash Crops and Jungle Bejalai
Continuity of Ideas

Geography Communications Settlement	choice of crops is strongly influenced by geographic conditions; value of cash crops is related to ease of transportation
Longhouse Daily Life	breakup of longhouse associated with adoption of cash crops
Hill Padi Daily Life	a companion program on major economic activities
Family Life Kinship	a companion program on outdoor activities of the family
Padi Harvest Padi Ritual	contrast with lack of ritual for cash crops
Head Hunting Ritual Personality	monetary success brings prestige
Government Social Control	adoption of cash crops brings need for non-traditional forms of social organization
Enculturation Education	children seen tapping rubber when prices too low for adults to be bothered
Cash Economy Trade Co-ops	a companion program showing the crops that form the basis of small trade in Sarawak, co-ops mentioned
Religious Conversion	new sources of income are often associated with conversion; can be a source of dissension
Town Dwellers Bejalai Resettlement	resettlement schemes rely on cash cropping to support higher densities of population than traditional
Art	

part of Canadian economic activity.

Interviews with people who have set up their own small commercial ventures should be made with the purpose of making explicit the cultural base in Canadian life that permits and abets commercial initiative. Questions might deal with why they decided to become self-employed, the help they received from individuals and institutions, the research they conducted, the problems they had, etc.

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Program Five: Family Life and Kinship

Major Generalization

The family is the first building block of any society, and kinship groups form the basis of most of the reciprocal rights and obligations of a simple society.

Discipline Emphasis

Social anthropology

Concepts

Major.--kinship

Contributing.--utrolocal residence, descent group, bilateral descent group

Foreign Words.--bilek, bejalai

Content Outline

Iban material.--social organization based on nuclear or three-generation families that trace descent bilaterally; family unit is the smallest ownership unit except for a few personal objects; freedom of choice of marriage partners, with considerable premarital experimentation; utrolocal residence; family is the smallest economic unit.

Discussion of the Iban material.--This program draws together the scattered references made so far about daily activities and the contributions individuals make to their family. The bilek family, that is the members permanently residing in one apartment, is the smallest economic unit of Iban society. In the family is vested ownership of land,

tools, equipment, valuables such as ancient jars and gongs, and the longhouse apartment. Personal ownership extends only to clothes and some jewelry.

The bilek family usually consists of one set of grandparents and one or more of their children, along with spouses and grandchildren. Young people remain part of their parents' bilek until marriage, although the young men may disappear for months at a time on bejalai. After marriage, residence may be in the bilek of either in-law, and later on the couple will establish a new bilek unless they inherit the one they are living in.

There is great freedom for the young in the choice of a marriage partner, compatibility and love being the main criteria. Usually partners are found in other longhouses, and this is an added incentive to go on bejalai. It is the common practice to engage in considerable sexual experimentation before the right person is found, and even then divorce is simple and carries no social stigma. These traditional practices still hold for many Christianized Iban.

A man does not marry until about the age of thirty-five, although girls marry much younger. Even when married, a young man does not contribute much labour to the home bilek, preferring the lucrative adventure of the bejalai. Only when he is in possession of his own farm, either through inheritance or by migration to a pioneer area, will he settle down to a farming life. Nevertheless, his earnings during bejalai do not benefit himself alone; he brings back

gifts for every member of the bilek and contributes his cash earnings to the family funds. Likewise, children who have moved permanently to towns still consider themselves members of their parents' bilek and contribute to the family financially.

Iban women tend to be less sophisticated and more traditional than the men, since they do not normally engage in bejalai. As children, girls, like boys, have little work to do except looking after younger children while their parents are busy. In their teens they begin learning field and household tasks and by sixteen are working full time. The practical and ritual lore of padi farming is vested in the womenfolk; this fact alone guarantees a position of prestige and influence for women in Iban society.

The bilek family is also normally the largest economic group in Iban society. Friends and relations will form short-term groups for farming in nearby areas, living together in a miniature longhouse and making up work parties for some tasks, but this is in no way a form of primitive communism. Each family zealously pursues its own ends with very little concern about the whole community.

Ibans trace descent bilaterally--i. e. with equal emphasis on father's and mother's relatives--although the residence chosen by a newly wed pair will determine to some extent the closeness of emotional ties with each side of the family. In this respect Iban family structure is very much like modern North American norms.

Study Points

Families as the basic units of societies.--forms of families and functions of families; correlations between kinship structure and other aspects of societies; functions and importance of families in societies with poorly developed governmental services contrasted with families in societies with extensive government services. cf. family bands of hunting and gathering cultures, polygyny among African cultivators and Malaysian Muslims--women as labour and as prestige possessions, extended families in India and China with discussion of changes in post-revolutionary China, rural and urban families in Quebec.

Individualism vs. the need for co-operation in a social group.--reasons for formation of social groups; practical and emotional needs served by groups; values of individualism and conformity. cf. besides families of different cultures discuss non-kinship groups such as work groups, business groups, special interest groups, and students' own experiences and feelings in group situation.

Women's liberation.--division of labour according to sex and the practical reasons behind the assignment of tasks in most traditional cultures; prestige accorded women's work; influence of women in group affairs; economic importance of women's work. cf. changes in the position of women in modern North American society, matriarchal societies; status of women in various cultures such as Malay, modern Chinese, and European.

Chart 6.--Family Life and Kinship
Continuity of Ideas

Geography Communications Settlement	family behaviour is influenced by proximity to urban centers
Longhouse Daily Life	a companion program organizing various family activities
Hill Padi Daily Life	a companion program organizing various family activities
Cash Crops Jungle Bejalai	a companion program organizing various family activities
Padi Harvest Padi Ritual	women possess the most expertise in padi farming and ritual, ritual helps bind family ties and is intended to increase its wealth
Head Hunting Ritual Personality	heads belong to individual families, large gawai are primarily family celebrations, personal prestige equals family prestige
Government Social Control	social control begins with family pressure family disputes are the most common cause of longhouse breakup
Enculturation Education	family is the central organ of enculturation family problems can be caused by differences in educational levels of parents and youth
Cash Economy Trade Co-ops	
Religious Conversion	some changes in family behaviour are the result of religious conversion, but tradition dies hard
Town Dwellers Bejalai Resettlement	town bejalai contributes to greater sophistication of men, town dwellers generally maintain close ties to longhouse family
Art	Iban blankets are displayed at weddings

Suggested Activities

Students could construct their genealogies using the standard kinship symbols and analyse their feelings about relatives on each side of their family. The depth and width of their chart will help them judge the relative matriarchal or patriarchal tendency of their family.

Students could prepare and eat an Iban meal while role-playing the members of a bilek family. Conversation would center around a bejalai and farm work. This activity should be repeated at the end of the course, and students should compare their feelings and insights from each experience.

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Program Six: Padi Harvest and Padi Ritual

Major Generalization

Important processes, especially when accompanied by a difficulty of execution and a likelihood of failure, or those involving danger, give rise to a variety of ceremonial behaviour (Boas, 1932). Ritual behaviour, besides satisfying spiritual needs, serves some practical social purposes.

Discipline Emphasis

Social and cultural anthropology

Religion

Concepts

Major.--ritual

Contributing.--rite, augury

Foreign Words.--padi, gawai, dampa, antu

Content Outline

Iban material.--recapitulation of gawai batu (whetstone feast) and of several other padi rituals that take place throughout the cycle; harvest process; welcoming padi into the longhouse; threshing and storage; preparations for and some aspects of a major gawai; modern gawai such as the government-encouraged gawai Dyak.

Discussion of Iban material.--The Iban have traditionally relied on padi for economic, moral, and spiritual welfare. Except for a pantheon of gods who feature in mythological tales but do not interfere in human affairs and antu

who are demons of the jungle, padi is the Iban religion.

Padi is considered to have a living soul which grows in strength and abundance when properly treated or withers away when improperly treated by accident or design. Every stage of the padi cycle is accompanied by its appropriate ritual, sometimes a communal rite for the whole longhouse and sometimes a private family rite.

Communal rites tend to be at the very beginning and very end of the padi cycle. The whetstone feast brings the whole population of the longhouse together, and the auguries taken before choosing an area to farm are done for the benefit of the entire longhouse. These communal rites serve several practical purposes; they ensure that every family starts the cycle at the optimum time and they get people together in groups to make plans and organize work exchanges or dampa arrangements.

In the course of the padi cycle individual families perform rites on location at their farms and observe taboos at crucial points in the cycle. This ritual fortifies their hopes for good harvests and enhances the importance of padi farming. As well, due performance of ritual may encourage due performance of more mundane farm duties.

After the harvest, if it has been successful, there is often a large gawai which, although not specifically a padi gawai, is dependent on a surplus crop. Large gawai are technically family rituals, but they are held after consultation with the rest of the longhouse and everyone attempts

to produce a surplus of padi in order to be able to contribute to the festivities. This is especially true with regard to gawai commemorating the dead, but large gawai are also given to honour members of the longhouse who have done particularly noteworthy things.

Communal gawai are social occasions, excuses for feasting and drinking and taking things easy. Only a very few people are directly involved in the ritual; the others sit about enjoying themselves. Direct participation is less important than the knowledge that the rites have been duely performed.

Recently the Malaysian government has been encouraging a series of festivals devoted to various ethnic groups. The gawai Dyak is for the indigenous peoples. In the cities it is celebrated with displays of dancing and receptions for resident Dyaks. In the longhouses there is much less interest in it, since they need no special day on which to assert their solidarity. My informant told me that on the gawai Dyak one could go visiting other longhouses without an invitation; that was the extent of the celebration.

Study Points

Symbolic functions of ritual behaviour.--use of ritual to symbolize and codify, hence to standardize group feelings; use of ritual to indicate affirmation of group values. - cf. national ritual such as pledges of allegiance, flag ceremonials, and protocol relating to leaders, rituals

associated with culturally approved accomplishments such as graduation ceremonies, social rituals such as shaking hands.

Ritual as a source of reassurance.--rituals associated with difficult or dangerous tasks, especially if the outcome does not apparently depend wholly on rational behaviour. cf. rituals intended to protect crops from disease or pests, rituals associated with healing, modern North American rituals associated with new construction projects, opening ceremonies of schools or conferences.

Ritual as a source of social cohesion.--ritual as a means of entering a group and repeated ritual as an indication of group membership; participation in ritual as a means of strengthening group ties. cf. initiation rites, use of distinctive clothing or signals to demonstrate groups membership, participation in religious ceremonies both demonstrating and strengthening group identification.

Occasions eliciting ritual responses.--rites of passage; rites of renewal; difficult of dangerous projects. cf. modern North American rites of passage, Australian or African puberty rites, centennials, birthdays, marriages, wedding anniversaries, opening ceremonies of parliament, rituals marking accomplishments such as graduations, completion of construction projects, or retirement dinners.

Suggested Activities

Students could research the evolution of modern North American social behaviour towards greater informality,

Chart 7.--Padi Harvest and Padi Ritual
Continuity of Ideas

Geography Communications Settlement	
Longhouse Daily Life	some ceremonies include the entire longhouse using the "public" corridor
Hill Padi Daily Life	a companion program taking padi out of the purely nutritional and economic realm to its emotional and spiritual place in Iban life
Cash Crops Jungle Bejalai	ritual is used to prepare for jungle bejalai but is not used with cash crops
Family Life Kinship	shows oldest woman in family choosing sacred padi and determining order of planting, shows family ritual for sick padi
Head Hunting Ritual Personality	a companion program about two levels of ritual, padi ritual being more practical and less cosmic than headhunting ritual
Government Social Control	ritual is a force for social cohesion
Enculturation Education	children participate in all ritual as onlookers, girls as dancers
Cash Economy Trade Co-ops	
Religious Conversion	a companion program as Christianized Ibans are developing new padi ceremonies, needs of the padi cult may prevent some conversions
Town Dwellers Bejalai Resettlement	men on bejalai try to get home for the harvest
Art	ritual objects, dancing, singing, and recitation of incantations are seen

presenting their findings in a series of vignettes about social visits, from the Victorian leaving of cards to the modern coffee-klatch.

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Program Seven: Headhunting and Personality

Major Generalization

All cultures exhibit clusters of traits that stem from particular foci. These traits relate to material objects, behaviour characteristics including ritual, and personality characteristics.

Discipline Emphasis

Social and cultural anthropology

Social psychology

Religion

Concepts

Major.--focus, trait, prestige, status

Contributing.--headhunting, personality, sublimation

Foreign Words.--duku, bejalai, gawai, ngajat dance, penghulu, tuai rumah, pua ikat

Content Outline

Iban material.--ecological and social reasons for the practice of headhunting; social and spiritual satisfactions of headhunting; personality traits associated with headhunting; other manifestations of these personality traits; modern sublimations of the urges which formerly led to headhunting; artistic outcomes of headhunting.

Discussion of Iban material.--The Iban have had the reputation of being the most dedicated headhunters in Sarawak even though they did not originate this trait. The taking of heads served many overt and covert purposes, ecological, social, and spiritual.

As an expansionist group preferring to farm virgin land rather than to remain in a restricted area rotating farms every few years, the Iban constantly encroached on the territories of other groups who had settled in Sarawak previously. Headhunting raids were one means of discomfiting

these other groups and forcing them to abandon land, which would then fall to the Iban advance. There was no large-scale warfare; parties of men would leave an Iban longhouse during the slack padi season and conduct a combined war-reconnaissance-jungle produce expedition. Generally these parties went to unknown areas that the Iban were interested in settling. Beside the sure profit of the jungle produce there was the likelihood of coming across enemies who would provide a few heads for the raiders.

These expeditions opened up new territory for the Iban and so helped them avoid problems due to population pressure, and they also made use of the talent of the young men in a congenial way during the times in the padi cycle when their labour was not essential. Social conflict through unequal distribution of land was rendered impossible since any member of the longhouse could move to a newly conquered area and claim land for himself. Conflict between the generations was avoided by having the youth absent much of the year, and by the fact that their expeditions brought them actual wealth and great prestige.

The Ibans were relative latecomers to Sarawak, and the best land had already been occupied. Because of the central importance of padi farming in Iban culture, head-hunting raids which pushed back other groups were adaptive and socially approved. This social value of headhunting was the reason an individual Iban would become a headhunter. Few would have been able to verbalize the practical benefit.

Head possessed a generalized spiritual power which was considered to accrue to the entire longhouse, although the actual object was owned by the family of the raider who had taken it. Unlike other Sarawak groups, the heads were not associated with the padi cult; they did not confer fertility on the longhouse or any other specific benefit, but did transfer the spirit of the victim to the victor's home. This increased one's power over enemies and ensured success, wealth, and happiness. Heads were needed to "break" periods of mourning and were essential elements of the great festivals such as the Gawai Antu.

Perhaps more important than spiritual considerations were the social implications of headhunting. The head belonged to the person who took it; the more heads he had the greater his prestige. A young man's first head ensured success with the girls and was almost a prerequisite for marriage. When a great festival was given, only men who had taken heads were allowed to perform certain parts of the rituals. In the Gawai Burong, tall poles with hornbill carvings on top were set up for each member of the longhouse who had taken a head. Since the length of the poles varied according to the status of the owner, and since status varied with the number of heads taken, these public displays both rewarded and stimulated the custom. The heads themselves remained permanently on display in the corridor outside the apartment of the family owning them.

Although Iban society is politically egalitarian,

individual Iban are very status and prestige conscious. The traditional means of gaining prestige has been competitive self-assertion, and the traditional arena for increasing prestige has been aggresion and expansion, historically inseparable concepts. War, wealth, and prestige festivals were linked together in a prestige cycle in which different parts were emphasized by different age groups. The most vigorous went on bejalai, earning money by collecting jungle produce or looting enemy longhouses. They took heads and advanced the expansion of their own longhouse, gaining prestige in the process. The money was invested in prestige valuables such as gongs, brass cannon, or Chinese jars, or was used to outfit more raiding parties. More settled men would move to the pioneer areas, becoming founding fathers of new longhouses. Those who had led expeditions gained the right to hold a prestige festival, of which there was a prescribed series.

The abolition of headhunting has not changed this personality orientation. Status events now replacing headhunting are consistent large rice crops, army or police experience, government jobs such as hospital attendant or agricultural assistant, political positions such as tuai rumah (longhouse headman), or literacy. Aggressive impulses are now channeled into the legal system. Ibans have a reputation for being the most litigatious of any Sarawak group. Prolonged law cases are used as a source of entertainment. Among town dwelling Ibans achievement along Western lines is

a source of prestige. All Iban gain status from contact with "Europeans".

While the old status objects are still important, the practical nature of Iban culture shows in the choice of modern prestige items. Shotguns, outboard motors, sewing machines, spectacles, and furniture (especially pressure lamps) are sought be men on bejalai in the oil fields or towns. Bejalai are more lucrative now than in their traditional form and they still confer prestige on a young man. Pioneering has evolved into an interest in new things and new ideas, and the young are likely to return to the longhouse with jeans, modern hairdos, and snapshots.

Headhunting was never an entirely noble art, and at the time of the European contact it had degenerated into an inflationary desire for heads at any cost. Children and old women were good sources since they posed no danger. Trickery and not fortitude was rewarded. Many Iban folktales celebrate this personality trait in the anthropomorphized mouse deer. Some are found in the student bibliography.

Headhunting gave rise to one of the most popular Iban dances--the ngajat. This dance, performed by individual men, dramatizes the events of a headhunting encounter. An innocent stroll in the jungle, sudden wariness; an enemy is met and the dancer circles seeking his opportunity; a mimed battle and then victory. Skillful performance of the ngajat is another modern status-giving event. The plastic arts have also been influenced by the headhunting ethic. War coats,

helmets, and intricately carved duku were used on expedition and worn to the great festivals. The pua ikat (warp-dyed blankets whose creation was the feminine equivalent of head-hunting) were used to wrap new heads and were hung up to decorate the longhouse at festivals. Poetry and myth commemorate culture heroes who were great war leaders.

Study Points

Cultures emphasizing other traits.--cf. medieval concern with order and salvation, North American profit motive.

War.--ethological theories regarding innate aggressiveness; sources of human conflict; cultures stressing peace and cultures stressing conflict; immediate and underlying causes of selected wars; means of avoiding conflict; the role of the diplomat and the United Nations. cf. New guinea's warlike societies, selected European wars, wars involving the United States and Canada.

Role and status.--modern North American roles and associated statuses; status symbols; class and associated cultural traits; caste systems. cf. India, class distinctions in Canada, underprivileged groups in Canada, roles and statuses in the students' immediate society.

Suggested Activities

Students could find and discuss status symbols they identify in their own homes.

Students could make a collection of the stories and

Chart 8.--Headhunting and Personality
Continuity of Ideas

Geography Communications Settlement	headhunting lasted far longer in the remote interior than in areas close to urban development
Longhouse Daily Life	heads were seen displayed in the longhouse other status objects were seen
Hill Padi Daily Life	raids were conducted in the slack season and were originally concerned with opening up new farming territory
Cash Crops Jungle Bejalai	originally jungle bejalai were closely related to headhunting raids
Family Life Kinship	heads were needed to break periods of mourning; heads were part of a family fortune
Padi Harvest Padi Ritual	headhunting ritual and the great gawai are related in form to padi ritual; great gawai depend on planned surplusses of padi
Government Social Control	raids dissipated aggressiveness; success in raids ensured prestige and positions of leadership
Enculturation Education	children were present at all gawai, heard stories of great leaders, and were taught to behave in aggressive Iban fashion
Cash Economy Trade Co-ops	individualism and self-assertion are now causing difficulties in co-operatives
Religious Conversion	some longhouses give heads a Christian burial after conversion; some keep the heads as a sign of cultural continuity
Town Dwellers Bejalai Resettlement	new forms of bejalai are more lucrative than the old raids; army service is highly regarded
Art	war coats and helmets, carved <u>duku</u> handles, ritual objects, songs, epics, <u>ngajat</u> dance

myths which are powerful in moulding personal opinions and goals in modern North America, e. g. male adventure tales or Horatio Alger books.

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Program Eight: Government and Social Control

Major Generalization

All societies develop methods of social control and ways of expediting matters of importance to the community as

a whole. There is some correlation between the means used and other aspects of the group's culture.

Discipline Emphasis

Social anthropology

Political science

Concepts

Major.--social control, government, law

Contributing.--power, authority

Foreign Words.--tuai rumah, penghulu, temmonggong, adat

Content Outline

Iban material.--roles of tuai rumah, penghulu, and temonggong; Iban adat (law) and its codification; courts of law within the longhouse; non-codified methods of social control; relations between the longhouse and the larger world.

Discussion of Iban material.--Aggressive and self-seeking in their relations with other groups, Ibans are peaceful and well-disciplined in their behaviour within their own community. It has been remarked that modern North American culture can learn much from Ibans about how to handle high density living. This program is concerned with two contributions of government--the management of community affairs and the resolution of intra-community disputes.

All Sarawak groups have developed an adat (a Malay word meaning traditional law. Adat varies between and within

groups and has gradually been codified by the various governments of first the country, then the colony, and now the state. It is the plan to have a common adat for each ethnic group in each division of the state, and likely there will eventually be developed sets of adat applying throughout the entire state.

Criminal law is now based on English law and is administered by government officials and courts for any offense larger than petty theft. The tuai rumah and penghulu are responsible for civil cases in and between longhouses respectively.

The tuai rumah is the headman of a longhouse, chosen by the heads of each family in it. From the tuai rumah of a given area, usually a river valley, is elected the penghulu. Tuai rumah are traditional positions along with the ritual specialists called tuai burong. Penghulu were first appointed by the Brookes in an effort to organize the Iban above the longhouse level and to bring them under closer supervision. There is only one temonggong who is the Iban paramount chief, but his actual authority extends only to his home area, although normally he holds some official government position such as Minister of Native Affairs.

The average Iban has no interest in the holders of the two higher offices. They have no power over him. The temonggong has only prestige, and the penghulu can interfere in no internal affairs of any longhouse, even his own. He is a government magistrate responsible for order in his

district and the conduct of courts dealing with family and land disputes between longhouses.

Much more important in Iban daily activities is the tuai rumah, but it must be stressed that like the two other offices the tuai rumah has no power over his longhouse and cannot be called a chief or ruler. His role is more that of focusing group needs and desires than of imposing his own ideas. There is no ceremony when a tuai rumah is chosen, and he can be removed from office simply by having recognition transferred to someone else.

Qualities desirable in a tuai rumah are good appearance and address, since he must represent the longhouse, prestige and popularity, and an ability with words--a traditional prestige ability needed in community meetings. He should be self-reliant, resolute, and known for his impartiality and good judgment. A sound knowledge of the adat is essential. Finally, the man should be well-off since he is expected to do a great deal of entertaining and to put up official guests of the longhouse.

The tuai rumah often comes from the same family as his predecessor, but the office is not hereditary. One family will simply be sufficiently wealthy and be able to teach its members the adat, the genealogies of the longhouse members, and the histories of land disputes, which are the essential background to effective functioning. Tuai rumah receive no pay or tribute except court cost for the disputes he mediates.

The tuai rumah is responsible for implementing government policies and generally is the mediator between the state and the longhouse, although the penghulu make several visits each year to the longhouses in their districts. Tuai rumah are the primary custodians of the adat and are the normal arbitrators in disputes. They call longhouse meetings on issues of general concern such as choosing new areas to farm or deciding on a date for burning the felled jungle. These are matters which are too serious to leave to individual choice.

The longhouse community does not usually interfere in the behaviour of its members unless they pose a definite threat to the whole. For instance, failure to maintain one's section of the public corridor is condoned until someone injures himself on it; then pressure is put on the offending family to do repairs, and a fine is levied which goes to the injured party. Nor does the community as a whole get involved in projects which do not have immediate and practical benefits for each individual. While there is communal clearing, burning, and planting, which are large jobs, all other farm work is done in small, often kinship groups. The members of the longhouse feel no responsibility to clean the common land around it nor to maintain the ladder into it that is the only publicly owned part of the whole structure. Interesting comparisons may be made with North American cities where private wealth contrasts with the difficulties experienced by public facilities.

More frequent than disputes between the community and individuals are cases between individuals. Ibans enjoy litigation, both participating and as a spectator sport, and it is a basic trait of their culture not to be outdone without a good fight. The plaintiff lays his complaint with the tuai rumah, who contacts the other party and arranges a hearing on his own section of the corridor This is a public meeting, and every member of the longhouse can voice his or her opinion, although there is a jury of elders to help the tuai rumah. The plaintiff and defendant state their cases in long and unorganized vociferation; eventually a concensus is reached. In the case of land disputes there will be a decision in favour of one person, but in all other types of cases a compromise decision is reached which will restore peace and harmony to the community.

It has been hypothesized that shifting cultivation can be correlated with decentralized, democratic political forms, although this is not born out by the aristocratic Kayan social organization in Sarawak. However, the right of any Iban to leave a longhouse on payment of a small fine ensures that no autocratic leadership could develop. The high density living of the longhouse has certainly led to the development of political and judicial structures that permit the maximum individuality but at the same time ensuring that sensitivity to communal order necessary to a well-functioning society.

Study Points

Social organization.--groups larger than families; overt and covert reasons for forming groups; different forms of group organization. cf. age groups, pressure groups, clubs, work groups.

Social conflict.--sources of intra-community conflict; methods of resolving conflict. cf. class conflict, economic conflict, discrimination, cultural differences in large communities, charitable organizations, fair play laws.

Law.--influence of precedent in legal matters; relationship between codified law and social realities; legal ritual; law and justice; philosophy of law. cf. comparison of Quebec and English common law, school rules, role of the lawyer, community bylaws, modern North American methods of teaching citizens about law and legal practices.

Government.--Different forms of government and their relationships to different forms of life styles; purposes of government; government in the students experience. cf. student councils, local, regional, and provincial government, the feudal system, Chinese civil servant system, Canadian and American systems of federal government.

Suggested Activities

Students could attend a session of the small claims court to see individuals making their own pleas like the Iban do. A visit to a regular court or an interview with a court reporter would make an interesting contrast.

Chart 9.--Government and Social Control
Continuity of Ideas

Geography Communications Settlement	central government is seen communicating with the longhouse through a travelling official
Longhouse Daily Life	public corridor is seen as the location of meetings and courts; the story of the ladder repairs is recalled
Hill Padi Daily Life	shifting cultivation encourages decentralized, democratic government; recalls group meetings concerned with padi
Cash Crops Jungle Bejalai	the planting of cash crops can be a source of conflict leading to litigation
Family Life Kinship	social control begins in the family; every adult family member has the right to voice opinions at meetings
Padi Harvest Padi Ritual	padi rituals are times of communal action in the longhouse
Head Hunting Ritual Personality	headhunting originally led to political authority; now the same personal qualities are still sought in leaders
Enculturation Education	children are present at meetings and court cases, learning by participation
Cash Economy Trade Co-ops	co-ops are a new and not well integrated form of social organization
Religious Conversion	religious conversion can be a source of conflict if people do not honour ancient obligations
Town Dwellers Bejalai Resettlement	resettlement schemes require more formal governmental organization than longhouses
Art	

Students could interview members of their town council about their role and the authority they wield. perhaps a visit to a council meeting could be arranged.

Students could role-play an Iban longhouse court.

A comparison between Iban and Land Dyak desirable characteristics for longhouse leaders would indicate interesting differences in group psychology.

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Program Nine: Enculturation and Education

Major Generalization

All societies develop means of enculturating and educating their young. Schools are more or less an extension of these traditional means, but discrepancies can develop

when the group does not belong to the dominant culture of the region.

Discipline Emphasis

Social and cultural anthropology

Education

Social psychology

Concepts

Major.--education, enculturation

Contributing.--objectives

Foreign Words.--malu

Content Outline

Iban material.--traditional methods of enculturation; modern school experience; objectives of schooling; influences of schooling.

Discussion of Iban material.--Traditional Iban enculturation is informal and non-repressive. No Iban is expected to comply with orders he does not understand and agree with, and this applies to children too. Discipline is accomplished verbally, usually by shaming the culprit. Children are allowed to vent their emotions but are strictly forbidden to fight. These discipline measures have the effect that young people are sensitive to the needs and interests of their group and are interested in voluntarily conforming in order to avoid a state of malu (embarrassment and isolation).

The autonomy of the child is respected with regard to learning the day-to-day routines of Iban life. Young children have small chores to do, like caring for the chickens or looking after younger children, but they are allowed to decide if and when they will take these duties on. Boys in particular try to avoid work, doing only the tasks they find fun and challenging. Mastery of a task is accomplished more for reasons of self-respect than to gain the approval of adults.

As the child approaches adolescence the learning of adult tasks becomes more important. If the child attempts an adult job, he is shown how to do it and it is made sure that he does it right. However, parents do not go out of their way to formally teach adult skills, nor do they force young people to practise skills. Traditional culture in the form of oral literature, political institutions, and religious experience is taught by allowing the child to participate, first as an observer and then more fully. Like practical skills, these elements are not formally inculcated.

Formal education is based on a British model, only recently adapted to be more suited to a rural, tropical society. At the time of research all instruction, from the first day, was in English; since then there has been Malayanization. Classes are formal and rigid with the constant threat of failure.

Financial difficulties in a developing nation, perhaps coupled with the elitist remnants of coloialism, have

made it necessary to deny further public education to all failures. As well, there is the Common Entrance Examination at the end of primary school from which only the top thirty percent are allowed to continue to state-supported secondary schooling. There remain a number of mission schools in the state that will take failures for tuition; this naturally means that only fairly well-off families can educate their children if they have not performed well enough in the public schools.

English, arithmetic, history, geography, science, and health are the academic subjects in primary school, and singing, art, and physical education are also taught. English and arithmetic are considered the most important subjects because they constitute the bulk of the Common Entrance Examination. Arithmetic has practical value, while English has the social value of being a traditional mark of an influential person.

The curriculum has no rural emphasis because it is uniform throughout the state, nor is there any provision for adapting methods and subject matter to the different needs of the various ethnic communities of the state. Attempts to promote intercultural understanding among these groups appears to be superficial, to judge by the primary school social studies text Sarawak and Its People. At any rate, the Chinese community, even in very small places like Batu Lintang, prefers to maintain its own separate schools.

There is a considerable dichotomy between the goals

and objectives of the Education Department and those of students and parents. The department recognizes the need both to educate the majority for fuller participation in Malaysian affairs while remaining small-scale farmers and to select and prepare the best students for positions of leadership. Parents see only the selection aspect. School is an avenue to a government job. It is a gamble, something extra to normal Iban life, that may or may not work out. If it does not, the child will merely become a farmer. Nothing is lost.

Such an attitude does not ensure full support for the child's efforts at school. There is too much of a gap between experience and school, and too much of a difference between Iban reinforced behaviour patterns and school imposed behaviour patterns. The dropout rate is very high, resulting in much frustration and resentment.

The school does not become involved in the enculturative process. Iban traditions and crafts are not emphasized, and there is an active prejudice against a more agricultural curriculum on the parts of teachers and parents. This has led to problems common to many developing nations; the educated elite are divorced from the land, despising manual labour and concerned only with their own prestige.

In the longhouse community literacy has made it possible, even necessary, for people to amuse themselves alone. The pre-literate community had to congregate in groups to pass the time. Crafts, artistic endeavour, reminiscing were

more satisfying with an audience, but literate Ibans do not need the group. Literate Ibans also develop a host of new needs and wants from their reading of Western books and magzines. For instance, pressure lamps for the early tropical darkness are a necessity; fashionable Western clothing and hairdos become wants.

In a country where "failed B. A." is a sufficient cachet of superiority that it appears regularly on office signs, the failed primary or secondary student can give himself airs in the longhouse. He considers himself too advanced to learn Iban farming but at the same time knows that there is no place for him in any other sector. The uneducated adults of the longhouse defer to him, but he has no real sympathy for their concerns. This is one of the most serious social problems the Iban face today.

Study Points

Enculturation.--methods of discipline; methods of teaching practical skills; methods of teaching cultural attitudes and behaviour patterns; methods of teaching about traditions and "culture": cf. students' own family experiences, Tuktu the Netsilik Eskimo boy, Australian aboriginal tribal initiation, African age grouping and bush schools.

Education.--meaning of education; theories of education; different forms of schooling. cf. Chinese schools, Moslem Koranic schools, Roman oratorical schools, British and early North American schools, schools in Montréal.

Role of schools.--educative, selective, socializing, guardianship. cf. students' own perceptions of schooling, schools in other cultures.

Childhood.--historical development of the concept "child" in Europe; child development; needs of young humans; need for long enculturative process; consequent results for social oganization; present day roles of children. cf. status of children in selected cultures, history of childhood in Western culture, day care, "kids' lib".

Suggested Activities

Students could visit a day care center and/or a parochial school such as a Talmud school, interviewing the teachers about their goals and role perceptions.

A returned CUSO volunteer could come to class to tell of experiences teaching in a developing country.

Students could role-play enculturative experiences in their own lives.

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Chart 10.--Enculturation and Education
Continuity of Ideas

Geography Communications Settlement	education is more prevalent among Ibans under urban influence
Longhouse Daily Life	traditional enculturation teaches traits adaptive to crowded longhouse conditions; corridor activities are educative
Hill Padi Daily Life	enculturative process gradually teaches farm skills, but education entails a sharp break with traditional skills and values
Cash Crops Jungle Bejalai	educated people are more likely to be the progressive cash croppers
Family Life Kinship	family is the central organ of enculturation family problems can be caused by differences in educational levels of parents and youth
Padi Harvest Padi Ritual	enculturation by participation
Headhunting Ritual Personality	children participate in rituals as onlookers learn to model themselves on accepted Iban patterns
Government Social Control	attendance at meetings teaches political and judicial norms; education is a source of prestige and hence political power
Cash Economy Trade Co-ops	education is becoming more necessary as Ibans enter the cash economy
Religious Conversion	mission schools were until recently the only ones available to Ibans; now they accept failures from the public system
Town Dwellers Bejalai Resettlement	education is the key to a government job and an easy life in the towns; learning English permits town bejalai
Art	some art is encouraged in the schools traditional oral literature is not taught

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Program Ten: Cash Economy and Trade

Major Generalization

Contact with other cultures can stimulate changes in the economic system of a group. These changes can have repercussions on life style and value systems.

Discipline Emphasis

Cultural and social anthropology

Economics

Business administration

Concepts

Major.--economics, needs

Contributing.--co-operative, trade, smallholding

Foreign Words.--kongsi

Content Outline

Iban material.--the role of the small Chinese trader

and the organization of the Chinese business and trading system; relationships between Ibans and small Chinese traders; Iban attempts at trade; Iban co-operatives; Ibans as members of a cash economy.

Discussion of Iban material.--Ibans have always been obliged to purchase certain necessities of life like salt and iron, for which they traded excess padi or produce collected on jungle bejalai. Ibans also were interested in a roster of culturally desirable luxury articles such as Chinese jars, bronze gongs and cannon, and silver belts. These would be purchased from either Chinese traders, thereby adding them to the system, or less fortunate Ibans in need of padi, thereby redistributing them within the system. Contact with more developed cultures has created a host of new needs and wants, which can be satisfied only by a greater participation in the cash economy. It must be born in mind, however, that most Ibans and certainly those living in remote areas, live in a state of potential subsistence. They have not entirely lost the skills and values that would enable them to live fairly comfortably in the traditional padi farming subsistence economy.

The main agent of the cash economy in Sarawak is the Chinese trader. For a number of reasons, the Chinese have virtual control of the state's business sector. Malays are discouraged from participating in business by some of their religious tenets, and they are an actual minority in the state. The Chinese have had a long tradition of business

practice and a familiarity with financial dealings which neither the Malays, who cannot take interest, nor the indigenous Dayaks can match. The Chinese have also formed strong family organizations called kongsi, which give aid and advice to clan members who are setting out in business, and which form the basis of extremely strong networks of mutual support between established firms.

The village Chinese trader is only the smallest link in a complicated chain of family and business ties that will likely extend to Singapore and beyond. The trader buys goods from the smallholder which he sells to larger shopkeepers in the bazaars, and these in turn sell to exporters who are in many cases allied to firms in Singapore. The same firms operate in the opposite direction importing consumer goods, especially rice and foodstuffs. The small Chinese trader is also a banker, since there is not enough money in the countryside to make the establishment of branch banks worthwhile. The rural trader borrows from a bazaar merchant who can put up security for bank loans. In other words, the rural trader himself is suffering from a lack of capital and must rely on his personal kongsi links in order to be granted a loan. The trader uses the loan to buy goods which are advanced to the smallholder against repayment in produce at very high interest rates.

It is commonly felt among the smallholders, not only the Iban, that this personalized economic system is a means of exploiting the primary producer. It is likely that indi-

viduals can easily abuse the system, but there are many reasons for judging that the present system is a good adaptation to the particular ecological realities in Sarawak.

The transportation problems of Sarawak make it difficult and uneconomical for every smallholder to take his own rubber to a large bazaar. As it is, the rural shops are fairly thinly spread. The small size of holdings means that daily collections are not large, and the family work unit means that there could be problems of labour supply if one person were continually going off to deliver the rubber to the purchaser. From the purchaser's point of view it would be uneconomical to establish branches of large firms in every farming community; wages would be too high and the services offered would not be diverse enough to satisfy the needs of the community. The family owned shop in which each member works for the good of the whole and not for wages only and which can establish personal relationships with each client is best suited not only economically but also socially to the smallholding system.

The relationship between the smallholder and the rural shopkeeper is more personal than the normal Western business model. The smallholder does not patronize any other establishment as long as he gets the service he wants from his regular supplier. All produce is sold to one shop, and all provisions are bought from that shop. The desirable qualities in a shopkeeper are that he provide good service, credit, and a ready market for rubber and pepper. If he were

to cut credit off, the smallholder would take his business elsewhere and there would be no way for the shopkeeper to claim the debt.

Transactions are accomplished with personal guarantees only. Although there is no barter, most transactions involve only goods, whose values are balanced in the trader's accounts. The debtor has as much a hold on the shopkeeper as vice-versa. The shopkeeper can never foreclose; there is nothing to get. The smallholder advances payment on debt only so long as the shopkeeper seems willing to continue advancing credit.

The debt financing that is such an important feature of the Sarawak cash economy at this level stems mainly from the simple lack of cash among the smallholders. Initial capital and reserve funds are almost totally absent, so returns have to be made in small amounts almost daily and just as quickly turned into consumer goods for family maintenance. There is very little chance of accumulating capital. Constant debt and the social and racial differences between the shopkeeper and the Iban smallholder have created a climate of mistrust and sharp practice between two groups who are, in actual fact, in a symbiotic relationship.

In recent years the state government has been encouraging co-operative organizations of various kinds; among the Dyaks there are savings and loan societies, padi savings societies, padi milling societies, co-operative stores, and multi-purpose societies. The multi-purpose societies are

closest in form to the rural shop--buying produce and selling consumer goods, extending credit on purchases, and acting as a small bank. These functions are just those of the shops, but there there are no forms to fill out nor tedious community services like bookkeeping or clerking to be done.

The idea of a community organization for which sacrifices of one's time and autonomy have to be made, is new to the Iban and is very difficult to assimilate. Inter-longhouse rivalries can be aggravated by the new co-ops. One faction gains control of the co-op; if there has already been friction or their management brings charges of sharp practice, eventually many people may return to the Chinese shopkeeper, who had a better selection anyway, simply because they prefer the rascal they know. Co-ops can also have difficulties at the bazaar level. There is as yet no other infrastructure for trade in Sarawak but the Chinese wholesalers, and it is very easy for them to sabotage a co-operative by price-fixing and supplying shoddy goods.

Some wealthy Ibans have nominally gone into retail trade, but the normal practice is to hire Chinese managers who have the advantages of training and family connections which the Ibans lack.

There is little industry in Sarawak. The only available capital is Chinese and is in use in commerce. There is a shortage of labour and trained technical and managerial personnel. Electricity and water are expensive. There are insuperable transportation difficulties with a consequent

small local market. Most important, very few people are sufficiently involved in the cash economy to want the goods produced.

Ibans are, however, taking advantage of their traditional crafts by selling mats, baskets, carvings, and blankets to traders or government shops. Ibans will also be found on an updated version of the bejalai working in such industry as there is, especially in the oilfields in northern Sarawak.

Study Points

Cash economy.--contrasted with subsistence economy; operations of cash economies; markets; social relationships associated with cash economies. cf. the Euroamerican model of a cash economy, the Russian and Chinese communist models.

Theoretical ecohomics.--needs; allocation of scarce resources; choice; demand; expansion of wants as resources expand; cf. comparison of cash and subsistence economies, economies correlated with different social systems.

Economic practices.--production; distribution; consumption; medium of exchange; markets; specialization; capital; credit and interest. cf. selected Western and non-Western economic systems.

Business and industry.--economic requirements of business and industry; social functions of business and industry; role of business and industry in social change; multi-national business and developing countries.

cf. medieval craft guilds, effects of the industrial revolution, rural businesses in Quebec, foreign aid and industrial development, small and large businesses in the students' own community.

Suggested Activities

Students might visit a local industry or business interviewing the manager about his organization, his staff, his relationships with other businesses, etc. Interview some staff members about their job perceptions and their reasons for working.

Students could set up an elementary co-operative to manufacture and sell a product to the school community. Officers should be elected by the class and the profits should be used for a class-chosen project.

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Chart 11.--Cash Economy and Trade
Continuity of Ideas

Geography Communications Settlement	travel creates problems in economic development, commercial centers have been shown to be related to transportation
Longhouse Daily Life	participation in the cash economy both stimulates and satisfies desires for consumer goods
Hill Padi Daily Life	shows excess padi being sold to Chinese trader and tools for farm being bought
Cash Crops Jungle Bejaldi	cash crops are the basis of Iban trade, this program shows larger implications of cash cropping
Family Life Kinship	
Padi Harvest Padi Ritual	
Head Hunting Ritual Personality	shows how basic Iban personality patterns are helping them to adapt to the needs of a cash economy better than many other groups
Government Social Control	shows the co-operative as a new form of social organization
Enculturation Education	education is increasingly necessary as Ibans are further implicated in a market economy, children are less involved in economic life
Religious Conversion	religious conversion is often paralleled with change in economic behaviour
Town Dwellers Bejalai Resettlement	town dwellers are totally involved in the cash economy, resettlement schemes are based on cash crops
Art	art is now used as a commodity for economic gain, at least one Iban makes his living as an artist in the Western sense

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Program Eleven: Religious Conversion

Major Generalization

Changes in the religion and basic value structure of a group may follow contact with other cultures. However, the exact nature of the new values and the forms in which they are expressed will be influenced by the traditional culture of the receiving group.

Dsicipline Emphasis

Social and cultural anthropology

Social psychology

Religion

Concepts

Major.--religion, value, cultural change, acculturation

Contributing.--form, function, overt, covert, animism

Foreign Words.--adat, tuai burong, tuai sembiang

Content Outline

Iban material.--review of traditional Iban religion with emphasis on the uncertainty and difficulty of life in

the tropical rainforest; Islam and Christianity as two competing proselytizing religions; reasons for conversion and attractions of each religion for the animist; relationship between conversion and changes in life style; syncretism.

Discussion of Iban material.--Two basic elements of traditional Iban religion have been explored in previous programs--the rice cult and its position in the padi farming cycle and the pantheon of gods and goddesses whose mythological exploits explain and justify the practice of head-hunting and the accompanying series of gawai. This program considers the basis for replacing the traditional religious forms with those of two world religions found in Sarawak.

The Malays are Muslim, having been converted by Arab traders centuries ago. The Malays of Borneo are not wholly indigenous. Originally they migrated from the mainland or Java, establishing sultanates in the coastal regions of the island. During all of the historical period in northern Borneo, the Malays held political power, and they have retained it to a great extent. As there is no great racial difference between the Malays and the indigenous peoples, and as the Malays accept the prophet's injunction to spread the faith, there has been a gradual process of conversion to Islam in Borneo. Conversion bestows real benefits in that it opens up all the possibilities of the larger Malay society in exchange for minimal disruption of the convertee's traditional culture. There is no discrimination against recent converts; conversion is to become Malay.

Malay converts must immediately give up pork, and that usually entails other cultural changes in order to compensate for the loss of protein. Since much conversion is done for social reasons, converts usually move closer to the coast, where both fish protein and the Malay corridors of power are found. In these more settled areas hill padi is an impractical crop, and converted groups turn to fishing or sago production. Malay culture is more urban than the Dyak cultures. No converted groups are found in the deep interior.

Conversion to Islam has been a slow process; one could say there has been little in the way of results. On the one hand, to the Malay, every convert is one less person to control. On the other hand, deep antipathies have built up in the indigenous peoples against the tax-collectors and traders who have exploited them for centuries. The ecological unsuitability of Islam to the interior (because of its proscription of the only domesticable meat source) has retarded its spread.

The other proselytizing religion in Sarawak is Christianity. Missions were opposed by the Brookes because they wished to disturb the native cultures as little as possible. However, in order to secure the support and protection of the British parliament for their country, they were forced to accept missionary activity. In an attempt to preserve the peace, and so as not to confuse the native peoples, different denominations were assigned to different river valleys. Even now the Iban of the Batang Lupar are Anglican

while those of the Rajang are Methodist.

Christian missionary activity is backed by funds and zeal which the Malays do not command. Missions provide services such as education or health care which link conversion to real economic gains. Christianity does not entail giving up practices like keeping pigs which are adaptive to hill life, even though conversion to Christianity ultimately means a greater disruption of values and belief systems than the normal Islamic conversion. Christianity was the religion of the European administrators who replaced the corrupt Brunei sultanate, and who protected the interior peoples from the Malays. For all these reasons Christianity has had a wide appeal for the Dyaks of Sarawak.

Conversion is done by longhouse in order to avoid the social problems described in the Sarawak Museum Journal article, "Why Some of the Best People Aren't Christian." Although it refers specifically to the Land Dyaks, the analysis is generalizable to other groups. There are established churches in the bazaars and urban centers, but in the hills a priest or minister is responsible for a number of longhouses and makes a circuit. Each longhouse has a lay religious leader, called a tuai sembiang, who conducts worship in the absence of the priest.

At least among the Rajang Methodists there has been extensive adaptation of Christian and traditional Ibans forms and functions of worship. Christian padi ceremonies have been developed, and the wording of Christian prayers

and ritual has been adapted to fit Iban traditional practice. There is always the danger that Christian forms will merely be grafted onto Iban functions, with the cross replacing omen sticks and communion replacing piring food offerings, but a dedicated group of Iban ministers is trying to interpret the Christian message in Iban terms.

Conversion to Christianity is associated with economic benefit. Firstly, there is direct aid from missionaries, but conversion also forges links with bazaar churches and could serve as a basis for a broader organization than the longhouse community. Since Christianity is Western oriented, Western values of progress cannot help but be inculcated in mission schools and at longhouse meetings. Certain traditional practices are actively discouraged or proscribed, but many Ibans still continue them. Unfortunately, cultural continuity in these matters can result in guilt feelings alien to traditional Iban social control.

Study Points

World religions.--Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism; related social structures; ecological adaptation; missionary activity; psychological satisfaction.

Ethnocentrism.--ecological adaptation; preservation of group behaviour and hence of group; cultural contact; missionary activity; dangers. cf. China and the "barbarians" nationalism, racial prejudice, multi-national corporations; missionary activity, the concept "primitive".

Cultural change and continuity.--origination and acculturation; cultural conditions for origination and change; incentives for origination and change; features of originator, receptor, and new cultural trait that influence acceptance; functional repercussions. cf. Yir Yoront of Australia, Chinese in Southeast Asia, the "melting pot" in America, Indian cultures in Canada, French-Canadian culture as compared with French culture.

Suggested Activities

All students should be allowed to read at least parts of Panjamon; the more perceptive may read the entire book. Discussion should center around the questions: "Was he in Sarawak?, Did he live in a truly primitive Iban longhouse?, If not, where did he get his ideas about Iban life?, What do you learn about the author?" In line with the objective that students will learn skills of getting information visually and will learn critical thinking applied to visual materials, the claim of the author to have discovered a totally primitive longhouse can be disproved by examining his photographs; the "chief's" daughter has a permanent.

If there are recent immigrants in the class or students who have lived in other countries, they could be interviewed by their classmates about the differences they have found in the cultures they have met and the adaptations they themselves have had to make.

It might be possible to have Dr. Robert McClure

Chart 12.--Religious Conversion
Continuity of Ideas

Geography Communications Settlement	conversion follows contact with outside world, therefore downriver Ibans are more likely to be converted
Longhouse Daily Life	Christian services are held in the corridor of the longhouse spiritual leader, crosses may be displayed in apartments
Hill Padi Daily Life	recalls padi cult by showing new Christian services replacing traditional rituals
Cash Crops Jungle Bejalai	converts are more likely to be cash croppers
Family Life Kinship	some Christian Ibans retain custom of premarital experimentation
Padi Harvest Padi Ritual	a companion program--new padi ceremonies, discussion of traditional felt needs that can determine against conversion
Headhunting Ritual Personality	conversion reduces much of the fear on which traditional animism was based, Islam somewhat less than Christianity
Government Social Control	religious conversion disrupts established patterns of social control
Enculturation Education	education is a prime avenue of missionary activity
Cash Economy Trade Co-ops	religion generally changes before economic activities, but these generally do change soon after
Town Dwellers Bejalai Resettlement	town dwellers are unlikely to be animist
Art	most Iban Christian music is still based on Western hymn forms

speak to the school on his experiences as a medical missionary in Kapit, on the Rajang River. (Dr. McClure is the former moderator of the United Church of Canada.)

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Program Twelve: Ibans Outside the Longhouse Comunity

Major Generalization

Individuals separated from their own cultural milieu cannot maintain their own culture intact and must make, more or less consciously, compromises with the dominant culture.

Discipline Emphasis

Social and cultural anthropology

Social psychology

Concepts

Major.--cultural change, development

Contributing.--conformity

Foreign Words.--bejalai, komiti

Content Outline

Iban material.--resettlement; town, oilfield, and army bejalai; urban Ibans.

Discussion of the Iban material.--In 1960 less than 2% of Ibans lived in towns, but with increasing education and political awareness this number is sure to increase. Iban life now shows a continuum of change from the isolated longhouse to the individual or family living permanently in the alien culture of an urban area.

The resettlement schemes are found in overcrowded areas. They consist of large tracts of land planted with cash crops. Housing may be in longhouse style or separate.

These new villages enable the provision of social amenities to large numbers of people at moderate cost. Each settler family receives about eight acres of cash crops, an area for subsistence farming, and a house. The basic development is paid for by the government, and the settlers pay off the cost of the house and crops over a number of years. Amenities vary with the scheme, but they usually include a community hall, co-operative shop, water supply, and school.

These schemes substitute cash crops for the traditional shifting cultivation, and they graft new forms of social organization such as co-ops and local komitis onto the old ones, but they do not remove the individual from the support and subtle pressures of his group. Modernization, however, has brought two new situations in which Ibans are separated from their culture.

Young men have always preferred to go into the larger world on their bejalai. They earned their name "Sea Dyaks" by serving as crew for Malay pirates; the Malays got the loot and the Iban got the heads. During the emergency Ibans served with the Sarawak Rangers in Malaya, and the army is still seen as an avenue to success. Iban men also work in Sarawak's oil industry. The income from these urban bejalai can be the major source of cash for Ibans although they disrupt traditional work patterns more than jungle bejalai.

Returnees from urban bejalai are prime originators of change at the longhouse level. They bring material

objects for their families, they have incorporated new ideas into their own behaviour (and their prestige as returned from bejalai makes it likely that these ideas will be adopted by the group as a whole), and they have a new perspective on the behaviour in the longhouse. Recently, girls have been able to go on bejalai, mostly training in health services.

A few Ibans have become permanent residents of urban areas. It is quite common for Iban girls to marry Chinese men and become part of Chinese society. Less often, an individual Iban man will achieve success in modern terms in urban areas. This is a guarantee of prestige in his longhouse, with which he is likely to maintain close ties. His family will be proud of him and will not regret his departure from the community.

This program would contain several interviews with urbanized Iban, exploring their reasons for entering an alien culture and abandoning their own. Their perceptions of changes in their economic and social roles, both in their new lives and in their relations with the longhouse, and their expectations for the future would be compared with the feelings of their longhouse families. It is expected that most Ibans will not be deeply conscious of these changes nor very concerned.

Study Points

Culture without society.--individuals uprooted from

their society; adaptation to dominant cultures. cf. immigrants, Indians in urban areas in Canada.

Created cultures.--real and projected cultures designed deliberately. cf. utopias, communes, Israel.

Development.--problems of developing nations; development and the individual. cf. China, India, nineteenth-century Japan, the oil-producing nations.

Suggested Activities

Students could again prepare and eat an Iban meal, simulating the return to the longhouse of a young person who has been on a town bejalai or of a family who are now established in an urban area. On the basis of their understandings from seeing these twelve programs and reading the supplementary literature, they would express the feelings of the modernists and the traditionalists.

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Full bibliographic information is to be found in the main bibliography of the thesis-equivalent.

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Students.--Lo Ming, Sarawakian Civilization and Social Structure.

Helen M. Wallis and Louise Urquhart, Cookery for Beginners.

Chart 13.--Ibans Outside the Longhouse Community
Continuity of Ideas

Geography Communications Settlement	elaborates on the kinds of experiences Kumang must be undergoing during her studies in Canada
Longhouse Daily Life	resettlement schemes often substitute individual housing for longhouses, add new community buildings
Hill Padi Daily Life	hill padi has no place in resettlement schemes or in urban life; one of the bases of Iban culture is therefore removed
Cash Crops Jungle Bejalai	resettlement schemes rely on cash crops
Family Life Kinship	town Ibans and young men on bejalai are shown maintaining an active interest in their longhouse families
Padi Harvest Padi Ritual	jungle bejalai fitted in with farm work needs, but urban bejalai tend to disrupt traditional labour patterns
Headhunting Ritual Personality	town or army experience is a prestige act replacing headhunting
Government Social Control	new forms of government are encountered in resettlement schemes and towns
Enculturation Education	urban Ibans do not have community support for raising their young; all urban Ibans are educated; English is needed for bejalai
Cash Economy Trade Co-ops	resettlement schemes are part of the cash economy, urban Ibans are totally implicated in the cash economy
Religious Conversion	town dwellers are unlikely to be animist, new religions are often adopted while in towns
Art	

Leigh Wright, Hedda Morrisson, and K. F. Wong, Vanishing World: The Ibans of Borneo.

Student Essay by Tenggan Entrie.

Program Thirteen: Art

Major Generalization

The artistic expression of a group is an amalgam of all the influences which have operated on its culture as filtered through its cultural perceptions and norms.

Discipline Emphasis

Social and cultural anthropology

Art

Religion

Economics

Concepts

Major.--environment, society, cultural contact, norms

Contributing.--artist, art, technology, form, function

Foreign Words.--pua ikat, gawai, Segalong Burong, sunkup, ngajat dance

Content Outline

Iban material.--plastic art forms; oral art forms; dance; music; use of local materials; use of forms and designs derived from local phenomena; art and daily life; art and ritual; artistic influences of other cultures in Sarawak; art as part of the cash economy.

Discussion of Iban material.--Ibans, like all

peoples, have developed a number of characteristic art forms, which serve distinct purposes. Art is inseparable from life. It is never mere decoration.

In traditional Iban society there are no artists. Art can be produced by anyone, though obviously some people are recognized as having more talent than others. No one formerly gained any economic benefit from his or her talent except for the ritual gifts of knives to the men who carved the hornbill figures for the Gawai Burong. Now many people make craft items to sell in the museum shop or in a few private shops, and there are even several artists in the Western sense working out of Kuching.

In a country where materials have been scarce or have required painstaking preparation, and where the technology has been simple and inefficient, the plastic arts have been less popular than oral arts and dancing. This is not to say that they have been less important. The weaving of a fine blanket has always been the feminine equivalent of a successful headhunting raid. But the patience and skill needed for fine craft work is not given to every person, and the performing arts bring their rewards in public approval more surely and more quickly.

Oratory is a strong contender with the dance as the most common performing art. Meetings and court cases have always been sources of entertainment. Religious festivals are occasions for speech making as well as the recitation of myths and incantations. The Iban also have various forms of

songs including duel songs, possibly like classical Greek ones in which two participants try to top each other's clever contributions. Many forms of oral literature require improvisation, thereby giving the performer a chance to show off his or her originality.

Iban dances, especially the men's dances, owe much to other Dyak cultures in Sarawak. The most common is the ngajat, which mimics a headhunting encounter. Women's dances are more characteristically Iban and include imitations of men and animals, and rely more on group dancing. In recent years the twist has been enthusiastically adopted.

Musical instruments seem to derive from other cultures. The orchestra of gongs that accompanies dancing is similar to the Indonesian gamelan orchestra. The sapeh, a stringed instrument, is used by the Kayans; and the engkuri, a reed instrument, has a Chinese origin.

The most common forms of plastic art in Iban culture are weaving, basketry, and wood carving. Each of these uses materials found in the local environment (although greater cash resources have permitted the purchase of new materials which are easier to work with and more attractive in Iban eyes) and imitates or adapts forms found in the environment.

The women are the weavers. They make pua ikat (ornamental blankets), skirts, jackets, and sashes. The most common forms are blankets and skirts. Generally the design is formed by tie-dyeing the warp threads only, then weaving with a plain tabby weave. This makes a fuzzy, somewhat

uneven pattern. Designs are abstract representations of natural phenomena, people, or antu (spirits). The blankets are hung up about the longhouse for any ritual or festive occasion but are normally kept packed away. The other hand-woven articles are also used only for "good".

Ibans do not make a wide variety of baskets. Other Sarawak groups have greater reputations as basket makers, and the different tribes early learned a simple sort of specialization. Ibans will likely try to buy Punan mats and Melanau baskets, reserving their own efforts for making the ritual padi baskets they need for farming. However, there is much overlapping of styles, and if a girl cannot get a Melanau handbag, she will make her own. Basketry patterns are based on natural phenomena, but much altered because of the limitations of the medium.

The men are the woodcarvers. Ibans do not have a very high reputation as carvers. They have concentrated on a very small variety of forms: giant hornbill figures for the Gawai Burong and pigtrap sticks, with a little relief work to decorate utilitarian objects. The hornbill figures can be six feet long, imaginatively decorated and gaily painted. Each is made by one man commissioned by someone who has the right to display a hornbill at the feast. Nowadays, one is as likely to see an airplane at the feast as a traditional hornbill. After all, what has displaced the hornbill as the most powerful creature in the skies?

Pig trap sticks are essentially utilitarian. They

hold up traps for wild pigs. The tops, however, are carved in little naturalistic human figures, which were likely once of religious significance. Pigtrap sticks are still being made, but more important for this program, the traditional figures have been enlarged to create saleable carvings of great variety and naturalism.

There is no painting among the Iban. The Kayans, who are an aristocratic society and who live in much more substantial longhouses than the Iban, have a painting tradition of large wall decorations. The closest thing to painting in Iban culture is tattooing. Except for the Iban throat tattoo patterns are copied among all the interior groups.

Artistic endeavour is part of leisure activities. Evenings and non-farming days are spent in the corridor gossiping and working on some craft. Children learn by watching and being allowed to help. Boys learn to use a duku at a very early age, and girls will be making baskets by their teens. The women are more proprietary about their crafts than the men; they "own" their patterns and these cannot be used by others without buying them.

Artistic endeavour is usually related to ritual activities. Art has a function in religious dealings; it is never mere decoration. Previous programs have shown objects in use during ritual.

Chinese and Malay influence is evident in Iban art forms, and there is also considerable borrowing among the indigenous cultures. Chinese influence is seen in boat forms

and plastic arts featuring dragon and sail motifs. Malay forms have been adapted to decorate the sungkup (a ritual object used in the Gawai Antu.

The sale of crafts is a new source of cash for the Iban. The blankets are popular items for women to make, and the carvings are for men. Blankets retain traditional forms, but carvings have had to be adapted to the demands of the market. Traditional hornbills are simply too big to saleable. Small unpainted hornbills are now made for sale. The figures adapted from pigtrap sticks are another example.

Some art forms have an economic value, but others without this incentive have an uncertain future. Oral literature in all its richness seems doomed as community life withers at the introduction of radios and books. The plastic art forms that are not cash earners will likely be dropped. Already, home-woven loincloths and jackets are rarities, and most women have adopted printed Malay sarongs.

Study Points

Art and the environment.--materials; forms.
cf. Indian art, African art, Eskimo art.

Art and society.--technology; artists; use of art objects; tradition; meaning of art objects; self expression.
cf. "primitive" art, art in Oriental civilizations, art in Western civilizations.

Reflections of cultural contact in art.--form; function; meaning; market influences on artistic production.

Chart 14--Art
Continuity of Ideas

Geography Communications Settlement	recalls the hornbill carving, shows original significance and modification from original form
Longhouse Daily Life	recalls the fact that people work out in the corridor; shows how every person is a potential artist
Hill Padi Daily Life	shows traditional ritual objects altered to make new art forms
Cash Crops Jungle Bejalai	shows use of jungle materials
Family Life Kinship	shows division of labour by sex in artistic expression
Padi Harvest Padi Ritual	deals more specifically with the artistic expression associated with ritual
Headhunting Ritual Personality	deals more specifically with the artistic expression associated with ritual; shows how art can bring prestige and self-esteem
Government Social Control	
Enculturation Education	shows how education can contribute to a loss of the Iban cultural and artistic heritage
Cash Economy Trade Co-ops	shows use of artistic objects as articles of trade; shows changes in form due to pressures of the market
Religious Conversion	might show several bazaar churches which have commissioned native art; recalls that Western hymns are replacing Iban music
Town Dwellers Bejalai Resettlement	traditional artistic expression is likely to be lost first in the resettlement schemes

cf. Japanese influence on European art, African influence on early twentieth century art, modern influences on "primitive" art, market influences especially on Eskimo art.

Suggested Activities

Students could try their hand at an Iban craft or at making up a riddle song or duel song like the Ibans.

Students could go to a craft shop to see the work. This would be most valuable if the craftsman were working in a traditional medium but had developed a personal style.

An artist could be interviewed about his work and his perception of his role in society.

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Full bibliographic information is to be found in the main bibliography of the thesis-equivalent.

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PART III

EVALUATION

CHAPTER X

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Broadcast educational television programs are, not infrequently, designed to fit into existing class periods with a minimum of time allowed for preparing the class immediately before viewing or for doing immediate follow-up. Follow-up activities are not set out precisely, and the educational objectives of the program are not communicated to the teacher.[1] This situation has arisen because of the acceptance by the broadcasters that their contribution is merely enrichment, not an integral part of the development of the students who see their programs.

Discussion and Television

By 1962 it was proven that educational television can teach; at that point the question changed to, "When and how can it teach best?" As Wilbur Schramm phrased it, "But the most important research on instructional television, now, it seems to us, is research on the total process of which television is a part."[2]

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[1]Ontario, Department of Education, Educational Television Branch, People and Places: Teacher's Guide (Toronto: ETVO, 1969), passim.

[2]Wilbur Schramm, "What We Know about Learning from Instructional Television," in Educational Television: The

This study focuses on two key facets of the use of an instructional television program in the classroom: does discussion of a social education program increase learning in a variety of styles from that program, and should discussion succeed the program viewing immediately or can it be just as well put off until the next class period?

Despite Wilbur Schramm's plea, there seems to have been little research into the optimum usage situations of educational television programs since 1962. In 1967, Chu and Schramm were again complaining that there was, "...less research than one might expect on the interface of television with classroom activities. What are the most effective ways of combining these two elements of a course?"[1] The Educational Research Clearinghouse files for the past four years show no applicable research listed under television, media, discussion, or class arrangement.

Film research provided the earliest evidence that discussion was a valuable addition to the learning experience provided by media. In 1946, Wittich and Fowlkes compared three different methods of integrating films: no introduction or follow-up, only a post-test; introduction and discussion of the subject matter before the film viewing

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Next 10 Years, ed. Wilbur Schramm (Stanford, Cal.: Institute for Communications Research, Stanford University, 1962), p. 71.

[1]Godfrey Chu and Wilbur Schramm, Learning from Television: What the Research Says (Washington, D. C.: National Association of Educational Broadcasters, 1967), p. 14.

and then a post-test; and the same procedure as above but with more discussion, another film viewing, and the same post-test twenty-four hours later. Preparation, practice, and repetition resulted in higher mean scores in factual and concept learning than either viewing alone or introduction and viewing only. The experiment included subjects from grades four to six. In the two lower grades learning was consistently greater with the fuller treatment, but in grade six the increase in learning decreased with each repetition of the routine.[1] It seems from this experiment that treatment variables should be adjusted to the maturity of the students, and that there may come a point where a particular integrating treatment for a media presentation no longer yields results consonant with the amount of time used.

Another film study, in Australia, was fully described by Hoban and Ormer. Six instructional methods were compared: (1) an introduction before the film, (2) an introduction, the film, and a ten minute discussion, (3) an introduction plus two successive viewings, (4) an introduction, the film, and a ten minute discussion one day plus a repeat showing the next day, (5) an introduction and the film one day plus the discussion and a repeat showing the next, (6) an introduction, the film, and a discussion one day plus a repeat showing and discussion of the same points

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[1] Charles F. Hoban Jr. and Edward B. van Ormer, Instructional Film Research 1918-1950 (New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1970), p. 8-36.

the next day. The immediate post-tests were given directly after the last treatment, and retention post-tests were given three weeks later. The sixth method was superior for immediate learning, but the fourth method resulted in greater retention.

Four variables were found to influence retention. Introduction of the film, discussion, and repetition are obviously contributions to effective usage; less obviously, the distribution of activities over two days also appeared to affect learning.[1]

Film research does not invariably indicate more effective learning among discussion subjects. A study at the University of Minnesota by Wilson and Larson compared the usage of well integrated (i. e. well chosen) films in a current history course. One group saw the films with no discussion or follow-up lecture, while the other group received introductions, discussions, and frequent references in lectures to the films. No significant differences were found in factual learning between the two groups, but the discussion group rated the course easier than the no discussion group.[2] It is possible that at the maturity level of college students the intervention of a classroom teacher is not necessary for learning from media.

Specific television research has indicated that the social studies can be very successfully taught on television

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[1] Ibid., p. 8-37. [2] Ibid., p. 8-37.

just as mathematics and science can.[1] The value of discussion is, however, less clear. A Peace Corps teacher training project in Columbia used television to present the "new" mathematics. Viewing in groups with immediate discussion under a supervisor resulted in significantly better learning than viewing in groups and discussing the program unguided, which in turn resulted in significantly better learning than individual (no discussion) viewing.[2]

In Denver, Spanish was taught on ETV to 6000 pupils. One group viewed the programs with no follow-up, one group saw the programs a second time, and the third group received a fifteen minute teacher-directed follow-up. Group three was significantly better than group two, which in turn was significantly better than group one. Later in the year, group one changed its schedule and saw the program a second time, plus received teacher follow-up. The results of the second half of the year showed no significant difference between the repeat showing and follow-up group and the follow-up only group, although they were both better than the repeat showing only group.[3]

Although these two television experiments indicate the value of follow-up for learning from media, two others suggest that the question is by no means definitely decided yet. Wilkins, teaching arithmetic, and West[illegible] and Barrow,

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[1]Schramm, loc. cit., p. 54.

[2]Chu and Schramm, op. cit., p. 14. [3]Ibid., p. 34-35.

teaching news and current events, both found no significant difference between discussion and no discussion groups.[1] Chu and Schramm suggest that the simple nature of the subject matter made discussion redundant for these programs, but they stress that this is only a surmise and that investigation into the optimum treatment of educational television programs in the classroom should continue.[2]

The studies cited have been organized around three variables: repeat showings of media presentations, discussion follow-up after the media presentation, and the time factor--whether or not activities are spread over more than one day. The average classroom teacher is not able to arrange for repeat showings of ETV programs, but he can make the decision to discuss or not, and sometimes he can decide whether or not both activities should be compressed into one period or spread over several days. The evidence is not clear yet as to whether or not discussion increases learning from media. The results of the studies so far have been conflicting, nor has learning been measured in any other form but information gain. Studies comparing treatments concentrated in one day with those spread over two give the edge to the latter,[3] however these experiments cloud the issue of discussion by using the two variables of discussion and program repetition.

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[1] Ibid., p. 51. [2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., pp. 34-35, and Hoban and van Ormer, loc. cit.

Hypotheses

With the intention of establishing the value of discussion for learning from a social studies ETV program in a variety of modes, and the further intention of establishing the importance of the timing of discussion follow-up for the same program, the following theoretical hypotheses were formulated.

H1. Students participating in teacher-directed discussion of an ETV social studies program will achieve greater factual learning than students receiving no follow-up.

H2. Students participating in teacher-directed discussion of an ETV social studies program will achieve greater concept learning than students receiving no follow-up.

H3. Students participating in teacher-directed discussion of an ETV social studies program will achieve greater map skills than students receiving no follow-up.

H4. Students participating in teacher-directed discussion of an ETV social studies program will achieve greater affective learning than students receiving no follow-up.

H5. Students participating in teacher-directed discussion of an ETV social studies program will achieve greater cognitive learning than students receiving no follow-up.

H6. Students participating in teacher-directed discussion of an ETV social studies program will achieve greater overall learning than students receiving no follow-up.

H7. Subjects participating in delayed discussion will

achieve significantly greater factual learning than subjects participating in immediate discussion.

H8. Subjects participating in delayed discussion will achieve significantly greater concept learning than subjects participating in immediate discussion.

H9. Subjects participating in delayed discussion will achieve significantly greater map skills than subjects participating in immediate discussion.

H10. Subjects participating in delayed discussion will achieve significantly greater affective learning than subjects participating in immediate discussion.

H11. Subjects participating in delayed discussion will achieve significantly greater cognitive learning than subjects participating in immediate discussion.

H12. Subjects participating in delayed discussion will achieve significantly greater over-all learning than subjects participating in immediate discussion.

Since practice of learned responses is a significant variable in memory,[1] the relationship between discussion and retention of learned responses is explored in the next three theoretical hypotheses.

H13. Subjects participating in teacher-directed discussion of an ETV social studies program will achieve significantly greater retention of factual learning than subjects

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[1]Henry C. Ellis, Fundamentals of Human Learning and Cognition, (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Co., 1972), p. 120.

receiving no follow-up.

H14. Subjects participating in teacher-directed discussion of an ETV social studies program will achieve significantly greater retention of concept learning than subjects receiving no follow-up.

H15. Subjects participating in teacher-directed discussion of an ETV social studies program will achieve significantly greater retention of affective learning than subjects receiving no follow-up.

Operational Definitions

The independent variable for the study is the timing of the teacher-directed discussion. Immediate discussion takes place immediately after viewing the task videotape; delayed discussion takes place 24 hours after viewing. The exact nature of the discussion is not determined by the researcher beyond presenting the teacher with a package consisting of the program script, notes to the user, resource material, and an outline of discussion topics meant to aid him in the compression of the discussion into the available experiment time. This package is shown in Appendix A.

The dependent variables for this study are the objectives outlined in Chapter VIII, Notes the the User for Program One of People of the Hornbill. These are tested by means of the measuring devices in Appendices C and D.

Students who participated in a teacher-directed discussion of the task program were therefore expected to

achieve significantly higher scores on the immediate and the retention post-tests than students who had received no follow-up after viewing the task program. Further, it was predicted that there would be a significant difference in scores on the immediate post-test between the immediate and the delayed discussion groups, and that these two groups would have significantly higher scores on the immediate post-test than the students who had receivied no follow-up.

Significance of the Study

This study is intended to add a piece of evidence for or against discussion to the research which Chu and Schramm have cited and to investigate the value of spreading viewing and discussion over two days. Unlike the studies cited by Hoban and van Ormer, and Chu and Schramm, no repeat viewing is involved in the two day treatment; hence, there is no likelihood of the confusion of moderator variables. It is thus hoped that this study will help teachers to make decisions concerning the use of discussion with ETV programs from an empirical instead of an intuitive basis of choice.

The following chapter describes the evaluation procedure.

CHAPTER XI

EVALUATION PROCEDURE

Subjects

The subjects of the study comprised three classes of students in the first year of secondary school taking social studies from one teacher. The school is situated west of Montreal and is part of an English-speaking Protestant Quebec school board. The district may be described as middle to upper middle class.

Although the researcher was assured by the board that there was no streaming at this level and that therefore the three classes could be considered to be randomly composed, she was unable to verify this. One class contained a block of four students who had been diagnosed as slow learners and who normally did not participate in the entire social studies class, but who were permitted to remain for the experiment.

The teacher was enthusiastic about the use of media in the context of this experiment, but appeared to be inexperienced in its use. His concept of social studies was the discussion of social issues such as racism. He had not made extensive use of media with children of this level.

Research Design

While accepting the fact that the equivalence of the three groups taking part in the experiment cannot be accepted by the researcher without randomization, it was felt that to sensitize the subjects to the expectations of the evaluation by giving them a pre-test, particularly when the subject matter was so exotic and foreign to their normal studies, would be a serious source of invalidity in itself. Therefore, a pre-experimental intact-group comparison was used which may be diagrammed as follows:

T	O_1		O_4
T	X_1	O_2	O_5
T	X_2	O_3	O_6

T is the task common to all groups, the introductory sequence and the viewing of the videotape People of the Hornbill: Program One.

O_1 refers to the post-test administered 24 hours after viewing.

X_1 refers to teacher-directed discussion of the program 24 hours after viewing.

X_2 refers to teacher-directed discussion of the program immediately after viewing.

O_2 and O_3 refer to post-tests administered 24 hours after discussion.

O_4, O_5, and O_6 refer to shortened forms of the post-

test administered two weeks after the previous post-test.

Measuring Device

The instrument used to determine the effects of the program and discussion was a paper and pencil test. The complete test was administered as the immediate post-test, and the sections on factual learning, concepts, and affective learning (omitting map skills and cognitive learning) were administered two weeks later to determine retention of learning. Copies of the immediate and retention learning post-tests will be found in Appendices C and D respectively.

The test was developed by the researcher to evaluate student achievement of the educational objectives outlined in Chapter VIII, Notes to the User for Program One of the People of the Hornbill. Since these objectives go beyond the levels of knowledge and comprehension, it was felt that a plain objectively marked test was an inadequate instrument. A variety of evaluative techniques from straight objective questions demonstrating recognition to short essay questions is found in the immediate post-test.

The test is divided into six sections: factual learning, concepts, map skills, affective learning, and cognitive learning, with a final section intended to permit the students to express their personal opinions about the program and the subject matter. The scores assigned to the factual learning, affective learning, and cognitive learning sections were approximately equal (36, 32, 36) and an addi-

tional 18 points were assigned to both the concepts and the map skills section.

In section one on factual learning the questions call mostly for one word, student-generated answers that demonstrate recall of specific facts. Questions five and eight provide choices of answers that call for a demonstration of recognition. Facts presented orally only are tested in questions two, three, eight, ten, twelve, and fourteen. Facts presented visually only are tested in questions four, nine, and eleven. Facts presented both orally and visually are tested in questions one, five, six, seven, and thirteen. The questions making up any one part of this section had a total of twelve points assigned to them, making a total score for this section of thirty-six.

Two aspects of concepts were tested. The program contained a number of foreign words, and the researcher wished to know how clear a concept had been developed by the program for each of them. As well, the program content and the discussion was organized around four main concepts taken from the discipline base of the program. The researcher wished to know how successfully the program and discussion had elaborated these concepts. Questions one, two, and three test the knowledge of foreign words, while four, five, and six test major concepts. Ten points were assigned to the part on foreign words, and eight to that on major concepts, making a total score of eighteen for this section.

Section three tests map skills, but not in the

commonly accepted sense. Question one tests recall of facts, while questions two and three tests inference and analysis. These three questions call only for marking the map. Question four calls for application; besides marking the map the student is required to justify his choice. Question five tests analysis and generalization; the student is asked to explain a certain fact by reference to circumstances perceivable on the map. Total score assigned to the map skills section was eighteen.

Affective learning was considered to have two components--valuational and emotional. Question one tests students' awareness of certain values expressed by the narrator as being held by two groups of Ibans. Question two asks the student to express his own values in relation to these same two groups of Ibans. Question three tests the attitudes of the students towards the narrator, her people as a group, and travel in her state. Attitudes are measured on three scales based on the semantic differential scales of Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum. Eight adjective pairs are used for each scale, partly generated by the researcher and partly taken from The Measurement of Meaning (Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum, 1957). All adjective pairs measure the evaluative dimension of the semantic differential. While question three is obviously valuational because of this choice of adjectives, it was felt that the favourable-unfavourable semantic connotations of these words in North American culture justified their use to reveal covert emotional res-

ponses. Valuational learning receives eleven points, with six for question one and five for question two. Emotional response has a total maximum score of twenty-one ponts, calculated by adding the responses for all three parts of question three and dividing by eight. Fractions were rounded off to the nearest whole number.

The cognitive learning section of the test concentrates on the higher levels of that domain, as modified in Chapter VIII. Question one tests judgment and awareness of the need for adequacy of information. This is the only objectively scored part of this section. Question two tests the ability to form a generalization. Question three tests analysis and prediction, four tests analysis and application in a different context, and five tests synthesis and the ability to make hypotheses. Question one receives three possible points, and two receives four points. Questions three, four, and five receive maximum scores of ten, nine, and ten respectively, for a total of thrity-six points for this section.

Section six has two open-ended questions intended as sources of information for the researcher. No scoring was done on this section.

Item Difficulty and Discriminability

Test results for the class which had no discussion were analysed for difficulty and discriminability of individual questions. The results of the item analysis is found in

Appendix E. The formulae used in the analysis were taken from Tuckman's Conducting Educational Research.[1] Item analysis shows discrimination to generally good except for nine questions, but difficulty is generally far too high for this group. It might be pointed out that the self-discipline of this group was very poor, nor was there any effort made to direct their attention towards the media presentation.

Although the Kuder-Richardson formulae are not strictly applicable to this test, since it is not scored by item either correct or incorrect, nor is it considered that all items are of equal difficulty, nevertheless these formulae remain the only instruments for determining internal reliability. K-R Formula 2 was applied according to a Concordia University Department of Education methods sheet.[2] Using the maximum score for the test as "n" the resulting estimate of reliability was 0.79. This is considered quite adequate for a short, teacher-made test.

Procedure

The Task

All subjects viewed the program People of the Hornbill: Program One, a thirty-five minute videotape produced by the researcher at the Sir George Williams campus of

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[1] Bruce W. Tuckman, Conducting Educational Research (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972), p. 155.

[2] anon., "Supplementary Notes for Item and Test Analysis" (Department of Education, Concordia University, 1975), p. 2. (Mimeographed.)

Concordia University. This program was the realization of the script in Chapter VII.

The narrator was Aida Sobrevinas, a native of The Philippines, from a state very close to the island of Borneo. Her appearance and accent are extremely close to those of an Iban. She was given the script one month before taping and underwent coaching with the researcher twice a week during that time.

The program incorporates film and slides shot by the researcher during her field study in Sarawak, realia collected in Sarawak, and graphics (including maps) made by the researcher. Music used during the opening and closing credits and during certain film clips was recorded by the researcher on location in Batu Lintang, Sarawak.

Prior to viewing the videotape the opening sequence was the same for all three groups of subjects. A large-scale wall map of Asia was displayed, and the state of Sarawak was pointed out. Spacial relationships to various nations in south and east Asia were stressed. Then predictions as to the climate, topography, flora, and fauna were elicited along with ideas about the kinds of people, their life styles, and their possible government. These preliminaries took approximately five minutes for each class.

All subjects received a small map of Sarawak marked with the principal rivers and towns and a sheet entitled Study Areas. This sheet contained five phrases which described aspects of the program content and which were, in

fact, operational definitions of the major concepts about which the program had been organized. There were spaces between each of the phrases, and students were instructed to make notes under the appropriate headings in preparation for later discussion. The contents of the student package will be found in Appendix B.

All students were informed that they were participating in an experiment to determine the best conditions for use of the program and that no evaluation for school records would be made.

Independent Variable--Discussion

Groups two and three discussed the videotape, while group one had no discussion. Group one was told to prepare for an evaluation in the next class period (twenty-four hours after viewing) using any notes they had made, at the end of the first experimental period.

Class two was told to prepare for discussion in the next class period at the end of their first experimental period. The discussion took place twenty-four hours later and lasted forty minutes. At the end of the discussion group two was told to prepare for an evaluation twenty-four hours later, using any notes they had made during the program and the discussion.

Class three discussed the program immediately after vewing, for forty minutes. They were then told to prepare for an evaluation twenty-four hours later, using any notes

they had made during viewing and discussion.

The discussion was conducted on the basis of a brief outline of the major concepts and the relationships between them, which was included in the teacher package. It was understood that this discussion could not be conducted in the normal depth or breadth suggested by the program, and that it must therefore touch only briefly on many points. Even so, the major part of each discussion was devoted to a review of factual material from the program, and little time was left for developing hypotheses that drew together the different ideas in the presentation.

A list of the materials composing the teacher package and examples of materials not included elsewhere in the thesis-equivalent is found in Appendix A.

Dependent Variable--Evaluation

Achievement was measured on the basis of the objectives shown in Chapter VIII, using the measuring device found in Appendix C. Retention learning was tested two weeks later using the device found in Appendix D.

All three groups received the initial tests twenty-four hours after the last treatment. All three groups were told that the test would take place and that it did not count on their school record. All three groups had forty minutes in which to complete the test.

The teacher was instructed to administer the retention learning test without warning and to permit no last

minute review of the material. As the researcher was not present during this testing, she has no first hand knowledge that these instructions were followed.

Experimental Procedure

On day 1 of the study the videotape and VTR machine were delivered to the school one hour before the first experimental class. The equipment was set up using a standard 24" school television set as playback machine. The aims of the experiment and the teacher's role were reviewed with the class teacher. The three experimental groups received the previewing treatment as outlined above and viewed the program in three consecutive classes, while the teacher studied the teacher package and prepared his discussion for the third class. Discussion in that class followed immediately upon viewing.

In the discussion the general outlines of the Study Areas sheet was followed, with the major concepts not being elicited but put directly on the board as discussion headings. Factual material elicited from the class and put on the board under the "correct" heading constituted the bulk of the discussion. After the discussion this class was told to prepare for an evaluation the next day.

On day 2 of the study group 1 wrote the evaluation test for which they had been told to prepare after viewing. Group 2 engaged in the same form of discussion as group 3 had had the previous day. Some errors of fact were allowed to

stand, possible because the program script had not been referred to by the teacher in preparing for this class. Group 2 was told after the discussion to prepare for an evaluation the next day. Group 3 underwent its evaluation. Neither group 1 nor group 3 were permitted any class review of the program or the discussion before doing the test.

On day 3 of the study group 2 underwent its evaluation with no review of the program or discussion. Group 3 was permitted to discuss the program and the subject matter with the researcher in order to expand on the comments they had made in section six of the evaluation.

On day 4 of the study--two weeks later--all three classes underwent the second evaluation consecutively. The groups were not warned about this test nor were they permitted class review. The retention learning evaluation took approximately twenty-five minutes to complete.

Data Analysis

The hypotheses presented in Chapter X were tested statistically by seven one-way analyses of variance according to Burroughs.[1] Those results which the analysis of variance showed to be significant were subjected to t-tests to determine which differences in mean values were significant.

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[1] G. E. R. Burroughs, Design and Analysis in Educational Research ("Educational Monograph, No. 8"; Birmingham: University of Birmingham, School of Education, 1971), p. 217.

CHAPTER XII

RESULTS OF THE EVALUATION

Immediate Post-test

The results of the five sections of the post-test and the total scores for the test consituted the data for the analysis of the results of the study. The maximum possible score for the test was 140 points. Tables 1-6 show the mean scores, the range of scores, and the standard deviation of each group on the sections and on the total test.

TABLE 1.--Central tendency and variability of group scores on Factual Learning section of immediate post-test

Measure	Group 1 None	Group 2 Delay	Group 3 Immed.
Mean score	11.83	14.38	15.93
Range of scores	5-17	7-22	4-24
Standard deviation	3.04	3.92	4.08

TABLE 2.--Central tendency and variability of group scores on Concept Learning section of immediate post-test

Measure	Group 1 None	Group 2 Delay	Group 3 Immed.
Mean score	3.62	6	6.78
Range of scores	0-8	0-16	2-14
Standard deviation	2.11	3.46	2.97

TABLE 3.--Central tendency and variability of group scores on Map Skills section of immediate post-test

Measure	Group 1 None	Group 2 Delay	Group 3 Immed.
Mean score	4.14	5.35	3.82
Range of scores	0-11	0-14	0-11
Standard deviation	3.02	4.02	3.13

TABLE 4.--Central tendency and variability of group scores on Affective Learning section of immediate post-test

Measure	Group 1 None	Group 2 Delay	Group 3 Immed.
Mean score	12.76	14.86	15.03
Range of scores	0-20	4-22	0-27
Standard deviation	4.82	4.50	6.79

TABLE 5.--Central tendency and variability of group scores on Cognitive Learning section of immediate post-test

Measure	Group 1 None	Group 2 Delay	Group 3 Immed.
Mean score	6.86	8.14	9.59
Range of scores	0-22	0-27	0-22
Standard deviation	6.02	6.15	6.51

TABLE 6.--Central tendency and variability of group scores on Total immediate post-test

Measure	Group 1 None	Group 2 Delay	Group 3 Immed.
Mean score	39.1	47.69	51.19
Range of scores	19-65	18-81	6-76
Standard deviation	11.55	16.94	16.33

The data from each section of the immediate post-test and from the total post-test were subjected to one-way analyses of variance to determine whether or not any differences among the means of the three groups were statistically significant. Where differences were found to be significant at the .01 level, the means were further compared using Student's t-test in order to determing the exact nature of the difference.

Factual learning.--The analysis of variance performed on the group means of the factual learning section of the immediate post-test resulted in rejection of null hypothesis 1 ($p<.01$). Immediate discussion resulted in factual learning greater than no discussion significant at the .001 level, while delayed discussion resulted in factual learning greater than no discussion significant at the .01 level. There was no significant difference in factual learning between the two discussion groups. These results are summarized in Tables 7 and 8.

TABLE 7.--One-way analysis of variance of group means in Factual Learning section of immediate post-test

Source	SS	df	Variances	F
Between groups	240.446	2	120.223	8.798*
Within groups	1120.543	82	13.665	
Total	1360.989	84		

*$p<.01$

TABLE 8.--Student's t-test comparison of group means in Factual Learning section of immediate post-test

Comparison	Means	Variances	t
Group 1 None	11.83	9.219	2.733*
Group 2 Delay	14.38	15.377	
Group 1 None	11.83	9.219	4.287**
Group 3 Immed.	15.93	16.61	
Group 2 Delay	14.38	15.377	1.507***
Group 3 Immed.	15.93	16.61	

*p<.01 **p<.001 ***p<.20

Concept learning.--The analysis of variance performed on the group means of the concept learning section of the immediate post-test resulted in rejection of null hypothesis 2 ($p<.01$). Immediate discussion resulted in learning of concepts greater than no discussion significant at the .001 level, while delayed discussion resulted in concept learning greater than no discussion significant at the .01 level. There was no significant difference in concept learning between the two discussion groups. These results are summarized in Tables 9 and 10.

TABLE 9.--One-way analysis of variance of group means in Concept Learning section of immediate post-test

Source	SS	df	Variances	F
Between groups	153.4	2	76.7	9.122*
Within groups	689.494	82	8.408	
Total	842.894	84		

*p<.01

TABLE 10.--Student's t-test comparison of group means in Concept Learning section of immediate post-test

Comparison	Means	Variances	t
Group 1 None Group 2 Delay	3.62 6	4.466 12	3.158*
Group 1 None Group 3 Immed.	3.62 6.78	4.466 8.795	6.325**
Group 2 Delay Group 3 Immed.	6 6.78	12 8.795	0.899

*p<.01 **p<.001

Map skills.--The analysis of variance performed on the group means of the map skills section of the immediate post-test did not result in a significant value of p. Therefore null hypothesis 3 was not rejected. For a possible explanation of this result see Chapter XIII. Table 11 summarizes the results of the analysis of variance.

TABLE 11.--One-way analysis of variance of group means in Map Skills section of immediate post-test

Source	SS	df	Variances	F
Between groups	36.938	2	18.469	1.574
Within groups	962.074	82	11.733	
Total	999.012	84		

Affective learning.--The analysis of variance performed on the group means of the affective learning section of the immediate post-test did not result in a significant value of p. Therefore null hypothesis 4 was not rejected.

For a possible explanation of this result see Chapter XIII. Table 12 summarizes the results of the analysis of variance.

TABLE 12.--One-way analysis of variance of group means in Affective Learning section of immediate post-test

Source	SS	df	Variances	F
Between groups	91.877	2	45.939	1.561
Within groups	2413.723	82	29.436	
Total	2505.6	84		

Cognitive learning.--The analysis of variance performed on the group means of the cognitive learning section of the immediate post-test did not result in a significant value of p. Therefore null hypothesis 5 was not rejected. For a possible explanation of this result see Chapter XIII. Table 13 summarizes the results of the analysis of variance.

TABLE 13.--One-way analysis of variance of group means in Cognitive Learning section of immediate post-test

Source	SS	df	Variances	F
Between groups	104.279	2	52.139	1.347
Within groups	3173.415	82	38.7	
Total	3277.694	84		

Total test.--The analysis of variance performed on the groups means of the total immediate post-test did not result in the rejection of null hypothesis 6, since the value of the F ratio did not attain the required level of

significance. However, as the analysis of variance resulted in $p<.05$, it was decided to perform t-test analysis of the results of the total immediate post-test to determine whether or not the trends indicated in the factual learning and concept learning sections were continued in the total test. The t-test again showed a greater significant difference between immediate discussion and no discussion than between delayed discussion and no discussion. There was no significant difference between the two discussion groups. These results are summarized in Tables 14 and 15.

TABLE 14.--One-way analysis of variance of group means on Total Immediate Post-test

Source	SS	df	Variances	F
Between groups	2188.6	2	1094.3	4.798*
Within groups	18702.98	82	228.085	
Total	20889.58	84		

*$p<.05$

TABLE 15.--Student's t-test comparison of group means on Total Immediate Post-test

Comparison	Means	Variances	t
Group 1 None	39.1	133.31	2.255*
Group 2 Delay	47.69	287.078	
Group 1 None	39.1	133.31	3.215**
Group 3 Immed.	51.19	266.618	
Group 2 Delay	47.69	287.078	0.785
Group 3 Immed.	51.19	266.618	

*$p<.05$ **$p<.01$

Comparisons of group means for all sections of the immediate post-test and the total test from the delayed discussion group and the immediate discussion group did not result in any significant differences. Therefore the null hypotheses 7 to 12, which in their positive form had predicted greater learning in all areas for the delayed discussion group, were not rejected.

Retention Post-test

The results of the three sections of the retention post-test constituted the data for the assessment of retention learning. This test was administered two weeks after the last discussion on the program. Each section was analysed separately. Tables 16-18 show the mean scores, the range of scores, and the standard deviation of each group on each section of the retention post-test. The discrepancy in the scores of group 1 in the immediate and retention post-tests is explained in Chapter XIII.

TABLE 16.--Central tendency and variability of group scores on Factual Learning section of retention post-test

Measure	Group 1 None	Group 2 Delay	Group 3 Immed.
Mean score	13.07	14.19	14.25
Range of scores	5-22	5-23	7-22
Standard deviation	4.37	4.56	3.88

TABLE 17.--Central tendency and variability of group scores on Concept Learning section of retention post-test

Measure	Group 1 None	Group 2 Delay	Group 3 Immed.
Mean score	4.3	4.74	5
Range of scores	1-13	0-10	0-11
Standard deviation	2.46	2.74	2.65

TABLE 18.--Central tendency and variability of group scores on Affective Learning section of retention post-test

Measure	Group 1 None	Group 2 Delay	Group 3 Immed.
Mean score	16	15.19	15.29
Range of scores	11-24	8-26	4-26
Standard deviation	2.92	4.27	4.59

Analyses of variance performed on the three sections of the retention post-test all resulted in minus values for the sums of squares between groups. This, plus the intervention in the case of the no discussion group described in Chapter XIII, makes it unproductive to further analyse the scores in the retention post-test.

Program Evaluation Section of Immediate Post-test

Part six of the immediate post-test gave the subjects the opportunity to ask questions about the program and make suggestions for its improvement. Representative responses with the numbers of subjects making similar comments follow. There were 82 subjects in all.

Question 1.--What questions do you have about the subject?

Why did we pick Sarawak? (3)

What customs do they have? (3)

What type of government do they have? (1)

What does Sarawak really look like? (1)

Who are the Iban? (2)

Does Kumang's uncle have a rubber garden? Who is the girl's uncle? I do not understand what the difference was in Kumang's life and her uncle's. (1)

Why do you need to carry a kuka? (1)

Where did all the people live and where did they work? (1)

None, most of the program was explained. (5)

I'd like to see the Whole film. (1)

I didn't understand most of the things. (2)

Question 2.--What suggestions do you have for improving the program?

Get her to learn her lines better. Do not use CUECARDS. (5)

Have someone talk that you can understand. (4)

The girl in the movie should not stop so much. She should have more spirit. (2)

Having talking less and more pictures with explanations about them (Having all the talking and pictures combined) (so it won't be so boring) (5)

Tell more about the people. (1)

show more film on the way they live (5)

More people involved in the examples on film (1)

the videotape should be clearer (3)

see it again (1)

more talking about the program. a little more time to work on it (1)

a little more about the government (1)

not such a long evaluation sheet! Have an oral quiz. (1)

None, it is very good. (6)

make a new film (2)

CHAPTER XIII

DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS OF EVALUATION

Results of Evaluation

While the evaluation shows superior factual and concept learning in the two discussion groups as compared to the no discussion group, differences in results on all other measures are not statistically significant.

Students participating in immediate discussion scored higher than students having no discussion on the factual learning section of the immediate post-test ($p<.001$). Students participating in delayed discussion also scored higher than those with no discussion ($p<.01$).

Students participating in immediate discussion scored higher in concept learning than students having no discussion ($p<.001$). Students participating in delayed discussion also scored higher than students having no discussion ($p<.01$).

There was no significant difference between the three groups in measures of map skills, affective learning, or cognitive learning. There was no significant difference in learning as measured by the total immediate post-test between the three groups, although once again there was a greater difference between the scores of the immediate

discussion group and the no discussion group than between those of the delayed discussion group and the no discussion group.

There was no significant difference between any of the means of the immediate discussion group and those of the delayed discussion group. Therefore hypotheses 7 to 12 in their null form cannot be rejected and we conclude that the timing of discussion has no effect on learning.

There were no significant differences in the scores attained by any of the groups on the retention post-test. Therefore it has not been proven that any of the treatments provides for better retention of learning.

Several circumstances may help to explain these results. The researcher made no intervention in the course of the experiment, merely presenting the teacher with the teacher's package and allowing him to proceed as if this were a broadcast ETV program. Part of the evaluation was to investigate the adequacy of the accompanying documents and materials. Two events have demonstrated their inadequacy and a third that of the instructions given to the teacher about the conduct of the experiment.

Firstly, the piece of realia--the duku--was passed around the classes during viewing. The fascination of having a real "machete" in one's hands, with its marvellous possibilities for annoying one's neighbours, may have eclipsed the television program.

Secondly, despite verbal and written suggestions

from the researcher, the discussion was carried out as if the program were an area study. The headings "land", "transportation", "settlement", and "people" were put on the board and each area was discussed separately. The discussion consisted primarily of elicited recall of factual material from the program; and, by implication, concept development, since the discussion was organized around these key concepts. On the other hand, map skills were ignored totally; affective learning was only touched on when students in one class were asked to describe the uncle's feelings about change and to imagine any Canadians in the same situation. Cognitive learning in the sense of the processes of analyzing, synthesizing, judging, and hypothesizing, was not required at all in the discussion. Thus it is not surprising that factual learning and concept learning only should be significantly better in the discussion groups than in the no discussion group.

The third factor affecting the results was an occurence between the immediate post-test and the retention post-test. The researcher had not strongly warned the teacher to make no other reference to the experiment before the second post-test. Three days after viewing he conducted a discussion with the no discussion group and requested a re-evaluation of the program, the discussion, and the immediate post-test from all 82 students. The average length of the evaluation is a half page, which indicates that considerable time was devoted to it. These re-evaluations were sent to the

researcher.

The increase in the scores of the no discussion group on all sections of the retention post-test over their scores on the corresponding sections of the immediate post-test seems directly attributable to this intervention. The gain in affective learning is especially great, with the range of scores changing from 0-20 to 11-24. Analysis of the affective scores using Student's t-test yielded a value for t of 3.02 ($p<.01$).

This intervention thus confirmed the value of discussion for learning from a videotaped social studies program, especially in the affective domain.

Program Modification

It is especially apparent from the many comment made by the subjects about the narrator that extreme care must by used in the choice of a person intended to represent another culture in a program for young adolescents. Besides the comments about her presentation in the feedback section of the immediate post-test, several students commented unfavourably about her appearance on the re-evaluation. While nothing can, or should, be done about the appearance of a narrator of a different race, he or she should nevertheless be chosen for ease of manner and "stage presence".

One month of coaching appears to be inadequate for non-professional talent; perhaps an honorarium for the narrator would have ensured more commitment and better

preparation. Coaching should include at least one actual try-out on the set with all props and graphics. The narrator had examined the maps for the set twice before taping, but had never actually practised the motions she had to make with them. This resulted in inacceptable hesitancy on the program. Certain motions with the duku were also forgotten during the taping.

The slides used to illustrate the different ethnic groups living in Sarawak should be more precise and better integrated by the narration.

There should be more film, and as one student suggested, more people in the films. The concept of "bazaar" should be developed using film and film could be used for at least part of the contrast between Kumang's uncle and her immediate family.

It is possible that this program, because of its somewhat abstract nature, should not be used as the first program in the series. The originally scheduled second program, on the longhouse and daily life, may be more suitable as an introduction to the Ibans as people, thereby motivating further learning about other aspects of their culture.

Learning Situation Modifications

Even for a teacher who regularly taught social studies (and not history or geography) the program and the classwork demanded of him presented great difficulties. Certain modifications of the Notes to the User might help to

avoid this problem. (Although it must be pointed out that no amount of modification is going to ensure that notes are taken home or read.)

The Notes to the User should include a map of Southeast Asia showing the location of Sarawak and clearly identifying it as part of Malaysia. Distances from major countries or cities in Asia should be marked so that Sarawak does not get identified as "near Russia". The pronounciation of all place names and all foreign words used on the program and needed for discussion should be clearly indicated.

Man: A Course of Study is not sold to school boards whose teachers do not take training course in its use. The experiences of the researcher with a teacher untrained in anthropology and apparently unaware of Bloom's taxonomies leads her to believe that this care is absolutely essential.

The learning situation was definitely artificial and not that envisaged in a normal school use of a program in the series. It is expected that each program could generate up to three weeks of class work; to compress this into one forty minute discussion was very difficult. However, several suggestions for changing classwork instructions come out of the experience.

The introduction should be much more detailed. Students should use the state map in their package as a source for the predictions they make about Sarawak. The use of the Study Areas sheet should be more carefully explained with some discussion about the types of information that could be

looked for in the program to put under each heading.

One cannot assume that teachers have strategies for developing the higher levels of the cognitive domain. It is not enough to refer them to another book for these strategies; examples should be built into the teacher's notes.

Suggestions for Further Research

Just as the thesis-equivalent is divided into two parts, suggestions for further work fall into two areas--needed development of the idea of the course and further research on the use of ETV programs.

The social studies course is not yet as well integrated theoretically as it should be. The development of major ideas throughout the series is not clearly indicated, and there is as yet not written overall theoretical structure.

There are insufficient references to other ethnic groups living in the same area, so that the interaction of ecology and culture can be compared and contrasted. There are insufficient precise suggestions about other cultures not in the same area to study in order to clarify certain points, and there are insufficient powerful comparisons and contrasts with our own culture.

No attempt has been made as yet to assemble a list of sources on cultures not situated in Borneo that would help achieve the objectives of the course.

The proper development of the course idea requires a

residence among the Iban of at least one year and close co-operation with the Sarawak Museum and field anthropologists.

Further research in ETV and discussion would certainly include a replication of the comparison of immediate and delayed discussion. Several different runs, each concentrating on the development of one of the goal areas of the evaluation would establish whether or not the lack of significant differences in map skills, affective learning, and cognitive learning were indeed the result of lack of concentration on these areas in this discussion, or if discussion does indeed not affect learning in these areas.

The use of the Study Areas sheet might also be investigated. Since discrimination between examples and non-examples is an important part of concept learning, perhaps the Study Areas sheet would be more effectively used if classes were divided into groups who were to search for inforamtion relevant to one heading only. Then, during viewing they would be actively discriminating between material on their topic and all other material.

The development of a social studies course based on a discipline which has so far not been used officially in Canada requires a continuous process of evluation and revision along with the advice and criticism of many experts in a variety of fields.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CONTENT OF TEACHER PACKAGE

1. the script of People of the Hornbill: Program One, found in Chapter VII.

2. a copy of Notes to the User for Program One of People of the Hornbill, found in Chapter VIII.

3. a simplified discussion outline based on the Study Areas sheet included in the student package.

4. a sketch map of Sarawak, as in the student package.

5. a copy of the student essay My Adventure by Boat by Arbee'en, taken from a Sarawak high school magazine.

6. an article of realia--a duku--which is a machete-like knife carried by Ibans.

The simplified discussion outline and the student essay follow.

Discussion Areas

What the land looks like--PHYSICAL FEATURES

Establish only as a basis for further discussion.

How people get in touch with each other--COMMUNICATION

Relate the transportation pattern to the physical features of Sarawak.

Discuss why transportation equals communication in

Sarawak.

Where towns and cities are located--SETTLEMENT PATTERN

Relate the locations of bazaars and large towns to physical features and the transportation system.

Discuss the role of towns as funnels for goods and services. (sale points for farm products and distribution points for manufactured goods)

Discuss the role of towns as funnels for ideas and hence as sources of cultural change.

Where people live and work--SETTLEMENT PATTERN

Establish only that Ibans live on rivers (why?) in the hilly interior of the state.

Relate proximity to an urban influence to certain changes in economic and social practices.

Relate distance and difficulty of travel to a town to the amount of cultural influence that town has on a group.

Changes in the ways people live--CULTURAL CHANGE

Urban influences: economically, in the imposition of the cash economy; socially, in behaviour changes and in the fragmented interests of the young and the old; psychologically, in the exposure to unattainable wants (the crisis of rising expectations).

Student Essay
My Adventure by Boat

One day I was going out in a small boat with my friends in a river. It was during the landas season or wet season that the river overflows its bank, and was raining

heavily.

We were going out in a boat because we wanted to go to the bazaar. The bazaar was about two miles from our village. We started our journey to the bazaar about twelve o'clock in the afternoon. Although it was afternoon the weather was very cold and cloudy. During our journey unluckily it was raining and the lightening was striking in the sky. We paddled very hard but our boat only moved a little, because the water was too rapid.

One of my friends was falling off the boat because he was too cold and the boat was wet and slippery. We were very lucky because when this was happening a speed-boat with some policemen in it was passing near our boat and they saw that one of my friends was falling in the river. Without wasting any time one of the policemen jumped into the river and saved my friend and carried him to our boat. We thanked the policeman for saving my friend's life.

So we started our journey again. Luckily at two o'clock we were passing a meander, and not long after that we saw some buildings at a far distance. We were very happy because the buildings were part of a bazaar. So we tied our boat near a small wharf which was made of wood.

We came up safely to the bazaar and we all felt very happy.

Arbee'en

APPENDIX B

CONTENT OF STUDENT PACKAGE

People of the Hornbill: Study Areas

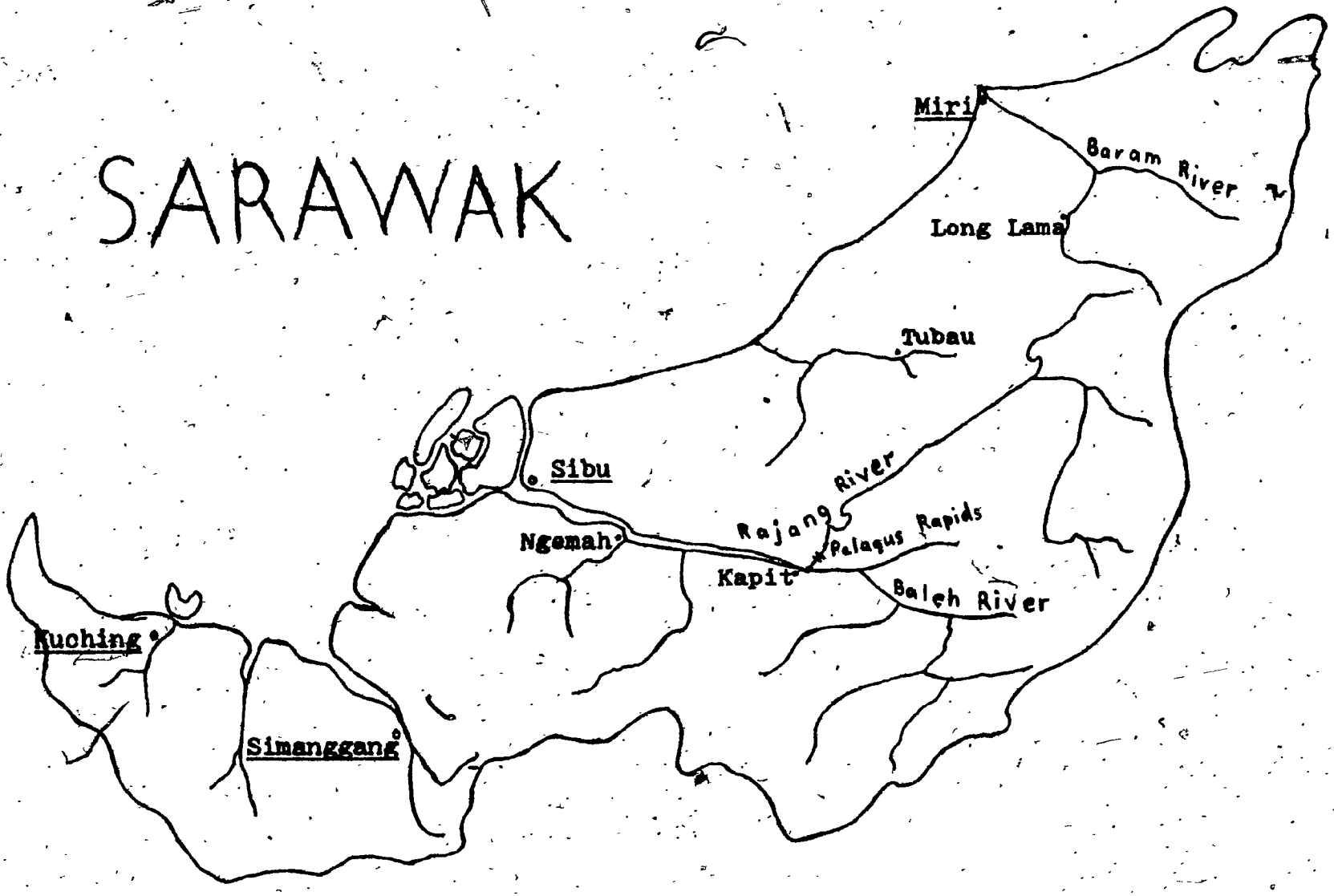
What the land looks like

How people get in touch with each other

Where people live and work

Where towns and cities are built

Changes in the way people live


SARAWAK
Miri
Baram River
Long Lama
Tubau
Sibu
Rajang River
Ngemah
Pelagus Rapids
Kapit
Baleh River
Kuching
Simanggang

APPENDIX C

IMMEDIATE POST-TEST

SECTION ONE

ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS IN SECTION ONE WITH SINGLE WORDS OR BRIEF PHRASES. DO NOT USE SENTENCES.

1 Where is Sarawak? Be as complete as you can.

_____

_____

2 How many roads are there in Sarawak? _____

_____

3 How does the government get information to people in the Baleh region? _____

4 What physical features of Sarawak make travel by foot or canoe very difficult? _____

_____

5 On the following list mark "1" beside the largest town, "2" beside the middle sized town, and "3" beside the small.

( ) Simanggang ( ) Sibu ( ) Kapit

6 Where do Ibans build their longhouses? _____

_____

7 How does Kumang travel to Simanggang now? _____

8 Underline the names of the groups that live in Sarawak.

Moros, Malays, Semang, Chinese, Dayaks, Tikopians

To which group do the Iban belong? _____

9 In what ways do Ibans use rivers? _____

_____

10 What village does Kumang come from? _____

11 What kinds of boats did you see in the films of Sibu and Kuching? _____

_____

12 Who comes to Kumang's village on the bus? _____

_____

13 List four kinds of buildings you would see at a bazaar.

_____

_____

14 Does Kumang's uncle have a rubber garden? _____

SECTION TWO

1 Underline the new words you heard in the program.

bilek, godown, gawai, bejalai, nipah swamp, ngajat, sirat, tuai rumah, duku, longhouse

2 Define any three of your underlined words.

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

3 In the film of Sarawak you saw several canoes loaded with fruit headed for a bazaar. What were those people going to do there? _____

_____

4 Suggest a word or short phrase to replace "How people get in touch with one another". _____

5 Put check marks beside the phrase or phrases which could be replaced by the expression settlement pattern.

( ) What the land looks like

( ) Where people live and work

( ) Where towns and cities are built

6 Suggest a word or short phrase to describe the process which Kumang's village has undergone. _____

SECTION THREE

MARK YOUR ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ONE TO FOUR-A ON THE MAP

1 Draw a line around the area where the Iban live.

2 Draw bars across the Rajang River at the points where an Iban traveller would change from one type of boat to another. Write the type of boat across each section made by the bars.

3 Draw a line on the map to show the route an Iban would take from Long Lama to Tubau.

4 A new bazaar is to be established on the Rajang River, upriver from the Pelagus Rapids.

A. Mark "B" on the map at the location you would choose.

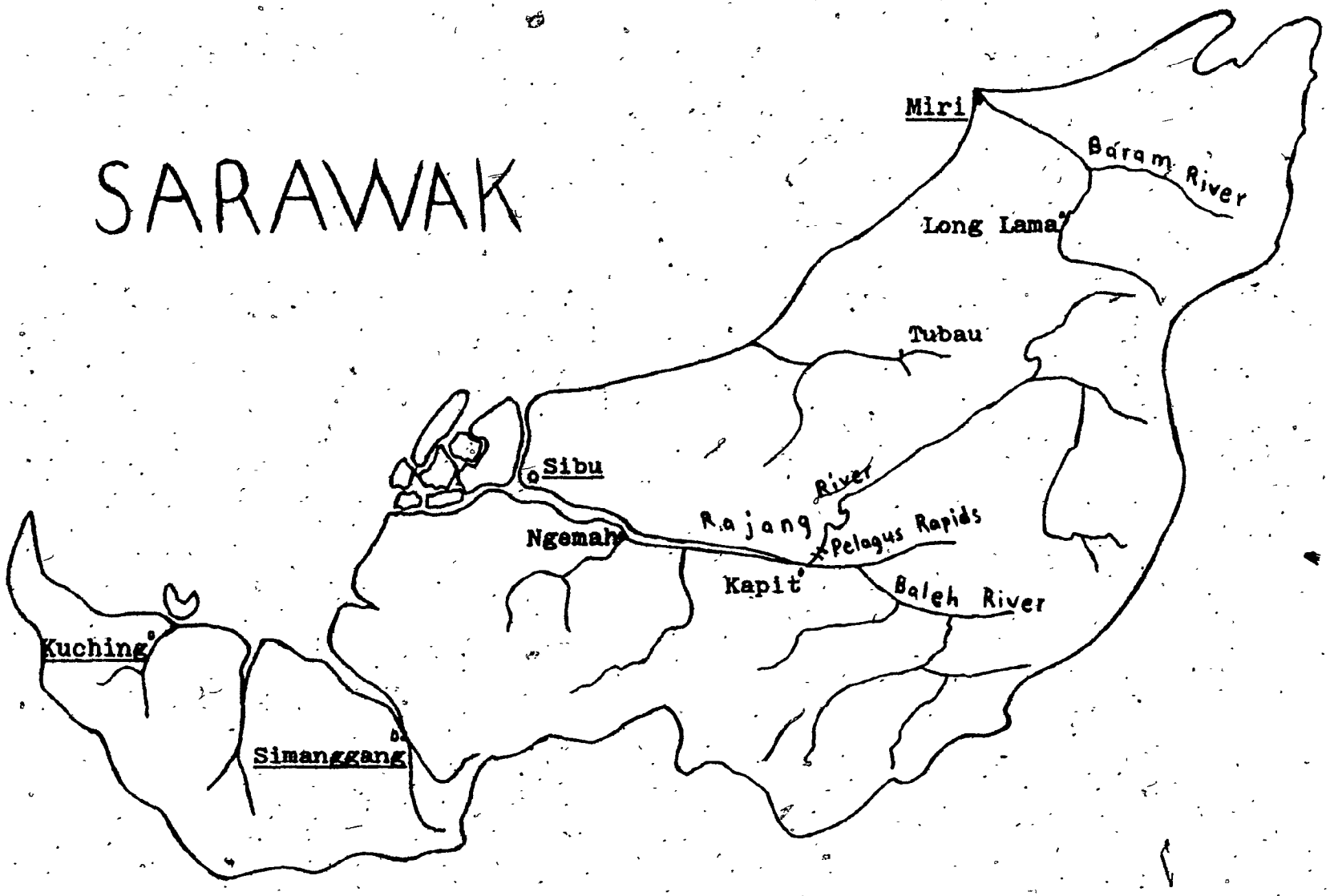
B. Why did you pick that location? _____

_____

5 In several sentences tell why the towns with underlined names are much larger than those whose names are not underlined. _____

_____

_____


SARAWAK
Miri
Baram River
Long Lama
Tubau
Sibu
Rajang River
Ngemah
Pelagus Rapids
Kapit
Baleh River
Kuching
Simanggang

SECTION FOUR

1 Kumang's uncle would probably disapprove of some aspects of Kumang's and her family's way of life. Suggest two differences between his life style and theirs, and explain why you think he would feel this way.

2 Would you prefer to live like Kumang's uncle or like her parents? Explain your choice.

3 On the following page are three scales of adjective pairs. For each pair of adjectives place an "X" on the space which you think best describes the heading. Judge each pair of adjectives separately.

Here is an example:

PUPPIES

YOUNG	X	:	:	:	:	:	:	OLD
SOFT	:	:	X	:	:	:	:	HARD
SMART	:	:	:	:	X	:	:	STUPID

IBANS

ACTIVE	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: PASSIVE
INTELLIGENT	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: STUPID
STRONG	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: WEAK
USUAL	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: UNUSUAL
FRIENDLY	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: HOSTILE
HARDWORKING	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: LAZY
SUPERIOR	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: INFERIOR
SUCCESSFUL	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: UNSUCCESSFUL

KUMANG

JOYFUL	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: GLOOMY
SOCIABLE	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: AGGRESSIVE
CLEAN	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: DIRTY
PRETTY	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: UGLY
RELAXED	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: TENSE
HONEST	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: DISHONEST
FAST	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: SLOW
SERIOUS	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: SILLY

TRAVEL IN SARAWAK

EMPTY	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: CROWDED
VALUABLE	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: WORTHLESS
DIRTY	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: CLEAN
RUGGED	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: DELICATE
COMPLEX	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: SIMPLE
CRUEL	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: KIND
CROOKED	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: STRAIGHT
INTERESTING	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___: BORING

SECTION FIVE

1 Check the statement you agree with.

( ) The life style of Kumang's uncle is best for Ibans.

( ) The life style of Kumang's parents is best for Ibans.

( ) I do not have enough information to make a judgment.

2 Express your own ideas about the relationship between the physical features of an area and the places where people live. _____

3 Will Ibans in the Baleh region always live like Kumang's uncle? Predict what might happen in ten years. _____

4 Many Ibans who do not live near roads have bought outboard motors. What object in modern North American culture would be similar? What advantages and disadvantages do these two things have for the Ibans and for us? _____

5 If it became easy and cheap to build roads in Sarawak, what changes do you think there would be? What similar changes have happened in other places? _____

SECTION SIX

1 What questions do you have about the topic of the program?

2 What suggestions do you have for improving the program?

APPENDIX D

RETENTION POST-TEST

SECTION ONE

ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS IN SECTION ONE WITH SINGLE WORDS OR BRIEF PHRASES. DO NOT USE SENTENCES.

1 Where is Sarawak? Be as complete as you can.

_____

_____

2 How many roads are there in Sarawak? _____

_____

3 How does the government get information to people in the Baleh region? _____

4 What physical features of Sarawak make travel by foot or canoe very difficult? _____

_____

5 On the following list mark "1" beside the largest town, "2" beside the middle sized town, and "3" beside the small.

( ) Simanggang ( ) Sibu ( ) Kapit

6 Where do Ibans build their longhouses? _____

7 How does Kumang travel to Simanggang now? _____

8 Underline the names of the groups that live in Sarawak.

Morros, Malays, Semang, Chinese, Dayaks, Tikopians

To which group do the Iban belong? _____

9 In what ways do Ibans use rivers? _____

_____

10 What village does Kumang come from? _____

11 What kinds of boats did you see in the films of Sibu and Kuching? _____

_____

12 Who comes to Kumang's village on the bus? _____

_____

13 List four kinds of buildings you would see at a bazaar.

_____

_____

14 Does Kumang's uncle have a rubber garden? _____

SECTION TWO

1 Underline the new words you heard in the program.

bilek, godown, gawai, bejalai, nipahswamp, ngajat, sirat, tuai rumah, duku, longhouse

2 Define any three of your underlined words.

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

3 In the film of Sarawak you saw several canoes loaded with fruit headed for a bazaar. What were those people going to do there? _____

_____

4 Suggest a word or short phrase to replace "How people get in touch with one another". _____

5 Put check marks beside the phrase or phrases which could be replaced by the expression settlement pattern.

( ) What the land looks like

( ) Where people live and work

( ) Where towns and cities are built

6 Suggest a word or phrase to describe the process which Kumang's village has undergone. _____

SECTION THREE

1 Kumang's uncle would probably disapprove of some aspects of Kumang's and her family's way of life. Suggest two differences between his life style and theirs, and explain why you think he would feel this way. _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2 Would you prefer to live like Kumang's uncle or like her parent? Explain your choice. _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

3 For each of the following scales place an "X" on the space between each pair of adjectives that best describes the heading. Judge each pair of adjectives separately.

IBANS

ACTIVE	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: PASSIVE
INTELLIGENT	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: STUPID
STRONG	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: WEAK
USUAL	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: UNUSUAL
FRIENDLY	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: HOSTILE
HARDWORKING	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: LAZY
SUPERIOR	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: INFERIOR
SUCCESSFUL	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: UNSUCCESSFUL

KUMANG

JOYFUL	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: GLOOMY
SOCIABLE	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: AGGRESSIVE
CLEAN	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: DIRTY
PRETTY	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: UGLY
RELAXED	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: TENSE
HONEST	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: DISHONEST
FAST	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: SLOW
SERIOUS	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: SILLY

TRAVEL IN SARAWAK

EMPTY	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: CROWDED
VALUABLE	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: WORTHLESS
DIRTY	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: CLEAN
RUGGED	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: DELICATE
COMPLEX	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: SIMPLE
CRUEL	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: KIND
CROOKED	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: STRAIGHT
INTERESTING	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__:	__: BORING

APPENDIX E

DIFFICULTY AND DISCRIMINATION ANALYSIS OF POST-TEST

Item	Maximum Score	Number of Top Third Passing	Number of Low Third Passing	Index of Difficulty	Index of Discriminability
1-1	3	0	0	1	0
1-2	2	5	6	0.45	0.46
1-3	2	6	7	0.35	0.46
1-4	4	8	5	0.35	0.62
1-5	2	9	7	0.2	0.56
1-6	2	10	10	0	0.5
1-7	1	1	4	0.75	0.2
1-8	4	2	1	0.85	0.67
1-9	5	7	5	0.4	0.58
1-10	2	2	1	0.85	0.67
1-11	3	3	3	0.7	0.5
1-12	1	7	3	0.5	0.7
1-13	4	2	2	0.8	0.5
1-14	1	2	1	0.85	0.67
2-1	5	2	1	0.85	0.67
2-2	3	1	0	0.95	1
2-3	2	10	8	0.1	0.56
2-4	3	3	1	0.8	0.75

2-5	2	9	9	0.1	0.5
2-6	3	5	1	0.7	0.83
3-1	3	1	0	0.95	1
3-2	5	1	0	0.95	1
3-3	2	5	0	0.75	1
3-4	5	3	1	0.8	0.75
3-5	3	4	1	0.75	0.8
4-1	6	1	0	0.95	1
4-2	5	4	0	0.8	1
4-3	21	10	5	0.2	0.67
5-1	3	10	4	0.3	0.71
5-2	4	3	0	0.85	1
5-3	10	7	0	0.65	1
5-4	9	1	0	0.95	1
5-5	10	3	1	0.8	0.75

APPENDIX F

PRODUCTION REQUIREMENTS

Still camera, Minolta SLR 101	N/C
1 roll 35 mm. colour film	2.05
Movie camera, Canon Super 8 Auto Zoom 814	N/C
5 rols 8 mm. colour movie film at $4.79 ea.	25.90
Editor, Kodack 8 mm.	N/C
Splicer	N/C
Cassette recorder, Sony TC-110	N/C
Microphone, Sony cardioid F-25S	N/C
1 cassette	3.23
1 7" reel audio tape	N/C
Graphics supplies	N/C
Sarong	N/C
Silver belt	N/C
Iban blanket	N/C
Mat	5.14
Duku	N/C
Hornbill carving	N/C
26 sheets light cardboard at 35 cents ea.	9.80
2 felt markers at 99 cents ea.	2.14
Stop watch	N/C
Total	$ 48.26

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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