ITV IN AMERICAN SAMOA

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Introduction

From the earliest days of the United States, political leaders have accepted the need for "quality education". In fact, the Congress of the Confederation, which governed the US before the establishment of the Constitution, wrote the following into the Ordinance of 1787, which provided government to the Northwest Territory: "Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." Because of this belief in its value, federal, state, and local governments spend a great deal of time and resources in the search for quality in education. Equal access to education becomes an issue of concern when students are seen to be disadvantaged for one reason or another. Obtaining equality of access then becomes the goal to be reached in providing quality education.

Technology has been suggested as a means of widening access and enhancing quality. A debate has arisen within the educational community, however, which questions the role of technology in education. Should the new technologies drive the curriculum, or should the curriculum drive the new technologies? In other words, should the educational curriculum be changed to accommodate the new technology, or should the curriculum use the technology only to enhance and supplement? Both sides of the debate look to past examples of technological introduction to support their arguments.
This paper is concerned with one of the most dramatic experiments in technological integration and reorganization of an educational system.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, educational broadcasters were very excited about the possibilities of television, the latest technological advance widely accepted by the public. Television was fast becoming an institution. With its marriage of visual and audio capabilities with broadcast technology, educators showed tremendous optimism for the potential of instructional television (ITV). Educators saw in it the opportunity to expand quality instruction in all subject areas to students even in the most remote areas. By the late 1950s, the school districts in some US cities were experimenting with ITV to supplement their curriculums.

At this same time, several developing countries were looking at the benefits of ITV. For instance, Colombia and India broadcast test programs to selected areas. Niger began a pilot project, but with untrained monitors organizing the classrooms, only a few classrooms were involved, and only one grade per year was added to the project.

The most ambitious and comprehensive ITV system was introduced in 1964 to American Samoa. It was unique in the scale of its implementation and in the situation to which it was introduced. The ITV system in American Samoa was not designed to supplement the curriculum. It was designed to be the basis of the curriculum. In other words, the curriculum of the American Samoa Department of Education would be centrally developed and be transmitted entirely through the medium of television lessons created by the ITV staff. The technology would drive the curriculum. This shift in educational
method was made all the more abrupt by the suddenness of its introduction. Lessons were prepared for all levels immediately upon beginning operations. Motivation for this drastic change came from the top, the Governor, and not from the classroom teachers.

Previously, the educational experience in American Samoa had been much like in many other developing areas. The children had been taught in open huts, while they sat on the floor and repeated rote lessons to the teacher. Into this scene was imposed a sudden, massive exposure to ultra-modern educational techniques from the US, offered via a relatively new and experimental medium. A medium, by the way, which they had had no experience with until it became the basis for their educational system, as television broadcasting and ITV were introduced simultaneously. Samoan society came face-to-face with a rapidly changing and dynamic American culture.

The sheer scale and novelty of the ITV project brought it to world attention. Educators watched and studied its development, with an eye to its implications for other developing or remote areas. A successful project would lend weight to the ITV promoters, while a failure would mean a victory for the supporters of traditional education. In traditional education, the classroom teacher was completely responsible for the implementation of the curriculum, and therefore had discretion in its scheduling and use. In the ITV system, the classroom teacher became part of a team with the television teacher. It was the ITV staff who scheduled the day and provided the exercises and material, giving the classroom teacher very little leeway. Some teachers objected to this change in their
roles, and in the use of ITV as the basis of the curriculum. The use of 
ITV, therefore, had become tied up in the larger debate on the place 
of technology in education.

For those (some anthropologists, for example) who believed 
that cultures should not be tampered with, ITV was not a good thing. 
The Kennedy administration and the United Nations Trusteeship 
Council, however, believed in the early 1960s that progress was good 
and necessary per se. In fact, to leave these cultures alone was to 
neglect the responsibility of developed nations to help modernize 
those under its charge. International opinion had swung in favor of 
rapid development. As in Micronesia, the Kennedy Administration 
was shamed by the "backward" conditions in American Samoa, and 
dedicated itself to making up for the "neglect" of past 
administrations.

Governor H. Rex Lee was appointed in 1961 with a mandate to 
change American Samoa. It was he who introduced ITV. He also 
consolidated the schools, bringing children out of the villages and 
mingling them in the common experience of the modern educational 
institution. The consolidated schools were modern structures, 
specifically designed for the purpose of transmitting education 
through the medium of television. The best television equipment was 
brought to Samoa. A transmitter was built on Mount Alava which 
required the construction of a tramway across Pago Pago harbor to 
reach it. Modern, air-conditioned studios were built to house the ITV 
staff. Roads were improved to allow easier movement between 
districts. Special humidity resistant television sets were purchased. 
Antennas were put up to insure clear reception. Electricity was
extended to all areas to run the televisions, and government buildings were constructed to provide space for the expanded bureaucracy. US mainland television teachers and principals were recruited to get the new system running.

It is important for us to note that the Governor, the ITV consultants, the television teachers, staff, and crew, believed that the future prosperity and happiness of American Samoa's population depended on their efforts. They felt that the necessity of American Samoans learning English, and thereby being able to master the skills required to compete on a global level, was the primary objective. This should be remembered when criticizing their efforts. As in any project, mistakes were made. What we must ask ourselves, though, when looking at this experience is: through the use of the technology 1) what were the goals of the educational planners, 2) were they successful in reaching their goals, and 3) was the system accepted by the constituents? Finally, if the previous points were positive, what does this tell us about the potential for and role of technology in education for other developing regions? By considering these questions together twenty years after the end of the ITV experiment, this paper brings the American Samoa experience into the current debate on the role of technology in education.

The majority of the literature on the subject to this point has been in the form of articles and reports written by journalists, educational consultants, and employees of the American Samoa Department of Education (DOE). These articles and reports have been mostly narratives of the project up to the time of publishing. Some have been the results of specific batteries of tests, or intended to
answer specific questions. Two more general studies have been written, however, which attempt to assess the project at some period of time after its end. Wilbur Schramm, Lyle M. Nelson, and Mere T. Betham, three people with a long association with the education system in American Samoa, co-wrote the book *Bold Experiment: The Story of Educational Television in American Samoa* (1981), which is a very thorough look at the project. *Bold Experiment* attempts to be non-judgemental on the question of success or failure, but, at the same time, points out lessons to be learned from the experiment. While I used *Bold Experiment* for the information and statistics it provided, the lessons I felt most important did not necessarily agree with the authors. While the authors looked at the American Samoa ITV project from the educational value point-of-view, I looked at it from the viewpoint of the role of technology in education. Also, I do not refrain from pointing out success or failure, as I see it.

The second work on the American Samoa ITV project is a doctoral dissertation by Edward N. Vargo, *A Historical Study of the Educational Television System In American Samoa From 1961 - 1983* (1983). Vargo's dissertation is also heavily historical narrative, and, although he quotes and mentions Schramm and others, he does not mention or list *Bold Experiment* in his bibliography. This seems convenient, as the existence of the book would remove the primary purpose for his study. Vargo is more critical of the ITV project than I am, and concludes with points of advice to the American Samoa Department of Education, which I did not include within the scope of my study. Vargo also places fairly heavy emphasis on the comparison of standardized test scores with US mainland
standardized test scores. He takes the position that these test scores were an important factor in the decline of the ITV project, while the reader will find that I place more weight on the attitudes of the teachers, students, and administrators towards ITV, as well as financial constraints.
Brief Geographic and Historical Background

American Samoa is part of the Samoan archipelago, which is on a direct line between Hawaii and New Zealand, lying 2300 miles southwest of Honolulu. American Samoa, politically separate from Western Samoa, is the eastern end of the archipelago, and consists of the islands of Tutuila, the Manu'a group, and Aunu'u. Swains Island, originally one of the Tokelau Islands to the north, is included in American Samoa. At approximately seventy six square miles, American Samoa is the same geographic size as the District of Columbia, but has less than one percent of the population.

In 1899, as a result of an agreement with Great Britain and Germany, the United States assumed responsibility for eastern Samoa. The US saw the harbor of Pago Pago as a possible coaling station on trans-Pacific journeys, and took jurisdiction of Tutuila on 17 April 1900. At that time the population of American Samoa was 5698.\(^1\) The US Navy governed American Samoa as a naval base until 1951, when the US Department of the Interior took over. The first constitution was written by American Samoans in 1960 and emphasized restraint in development, and the preservation of Samoan ways and language. The international opinion during the 1960s, however, viewed "restraint" and "preservation" as neglect. Governor H. Rex Lee was appointed in 1961 and immediately began to correct the neglect of former administrations. It was his

\(^1\) Douglas, p. 11
assessment of the existing educational system which led him to recommend a massive overhaul.

In summary, the traditional education system places heavy emphasis on cooperation and on social conformity. Everything is looked at in terms of the social pattern. It provides no room for individualism, and the reference is never to individual experience or individual taste but always to the pattern. Precocity is the greatest of social sin and the traditional educational system coddles the laggard and punishes the precocious...²

Thus has traditional Samoan education been described. Traditional education was informal learning. Young people learned adult skills by observation and the process of acculturation. In Samoan society, those who stood out individually were brought back into line with the group, and those who fell behind were supported by the group.

Missionaries began schools in Samoa as part of their efforts. Within two years of their arrival in 1830 they were teaching Samoans to read the Scriptures, and Samoans were eager to learn. By 1900, there were fifty-seven village church schools (faifeau schools)

² Faleali'i, p. 51
in American Samoa. "The three R's were taught and some instruction in local geography also given."\(^3\) The local pastors ran the schools four days a week, from one to three hours a day, with varying degrees of success. Perhaps none of the schools could be classified as good according to modern standards, but nearly all Samoans were literate in their own language.

It was not until the US Navy took over administration of American Samoa in 1900 that an attempt was made to establish some form of secular public schooling. From 1903 to 1932, US Naval administration worked towards compulsory schooling and the goal of teaching Samoans the English language. The first government school began near the naval station at Pago Pago in 1904 with 40 students and an annual budget of $1000.\(^4\)

For the Manu'a group, there was only one secular school on Ta'u before the 1921 expansion. It was begun "in 1908, (and) operated off and on until 1915, depending on whether a teacher was available" or not.\(^5\) In 1915, however, a hurricane destroyed the building and it was not replaced for seven years.

The attempt at a coordinated educational system was begun in 1921, when the governor appointed a Board of Education. American Samoa was divided into school districts, with fifteen on Tutuila and four in the Manu'a group. The initiative continued until June of 1922, by which time nineteen elementary schools had been established and

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\(^3\)Sofa'i, p. 38
\(^4\)Vargo, p. 42
\(^5\)Schramm, et al, *Bold Experiment*, p. 17
1567 students were attending classes. Of the twenty-nine teachers, only five were palagi (foreigners).  

In 1932, the Barstow Foundation reviewed the school system in American Samoa and recommended two tracks for education. "First, to give all children of American Samoa an elementary education in the English language to open to them the vast field of knowledge which the Samoan language could not touch..." Second, to keep them conscious of being Samoan and proud of their culture, in the hopes of retaining it.

By 1943, American Samoa had a system of elementary education which consisted of forty-six schools and an English language curriculum. Only two of the schools, however, offered education above the fourth grade, and then only to the fifth and eighth grades. The Samoan teachers were trying to teach foreign ideas in a foreign language. They often knew little more than their students, and many saw teaching as a temporary stop on their way to other things. Contract teachers (palagi) brought in from the American mainland did not stay long enough in the islands to provide continuity in teaching, and the entire system lacked resources for improvement.

The school system was shattered during World War II. Many schools shut down completely and were allowed to fall into disrepair or used for military purposes. After the war, however, they were quickly returned to educational use. By 1951, there were again

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6Schramm, et al, Bold Experiment, p. 17
7Vargo, p. 37
8Vargo, p. 37
forty-six elementary schools, but also four junior high schools and one senior high school. A vocational training school for veterans and a one-year post-high school teacher training institute had also been established.9 In the next ten years, ten more elementary schools were added, as well as a combined elementary-secondary school which was to cater to palagi dependents, but actually had an enrollment almost half Samoan.10

The American Samoa education system had many problems in the 1960's. The villages of some schools were very remote, and sometimes isolated by the weather. The mainland textbooks were out-of-date and had little relevance to the Samoan situation, and only about one-third of the elementary graduates could be accommodated at the one senior high school in the territory. Because of the high population growth and resulting migration to the States in order to find jobs, it was important to prepare Samoan students for life in an English speaking environment. Learning English, however, was made all the more difficult by the lack of practice outside of classtime and the rote learning used in the schools, as well as the lack of English fluency of the teachers themselves. There was another side to the story, though, as the village school was also a warm and happy place, a place where useful skills were learned and useful social customs and behaviors practiced. The village school was well designed for the kind of culture in which Samoans had lived for centuries, until it began to change under the impact of the Western world.11

9Vargo, p. 18  
10Vargo, p. 18
When Governor H. Rex Lee arrived in American Samoa in May of 1961, he had a mandate from the Kennedy Administration to make up for the previous sixty-one years of neglect. The feeling, even of the United Nations, at this time was that the US needed to bring its territories into the twentieth century as quickly as possible. Lee had agreed to take the governorship for one year in order to prepare American Samoa for the 1962 conference of the South Pacific Commission. Upon arrival, however, Lee was "shocked" by the conditions he found. Five thousand Samoan children were attending village schools where many Samoan teachers were functionally illiterate in English, and none were fluent. Lee felt that drastic action was needed. "There was no time for waiting, no time for armchair patience - there had been too much of that for sixty years," he said. "It was obvious that what was needed was a sudden and explosive upgrading." The goal for Governor Lee was to increase English language proficiency for the students and teachers as quickly as possible, and to establish English as the language of instruction, in fact as well as theory. With rapid population growth, and heavy migration to Hawai`i and the mainland, American Samoan

11 Vargo, p. 24
12 Kaser, p. 58
13 Kaser, p. 58
14 Kaser, p. 58
15 Kaser, p. 58
students needed to be able to function and compete in an English speaking society.

With the support of Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, Lee was able to obtain a $40,000 grant from Congress to fund a feasibility study on bringing instructional television (ITV) to American Samoa. Lee was personally familiar with ITV as he had taken a course in conversational French via television,16 and he felt it to be a more reasonable alternative to firing all the local teachers and replacing them with contract teachers. He arranged for the National Association of Educational Broadcasters to send a four-man team to American Samoa for one month in late 1961 to conduct the study. The head of the team, Vernon Bronson, saw ITV as being the quickest and most economical means, after a high initial investment, of providing teacher training and quality instruction to students.17 Bronson, it may be noted, was also "one of the most vigorous promoters of ETV in the country."18

Lee returned to Congress in 1962 to request an operating budget for American Samoa which would allow for his improvements, including ITV. With the help of the chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Public Works, Ohio Congressman Michael J. Kirwan, Lee, Udall, and Bronson were able to convince Congress to provide a generous $10,000,000 operating budget for American Samoa, which included an appropriation of $1,583,000 for an ITV system. The initial appropriation was for one

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16Schramm, et al, Bold Experiment, p.25
17Kaser, p. 58
18Kaser, p. 58
three-channel system for elementary broadcasts, with a promise to provide for three more secondary channels should the system be successful. The two-story, air-conditioned building constructed to headquarter the ITV system was named the Michael J. Kirwan Broadcasting Center.19

Another phase of Lee's educational modernization program was consolidation of the over fifty village schools into twenty-six new schools. Of the new schools built by the government, twenty would be on Tutuila, five in the Manu'a group, and one on Swain's Island. Each consolidated school would be a cluster of fales (thatch-roofed Samoan buildings), but constructed of concrete, steel and glass. Each fale would contain two classrooms with blackboards and television sets.20 Two new high schools would also be built, one in the Manu'a group and one at Leone on Tutuila.

An aerial tramway was installed during the summer of 1964 from the harbor of Pago Pago to the top of Mount Alava. By this tramway, the materials were transported from the harbor to the top of the 1603 foot high mountain for building the 226 foot television tower and transmitter. This being accomplished, the first signal was beamed to Mount Alava on October 4th, just four days into the new school year.21 KZVK-TV was on the air. Congress was so impressed by the success and potential of this project that they appropriated $985,000 in February of the following year for the additional three-channel broadcasting system for high school instruction.22

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19Kaser, p. 58
20Kaser, p. 58
21Kaser, p. 58
22Kaser, p. 72
Television in American Samoa had several physical obstacles to overcome, aside from the building of the transmitter. The rough terrain caused numerous shadows and echoes in reception. This was handled by the use of high gain antennas placed on special masts, some at considerable distance from the schools, with coaxial cable to distribute the signal to the classrooms. By 1965, the Department of Education had 500 twenty-three inch, American-made television receivers\textsuperscript{23} which had been modified to resist the extreme humidity. They were mounted in plastic cabinets and did not use printed circuits unless coated with moisture proofing. Heavy-duty transformers and automatic lock-in of channel tuning, as well as separate eight inch speakers, were provided as standard on these sets. As a final protection against moisture damage, the sets were kept on twenty-four hours a day, with only the sound and brightness being turned down.\textsuperscript{24}

For the 1964-65 school year, there were only four US and two Samoan television teachers,\textsuperscript{25} and only four consolidated elementary schools were ready to utilize the new system. Within the next three years, twenty-four consolidated elementary schools were placed into service, as well as two new high schools,\textsuperscript{26} and the number of television teachers reached eighteen. Each of the new elementary

\textsuperscript{23}Berry, p. 24
\textsuperscript{24}Berry, p. 25
\textsuperscript{25}Berry, p. 25
\textsuperscript{26}Schramm, et al, \textit{Bold Experiment}, p. 47
schools had an US resident principal, who was to help implement the new curriculum based on television teaching and to attempt to establish the schools as community centers.

Another aspect of the new system was the division of a child's educational advancement into "levels", as opposed to the traditional "grades" in the elementary schools. It was observed by Vernon Bronson "that there was little difference in the achievement levels of the children in the first and second grades or those in the third and fourth grades".27 It was decided, therefore, to have four levels instead of eight grades. This cut the number of television lessons needed the first year in half, but also meant that lessons could not be replayed the next year since half the students would already have seen them. This also meant that the lessons had to be basic enough for the students new to the level, but also interesting enough for the students in the second year. The level system was a temporary measure and was gradually replaced with grades, beginning with first grade in 1966, and ending with eighth grade in 1974.

These were the honeymoon heydays of ITV in American Samoa. Congress had approved monies for another three-channel television system for the secondary level, the elementary schools were being consolidated, and electricity was being extended to all areas to run the television sets. During these beginning days, the ITV production staff produced approximately 170 eight to twenty-five minute programs a week, amounting to about one-third of all class time.28 KZVK also produced up to four in-service programs per week.

27Bronson, in Schramm, et al, Bold Experiment, p. 51
28Schramm, et al, Bold Experiment, p. 52
which lasted from thirty minutes to one hour. It was through these in-service programs that the educational planners hoped to increase the quality of their teaching staff.

The curriculum which was developed around the ITV system, however, contained elements which became controversial. For instance, it was charged that the curriculum had too little input from the classroom teachers, and therefore was not tailored to the individual needs of the students. It was also noted that the inflexibility of the broadcast schedule during these early days did not allow teachers the option of spending more or less time on a subject. Samoan teachers were given detailed written instructions on what to do before, during, and after a broadcast, which became a problem for teachers who were becoming more confident in their own abilities.

Opposition

In his study of ITV in American Samoa for the US Agency for International Development in 1965, Paul Berry found several community criticisms of the system. Some said that the students did not bring work home the way they had, or that the students did not learn to recite their lessons anymore. The "new math" was complained about, as was the poor discipline in the classrooms. Barry interpreted these complaints as reflecting objections to the US style of education which had been introduced, with its informality

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29 Berry, p. 77
and spontaneity among the students. The traditional "rows of mass recitation"\textsuperscript{30} were no longer practiced, and text-books were no longer used. The schools had transformed from an extension of Samoan society to a completely Western institution. Resistance to change was no less active in American Samoa than elsewhere.

The case of dissatisfaction with ITV in American Samoa is more complicated, however, than that. One of the goals of ITV was the in-service program of developing better, more qualified teachers. As the program went on, these better trained teachers were not given the opportunity to exercise their new skills. They remained cast in the role of television monitor, following the step-by-step lesson plans sent down from above. Teachers returning from stateside training programs questioned the American Samoan system where they became aides to the television teacher.

Problems also developed with the ITV staff, who became responsible for larger and larger workloads. "The harried ETV staff began to pump out the lessons with very little consideration of individual or group needs of students or teachers, and the supervisory function became one of seeing that instructions were followed."\textsuperscript{31} The team concept of curriculum development broke down. Stateside (US mainland) personnel rotated out and were replaced by others who did not necessarily understand the original concepts of the system. Samoans were not trained into positions as quickly as they could have been, and increases in statesider salaries to aid in retention of staff caused further displeasure among

\textsuperscript{30}Berry, p. 77
\textsuperscript{31}deMello, \textit{ETV in American Samoa}, p. 5
Samoans. Communication between contract and Samoan employees suffered. Samoan culture, which valued debate and elaborate oratory, contrasted with the ITV system hierarchy. Curriculum decisions and lessons came from on high, with very little consideration of feedback.

Opposition was also formed by other factors, such as the early contract teachers, who had been trained in traditional school systems, and created organized resistance to ITV before leaving Samoa. ITV took on a stigma of being a second best method of instruction as it was not used in Fia Iloa, the elite school set up for mainland dependents. And finally, when Governor Lee left office in 1967, his successor, Owen Aspinall, created such disruption of Lee's former projects that the National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB) decided to terminate their consulting services at the end of their contract in 1969. Aspinall had been trying to convince the University of Southern California into replacing the NAEB as consultants on the ITV system. He was unsuccessful with USC, and his alienation of the NAEB left the American Samoa ITV system without consultants. By December of 1969, Aspinall's successor, Governor John M. Haydon, was calling ITV a failure. With so much opposition, it came down to then Director of Education Milton deMello to take some action.

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32 deMello, *ITV in American Samoa*, p.6
33 Schramm, et al, *Bold Experiment*, p. 80
Reforms Reformed (An Era Passes)

In October of 1971, a task force on the role and future of ITV in American Samoa was formed by deMello. In its report, the committee stated: 'we no longer view "teaching done by means of TV" as "the core of all instruction in the system" and "...no longer consider that the sole purpose of classroom activities is to reinforce TV instruction.'\textsuperscript{34} This was the beginning of the end for Lee's great experiment. Director deMello presented the following recommendation for the 1972-1973 school year:

**RECOMMENDATION:**

TV should continue to be used as one of several instructional tools, but its role in providing the core of instruction should be diminished. Consequently, the number of telecasts in most instructional programs should be reduced, with TV used when it provides the best means of effecting learning.

**PLAN FOR IMPLEMENTATION:**

Number of TV telecasts will be reduced...\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{34}Milton deMello, *ETV in American Samoa*, p. 9

\textsuperscript{35}Milton deMello, *ETV in American Samoa*, p. 10
This was not a repudiation of the ITV program begun in 1964, deMello said, but "a capitalizing on all the positive things ITV had wrought, while keeping it in perspective."  

The attitude of change was clearly in the air in the early 1970's. In a 1972 survey of teachers and students, Lloyd Clark, coordinator of ETV, found that elementary school teachers and students approved of ITV far more than high school teachers and students. It is interesting to note, however, that only nine percent of all the teachers who responded wanted to do away with ITV entirely. Ninety percent of elementary teachers and administrators wanted to keep ITV as it was or change only some of its job.

Final Sign-off

The final factor in the decision to stop Department of Education (DOE) production of ITV came from the fiscal quarter. In the financially lean times of the early 1970's, deMello had nowhere else to look for extra money to buy books, and other classroom supplies, than at the ITV budget. Contrary to earlier expectations, ITV had not proven itself to be more economical than other systems of education. Therefore, by 1973 when deMello left Samoa,

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36 Milton deMello, *ETV in American Samoa*, p. 18
37 Schramm, et al, *Bold Experiment*, p.86
39 Kaser, p. 58

22
cannibalization of the ITV budget had led to a decrease of palagi ITV staff from 125 to 25, with a corresponding decrease of Samoan ITV staff. Chief Nikolao Pula and Mere Betham, who succeeded deMello in short order, continued to cut the ITV budget until, finally, the DOE did not finance ITV production from 1976 onwards. ITV in American Samoa has continued since that time as rerun lessons from previous years, and programs imported from the mainland.

Although financial considerations provided the final impetus to terminate ITV production, the demise of ITV had several factors of varying importance. To begin with, the American Samoa Department of Education did not start out as an enthusiastic supporter of the ITV system. In fact, many contract teachers, trained in traditional educational systems, were openly opposed to ITV, and were able to leave an organized opposition behind them when they left. The ITV system itself was gradually working itself out of a job with its teacher in-service element. Through the in-service program, Samoan teachers acquired new skills and confidence, which made up for the lack which Governor Lee had noted on his arrival. At the same time, instead of allowing classroom teachers to use their newly acquired skills, ITV constrained them and allowed almost no input from them into the curriculum planning. The constraints of the highly scheduled school days, and central planning of all curriculum and materials also chafed the new contract teachers and Samoan teachers returning after being trained on the US mainland. Unfortunately, the team approach of teaching never developed between the classroom teachers and the television teachers.

\[40^\text{Faleali'i, p. 89}\]
By 1971, classroom teachers, especially in the secondary schools, were demanding inclusion in the implementation and planning of the curriculum. Primary school teachers liked ITV overall, but showed a preference towards greater flexibility in program scheduling and the choice of whether to use a broadcast or not. As we have seen this led to the recommendation and decision by deMello for the 1972-1973 school year to remove ITV as the basis for all instruction in the American Samoa school system. DeMello was not an ITV champion, and he had no reason to push the retention of ITV as the sole source of curriculum for the system. In fact, deMello felt that the situation in which ITV had been introduced had been effectively altered. American Samoa had changed a great deal from 1961 to 1972, due to massive expenditures of federal money on infrastructure and expansion of the government. No longer a backwater, American Samoa was now one of the most developed areas in the South Pacific, and deMello felt that it was time to retain the best of ITV, but to respond also to the changing situation. Lack of support for ITV from the Governors of American Samoa after Lee also shook the position of ITV.
Success?

Instructional television was the justification for the massive overhaul of the American Samoa educational system, and through it, American Samoa itself. Rote memorization was replaced by conceptual learning, situationally pertinent educational materials were developed (as opposed to importing materials from elsewhere), and the organization and structure of the system were upgraded. At the same time, a modern and impressive infrastructure was built, transportation systems were improved, and electricity was extended throughout the territory. The question remains, however, of whether or not ITV was successful.

To answer this question, one must first discover what the goals were, and how to measure their fulfillment. The stated goal of the Department of Education in introducing ITV was to increase proficiency in English language skills, and, by making English the language of instruction, bring the standard of the school system up to mainland norms. The fast growing population of American Samoa was increasingly moving out of Samoa, to Hawai`i or the US mainland. This meant that they needed to be able to function and compete in an English speaking society. ITV was needed in order to provide lessons in English, as the Samoan teachers were not fluent enough to do so. English language ability, therefore, was a major goal in bringing the Samoan school system up to mainland standards.
So, what was the level of English proficiency before television? Unfortunately, there is not much data. Most observers at the time agree that it was not very good. Linguist Bryson Wallace visited American Samoa during the 1963-64 school year. He concluded that the "elementary-school teachers...have an appallingly low ability to speak English and practically no ability to teach it," and "the average matriculating Samoan in high school has the reading ability of a typical Stateside sixth-grader, but observation reveals that he can only speak a handful of coherent English phrases and sentences."41 The initiating authorities of the ITV program, however, did not do a baseline study of the students in the school system against which progress could have been measured. This is not to say that no standardized tests were given to students in American Samoa. Tests were given going back as far as 1931. They are interesting, but give us no basis for comparison of pre-ITV scores with post-ITV scores.

The first tests were Stanford achievement tests given to teachers and teacher-candidates in December 1931 and 1932, and to all public school students in May 1935. The results of the tests for the teachers averaged an educational level of 5.7, scoring highest in arithmetic and lowest in reading. The student scores showed a first grade academic level for students aged ten and a half, and went up to a fourth grade level for those aged seventeen and a half. These test scores, along with another Stanford test given to ninth graders in 1954, can not be used as a baseline, given, as they were, to different generations and lacking information on the test's relationship to the curriculum.

41Wallace, pp. 168-9
In the search for a baseline against which to measure progress in English language skills, Wilbur Schramm and several members of the American Samoa teaching staff visited Swains Island in 1972\textsuperscript{42}. Swains Island was the only public school in American Samoa which had never had television instruction. Using a test which had been developed by the American Samoa Department of Education, and tried out in many situations, the team found that only three of fifteen students who had received all of their education on Swain's Island could make any oral English response at all, even though it was supposed to be the major language of instruction. Only nine scored above guessing in comprehension, and only five in reading. All the students who had spent time in the new schools on Tutuila could speak some English, and those with more experience in the new schools did well. These results, when compared with results from other rural schools with television, such as Asu and Lauli'i, suggested that television learning had brought about a remarkable improvement in English ability. (See Table 1)

\textsuperscript{42}Schramm, et al, Bold Experiment, pp 117-119
Table 1

Oral English and Reading Scores of American Samoa Students in Schools With and Without Television, 1972

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group Tested and size</th>
<th>Understanding of spoken word</th>
<th>Speaking</th>
<th>Reading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Asu school (TV)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades 2-3 (N=5)</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 4 (N=8)</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lauli'i school (TV)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 3 (N=14)</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>69.6</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 6 (N=15)</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>102.7</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Swains school (no TV)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades 4-6 (N=10)</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>10.0^a</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Wilbur Schramm, memorandum to Milton deMello, director of education, Dec. 27, 1972, Department of Education files, Pago Pago

NOTE: Maximum possible scores: Understanding of spoken word, 50; Speaking, 114; Reading, 32.

^a Mean for the only three students who could make a spoken response in English.

Another interesting aspect of the Swains case is clearly noted when comparing those students who had ITV experience with those who did not. Although the sample is small, we can divide the Swains Island students into two groups; those who had studied with ITV will be in Group A, and those who never had ITV experience will be in Group B. As can be seen in Table 2, with only one exception, the students who had experience with the new system had gained in their English language skills year after year. Those with no exposure to the new system and ITV did not have the same level of skill.
Table 2
Comparative Scores in Oral English and Reading of Swains Island Students With and Without Instructional Television Experience, 1972

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group Tested and size</th>
<th>Years of ETV</th>
<th>Understanding of spoken word</th>
<th>Speaking</th>
<th>Reading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual scores in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group A (N=5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean scores of Group B</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>10.0c</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grades 4-6 (N=10)b

SOURCE: Wilbur Schramm, memorandum to Milton deMello, director of education, Dec. 27, 1972, Department of Education files, Pago Pago
NOTE: Maximum possible scores: Understanding of spoken word, 50; Speaking, 114; Reading, 32.

The Swain's Island experiment was not the only attempt to measure the progress of students during the years of the ITV project. Standardized tests were regularly given starting in 1970. It is unfortunate, however, that this testing did not begin earlier, as it leaves unrecorded the impact of ITV during the eventful first six years of operation. During these initial years only small scale testing was done.

What can we learn from these early tests? About the middle of the 1966-67 school year, the Gates Reading Survey was given to students in the fifth through twelfth grades. This was a time when ITV had been in the high schools for over a year, and in the elementary schools for almost two years. The results of the survey showed that all of the students read at about the fourth grade level,
and that the elementary teachers read at about the fifth grade level. (See Table 3) This unusual result could suggest that some ceiling effect had taken place, either due to the ability of the teachers or to the systematic progression through the Tate syllabus. It can also be noted that the reading level of twelfth grade students remained consistent with previous tests and observations, even though universal high school education was now in place. In any case, the Gates Survey clearly illustrates one of the transition problems towards testing and instruction in English, and provides some insight into the obstacles to instantaneous reform.

| Table 3 |
| Gates Reading Survey Scores of American Samoa Students in Grades 5 - 12 and Elementary Teachers, 1967 |
| (Grade equivalents) |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group Tested and size</th>
<th>Vocabulary</th>
<th>Comprehension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grades 5-6 (N=960)</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades 7-8 (N=260)</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 9 (N=565)</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 10 (N=316)</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 11 (N=254)</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary teachers (N= 237)</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In the absence of a baseline from which to work, oral English tests based on the Tate syllabus were given in January 1969 and 1970 to students in third and fourth grade. These tests compared the
skills of students in the two grades, but also made it possible to look at the progress of the 1969 third grade as they became the 1970 fourth grade. The results shown in Table 4 reveal that the older students did better than the younger, not surprisingly, and that there was remarkable progress during the year between tests for the 1969 third grade. Surprisingly, though, it can also be seen that the 1970 third grade did significantly better on the test than their predecessors. Not much can be drawn from this single incidence, but a continuing trend in this direction could have indicated a significant improvement in the educational system. It can also be concluded that the students were indeed making ranked progress in English language skills by this time, as opposed to the earlier Gates Reading Survey.

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response category</th>
<th>Grade 3 1969 (N=832)</th>
<th>Grade 3 1970 (N=459)</th>
<th>Grade 4 1969 (N=631)</th>
<th>Grade 4 1970 (N=476)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>49.6%</td>
<td>55.0%</td>
<td>61.2%</td>
<td>72.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Department of Education files, Pago Pago
NOTE: Response categories are as follows:
A, complete and correct sentence using the desired grammatical feature.
B, complete and correct sentence, but without using the desired grammatical feature.
C, Incomplete or incorrect sentence, but correctly using the desired grammatical feature.
D, any other response or no response.
In 1970, the American Samoa Department of Education began giving Science Research Associates (SRA) standardized tests. In 1971 and 1972, the last years of full implementation for the ITV curriculum, these tests were given to all students in fifth through twelfth grade. After a break in 1973, though, the DOE continued giving the SRA tests to only eighth and twelfth graders.

In Tables 5 and 6 we see the SRA scores in various subjects for the eighth and twelfth grades from 1972 to 1979. For our purposes, these scores represent the level of achievement for the last year of full ITV and the succeeding five years for which we have data. From 1973 onwards, ITV was limited to only a few subjects and had an enrichment role in the high schools. In the elementary schools, its role was reduced, and most of the programming consisted of re-runs from years past and imports from the American mainland. After 1976, the DOE no longer financed the production of ITV programming.

Looking at Table 5, it becomes apparent that the scores between 1972 and 1979 eighth graders show a negligible difference. There is no significant gain or loss. The scores for twelfth graders in Table 6, however, show a very modest gain in all but science. This gain is so small as to be almost insignificant. It is unfortunate that we do not have SRA scores for the years preceding and during the ITV project, and that the available test data deal almost exclusively with English language ability. We can not, therefore, conclusively compare the rate of academic progress in the various subjects between the ITV curriculum and afterwards. From all accounts, however, the rate
of progress under ITV must have been very great indeed when compared with the relative stagnation afterwards.

Table 5

*SRA Achievement Test Scores of American Samoa Students in Grade 8, 1972 - 1979*

(Growth scores)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Reading</th>
<th>Language Arts</th>
<th>Mathematics</th>
<th>Social Studies</th>
<th>Science</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>601</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Science Research Associates, annual reports on American Samoa test results, 1970-72, 1974-79, Department of Education files, Pago Pago

NOTE: SRA tests were not given in 1973. The 1978 test results are in doubt, and therefore not used.

Table 6

*SRA Achievement Test Scores of American Samoa Students in Grade 12, 1972 - 1979*

(Growth scores)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Reading</th>
<th>Language Arts</th>
<th>Mathematics</th>
<th>Social Studies</th>
<th>Science</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Science Research Associates, annual reports on American Samoa test results, 1970-72, 1974-79, Department of Education files, Pago Pago

NOTE: SRA tests were not given in 1973. The 1978 test results are in doubt, and therefore not used.
Constituent Acceptance?

Part of the process of determining the success of ITV's integration in American Samoa is to take into account the reaction and level of acceptance of teachers and students. Although there are problems with opinion surveys, these are the only instruments we have available to gauge attitudes at that time. Between 1972 and 1976, four opinion surveys on ITV were given. They allow us see a change over time towards ITV during the period of its decline, and give us clues as to how these attitudes developed.

In 1972, Lloyd Clark, the ETV coordinator for American Samoa, conducted a survey of teachers' and students' opinions on ITV. He gave the survey to 243 teachers and administrators, and to 1915 upper elementary students and 1624 high school students. The results showed that the majority of teachers and students in elementary school favored ITV, whereas the opposite was true in the high schools (See Tables 7 and 8).
Table 7

Teachers' Attitudes Toward Educational Television in American Samoa, 1972

(Percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Item and response</th>
<th>Grades 1 - 4</th>
<th>Grades 5 - 8</th>
<th>High school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Generally speaking, how well do you think children have learned from the television lessons presented this year?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good or excellent</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television is used too much.</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree or Strongly agree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television is used in the wrong way.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree or Strongly agree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Lloyd Clark, "Results of Instructional Television Survey," memorandum to Milton deMello, director of education, American Samoa, Pago Pago, June 1, 1972, pp. 3, 6-7, 10

Table 8

Students' Attitudes Toward Educational Television in American Samoa, 1972

(Percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Item and response</th>
<th>Grades 5 - 8</th>
<th>High school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I can learn better when we have/don't have a television lesson.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you want to have television lessons in school next year?</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many television lessons do you want in mathematics each week?</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many television lessons do you want in science each week?</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Lloyd Clark, "Results of Instructional Television Survey," memorandum to Milton deMello, director of education, American Samoa, Pago Pago, June 1, 1972, pp. 1-2

Also part of the 1972 survey was a portion which asked about the preferences of teachers and administrators towards the use of
ITV (See Table 9). Educators were given a choice of four ways to use ITV, or could suggest their own alternative. In Plan A, TV would present and develop the curriculum, as it had since 1964. Under Plan B, TV would be reduced to only introducing the subjects, which classroom teachers would then develop. Plan C called for classroom teachers to introduce and develop the subjects, with TV used only as enrichment. Finally, Plan D would do away with ITV all together. The results showed that the majority of elementary educators preferred Plan A, while the majority of high school educators preferred some change. Only nine percent of the total respondents, however, wanted to do away with ITV entirely at this time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject and grade levels of administrators and teachers</th>
<th>As at present (A)</th>
<th>Prefer TV to be used in this subject: For introduction only (B)</th>
<th>For enrichment only (C)</th>
<th>Not at all (D)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Language arts:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary school</td>
<td>58.1%</td>
<td>26.9%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>5.4%b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary school</td>
<td>58.1</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social studies:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary school</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary school</td>
<td>57.6</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Lloyd Clark, "Results of Instructional Television Survey," memorandum to Milton deMello, director of education, American Samoa, Pago Pago, June 1, 1972, pp. 4, 8-9

a Language arts were not offered in high school.

b Not all the rows add to 100 percent due to the educators who expressed no opinion.
The surveys which followed in 1973, 1974 and 1976 contained similar lines of questioning, and showed similar results. They are more important, however, for the trends that are displayed. For instance, while sixty-seven percent of the fifth graders surveyed in 1973 felt that they learned better with ITV, this margin had whittled down to thirty percent by the time they became eighth graders in 1976. From the same class, sixty-nine percent wanted to have television lessons the next year in 1973, but only twenty-five percent wanted them in 1976 (See Table 10). This trend, which held true for all classes in the survey, showed a growing disfavor with ITV as the classes moved up into high school. It can also be fairly noted that students were having a lessening experience with ITV during this time, which could also have contributed to their lack of approval.

A possible explanation for this unfavorable attitude towards ITV in the upper grades has been hypothesized by Schramm43 and Faleali'i (see below). Both found statistical evidence from the surveys which showed a correlation between the professional training of teachers and disfavor with ITV. In other words, the more highly trained the teachers were, the more likely they were to object to electronic displacement by the ITV teacher. Since the most highly trained teachers were in the high schools, and they were more likely to treat the ITV lessons as an intrusion, the students in high school came to see the ITV lessons as more of an intrusion also. This line of reasoning also carried over to the idea that teachers in some areas of

American Samoa would feel less of a need for the help of the ITV program than teachers in other areas.

Table 10

American Samoa Students' Changing Attitudes Toward Instructional Television
Over Time and by Grade Level, 1972-1976

(Percent Agreeing)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade or Levels</th>
<th>1972</th>
<th>1973</th>
<th>1974</th>
<th>1976</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

WANT TO HAVE TELEVISION CLASSES NEXT YEAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade or Levels</th>
<th>1972</th>
<th>1973</th>
<th>1974</th>
<th>1976</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


NOTE: During these years the Samoa schools were completing their transition from a system of levels to a system of eight grades. In 1972 and 1973 there was no eighth level. Level 6 in 1972 comprised grades 6 and 7, and level 7 was grade 8. In 1973 level 7 comprised grades 7 and 8.44

Perhaps one of the most complete surveys of teachers' attitudes towards ITV was done in 1975 by Logoleo Tele'a V. Faleali'i (then Director of Secondary Education), who distributed a questionnaire to all public school teachers in American Samoa. Faleali'i wanted to determine the relationship of teachers' attitudes

44Schramm, et al, Bold Experiment, p. 96
to eleven independent variables, and to evidence of the institutionalization of ITV in American Samoa education. The eleven variables of teaching experience, in-service training, educational background, teaching level, subject taught, district of employment, sex, salary, administrative support of ITV, and age were tested to determine their relationship to attitudes towards ITV. It should also be noted that Faleali'i was aware of a need to consider a teacher's social status. Those who were matai, holders of honorary titles signifying the leadership of their families, could have a strong influence on those who were not.45

Faleali'i's questionnaire was designed to look at teachers' attitudes towards ITV as an instructional medium, as a teacher training medium, as a threat to classroom teachers' job security, and as a future instructional medium in American Samoa. He was able to obtain a reliability coefficient of .84, and a response rate of 68.6%.46 The responses were subjected to a statistical package computer program at the University of the Pacific, which looked for frequency and percentage distribution of responses, as well as probability of levels of significance.47

Survey responses indicated that there was no relationship between the length of teaching experience and attitude towards ITV. An examination of the mean scores, however, hinted at a trend for teachers with four to six years of experience to have a more favorable attitude. Significantly, because of a high (43%)48 annual

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45Faleali'i, p. 67
46Faleali'i, p. 132
47Faleali'i, p. 132
48Faleali'i, p. 133
turnover rate for secondary teachers, those with four to six years of experience were mostly found in the primary schools. Faleali'i hypothesized that a correlation might have been found if primary school teachers had been considered alone. He further suggested that the high secondary turnover rate could be a factor in the lack of favorable attitudes toward ITV in the high schools.

In-service training was found to have a significant relationship with attitudes towards ITV. "(T)he perceptions of teachers of the usefulness of in-service training they had in the use of television in the classrooms were negatively related to their attitudes toward ITV as an instructional medium,"\(^{49}\) as a teacher training medium, as a threat to job security, and as a future instructional tool. Faleali'i felt that it was necessary to convince teachers of the utility of ITV, and to provide on-going skills training for ITV use.

The educational background of teachers showed a significant relationship with attitudes towards ITV as an instructional and teacher training medium, but not with attitudes towards ITV as a threat to job security or as a future instructional tool. The number of years of college education for a teacher had a negative relationship to their attitudes towards the instructional and teacher training aspects of ITV. Faleali'i suggests that this is because teachers with more education have more confidence in themselves and their abilities. In the American Samoa situation, the more educated teachers were found in the high schools. The teachers with less formal education, such as those found in the primary schools, preferred the help of the more experienced television teachers.

\(^{49}\)Faleali'i, p. 134
The level of teachers' school assignments were significant factors in attitudes towards ITV as an instructional and teacher training medium, but, again, not with attitudes towards ITV as a threat to job security or as a future instructional tool. "Elementary teachers were highly favorable toward ITV and were different significantly in their attitudes toward ITV from their secondary and contract peers." This division between the primary and secondary educators was an expression of several factors. Faleali'i felt that it may have reflected formal academic training, as well as salary and resistance to change. It may also have been "a function of mutual relationship between classroom teachers and initial elementary school principals and supervisors who seemed to have been highly favorable of ITV in American Samoa."

A teacher's subject area was found to have no significant bearing on their attitudes towards ITV. The response mean scores, however, were analyzed for attitude trends in groups of teachers. Faleali'i found that math teachers had generally favorable attitudes towards ITV, while teachers of areas such as homemaking and typewriting, et cetera, did not. "Since these teachers have almost no association with ITV in their classes, it may be assumed that their low attitudes are attributed to no association with the medium." Once again, primary school teachers showed the most favorable attitude towards ITV.

Faleali'i found no significant relationship between social status and attitudes toward ITV. Faleali'i had suggested that teachers

50 Faleali'i, p. 137
51 Faleali'i, p. 138
52 Faleali'i, p. 139
possessing matai titles could influence the attitudes of teachers without titles. A matai title is granted to an individual in recognition of one's position as a leader of the family and community. It was a popular feeling that community leaders disliked the use of ITV. Faleali'i's results refute this notion. "In fact, the mean scores of matai teachers were invariably higher than mean scores of non-matai teachers; an indication of a trend that teachers with matai titles may be favoring ITV more than teachers without matai titles."\(^5\)

Geographic difference was found to be a significant factor in attitudes towards ITV as a future instructional medium. This difference was found in the Manu'a district, where the teachers were mostly on their own, and did not use ITV. "The concentrated efforts of supervisors and ITV specialists in Tutuila apparently leave the Manu'a teachers unaffected."\(^4\) The lack of ITV utilization seems to be a significant factor in negative attitudes towards ITV. As seen earlier with homemaking and typewriting, teachers who did not use ITV had the lowest opinion of it. Geographic differences within Tutuila, where ITV was uniformly in use, made virtually no attitudinal differences. This finding is in contrast to Schramm, et al, who found that teachers in Pago Pago had less use for ITV than their colleagues in more remote areas, such as Manu'a.\(^5\)

The sex of teachers had no significant relationship with attitudes towards the four aspects of ITV featured in the questionnaire. A trend, however, revealed by examination of the

\(^3\)Faleali'i, p. 140
\(^4\)Faleali'i, pp. 140-141
\(^5\)Schramm, et al, Bold Experiment, p. 101
mean scores showed that women tended to favor ITV more than men.

Salary was found to make a significant difference in the attitudes of teachers towards ITV as an instructional medium and a teacher training medium. This is another aspect of the negative relationship found between educational background and teaching level, and attitudes towards ITV. Those teachers on the higher end of the pay-scale were the contract teachers, with the primary teachers on the bottom, and the secondary teachers in the middle. Faleali'i stated that the more experienced teachers with greater salaries, were less favorable to ITV. They were also the opinion leaders against ITV, and had influence over less experienced teachers.

The support of administrators for ITV was found to be of significance in teachers attitudes towards all four aspects of ITV featured in the survey. Elementary principals were overwhelmingly in favor of ITV, and this reflected in teacher responses about administrative support. Faleali'i found that the administrators directly affected teacher attitudes towards ITV.

Age was not found to be a significant factor in attitude towards ITV. However, the mean scores of answers by age group revealed a trend for older teachers to be more accepting of ITV. "It is, therefore, likely that the favorable attitudes exhibited by elementary teachers in this study may be attributed to the age of the teachers in that school level." In other words, age contributes somewhat to the factors affecting a positive attitude towards ITV.

56Faleali'i, p. 144
As for the four features of ITV highlighted in the survey, Faleali'i found that as an instructional and teacher training medium, ITV was acceptable to classroom teachers. The various significant factors mentioned above revealed that primary school teachers' attitudes were more highly favorable than secondary school and contract teachers' attitudes. ITV was not perceived as a threat to teachers' job security, and it was seen as a tool for future education in American Samoa; except in Manu'a where "teachers seemed to enjoy the privacy of an off-island environment and would not like ITV to invade this privacy now or in the future."57

Faleali'i concluded that "(t)here is evidence that ITV as a future instructional medium in American Samoa has been institutionalized in the public schools of American Samoa, especially the elementary schools in Tutuila."58 He also found, however, that there was a decline in ITV as a source of instruction in American Samoa which suggested that the original expectations for ITV had not been realized. This lack of acceptance for ITV in some quarters could, therefore, affect future institutionalization of other instructional innovations. For our purposes, it is interesting to note that Faleali`i's study shows a high level of support for ITV in some form by most educational quarters, despite the controversy and coming as it did at the end of DOE financing of ITV production in American Samoa.

57Faleali'i, p. 149
58Faleali'i, p. 149
Lessons for the Future

Since the Second World War, the global process of decolonization has led to the establishment of political independence in most areas of the world. This independence has not been followed by prosperity for many countries, where the vast majority of the populations live in poverty. Illiteracy and the lack of basic educational skills stand as hurdles to economic growth and social welfare. The goals of developing universal primary education and improving secondary and higher education in these countries are, however, made more difficult to obtain by the shortages of textbooks, school buildings, and qualified teachers. Countries already struggling with economic hardships are facing rapid population growth, and curriculums borrowed from former colonial powers which are not always relevant to local life. In these situations, educational planners have seen great potential in broadcast technology. Based on the American Samoa experience, however, what potential does instructional television have for developing countries? And, what suggestions can be made based on the lessons of American Samoa?

To briefly recap the preceding text, ITV was used in American Samoa as a catalyst to restructure and improve the educational system. Its role in this restructuring was to become the center of the curriculum, responsible for development and teaching of all lessons in all levels, with the classroom teachers being responsible for only
follow-up to the television lessons. Several things became apparent about the potential of ITV:

1) television could teach,

2) the price of operation was a fixed cost, and

3) television could provide effective in-service training.

Television can teach. Unfortunately, we do not have a baseline of test scores from which to compare the pre-ITV with the ITV education system in American Samoa. All evidence, however, suggests that not only was the ITV curriculum effective, but that it was an improvement on the previous system of solely classroom instruction. Test results have illustrated the kind of advances made in English language skills under ITV (See Table 4). Also, standardized tests given before and after 1972 show remarkably little variation between the ITV curriculum and the post-ITV curriculum (See Tables 5 and 6).

The price of ITV operation is a fixed cost. Television is an expensive tool. Initial start-up and maintenance costs are high. The development and production of quality lessons are expensive. The only saving factor is the relatively low cost of expanding the system to reach more students. Being a fixed cost, the wider the student population reached, the lower the cost per student. For those countries which can afford the cost of operation, this can be an attractive option.

ITV can provide effective in-service training for under-trained teachers. This is another attractive feature for those countries which
can afford the operating costs of an ITV system. The classroom teachers learn from the ITV teachers, both by observing their methods and organization of lessons, and by watching in-service sessions prepared by the ITV staff. This can provide the equivalent of teaching certificates to under-trained teachers for moderate additional costs.

Although the American Samoa case verified the above potentials for ITV, it also revealed several lessons. Interested educational planners need to be aware of the large and continuing cost of ITV. In American Samoa, the ITV system was started and paid for by the US Federal government until the recession of the early 1970's. At that time Congress reduced the funding for American Samoa. The government of American Samoa could not absorb the cost of ITV's operation, and its only option was to reduce service, in order to re-allocate the money. The American Samoa system did not receive the benefit of the economies of scale that a fixed operating cost can imply, as the student population was just too small. Other developing countries, however, which can afford the costs of operation and have larger student populations would be able to expand the system with continuously decreasing per unit costs. In American Samoa, the cost of ITV became an additional cost above the existing structure of the classroom instructors.

The American Samoa experience also demonstrated that some teachers feel less of a need for the help of the ITV teacher, and will in fact see ITV as an intrusion. This was especially true in the secondary schools, where there was a higher turnover of teachers who tended to be better educated than their primary school
counterparts. This was also true for geographic regions, where some saw the broadcasts as an intrusion from the outside. The plan in American Samoa was to provide a team approach to curriculum development, with the ITV staff working in partnership with the classroom instructors in order to provide relevance to the local situation. This did not happen. The classroom teachers had little say in the pacing and content of lessons, and therefore came to see the ITV system as being unresponsive to the students' needs. Educational planners need to keep in mind that teachers will only support an ITV system which they see as being useful, responsive, and relevant. The goal should be to establish a sense of ownership among the teachers.

The American Samoa system proved the need for careful planning before implementing an ITV system. Planners need to establish what point they are at in their educational system, what their goals are, and how they are going to get there. In the American Samoa case, Governor Lee's administration was so appalled by the education system that they did not even test where the students were at before deciding on massive overhaul. This made it impossible to accurately judge any improvement. The goals of the DOE were to bring the education system up to the standards of a US mainland school, using English as the language of instruction. Parents in American Samoa wanted their children to be able to compete with other Americans for jobs. This came in conflict, however, with the desire of American Samoans to preserve Samoan language and culture. The educational planners in American Samoa decided to use ITV as part of their restructuring because they saw it as a means of quickly providing quality lessons in English without bringing in
mainlanders to replace most of the Samoan teachers. They also saw it as a way of improving the skills of classroom teachers through an inservice program. They failed, however, to plan on the rising expectations of the improved teachers. ITV was needed to carry the main burden of the curriculum as long as the teachers and materials available were inadequate, but with the progress of the teachers and materials, ITV no longer needed to drive the curriculum. In American Samoa ITV was used as the core of the educational system during a transitional period, after which it has become an enrichment tool.

Finally, the introduction of ITV can have effects outside of the schools. Broadcast waves can be received by anyone with the proper equipment. This can be good in that lessons can be extended to the general population, but it can also create a demand for other types of broadcast services, such as entertainment. Very few developing countries can afford to provide all of their own entertainment programming. Television series from the outside are usually substituted, and can influence changes in the society. This happened in American Samoa, where the ITV system quickly branched out into night time entertainment broadcasting. The entertainment broadcasts have proven very popular in both American and Western Samoa, and have influenced values and buying habits.59

Conclusion

The introduction of ITV as the basis of the educational curriculum in American Samoa was so radical that it caught world attention. Even today, twenty-one years after the end of complete implementation, the debate continues as to whether the experiment was successful or not. In this paper we have briefly looked at the history of the project, and at some of the only test scores and attitudinal surveys taken during the project. Keeping in mind that there are serious problems with inserting American standardized tests into Samoan schools (and therefore we have not commented on the level of Samoan scores compared to US mainland scores), and that attitudinal surveys also have detractions, we have noticed several things. First and foremost, we have seen that television can teach. It did so successfully, and its ability to teach was not questioned by American Samoa teachers, only the potential maintained that the classroom teachers could do it better and be more responsive to students' needs. Second, the majority of teachers supported ITV, even though they would have liked to have more input into its direction and use. Most would have preferred it to be in an enrichment role. Third, the students had a declining approval rating for ITV as they proceeded into the higher grades, which reflected the same in their teachers.

But, was ITV successful? Yes, ITV was successful in some areas, and no, ITV was not successful in other areas. ITV was successful in
providing quality lessons in English by professional teachers who could serve as role models to Samoan teachers. It was criticized, however, as being too hastily produced at times due to heavy work loads on the ITV staff. It was also criticized as being unresponsive to classroom teachers and students. The in-service program over ITV allowed many teachers to improve their teaching skills, but, at the same time, the ITV bureaucracy resisted any change which would allow them to use their new skills. ITV provided a radical change in the education system, but had no baseline from which to measure progress, and no mechanism for continuous review. It was also not able to produce large savings in education costs, as it became another service level on top of a large existing infrastructure. In other words, yes, the ITV experiment was successful in improving English language skills and in teaching the curriculum. It was not, however, capable of responding to the changes which were happening in American Samoa, partly in response to ITV itself.

In the debate on whether technology should drive the educational curriculum or should the curriculum drive technology, the case of ITV in American Samoa has a mixed review. It is a successful example of technology being used with massive restructuring as a catalyst to radically improve an education system. It drove the curriculum. The very controversy around its implementation sparked a healthy debate on education. During the process of the restructuring the technology became an enrichment tool. It was driven by the curriculum. The role of technology in education then could be seen as a catalyst to debate and change, as well as a transitional element for developing areas.
Education has changed a great deal since the days of the Congress of the Confederation, but our commitment to quality remains. Today we value it as necessary for economic survival, as well as for good government and happiness. Technology has become a way of expanding our range of communication, and, thereby, a means of providing more equal opportunities to quality education. It is a "means of education", which the Ordinance of 1787 foresaw should "forever be encouraged."
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