

Richard Townsend

Footnotes to Decline and Protest

A professor's joys and sorrows

It is rare these days to find a professional who, struggling with the trivialities, disappointments, and distractions of day-to-day routine, dares to be candid about the hard time his conscience is giving him (or her). Richard Townsend has never been one to dodge candour; his discussion here returns repeatedly to the difficulties a modern professor has in matching the expectations of the role, public and private, in his field. His self-assigned task is to find lessons from his experience, and models among his colleagues, so that he may surmount those difficulties and come closer to the ideal. Along the way, some unexpected lights are cast on the seemingly intractable problems occasioned by the closing down of schools, in a manner suggesting a provocative postscript to the articles in this issue.

When old professors used to advise young professors, back in the days when there still were young professors, they'd say, "Specialize. Master a specific body of knowledge. You'll have no relevance to the society that pays our bills if you try covering the waterfront as a generalist. Know a few things well and the field will beat a path to your door." That advice for outward-looking was attractive, and I came to think that the ideal academic in an applied discipline was someone with expertise in a small area. He or she found joy in objectively and rigorously applying a particular perspective to some practical person's problem.

I tried that idealism in Laurenvale, just north of Montreal Island, in a situation of zero growth - or at least, the provincial Government said in 1975 that enrolments of English Protestant students were declining to such an extent that the Laurenvale

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School Board was not allowed to build a new high school. Budgeteers in the Ministry at Quebec City indicated that if a new facility was needed in the region, it was for French Catholics, not for the English Protestants, who already had a high school. The Chairman of Laurenvale's English Board, Ron Edwards, told me about this decision, about the disrepair of Laurenvale's existing high school, and about his neighbours' wish to continue their own school (to prevent their rural suburban community from merging into the "urban pull" of big city Montreal).

While he'd been successful in enlisting a few lawyers and architects with serious skills to help make his case for a new school, Edwards hadn't realized that his community also had elements who might be attracted for the sheer excitement and entertainment value of a good feisty protest. Inferring from the protest literature of Piven and Cloward, the Fainsteins, James Q. Wilson, and especially Lipsky in the U.S., I said to him that what was needed now was another provocateur, an independent energizer of Laurenvale's more frivolous forces. There's still a central place for Edwards, I said; his modest and calm style in working through channels, his gift for filling up blackboards with statistics, and his notebooks full of documentation would make him a resource at conference tables with problem-solvers. But more flamboyant and less polite leadership was required at this point - to agitate and, vitally, to catch the attention of media, which in turn would activate certain "third parties." Those third parties, upon being convinced of the rightness of the Laurenvale protest, would use their influence on "protest targets" - that is, they'd "get to" sources in Quebec City who controlled school-building allocations. If the comparatively poor of Laurenvale didn't challenge the political system, they'd be ignored.

A fiery businessman

Edwards told me a few weeks afterwards he was taking that advice; after seven years of petitioning circumspectly, Laurenvale had nothing to lose. For the second leader, Edwards tapped Phil Lambertucci, a fiery businessman and also a parent of school-age children. Lambertucci subsequently spurred an Action Committee of other parents. Over the next two months his Committee did spark civic excitement:

- (1) Rambunctiously it led a march of 100 additional parents, who said their enrolments were **not** declining and the new school should be built.
- (2) It collected 4,000 signatures on a petition attesting to Laurenvale's entitlement.

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(3) It caught the attention of programmers of television news, who reported on the parents' march, that petition, and the rat-infested classrooms.

(4) It also gained newspaper publicity by installing a billboard-sized sign asking the riding's member of Quebec's National Assembly, "MR. L'ALLIER, WHERE IS OUR SCHOOL?"

(5) It successfully encouraged clerics to use their influence in fanning public concern; they used Laurenvale's school problem as subjects for Sunday sermons.

(6) It provided funds for 33 business and cultural organizations (so-called "third parties" to the problem) to send a telegram demanding the new school to Premier Bourassa and to the Minister of Education (the "protest targets").

Following two months of this commotion, L'Allier phoned the low-key protest leader, Edwards, with news: Government had approved construction. However, Edwards, Lambertucci, the Action Committee, and 700 students had to wait until 1980 before construction began. First a lengthy court fight with owners of a site had to be won. Then Premier Levesque's government had to relax its policy of going slow with new allocations. Today, Laurenvale's new school is functioning.

This incident may seem more like a "bright light" in a professor's life than a "horror story", but it has sadness. Reflecting on that unpaid and hurried consultancy, in time I wondered, "Did I live up to my ideal of wisely applying a discipline to practical problems?" Away from that event for some years now, I've been able to "process" that question.

Rigour? Practicality? Hubris?

Anglophones in Quebec are preoccupied with survival strategies, and so it was easy for me to fall into a subjectivity - that Edwards' quest was symptomatic of strains in French-English relations existing since the Plains of Abraham. Yes, I shiver to recall, I was that grandiose, and grossly unfair in my anti-Ministry bias, pitting an unfeeling and rich Government against virtuous and so-needful Laurenvalers. (I didn't totally believe in Government conspiracy, however, for I went on assuming that provincial funding agencies wouldn't discriminate against my applications for research grants just because of my known "make-waves" strategy.) Overlooking the many French

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communities that also were being denied new schools, I had believed that anti-English prejudice was a key explanation for the Ministry's rejection; even if that view had been partially true, would such direct and open criticism of officials have been the best way to promote change? Should I not have conceived that educational governance is something of an insider's game, and that a more credible way for a professor to make a difference is to bring reason to bear on Ministry officials? Had anything really been served except my fantasy, by picturing myself as a civilizing hero, helping the dispossessed English fend for themselves against a monolithic, faceless, and over-centralized Government?

Edwards says my contribution was in proposing an emotional and conflictual approach to supplement his rational and data-based style. But, at bottom, my political formulation presumed that government leaders are cynical creatures, primarily interested in re-election, yielding to demands of the powerless only when those citizens are "squeaky wheels." That was an unsubstantiated and facile premise.

My rigour, frankly, had been as suspect as my objectivity. I had allowed myself to presume that Laurenvale parents in 1975 had as little socio-economic clout, relatively, as U.S. blacks had had in the protest literature of a decade earlier. Had I been torturing facts to justify my "angle"? Only slightly had I worried whether such protest might be inconsistent with Canadian traditions; the Americans' goals of Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness are consonant with tactics markedly different from the Canadians' means to Peace, Order, and Good Government. Even when they are under duress, the Canadians' basic faith in government may differ from the Americans' basic faith in the sort of individual and group action that I had blithely urged upon Edwards.

Likewise, the practicality of my advice could be challenged. Was a political model the most appropriate? As an analyst of conflict, I might have had a vested interest in formulating the situation as a political problem whose solution required the creation of tension. I didn't really consider whether a new high school for Laurenvale truly was a rational managerial solution, in the light of other needs of learners in that community and the province. I spoke in terms that appealed to action-oriented persons, but more cost-benefit planning studies might have paved the way for some construction well **before** 1980.

In this affair I had had more hubris than was justified. When events occurred that were consistent with events we sought to produce, I too quickly assumed that these occurrences were the direct results of our strategies. Yet other stimuli might well have been the trigger(s).

In turning Laurenvale's fight into my fight, and in by-passing data bases, I was more the practitioner of politics than the student or analyst of it. If I wanted to attack the Ministry, shouldn't I have run for public office and become a politician rather than a public adviser? And in turning Edwards' problem into a formulation that I was comfortable with, maybe I had been working in a rather blinkered way, being too faithful to my discipline, addressing the wrong problem. In short, my specialization - hitherto regarded as a weapon of my ideals - could have impeded my hitting upon better solutions. In shaky self-defence, about all I can say is this: there are heady joys in dipping into one's conceptual bag, in learning by feel as much as by analysis how people and institutions work, in working under pressure, in advising important people, and in having one's recommendations actually heeded. These pleasures may have corrupted, or at least seduced, me.

A professor who serves the public interest

For an antidote to my malaise about Laurenvale, I can look for a model in Brock Rideout and his consultancies. About the very time that I was in Laurenvale, Rideout (an OISE professor of school finance) was travelling around Ontario, conducting case studies on decline and its local impact for the Ministry of Education at Queen's Park. He incidentally found a way to minimize protest.

Boards which attempt a gradual closing of a school appear to encounter fewer difficulties. One Ontario board phased out a school by extending boundaries of adjacent schools until all the students had been absorbed into other schools. The school then became an annex of an adjacent school for one year, and finally closed. In another case, students were transferred one or two grades at a time; the remaining students were in mixed grades, and the surplus space was used as a holding school for other students until the school eventually closed. Gradual closing may also take place without any conscious effort on the part of the board. As the costs of keeping open a school with diminishing enrolment increase, programs and facilities may decline. If the board has a policy of open attendance areas, parents themselves may request transfer of their children to adjacent schools, thereby making the closure faster and easier. At least one board in Ontario has hit on a pleasant conclusion to closing a school. Parents, students, residents, administrators, staff, and former students participate in closing ceremonies - an agreeable way of

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demonstrating that the community is still intact.

An agreeable suggestion, that, and one that's somehow befitting a man who (with his wit and song) himself is a source of pleasantry at all sorts of public ceremonies (and I've seen Rideout officiate at opening and closing ones both).

Rideout also sifted through dense masses of local statistics, regulations, and interviews at the particular level and found, among other things, that the province's financial grant system was inequitably impacting systems whose school populations were dropping quickly. He recommended various weighting factors to help those systems and, importantly, to forestall the parental protest which was in the offing.⁽¹⁾ By 1976, the provincial government had implemented his recommendations. Rideout later proposed changes in fiscal formulas to take account of new circumstances in decline, and the Government subsequently removed those financial barriers to closure from its Capital Grants Plan too.

One Rideout formula for coping with decline may have had a soupçon of the tons of non-objectivity I had when rallying forces around Laurenvale's banner. Ontario's separate schools, confronted by enrolment gains instead of by the losses endemic in the public schools, protested that they were being partisanly discriminated against by that one formula. Through their association, Catholic board members brought pressure against that alleged bias, successfully. But other recommendations of Rideout's still being implemented are repeatedly esteemed for serving the overall public interest. Experts in North America regard Rideout's work on fiscal grants as balancing adroitly between central and local initiatives.

Broad horizons are the thing?

One looks in vain through Rideout's complex and rigorous field reports for the sort of cavalier mishandling of data that I evinced when suggesting, without substantiation, that Laurenvale's blue-collar population in 1975 had about the same socio-economic clout as U.S. blacks in the mid 1960's. Nor does one see in Rideout that frightful inattention to deep-seated Canadian values or to practicality that I had when proposing that Laurenvalers throw themselves into splashy protests.

It's joyful and invigorating to sit in a prompter's seat for government, without the hazards of those who are on stage. Has Rideout been corrupted by all this success, so much so that he's blind to fiscal or community formulations other than his own? Has his ability to speak out on public issues been impaired by his

main source of funding being the Government of Ontario? How does he stay on his toes so that he's open to the fruitful ideas of others? Rideout replies:

I suppose I may not be as critical of my own framework as I might be. There's a tendency to value one's work, but I try to guard against that. The finance experts - not only at the Ministry but at the boards, the federations, and in the other provinces and states - they help keep me honest.

Besides peer review, Rideout is helped through his wide-ranging inquisitiveness and broad horizons. He is active, for example, in music and drama circles in Scarborough. He reads widely in the Canadian humanities. Commonly, Rideout ties his finance specialization to community concerns and to larger social, cultural, philosophical, historical, and political issues.(2) To follow in his footsteps, then, I'd need to do more than what professors of old used to advise the young academic to do ("specialize"). I'd need to work at relating my expertise to other domains, as Rideout did even before declining enrolment was commonplace in Canada. I must look around and see if the top talents really do make time for books, plays, and the arts. Do they have general interests that extend the impact of their specialization? Is it the second-raters who aren't so nourished?

A connected question: does this principle of catholicity hold for researchers as well as for those directly serving the community? For example, the political scientist David Easton openly derived his highly influential systems framework from writings by biologists, cyberneticists, and sociologists. Graham Allison's idea (important for political science and for the politics of education) of having three conceptual lenses (rational, organizational, and bargaining) to analyze the Cuban missile crisis may well have come to him straight out of the blue - but aren't there antecedents for this device of three lenses at least as far back as two trilogies written by Joyce Cary in the 1940's and 1950's?(3) Even if Allison wasn't subtly inspired by Cary's new direction, when an awfully good doctoral student tells me that both he and his wife find all sorts of new views about life in Thomas' **White Hotel**, and that Thomas' novel now is out in paperback, maybe I ought to follow-up on the implicit suggestion that I read it. That psychological novel, about a woman with the deck stacked against her, might correct the balance of my thinking (which has been tilted away from the insights of Freud, Jung, et al.).

In any event, Rideout's studies deserve to be closely read by other scholars of educational finance, and by those who stave off parental protest over school closures that emanate from enrolment

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decline. But at bottom, is that enough? Dean Swift thought not. That old writer implicitly advises the young writer to "generalize, or delineate a universal pattern." Communicating with his French translator that "Gulliver's Travels" would be a failure if it were understood only in England, Swift observes:

The same vices and the same follies reign everywhere... and the author who writes only for a city, a province, a kingdom, or even an age, deserves so little to be translated, that he does not even deserve to be read.(4)

Swift's standards are wintry and severe, but there is at least one published work on decline and protest which comes close to deserving to be translated: "How To Terminate A Public Policy," by Robert O. Behn of Duke University.(5) Unless I am gravely mistaken, Behn's essay isn't particularly intended as Swift-like satire.

Those strong in their behavioral-science conviction will read Behn's piece struggling and kicking all the way. Behn doesn't elucidate a pure and testable theory of causal laws. He doesn't establish hard and sharp controls, nor does he actively manipulate one variable while holding others constant. Behn doesn't specify the precise conditions under which his scenarios work. He doesn't impart alternative explanations for what he discerns. The worth of Behn's analysis will be questioned further by those who see only faint connection between his data base (terminations of state hospitals, youth services, and programs for erosion control) and K-13 education, enrolment, and parent protest. Nonetheless I find his article a stimulating synthesis. He achieves that by combing through government and press reports (in the world of practice) and by meditating on various policy journals (in the world of theory). One doesn't need to agree with Behn's combative, cut-the-fat prescriptions to relish his understanding of the diverse political manoeuvres that public institutions can pursue.

How to close a school quietly

Behn's 12 hints are especially suggestive for board members and central-office administrators. Some may very well have been trying to follow a number of these approaches for quite a while, but I haven't seen or heard them explicate the possibilities as crisply and saucily as Behn. Below, I minimize his abstractions, and very considerably abbreviate and translate, for our educational context, a few of his incautious ideas about warding off threats.

(1) **Don't float trial balloons** to learn who's opposed to and who's supportive of program termination. That is, authorities shouldn't

announce they're contemplating the discontinuation of specified schools, as this news will only animate protest from predictable sources in the neighbourhood. Rather, take a decision, and then give the public as detailed and complete a rationale as possible. Prevent leaks until you can be that thorough and decisive.

(2) **Enlarge the constituency** of those who favour school closings. Attract a new, dedicated, and active constituency who'll keep parents of the affected schools from controlling the debate. Find some interest group that's upset with a specific problem affecting particular schools - perhaps environmental pollution that spills into certain classrooms of the to-be-closed facility.

(3) **Focus attention on the harm** of continuing a small school. Point out that teachers would have more time per individual in a smaller school than would be provided at a larger school, thus creating an unequal distribution of public resources. Show how small schools lack the quality and variety of programming available in large schools, how pupil-teacher matching and team teaching are frustrated in small schools, how gym mats and other new capital equipment are more sensibly provided to large schools, and so forth.

(4) **Take advantage of ideological shifts** to demonstrate harm. Realize that changes in popular ideologies can make a once-beneficial facility appear utterly inadequate. Thus, to garner support for closing a non-vocational high school, exploit the public's increasing sentiment for developing skilled labour. To deprecate a small school, argue that mainstreaming and other new approaches to special education could only thrive in large buildings with adequate teacher-pupil ratios. (e.g., "Too many special-education children change the nature of a small school!").

(5) **Recruit an outsider as terminator.** Put someone in charge of coping with declining enrolments who's willing to renounce the system's programmatic philosophy and administrative procedures because he, or she, has no stake in the past. In winding down the system, this person will make so many enemies that eventually he'll be forced to leave - but that can be **after** fulfilling the bloody mandate.

(6) **Avoid Board votes.** The elected official who aspires to a career of influence will seek friends, not the enemies who are bound to accrue from schools' closings. So the terminator needs to have a behind-the-scenes arrangement with the Board's Executive Committee that closings are to be strictly an administrative responsibility (within Board guidelines). Board members thus would be spared the vulnerability of having to take a stand in front of protesting parents.

(7) Even in the informal arrangement with the Executive above, **never publicly encroach on the Board's prerogatives.** If the terminator has to confront elected officials, the issue may not be the merits of the terminator's policy but the arbitrary nature of his or her authority. Accordingly, if decorum requires that the Board's higher status be upheld, let the terminator do so. But emphasize those aspects of the termination which appeal to the largest coalition on the Board.

(8) **Advocate revitalization, not retrenchment.** Avoid the strong negative connotations of closings. Discuss the change instead in terms of the sunny opportunities provided to reduce class size and to give students more attention, to develop community education centres, to mount better programs for the gifted and handicapped, and so forth.

As Behn acknowledges, a flock of serious ethical questions can erupt from these cunning hints. In some circumstances, too, parental protest might be aggravated rather than avoided by his tactics.(6) Yet Behn does stimulate researchers and practitioners with ideas different from the Organizational-Development advice that usually is proffered in such uneasy situations: consultants with an O.D. perspective usually urge administrators to involve potential protesters on committees that are studying decline, and to involve parents and students as quickly as possible in their new schools so that angry feelings may abate.(7) Behn also departs from the conventional wisdom of public relations: that particular body of writing would have lay committees comprised of key members of the community (who are influential enough to persuade others), and deliberations open for all to observe.

I don't disparage the O.D. or P.R. advice; since it may be salutary, I just say that Behn's piece succinctly augments our knowledge, even though he didn't exploit a single computer or formally advance a structural or affectual hypothesis in his article. After years of blathering in favour of such "scientific" sorts of hypothesis, it seems to me now that political and policy experience can be a source of illumination without the chi squares, geni ratios, or desi slopes so fashionable in certain research leagues today.

The professor bewails his busy lot

Besides the joy of seeing how Behn arrays his information, what I take away from him is a hope that a professor, working on a subject relevant to decline and protest, can create ideas in spite of overflowing in-baskets. At Duke University's Institute for Policy Sciences and Public Affairs, Behn may or may not have quite the new courses to develop, committees to serve on, oral

exams to conduct, papers to grade, reports to prepare for inquisitive deans, dissertations to help supervise, and sundry other demands that press on my colleagues and me nowadays. Behn may or may not be able to swap concentration in Durham, N.C., during part of the academic year, for withdrawal and study during another part. He may hate working with people, he may thrive on four hours of sleep a night, he may ignore his colleagues and students, he may have skills of conceptualization and pattern-recognition at the genius level - I don't know. Scrutiny of his footnotes, however, gives two empirical clues as to how he did prevail.

Behn cites several academic papers that he prepared, years earlier, on subsidiary dimensions of his "How To Terminate" article. A quick, and possibly incomplete, literature search suggests that he hasn't published on many other topics as yet. Perhaps that's the ticket. Not surprisingly for champion researchers, Behn didn't simply "bathe in the clear idyllic light of the beginning"(8); he stayed and stayed with his problematic, disseminating pieces of his research over time; and that long-term commitment does credit to him (and to policy science). Another clue from a footnote is Behn's reference to a Technical Statement he gave a U.S. Senate Subcommittee examining sunset laws: evidently he dovetailed his previous consultancy with research.

Maybe someone like myself, fairly obscure in the politics of education, might flourish more like a green bay tree by following Behn's lead. Perhaps I ought to build consultancies and seminars around one or two grand themes, which I'd then write about. Decline, protest, and any number of other topics could be tucked into treatments of such themes, if those themes were overarching enough.(9) These concerns may not be exactly my students' concerns, nor may they be concerns that people turn to professorial consultants for. But if I don't adhere to such an encompassing frame, if I don't interweave my work-sites more and hold to a subject-matter continuity, I may never find those general patterns that Swift reminds us to search for.

The joys and the setbacks

Two themes have moved back and forth in the foreground and in the background of this essay. At one level, approaches have been reviewed for coping with parental dismay over school closings. These approaches, ranging from Rideout's gradualism to Behn's hard-edge terminations, may interest agents of school governance who want to know how people behave or how they might behave.

Yet decline and protest has been the vehicle, not the object

of this narrative. At the second level of discourse, the object has been to offer the reflections of a student of decline and protest (myself). It's the reflections that are important here, not my professorial self, especially if I've been able to say something ordinary about one academic specialization in these times. Aware, however, of the Yiddish proverb that " 'for example' is no proof," I can't pretend to have unfolded any invincible laws on how the professor works. Others in the same occupation may have quite different sentiments as they disentangle themselves from their problematics and find their own way.(10)

To recapitulate briefly at this second level, my realities include my own lapses into subjectivity and non-rigorous analysis of local circumstances. These difficulties stem in part from my confusing the perspective of a student of politics with that of a practitioner of that art. My realities also include adjustments to the demands of students and colleagues for time-consuming involvement in their world. (I mean no self-pity here; for society rarely assures anyone the perfect ambiance for work.) Partly because of these accommodations, I haven't held to one or two magisterial themes over time and across work sites.

One who espouses pessimism, though, will cease working. So I'm another one of the world's despairing optimists, hoping for the best but not too sure that I'm going to get there. I'll continue to value those who do get there - like Rideout and Behn; they're part of my realities too. Rigorously and objectively, Rideout did apply his specialist perspective to complicated questions issuing from decline and incipient protest; in the process he changed educational finance in Ontario. He at least wasn't confused by the student and practitioner aspects of his expertise. Assuredly too, the university is a difficult mistress if one wants to augment knowledge for the layman; but Behn in North Carolina did work within that setting to change consciousness, with his basis for a general theory of program or policy termination. He was clear-headed in his choice of problem and apparently unremitting in working toward its solution.

Behn and Rideout, the generalist and the specialist, both are needed. They provide notes of hope and transcendence, helping to remind me that the professorship can be a delectable calling. It can allow a person the potential of extending his or her physical existence in a restricted number of ideas keenly developed and circulated, and in public service temperately and humbly rendered.

In this account, I've been something of a stand-in for hundreds of other middle-class, middle-income, and middle-aged academics in fields such as the politics of education. I've substituted for them because, to date, the ones I know - and I

may know the wrong ones - haven't offered much data on how they've extricated themselves from the turmoil consequent on facing the gaps between their ideals and their realities. Colleagues should share such reflections. From each other, we can pick up clues for adjusting to our profession. From each other, we may muster the inspiration and stamina to be up and doing.

NOTES

1. E. Brock Rideout, *Meeting Problems of Declining Enrolment*, Toronto, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1975.
2. See for example his "The Future Context of Educational Finance", paper for the Canadian Teachers' Federation, 1979. Rather than just the snippets of literary allusions I've included in this essay, Rideout articulates a philosophical position.
3. Joyce Cary, *Preface, First Trilogy*, New York, 1958. Cited by Elizabeth M. Kerr, "Joyce Cary's Second Trilogy", *University of Toronto Quarterly*, XXIX, 3, April, 1960, p.311. The move from three to four lenses came shortly after - in literature with Lawrence Durrell's *Alexandria Quartet* (Cleo, Justin, Mountolive, and Balthazar), in political science with Paul Peterson's lenses of the rational, the organizational, pluralistic bargaining and ideological bargaining, (in *School Politics*, Chicago Style).
4. *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Harold Williams, Oxford, 1963, p.226. Cited by Alex Zwerdling, *Orwell and the Left*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974, p.91.
5. Robert D. Behn, "How to Terminate A Public Policy: A Dozen Hints for the Would-be Terminator", *Policy Analysis*, Summer, 1978, pp.393-413. A more comprehensive approach to this topic is taken by Neil Nelson and Linda Black, "A Conceptual Framework for Coping with Decline", paper given at the annual convention of American Educational Research Association at Los Angeles, 1981.
6. Responding directly to Behn's article, Harvey Nightingale (formerly with the Ontario School Trustees Council) has observed that the terminator might succeed with his or her first closing, only to have so much anger fueled that a city-wide watchdog group is organized to obstruct further terminations. (Conversation, July, 1980.) Indeed, such a watchdog group could exploit their community's dominant

values, saying that "threatened schools are threats against our close sense of community." The group could dramatize injustice, noting that some students "won't have a chance to participate in after-class activities, since they'll have to be bused home right at 3 p.m." The group might try isolating the intransigent, thus: "Even when the provincial government is stressing the importance of public participation in education, the terminator has acted unilaterally."

7. An article in this O.D. vein is by Judith A. Brody, "How To Close A School and Not Tear Your Community Apart in the Process", *American School Board Journal*, June, 1976, p.34. On the other hand, a somewhat Behn-like coercive style has been noticed by Lynn Harrington in rural Ontario. There terminators, appealing to reason, invoke sanctions against principals and teachers who might otherwise resist school closings. Authorities thus "head off" part of the local elite who'd be in the vanguard of protest. In this process too, the community isn't torn apart. (Term paper, Fall, 1980.)
8. Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, New York: Grove, 1963. Cited by one of my students, Jeffrey Arbus, in a term paper on his experiences in a child-care centre.
9. For an adroit treatment of the solitary life of the scholar, see Harold Silver, "Need for loneliness of the long-distance thinker", *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, January 30, 1978.
10. This point is well developed for artists and scientists in Mark Egit, "A Matter of Appropriation: An Investigation in the Sociology of Science", unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1980.

