This report outlines some problems and questions regarding the employment of teacher aides and other auxiliary personnel and proposes some solutions. Three papers are included. "The Role of Auxiliary Personnel in School Programs and Processes" reports that employing auxiliary personnel allows teachers more time on tasks of a higher professional order and enables greater individualization of the schools' instructional staff, program, and process, but reports no evidence of any major positive impact on the quality of education. "The Preparation and Certification of Auxiliary Personnel" distinguishes between instructional and school aides and concludes that auxiliary personnel may perform a valid function in education if they are properly trained and the teachers are aware of the tasks they are expected to perform. "Implications for the Economic Status of Teachers" states that (Canadian) teachers should examine the issues and trends respecting auxiliary personnel, agree on organizational forms and objectives, and place themselves in a position of action toward the changes in the educational milieu. Statistics on teacher aides in Canadian schools are appended. (JCN)
IMPLICATIONS OF THE EMPLOYMENT
OF AUXILIARY SCHOOL PERSONNEL

John Enns
Frank Dillon
Stirling McDowell

Canadian Teachers' Federation
110 Argyle Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 1B4
November 1974
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geraldine Channon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Role of Auxiliary Personnel in School Programs and Processes</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Enns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Preparation and Certification of Auxiliary Personnel</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Dillon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications for the Economic Status of Teachers</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stirling McDowell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix. Teacher Aides in Canadian Schools</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education, Science and Culture Division, Statistics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PREFACE

For more than a decade teachers have been wrestling with the question of whether persons who are not professionally trained and certified in education belong in the schools and, if they do, what their functions should be and what relationship they should have to the organized teaching profession.

The purpose of this report is to outline some of the problems and questions that surround the employment of teacher aides and other auxiliary personnel, and to propose some solutions. The main body of the report consists of three papers prepared in sequence by John Enns, Assistant Director, Personnel Services, Manitoba Teachers' Society; Frank Dillon, formerly a staff member of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation and now Administrative Co-ordinator of the Qualifications Evaluation Council of Ontario; and Dr. Stirling McDowell, General Secretary of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation. In addition, an introductory section was prepared by Geraldine Channon, Executive Assistant, Canadian Teachers' Federation.

An appendix containing the latest statistics on paid and voluntary teacher aides is included through the kind permission of the Education Division of Statistics Canada.

It should be stressed that the opinions expressed in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official policies of the teachers' associations of Canada.
INTRODUCTION

Geraldine Channon

The three papers in this report were written in sequence, with each successive author taking into account the work that the preceding author had done. The papers consider these questions: Should auxiliary personnel be employed in the schools and, if so, in what capacity? Is there any evidence that using teacher aides improves the quality of education? If they are employed, should they be trained, and if so, where and by whom? If they are employed to perform tasks that can be defined as teaching tasks, should they become members of the teachers' associations?

The papers, in addressing themselves to these questions, form a continuum from professional to economic considerations. For the most part, however, they are specifically concerned with auxiliary personnel in school systems. The purpose of this introduction is to broaden the perspective somewhat by suggesting that the debate over teacher aides is taking place against a backdrop of conflicting social trends which are influencing almost all occupations, not just teaching.

Bureaucracy and the Development of Professions

The two trends of most relevance to the debate are bureaucratization and professionalization, both of which have been strongly characteristic of industrialized Western society in the past two centuries. While "bureaucracy" is frequently used in a pejorative sense, as a
technical term it is more neutral and is used to describe the development of large organizations in which there is a considerable division of labour and specialization and in which administrative relationships tend to be hierarchical or pyramidal in shape. Bureaucracies are developed to accomplish a multiplicity of objectives which cannot be achieved by individual practitioners working alone, or in small groups, without overall co-ordination.

Professionalization, on the other hand, is a process through which members of a particular occupation seek to increase the level of competence and status of that occupation by setting precise entry requirements, developing standards of ethical behaviour and promoting collegial relationships among the members of the occupation. Professionalization is particularly characteristic of occupations requiring long periods of initial study and offering direct services to individuals in society. However, it has been suggested by some authors that virtually the whole vocational field is moving along a continuum toward professional status.¹

The steps in the professionalization process have been described as (1) the establishment of an association, with definite criteria for membership, (2) a change in name for the occupation, (3) development of a code of ethics and (4) political agitation for the recognition and maintenance of the occupation's entrance barriers. Accompanying these activities may be the development of training facilities controlled by the profession, development of criteria for confidentiality in dealing with clients, and the establishment of working relationships with


2
related professional groups.

Professionalization tends to place emphasis on the individual practitioner -- his expertise, autonomy, commitment and responsibility. As well, professionalization fosters the development of an occupational "culture". That is to say, the members of a particular occupation tend to form an "in-group" of people who share a particular world view, are bound together by common experiences of training and work, adhere to certain norms of behaviour and take a particular stance toward "outsiders" who lack these common elements. It is possible that this particular aspect of professionalized occupations may be crucial in the decisions made regarding the roles of auxiliary personnel and their relationship to teachers.

To a certain extent bureaucratization fosters professionalization in creating new occupations which may seek to organize and increase their own professional status. On the other hand, in its move to increase specialization, bureaucratization may demand the removal of a prized set of functions from one occupation and its transfer to another, and probably lower status, occupation. Bureaucracy and professionalism are also in conflict over the location of decision-making power. In the professional model it is the expert who understands the field and who should have the ultimate power of decision, including the choice of what assistants to employ. The role of the general administrator is merely to facilitate professional decision-making. In the bureaucratic model, however, it is the generalist administrator who understands the overall goals of the organization and can see the system as a whole. He therefore must take
decision-making precedence over the specialized professionals and assume responsibility for defining the tasks to be performed and the types of personnel needed to perform those tasks.

The professional group itself may take either a bureaucratic or professional position, depending upon the group it is dealing with. For example, in dealing with administrative hierarchies, the professional response is to seek to "de-bureaucratize", to demand enhanced decision-making powers and collegial relationships with persons designated as administrators. On the other hand, in dealing with sub-professional groups, the tendency is to bureaucratize, by seeking direct administrative control over the tasks and training of the sub-group. This response, it should be noted, may well run counter to the wishes of the occupational sub-group as it too begins the search for professional status.

Functional and Dysfunctional Aspects of Bureaucratization and Professionalism

The two trends described above have both functional and dysfunctional potential with regard to the general welfare of the broader society. Bureaucratization is functional to the extent that it promotes a wider range of services in an economical manner. It is dysfunctional to the extent that it prevents clients from reaching the senior officials and practitioners who understand the goals and policies of the organization and may be guided by human considerations rather than rules in decisions they make. Anyone who has had to deal with a junior clerk, a doctor's assistant or similar personnel probably understands very well
this dysfunctional element in bureaucratic arrangements. To let teacher aides form a similar barrier between client and practitioner might be to do education a considerable disservice. For this reason, definitions of the teacher's role as diagnosing, prescribing and so on should be regarded with some caution, at least in so far as they argue for reduced contact between teachers and pupils.

Professionalism also has functional and dysfunctional aspects. It is functional to society to the extent that it improves practice within a particular occupation. However, it becomes dysfunctional as it raises barriers to membership so high that insufficient practitioners are available to permit maintenance and/or expansion of services, or that the cost of the service becomes greater than society can tolerate. It may also be dysfunctional in another sense if the preparation standards are set so unrealistically high in terms of the task to be performed that the occupation is unnecessarily closed to large sectors of the population.

It seems that society keeps a watchful eye on both processes -- bureaucratization and professionalization -- to see that neither gets out of control. Decentralization and the appointment of ombudsmen are two of the mechanisms developed by society to cope with the dysfunctional aspects of bureaucracy. Proposals for lay involvement in setting preparation standards for professional occupations and for the creation of paramedics, paradentists, paralawyers and parateachers seem to represent a desire on society's part to "de-professionalize" various essential occupations in order to ensure that services are provided where needed without substantial cost increases.
Fitting Teachers Into the Broader Picture

Teachers, in trying to deal with the trends described above, are in a more vulnerable position than some of the older professions, although society has already demonstrated that it can, if it will, alter the status of doctors and dentists too. Teachers, however, have by no means gained similar professional status and still have within their ranks many practitioners whose preparation does not meet acceptable criteria. Moreover, they are already employees of large institutions with pronounced bureaucratic tendencies.

Teachers, still aspiring to professional status, with little individual power and often underqualified, are being asked to consider the formation of new occupational groups whose members may have superior qualifications but whose responsibility in the instructional setting is to be more restricted. In these circumstances what might constitute appropriate responses on the part of teachers to the challenge posed by the teacher aide?

Probably the first criterion of an appropriate response is acceptance of the idea that there is going to be a continuing shifting and re-examination of roles within various broad occupational groups. A "final answer" is probably not possible, as is suggested in the following quotation from Vollmer and Mills:

A good many of the new occupations are the result of social and technological changes which are not fully understood and whose consequences may affect not merely the way in which some one occupation does its work, and, consequently, the selection and education of the people who are to do it; they may also change the division of
labor as among professions and as between them and other occupations in a given field. Thus the division of labor among the specialities of medicine itself is constantly changing; at the same time, the technical division of labor between physicians, nurses, technicians, other therapists, scientists, social workers, and various administrative specialties is changing very drastically (although perhaps the fundamental role of the physician has been less affected by it all than he fears).  

Attempts to develop detailed legal definitions of the teacher's role have tended to founder because of this essential fluidity of occupational boundaries.

A second criterion is the protection of the client's right to access to the professional practitioner. Aides can render valuable services. However, when important decisions are to be made, or things are going wrong, the student must be able to deal on an individual basis with the teacher. For it is only the professionally qualified teacher who can hope to carry the full confidence of the public when decisions are made which affect children's future well-being. Right of access, it should be noted, has implications for class size and pupil-teacher ratios.

It is probably appropriate, at least in the initial stages of defining relationships between teachers and teacher aides, to take the "bureaucratic" stance described earlier. That is to say, the teaching profession must regulate the role and training of teacher aides. It might, in fact, not be going too far to suggest that teachers should

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{2}Vollmer and Mills, op. cit., p. 67.} \]
certificate aides and that the state should not become involved in the process at all. By assuming this responsibility teachers could then attempt their own distinctions between technicians and other types of assistants and identify groupings of tasks around which new occupations might be built. These new occupations, filtered from the present amorphous mass of teacher aides, could then be assisted to make their way onto the continuum leading toward professional status. It might be noted that the "educational resource technician" in Ontario is an instance of a new occupation which has already advanced through several stages of professionalization, including formation of an association, change of name (from teacher aide) and establishment of training programs. Although the term is not used outside Ontario, the 1971

Canadian Classification and Dictionary of Occupations includes Educational Resource Technician as an occupation within the major field of teaching.³

By taking these embryonic new occupations under its wing, so to speak, the teaching profession may have some hope of continuing its own quest for professional status and of preventing the development of various dysfunctional bureaucratic elements in the schools. For example, teachers can continue to hold responsibility for all the tasks in the school and to delegate those tasks according to their own priorities and the capabilities of the aides. If the new occupations form outside the aegis of teachers and their associations, and if they

develop their own criteria for membership and role, teachers may find that the net effect is to limit their own role within the school (and the limitations might be quite pronounced, even if the definition of the teacher's role met all the criteria of the "diagnose-prescribe-evaluate" type).

Although the establishment of an external bureaucratic structure, with teachers at the apex, would appear to be prerequisite to the employment of aides, it would seem that this structure must be sufficiently flexible to permit the development of internal collegial relationships between teachers and aides. This aspect of an appropriate response becomes important to the extent that roles identified for teacher aides include being present in the classroom and in contact with pupils.

Teacher aide membership in the teachers' associations, at least as they are presently constituted, would appear to be unlikely, in view of the necessity for teachers to regulate the qualifications and functions of aides and the existence of a teacher "culture" which includes professionalism as one of its shared values.

A final aspect of appropriate response relates to member education. If aides are to be used in schools, teachers will need to have a broader understanding of their role in the more complex organization that may be developing, and more practice in the delegation of tasks to other adults. Criteria for professional etiquette in dealing with aides may need to be laid down until such time as customary forms of relations are developed. Teacher education institutions might well devote some attention to this neglected area.
This introduction has attempted to offer a broader background for the discussion of auxiliary school personnel than is customarily provided and to take a small step toward developing a theoretical framework within which decisions about the formation, function and interrelationships of new and old occupations in education and teaching can be taken, or at least understood.
THE ROLE OF AUXILIARY SCHOOL PERSONNEL
IN SCHOOL PROGRAMS AND PROCESSES

John Enns

The day of the teacher as an independent operator in the classroom is past. The day when he could close his classroom door and be the only arbitrator within the confines of his "egg-crate" is gone.¹

Many of today's extraordinary achievements are made possible by assembling groups of people with various talents and specialties and organizing them in such a way as to enable each member of the group to contribute his skill toward an efficient attack on the problem. It is generally accepted among educators that teaching is an "activity" involving many tasks varying in character and in levels of complexity. Traditionally the teaching act consisted of information-giving by teachers to classes of students. Teachers were fundamentally alike in that they had received the same training and all were expected to possess similar basic skills and limitations. But today's teachers must be adaptable to various settings, amenable to change and, to a degree, dispensable. They are no longer the sole dispensers of knowledge. Ideally they are facilitators of learning, contributing their individualized skills to teams of individuals which constitute human resource banks within the

¹Francis P. Friedman, The Evidence and Research Possibility of Teacher Aide Use in the Administrative Structure of the School System (Address to CCRE Conference, January 1969), p. 11.
school. Their goal is to create learning environments in which children can benefit, each according to his needs. Teaching in such environments is a co-operative activity requiring not only refinements in measuring and diagnosing but demanding new technologies in guiding, motivating and catalyzing student self-discovery.

The burden of making adjustments to many new concepts and technologies in education, at a time of teacher shortages, led teachers to request assistance from non-teachers to perform many of the tasks that lie outside the heart of the organized learning process. For example, in 1968, the teachers of Winnipeg succeeded in getting a limited number of aides, mainly to relieve teachers of supervisory duties -- through an arbitration award. Although school boards have since learned that employing lower-paid help to assist teachers is economically preferable to hiring "over-grant" teachers, there is continued resistance, for reasons of cost, to the employment of auxiliary personnel. This may partly account for the very extensive use of volunteers in recent years. Special innovative grants from Departments of Education and employment grants from provincial and federal sources have also contributed to the growing number of auxiliary personnel in schools.

Whereas teacher aides -- students, clerks, markers, volunteers -- have been used in our schools for a long time, the notion that auxiliary personnel be integrated into the instructional team is less than ten years old in Canada. The main justification for the trend "to assign personnel without teacher certification some responsibilities in the
instruction of students and in the operation of school services"\(^2\) is the quest for more effective utilization of the teachers' time and their professional skills in view of the current higher cost of their salaries. It is an innovation intended to raise the quality of education without increasing the cost.

For purposes of this paper, the terms auxiliary personnel, paraprofessionals, aides, and volunteers, are used interchangeably and apply to all persons who assist the principal and staff of teachers in the school to carry out the program.

**Research on Auxiliary Personnel**

Numerous studies have been conducted to determine the effects of auxiliary personnel in the schools. In the main, these studies have attempted to associate the mere presence of the paraprofessional with some measurable outcome in student or teacher performance or behavior. The results generally are inconclusive and to some extent contradictory. Boyum\(^3\) found over a two-year period that ten classes of fifty students in ninth grade introductory science classes in a Minnesota school, each with one teacher and a paraprofessional, scored significantly lower achievement than the control group consisting of six classes of 32 students and one teacher without paraprofessional assistance. The performance of a comparison group consisting of ninth-grade students


whose introductory science classes in 1969-70 were taught by the
teachers of the 1970-71 experimental group, coincided with the control
group. The results suggest that the introduction of auxiliary personnel
did not offset the adverse effect of the increase in class size.
Bergquist\textsuperscript{4} found no significant differences in pupil achievement and
attitude between control groups and experimental groups using one aide
to every six staff members. Still another study, by Kunke\textsuperscript{5}, investigating the communication patterns of teachers using teacher aides as
compared to those not using aides, found that teachers using aides
allowed more time for student-teacher dialogue. On the other hand,
according to a study conducted in the 1969-70 school year by the
Institute for Educational Development in New York City Schools\textsuperscript{6}, the
result of interviewing 200 small groups of children in 50 project
schools along with some principals, teachers, parents and paraprofessionals revealed that paraprofessionals were perceived to generally
improve children's attitudes toward school, the quality of their work
and the home-school relationship. Teachers interviewed in the same
study acknowledged the impact of paraprofessionals:

60\% said they were employing additional skills.
85\% felt they were accomplishing more as a teacher.

\textsuperscript{4}Harold J. Bergquist, \textit{The Influence of Teacher Aides on Student Attitudes and Achievement}, (Ed. D. Dissertation, University of North Dakota, 1968).

\textsuperscript{5}Richard W. Kunke, \textit{A Study of Communication Patterns of Teachers Using Teacher Aides as Compared to Those Not Using Teacher Aides}, (Ed. D. Dissertation, University of North Dakota, 1968).

\textsuperscript{6}An In-Depth Study of Paraprofessionals (New York: Institute for Education Development, 1970).
77% reported the school was doing a better job.
55% enjoyed their work more.
81% felt their teaching job was made easier.
75% reported better academic achievement of pupils.
50% reported better pupil-teacher relationships.

Many teachers agreed that using paraprofessionals had changed their work pattern to the extent that they were able to do more with individual students and small groups. They experienced more job satisfaction and sense of achievement.7 The report concluded that "Whatever may be wrong with the paraprofessional program, none of it can outweigh what IED found about its success. Wherever we looked — at the kind of people employed as paraprofessionals, at the kind of work they are given, or at the impact they have on their targets — the program looked extraordinarily good"8.

A relatively small study conducted by Léandre Maillet under the auspices of New Brunswick New Start Incorporated9 in 1970-72 in Kent County, New Brunswick produced interesting results in examining the effect of teacher aides in their interactions with teachers. The study, encompassing six elementary, five intermediate and four secondary schools in Kent County, involved 18 elementary teachers, 15 intermediate and 12 secondary who had expressed interest in working with aides. Fifteen aides varying in age and background were selected from 47

7Ibid, p. 84.
8Ibid, p. xxii.
applicants. Each teacher in the experimental group was paired with a control teacher. Some of the findings are relevant to this discussion:

1. The presence or absence of teacher aides did not significantly affect the professional views of the teachers as measured by FCT (Force-Choice Test).

2. Elementary and secondary experimental group teachers became more inclined to work with others (i.e. became less independent as measured by the Interpersonal Orientation Inventory) whereas intermediate EG teachers were not affected in the same way. The EG teachers became progressively more directive whereas the Control Group teachers tended to become less directive.

3. "Experimental Group teachers appeared to have acquired more flexible behaviour patterns, being able to share their work, interests and expectation with others, while retaining their self-assurance and self-esteem."\textsuperscript{10}

4. "The level of work satisfaction increased as a result of having a teacher aide\textsuperscript{11} for elementary teachers.

5. The elementary EG teachers "were also strong advocates of the project as it improved (a) the effectiveness and efficiency of their class, (b) their morale and their satisfaction, and finally, (c) decreased the effort put forth in the preparation of their courses."\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{10}Ibid, p. 59.

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid, p. 59.

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid, p. 60.
6. The Intermediate EG teachers were the most pessimistic sample toward the success of the teacher aide project, feeling that aides would result in the decline of the teachers' effectiveness and efficiency as well as morale and satisfaction in their work. The project had the effect of making them more directive and independent.

7. For secondary teachers the presence of teacher aides forced them to revise and redefine their professional status. These teachers devoted more time to their betterment as instructors and to the enhancement of their profession.

8. The study noted "Hawthorne-like" reactions from control teachers who had not been selected as participants which tended to raise the performance of the control group teachers.

9. The presence of aides did not affect student attitudes. This casts doubt on the use of aides as change agents for student attitudes. It also suggests that freeing teachers from doing non-teaching tasks does not necessarily influence student attitudes. The study found, however, that the EG students outdistanced the CG students in abilities needed for writing and in verbal ability scores.

10. The study concludes that the use of aides resulted in a more systematic approach to teaching that enabled teachers to make use of current research and practical knowledge in teaching. Perhaps the most extensive research on the influence of volunteers
in the classroom was done by Hedges.\textsuperscript{13} He found that on the average, teachers transferred approximately 21 per cent of their time from relatively low level functions to what are considered to be the most critical or most professional functions of the teacher. These included broad and specific planning and initiating a concept, attitude or skill. The amount of time the teachers spent with individual pupils in the project schools more than tripled when volunteer assistance was available. Dr. Hedges' study also reported dramatic gains in pupil performance as a result of parental involvement.

Nelson D. Crandall\textsuperscript{14}, a researcher at the Rancho Santa Gertrudes School in Santa Fe Springs, California, did an experiment (1971) on behavior modifications of teachers in the classroom when aides are present. In the experiment the Teacher Self-Appraisal\textsuperscript{15} observation system was used, which involves recording 20-minute samplings of the teacher in action on a video-tape. At 10-second intervals the tape stops when replayed, allowing the teacher's behavior to be coded on a special data processing card, thus producing 120 cards recording (1) the teaching method; (2) the cognitive objective; (3) the affective objective; (4) verbal expressions; (5) non-verbal expressions. The cards are then fed into a computer providing 600 observations of teacher classroom behavior. Crandall recorded six video-tapes of each teacher's classroom performance — three when the aide was in the classroom and three when

\textsuperscript{13}H.G. Hedges, \textit{Using Volunteers in Schools}, 1972, p. 34.

\textsuperscript{14}American Teacher, October 1971, \textbullet{} 15.

the aide was absent. The data produced the following observations:

1. When the aide is in the room the teacher tends to spend a significantly larger percentage of time in small group work (almost double).

2. Teachers working with aides use more supportive verbal expressions than when working alone.

3. Teachers working with an aide were much more non-verbally helping and supportive than when working alone.

4. Working with an aide, teachers lecture and demonstrate less. They are more likely to be giving directions to an individual child, asking questions in a problem-solving situation and encouraging the student to draw his own conclusions.

5. Teachers working with aides are less inclined to be superficial in their treatment of subject matter.

The foregoing references to a number of studies serve to demonstrate the lack of consensus and to highlight the need for continued research for the purpose of testing the various hypotheses and claims concerning the effects of auxiliary help in the schools.

**Opinions Regarding the Use of Auxiliary Personnel**

In addition to research studies there is an abundance of literature -- articles, essays, addresses -- presenting both positive and negative views on the nature, effects and implications of non-teacher assistance in the schools. Despite the existence of much speculative material there emerges from this profusion of literature a body of information that deserves attention and comment.
How does the employment of auxiliary personnel affect the school program?

In recent years, partly as a result of improved diagnostic and evaluative procedures, there is a heightened awareness of individual learning needs, both cognitive and emotional, among all levels of the student population. Likewise, there is recognition, in theory at least, of the need to take into account the teacher's individuality. In consequence many school systems are making earnest efforts to create innovations in school programs, staff utilization and teaching styles to give substance to these realizations. One relatively economical way of providing the additional manpower needed for developing and implementing customized school programs to suit individual students (and teachers) is the employment of aides or the use of volunteers.

It would be erroneous to suggest that program individualization is contingent upon the engagement of teacher aides. Taking into consideration economic realities, it is nevertheless probable that there may be less individualization without such help. For example, one important potential contribution of non-teachers to enriching the school program is reflected in the following statement:

There is another world for children beyond the classroom, the school, and the curriculum. In that outside world there are many adults who can make a valuable contribution to the lives of many children in the school. With the guidance of the teacher the wealth of experiences just beyond the classroom wall can be appropriately brought inside to enrich young lives.16

---

Schools have always had to tailor their offerings and services to available resources. Therefore, theoretically, support staff can widen the alternatives open to learners and teachers. For example, the Springfield Heights School in the River East School Division in North Winnipeg operates a Grade I Language Arts and Reading program with 70 pupils, two teachers, one paid paraprofessional, eight volunteers (who come four afternoons per week) and is able to enrich the program by including drama, music, creative movement, storytime and crafts as a result of the additional help. Examples of volunteer parents conducting a large variety of enrichment experiences such as art appreciation, astronomy, drama, photography, pottery, for school children during the school day to free teachers a couple of hours each week for lesson preparation and research are becoming numerous.

The clear enunciation of goals, both short and long range, and the perception of a philosophy about the strategies to be employed in attempting to reach those goals assumes new importance in a framework where implementation of the individualized program depends on a number of people. Providing numerous and constant adaptations in curriculum package designs so as to maintain flexibility and at the same time offer a coherent set of learning tasks for the student is an essential concomitant.

Teachers will have to be provided with time and resources for continuing professional growth in order to develop the necessary expertise to effectively improve the instructional program. Individualized programs demand more careful diagnosis, prescription and progress assessment on a continuing basis in order that student grouping can be properly adjusted.
This implies expert discernment of students' learning needs and prescription of appropriate materials and activities in an on-going manner. Total staff improvement opportunities and provision of training for paraprofessionals must therefore be integrated with the school program. Further, there is a need to build in a research program to evaluate the effectiveness of auxiliary personnel in specified functions and to identify those functions which are of greatest benefit to the student.

Prominent educators such as Myron Lieberman\(^\text{17}\) and John Macdonald\(^\text{18}\) acknowledge the free use of paraprofessionals as essential in extending education services to wider segments of population. One could speculate that paraprofessionals offer new ways of providing learning experiences for school drop-outs or nursery children beyond that which is available through the traditional staffing pattern.

**What are some implications of employing auxiliary help in terms of school processes?**

Many educators today believe that the use of paraprofessionals in the classroom is "one of the most promising, innovative practices in education today".\(^\text{19}\) There are sharp differences of opinion, however, as to the kinds of activities it would be suitable for paraprofessionals to perform. That is not surprising since there is no commonality of perception as to the meaning of teaching or as to the role of the teacher. Conse-

---


\(^{19}\)Thompson H. Fillmer, "Professional Reading Activities for Paraprofessionals", *The Reading Teacher*, May 1973, p. 806.
quently, the manner in which a paraprofessional fits into a school's operations will vary from school to school and from teacher to teacher. Haberman suggests that pupil motivation is the pith of teaching and that any person, regardless of status, who employs motivational strategies performs professional acts. In such a context the role of auxiliary personnel would be to free the teacher to perform the motivational functions. Another view is that the presence of auxiliary personnel in the school permits more effective utilization of the teacher's professional knowledge, skills, attitude and behaviour by assigning his administrative and routine duties to aides. This implies careful task specialization. Teacher organizations have said that aides shall not "teach", yet it would be absurd to conclude that volunteers do not teach. The OISE report on volunteer projects of the Niagara Centre describes the success of a parent working with small groups of pupils teaching "such skills as classification, putting objects and events in order, identifying variables in simple experiments, using symbols to express ideas or objects, and improving questioning skills".

There is widespread agreement that within broad guidelines set by the school system, the nature of the relationship to be established between the teacher and his aide and the assignment of duties is best left to be worked out by the individuals involved. If follows that there is great divergence in the ways that paraprofessionals are used. Fillmer


21Hedges, op. cit., p. 42.

22Fillmer, op. cit.
advocates their use as "co-workers" in activities such as constructing games, organizing field trips, working with individuals, observing behavior, reading stories, keeping records, evaluating performances, reinforcing skills, stimulating discussions. Bachus\(^2\) quite oppositely expresses grave reservation about the teacher delegating any tasks to non-teachers, claiming that the loss of teacher contact with the pupil destroys "the personal touch and feeling the teacher had for the student". He goes one step further by suggesting that aides take on many tasks that students used to do for themselves -- bulletin boards, keeping the classroom tidy, hanging up coats -- thereby depriving students of the intrinsic rewards of performing such duties.

A survey conducted by the Manitoba Department of Education in March 1972 to find the volunteer participation in Winnipeg schools revealed 141 schools using 2077 volunteers. Eighty-four per cent of the teachers using volunteers stated that the volunteers who worked with them gave them more time to do professional tasks. In order of preference, the teachers found the volunteer aides most helpful when:

a) they were working with an individual child;
b) they prepared classroom materials;
c) they were working with small groups of children;
d) they were doing clean-up and housekeeping tasks;
e) they were monitoring a class.

A report compiled by the Intermountain Division Association of The Manitoba Teachers' Society on a differentiated staffing project in Gilbert

Plains, September 1972, points out that teachers initially were at a loss as to how to use the aides effectively. They would have preferred to have someone else set up an approved task list for them to follow. This demonstrates that they were unaccustomed to their new leadership function. With respect to school procedures the teachers reported a change in the nature of their work load. Using aides facilitated group work and program flexibility. However, there was some concern on the collegiate staff that slower students did not receive enough assistance from teachers as a result of being left under the supervision of an aide. The report concludes with the unanswered concern -- "What impact on the maintenance of quality education is made by the employment of D.S."

Releasing a teacher from clerical and other routine administrative duties and assigning them to aides promotes specialization of behaviour for the teacher as well as the aide. Task specialization, however, tends to be restrictive, placing the individual in a more limited role and leading ultimately to mere routine performance according to a recipe. Such an approach would be anti-professional. But there is a more rewarding type of specialization the teacher and the school system may pursue. Victor Thompson in *Modern Organization* calls it personal specialization, characterized by a variety of interdependent tasks and functions, a high degree of challenge, a potential for self-identification and a deep dependence and trust upon the individual by the organization within which he works. Mori maintains that paraprofessionals serve as daily reminders

---


of what constitutes "professional" teaching duties and what duties may be effectively delegated to "non-professional" persons, thereby forcing teachers to redefine their activities and to account for their actions as professionals. The ultimate test of the whole paraprofessional movement, he continues, will be what teachers do with the time made available by delegating "non-professional" tasks to paraprofessionals. Sharpe26 adds a sobering thought that there is some evidence that teachers who are relieved of routine chores simply increase the amount of time they spend in the coffee lounge. The implication is that teachers are provided with new opportunities for leadership and teaching during times traditionally spent on routine matters. In order to utilize those opportunities to the best advantage of the student, the teacher will have to engage in constant striving to improve his personal specialization in areas such as planning, organizational, decision-making, communication and human relations skills.

There are also implications for time, space and staff organization. School procedures must take into account that the instructional team (including the auxiliary personnel) needs time to plan and to communicate. A block of planning time within the school day is essential, not only in terms of assessing pupil needs and constructing new curriculum materials but in terms of allowing team members to categorize their own skills and weaknesses, to examine the process of how the team functions and how it could function more effectively. Moreover, a flexible program requires flexible space. Multiple work stations, interest centres and independent

study areas for students have to be devised and supervised. The teacher, having become an executive in that he can delegate certain tasks to aides, has to plan further ahead and plan more carefully than a teacher in a self-contained classroom. Whereas the use of auxiliary personnel may free the teacher for more specialization and creativity in the classroom it also adds to his responsibility. It is the teacher who trains the aide to help her function successfully.

The employment of auxiliary personnel has implications for the decision-making processes in the schools. A number of dimensions to this question are readily apparent. In the first instance the individual teacher has to have a large measure of autonomy in deciding whether to accept or reject the use of aides and in defining the functions of the aide. These functions, once articulated by the teacher, should receive concurrence from the principal and school board or superintendent. The school board has further responsibility for decisions to provide in-service programs for both the teachers and the auxiliary personnel in consultation with the principals, teachers and the aides. Decisions affecting the operation of the school and classroom in areas such as curriculum, budgeting, goals and philosophy are perhaps best achieved in the context of a democratic model where consultation and consensus prevail. It is reasonable that teachers should share responsibility with the principal for selecting the aides and for evaluating their services. The teacher, in exercising autonomy on how she will use the aide, must nevertheless assume full responsibility for the educational opportunity and the quality of instruction given the students in her care.

Central to the successful operation of any democratic organization is
the necessity to establish an atmosphere of trust and open communication among its parts. Using teacher aides may be one way of building bridges between the school and community. According to Albert Shanker, para-professionals are often the best public relations people teachers have. Shanker says that paraprofessionals soon identify with the problems of the teacher in the classroom and become ardent supportive change agents within the community. This is substantiated by the Winnipeg survey in that 90 per cent of the principals surveyed stated that their volunteers contributed positively to the community-school relationship for their schools as a result of improved community-school communication. Unfortunately, experience has shown that there are exceptions where aides have been harmful to school-parent relationships.

Establishing personnel hierarchies within the school staff necessitates daily communication with its essential free flow of ideas in order to forestall the rise of hindering relationships among staff members and auxiliary personnel. Personality differences are nevertheless bound to occur. Provisions for dealing with human relations problems therefore have to be built into the staff organization. There is the further task of learning to share power and to develop new attitudes. Teachers don't shake off old ways of doing things very easily -- especially when new ways are not known. Hence, the personal needs of both professionals and auxiliaries have to be taken into account as they adjust to a new and sometimes threatening situation.

---


28 Manitoba Dept. of Ed., op. cit.
The in-school communication pattern must cope with this. Then there is the on-going program of interpretation of the school to the community at large and corresponding provision for feedback that assumes new importance as the school opens more and more to public scrutiny.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, it is probably safe to assume that there is general consensus about the worth of an education system that is tailored to nurture the growth and wholesome development of the individual child. There can also be little argument with the suggestion that teachers with sound professional and academic preparation who have experience and knowledge of children are best qualified to provide their children with the tools and guidance they need to acquire skills that will help them most in their personal and social development. It is further acknowledged that the notion of employing auxiliary personnel to assume many of the teacher's non-instructional chores and some instruction-related activities is gaining wide acceptance as a means of freeing teachers to devote more time to preparing lessons, leading discussions, counselling individuals, devising relevant learning experiences for the children, and assessing their needs and progress.

There is some evidence to show that employing auxiliary personnel (1) tends to change the behaviour of teachers to the extent that they spend more time on tasks of a higher professional order, (2) enables greater individualization of the school's instructional staff, program and process. There is, however, woeful lack of evidence that such innovations are having a major positive impact on the quality of
education received by this generation of children. Until further research can clarify that issue it is best for schools to proceed with care and caution lest educators are worshipping at the wrong altars.
THE PREPARATION AND CERTIFICATION OF AUXILIARY PERSONNEL

Frank Dillon

Overburdened with non-professional tasks? What you need is an educational resource technician who ...
can do your bulletin boards,
can order your films,
can keep your supplies up to date,
can coach your teams,
can arrange your field trips,
can mark your papers, and
leave you to teach with additional time for yourself!

An advertisement straight from the pages of the Moyer Vico catalogue? No. The above advertisement comes from Niagara College of Applied Arts and Technology in Welland, Ontario, one of a dozen such institutions in that province offering well-developed training programs for some form of teacher aide.

In a late 1973 survey conducted by the Ontario Teachers' Federation, Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology in Ontario reported on courses which they are now offering, designed to train students for employment as aides, technicians, or advisers in elementary or secondary schools. That survey revealed that some 1200 students are currently spending from one to three years in programs ranging from Educational Resource Technicians, Library Technicians, Behavioural Science Technicians and Industrial Technicians, to Child Care Workers and Community Education Workers, with over a dozen classifications in between. And, significantly, a large number of
those enrolled seem motivated by college literature relating these job classifications directly to in-school employment.¹

The shortage of teachers in the last decade and the increasing cost of their salaries stimulated great interest in differentiated staffing; the cost factor perpetuates it. Throughout Canada there has been a widely recognized need for some time for trained personnel to assist with some of the administrative and supervisory workload of professional teachers and principals. The modern teacher is being required to become more and more professional and also to individualize the classroom program to allow for the wide range of differences between children's abilities, interests and problems. These two factors are forcing educators to recognize the large volume of non-professional tasks which teachers are required to do from day to day. Lucien G. Perras, Director General of the Lakeshore School Board in Beaconsfield, Quebec, points out in a recent edition of Education Canada a real danger that legitimate requests to reduce the pupil-teacher ratio may be met with an indiscriminate infusion of uncertificated personnel.² It becomes patently evident, then, that teacher organizations must give thought to the preparation and conditions of employment of auxiliary personnel.

It is no doubt a true and costly practice that in today's schools professional teachers spend a large portion of their time performi

¹Ontario Teachers' Federation, Survey of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Offering Programmes Designed to Train Students for Employment as Aides, Technicians, or Advisers in Elementary or Secondary Schools, (Toronto: the Federation, 1973).

professional tasks to the neglect of some of the more important pedagogical responsibilities. In setting up a training program for auxiliary personnel the question must be asked as to the role of such paraprofessionals. A complete answer will depend on an understanding of the role of the professional -- the teacher -- within the educational context.

Teacher organizations across Canada differ widely with regard to matters such as affiliation, certification, training, and acceptable duties for auxiliary personnel to perform. Most teacher groups are, however, united in their determination of what auxiliary personnel are not to do. Virtually all position papers of Canadian teacher organizations state that there are four main aspects of the teaching function: diagnosis of the students' learning needs, prescription for those needs, implementation of educational program, and evaluation of student, program, and self. These four areas -- diagnosis, prescription, implementation and evaluation -- are the core of the professional task and are not to be usurped by auxiliary personnel. However, such a description of the core professional task does not preclude roles for auxiliary personnel.

Unfortunately, as Perras has stated, certification to teach does not define the functions that are the professional realm of teaching or the exclusive responsibility of the person who holds the teaching certificate. Reflecting on this same problem, Gail Hilyer points out that the pressing need of educational organizations in all jurisdictions in the 1970's is for a "universally acceptable taxonomy of instructional and non-instructional

\[3\text{Ibid., p. 16.}\]
functions.”

First steps have been taken, however. Dr. H. G. Hedges has prepared such a "Taxonomy of Teaching Functions" in which he suggests over 400 various activities either performed or expected of auxiliary personnel in schools.

Some categories of auxiliary personnel already evident in the personnel structure of the typical school are easily defined. Employment of associated professionals such as psychometricians and speech therapists, whose competence is certified by their own professional groups, is unquestioned. School nurses and psychologists fit this pattern. Personnel with clearly established status in the operation of schools, such as school secretaries, usually provide no employment problems, and for positions that require training in such skills as typing and bookkeeping, the school can turn to established business schools for recruits. There appears to be little need to identify janitors, tradesmen, bus drivers, business administrators and other non-teacher-certificated personnel who are regularly employed by school boards in non-teaching capacities. But the entire matter of employment patterns in the social services is of concern. What of the training of the myriad of other persons to be employed in the hundreds of tasks specified by Hedges?

Who is to be trained? We know who the teacher is, how he is trained, and, to a degree, those tasks which he is certificated by his provincial government to perform. We have eliminated from the need for further formal


5Prepared by Dr. H. G. Hedges, Director, O.I.S.E. Regional Office, St. Catharines, Ont.
training associated professionals certified by recognized professional
groups, typists and bookkeepers trained by established business schools,
and tradesmen in non-teaching capacities. It now becomes necessary to
identify those auxiliary personnel performing tasks that might otherwise
have to be performed by regularly certified teachers and that call for a
certain amount of technical skill and training not ordinarily possessed
by teachers. The possibilities for nomenclature in this regard are
virtually endless. However, for simplification, the writer chooses to
be guided by those definitions utilized by N. V. Chamchuk in his report
entitled Certificated Teachers and Paraprofessionals -- A Statement of
Issues in Alberta and Proposals for Policy Development.6 In his study
prepared for the Alberta Department of Education, Chamchuk identifies two
major classifications of auxiliary personnel whose employment in the school
would seem to demand formal training -- Instructional Aides and School Aides.

Instructional Aides are defined by Chamchuk as "persons selected to
assist with the implementation of programs designed and prescribed by
teachers, including the application but not interpretation or evaluation
of achievement measures".7 He sees the "Instructional Aide" (I.A.) as
synonymous with teaching aide, tutor, teacher associate, instructional
assistant and academic assistant, among others. It is important to note
that these Instructional Aides would be involved with "ongoing day to day
interaction with students in classrooms and other learning centres,
following the strategies, tactics and materials which have been prescribed

6N. J. Chamchuk, Certificated Teachers and Paraprofessionals --
A Statement of Issues in Alberta and Proposals for Policy Development.

7Ibid., p. 13.
by teachers". He sees these Instruction Aides involved in five main pursuits -- clerical, housekeeping, supervision, teacher-related activities and home-related activities. In the clerical field the I.A. would keep student records, handle reports, enter grades, prepare instructional materials, mark objective tests and routine exercises, prepare audio-visual materials, etc. Under housekeeping chores, the I.A. would prepare and set out lesson supplies or equipment, clean and store materials and equipment after use, and the like. The I.A. would supervise arts, crafts and research activities, and make-up or after school remedial work. In the realm of teacher-related activities, the I.A. would participate in long-range and daily class planning, assist with large group activities, and work with small groups or individual children. The I.A. might go so far as to prepare individual lesson plans under the direction of the teacher, assist and encourage children in independent study, mark objective assignments, and administer remedial drill work. The taxonomy is exhaustive. In the area of home-related activities, the I.A. would assist in parent interviews and open school activities, and arrange parent-teacher talks and visits.

School Aides are described by Chamchuk as persons who perform tasks under the direction of a teacher or the principal, but in which the tasks generally exclude direct person-student learning interactions. The tasks assigned the School Aide, then, would normally involve the handling of equipment, and non-learning interaction with students. Chamchuk sees the term "School Aide" as synonymous with teacher aides, library aides, audio-

---

8Ibid., pp. 13-14.
9Ibid., pp. 57-59.
visual media assistants, lab assistants, clerical and stenographic aides.

Even here there is some overlapping in the role of Instructional Aide and that of School Aide. Although no precise division will be found, auxiliary personnel can be categorized according to whether or not their role is related to instruction. For the purpose of this paper, let us then accept these two broad classifications for auxiliary personnel. Given the tremendously broad scope of tasks which these paraprofessionals are expected to undertake, it will be a gargantuan task to develop a training program with enough depth of exposure to be relevant, and enough breadth to produce a flexible, self-starting paraprofessional.

To train or not to train? The Manitoba Teachers' Society special committee studying auxiliary personnel in schools reported that because of the diverse roles of auxiliary personnel, "it is neither practical nor desirable to require them to complete formal college level preparation courses and become certificated as auxiliary personnel".11 While sometimes in agreement with the Manitoba Teachers' Society, the British Columbia Teachers' Federation Task Force on Differentiated Staffing pointed out in its report that "in view of the instruction-related roles performed, it appears necessary that a basic program be established to acquaint individuals with fundamental learning theory, educational psychology, and general methods in control and instruction".12 And, as

---


12British Columbia Teachers' Federation, Differentiated Staffing. A report of the task force to study differentiated staffing. (Vancouver: the Federation, April, 1971), p. 11.
the Ontario Teachers' Federation Educational Resource Technician Committee reported in 1970, auxiliary personnel are "a disparate group at present, performing different functions and having no common standards, no organization and no certification". The OTF group went on to imply that the one unifying factor concerning this disparate group of auxiliary personnel in schools is that they work in schools to assist teachers. How best to ensure that these non-professional assistants will further the professional aims of the teacher than to support a training course whose content and standards are overseen by teachers?

This paper began with a statement of what a well-trained paraprofessional can do for teachers. That very capable person described in the advertisement was trained in a College of Applied Arts in a program which was partially designed around three broad objectives: 1) to provide the candidate with the opportunity to explore the philosophy and function of all levels of education from Kindergarten through Senior Matriculation; 2) to introduce the candidate to a wide variety of skills which, though identified with one subject area, may be readily practised in other disciplines; and, 3) to provide opportunities for students to exercise initiative in planning, development and completion of a number of educational tasks. Add to this some formal instruction in educational psychology and general methods in control and instruction, and the germ of a basic program in the training of auxiliary personnel is at hand.


Teacher organizations in Canada might do well to accept Chamchuk's
two classifications of auxiliary personnel (Instructional Aides and
School Aides) and accept that these auxiliary personnel have a place in
the educational team and have a need for training in specific areas.
Moreover, these two classifications of auxiliary personnel should be
certificated by departments of education. In a talk given to the Manitoba
Teachers' Society Seminar on Teacher Aides in Winnipeg, Geraldine Channon
stated that she "shudders to think of the possibility that a mass of
training programs and certificates for teacher aides may develop in this
country".15 She warns that "things will get particularly messy if a
lot of special certificates are invented permitting the holders to make
transparencies, talk to the librarian or supervise the loading of buses".16
This should not be the case. The credentials model outlined in Table 1
provides for two ranges of auxiliary personnel, two similar but distinct
training programs, and two certificates.

The establishment of suitable training programs precludes amateurism:
the training program for two types of auxiliary personnel establishes a
basis for the employment of certificated personnel whose job classification
includes specific requirements. One classification involves day to day
interaction with students; the other excludes direct person-student
learning interactions. But the training of auxiliary personnel cannot
end with certification.

15Geraldine Channon, What's Involved in the Trend Toward Para-
professionals? A talk given to the Manitoba Teachers' Society Seminar
on Teacher Aides, Winnipeg, February, 1971, p. 23.

16Ibid., p. 24.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Instructional Aide</th>
<th>School Aide</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Function</strong></td>
<td>To assist with the implementation of programs designed and prescribed by teachers. To be involved in an ongoing day to day interaction with students in classrooms and other learning centres, following the strategies, tactics and materials which have been prescribed by teachers.</td>
<td>To perform tasks under the direction of a teacher. To work in the preparation of stencils, duplicating materials, preparation of bulletins, distribution of materials, the supervision of certain pupil activities, setting up visual aid equipment, displays and equipment used in the teaching process.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Training</strong></td>
<td>Two-year program. College of Applied Arts and Technology OR Community College OR Teacher Training Institution</td>
<td>One-year program. College of Applied Arts and Technology OR Community College OR Teacher Training Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Admission Requirements</strong></td>
<td>1. A secondary school education 2. Experience or interest in working with children</td>
<td>1. A secondary school education 2. Experience or interest in working with children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>College Program</strong></td>
<td>Courses in: Educational Psychology, Methodology, Control and Instruction, Philosophy and function of all levels of education K-12, Planning and development of educational tasks, English and Communications, Instructional Media, School Office Administration, Resource Studies, Human Relations</td>
<td>Courses in: English and Communications, Typewriting, Instructional Media, Resource Studies, School Office Administration, Human Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Certificate</strong></td>
<td>Certified Educational School Aide Instructional Aide</td>
<td>School Aide Certificate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From coast to coast, Canadian teacher organizations agree on the need for in-school training of auxiliary personnel. The New Brunswick Teachers' Association, for example, states in a recent issue of *Association Activities* that "the necessary preparation and training of teacher aides must be done within the actual school setting, with teachers actively involved, and that during such training the confidential aspect of the work be emphasized". The British Columbia Teachers' Federation Report on Differentiated Staffing speaks of a similar need. Ideally, those persons employed as auxiliary personnel should spend a few days prior to the beginning of school in a pre-service program, and then continue to attend in-service sessions throughout the course of the year. Writing in the *Journal of Secondary Education*, D.C. and S.N. Clark point out that the content of the in-service training sessions should correlate directly with the duties and responsibilities that are expected of the aides. A sample pre-service training seminar for auxiliary personnel is contained in the ATA-ASTA publication *Teacher Aides Tryout*. That seminar dealt with the following:

a) The Teacher Code of Ethics (ATA Handbook)

b) Standards of Professional Conduct (ATA Handbook)

---


c) The School Act, wherein relevant sections on duties of teachers, student behaviour, attendance, etc., were discussed

d) Department of Education Regulations

e) Local School Board Policies

f) Administration of the Local School

g) The Aide's Responsibilities Inside and Outside the Classroom

h) Lines of Responsibility

i) Hypothetical Situations.

While countless variations on this format are possible, there are some general kinds of information that should be incorporated in all instructional aide in-service programs. These include the school or division's organization and philosophy, forms and procedures, suggestions for coping with classroom problems, and suggestions for handling judgement situations. Add to this a proper reminder from the British Columbia Teachers' Federation -- teachers concerned with auxiliary personnel should be as involved in the pre-service and in-service educational programs as the aides themselves.20

There is a further aspect of the training of auxiliary personnel that must not be overlooked. Consider the following statement made by Professor J. L. Stevens of the University of Houston. "If you get teacher aides, don't expect your teachers to know automatically how to use them. They'll need training."21 And, the ATA position paper on teachers' aides strikes the same note when it states "after years of working in relative


21Clark, op. cit., p. 251.
isolation, teachers are now asked to interact individually ... with other adults in the classroom and school setting (while) neither by training nor experience have some teachers gained all the skills required for successful delegation of ... tasks to aides".\textsuperscript{22} Since the utilization of auxiliary personnel is something entirely new to some teachers, if the program is to be successful, teachers need to be properly prepared to use the services of an aide effectively. Consequently, an in-service program for teachers should begin prior to employment of an aide, and might well continue after the program is in operation.

To recapitulate, auxiliary personnel may perform a valid function in education if properly trained to do so and if those teachers expected to utilize them are aware of the tasks they may be expected to perform satisfactorily. It is the contention of this paper that Chamchuk's distinction between Instructional Aides and School Aides is a valid one which may act as the basis for a credentials model, providing for two similar but distinct training programs and two certificates. No school board nor teacher need then fear the employment of such auxiliary personnel.

IMPlications FOR THE ECONOMIC
STATUS OF TEACHERS

Stirling McDowell

Education is never without controversial issues. One of the most controversial sets of issues at the present time (potentially or actually) is rooted in the question, "Who shall teach?"

During the twentieth century society has come to recognize and agree that we should have a formal system of free, compulsory education, that those who provide instructional services require appropriate preparation for their task, and that only those who possess teaching certificates should teach in our publicly-supported schools.

At the same time, programs of public education have been vastly extended in length, content and variety, and in the numbers of persons involved. It is an economic fact that resources are never unlimited. Therefore, there is always pressure to ensure that the best possible use is being made of the limited human and financial resources that are available for any public program such as education.

In recent years, the rising level of teachers' qualifications coupled with the rising cost of educational services has led many people to enquire whether it is necessary to have highly qualified personnel performing all the tasks associated with the instructional program in the schools. This kind of questioning has led to experimentation with role differentiation, differentiated staffing, and the involvement of paraprofessionals (variously
labeled teacher aides, instructional or clerical assistants, or auxiliary personnel) to assist in providing instructional services in the schools.

The New Breed

The numbers of auxiliary personnel in schools have increased dramatically. In 1971, Geraldine Channon estimated that in Canada there was one teacher aide for every one hundred teachers; in Scotland, one aide for every twenty-five teachers; and in the United States, one aide for every ten teachers.¹ In Saskatchewan, where the number of teachers has remained close to 11,000 since 1970, there were virtually no teacher aides in 1969. During the last five years the number of teacher aides has increased to 66, 150, 218, 391 and 550. In Alberta, the number of aides engaged full-time in instructional and related activities has grown from 200 in 1968, to 565 in 1970, to 1,985 in 1973. In addition, there were some 3,000 aides whose tasks were more of a clerical nature, and several thousand others who were "parent volunteers".²

It is wrong to assume that persons employed as paraprofessionals are untrained. Many aides have several years of post-secondary education or even a university degree; indeed, some hold a teacher's certificate but were unable or chose not to find a position as a teacher. Furthermore, there are training programs already in existence in Canada that offer one-year and two-year courses at the post-secondary level, specifically for

²Advisory Committee on Teacher Education and Certification, Instructional Aides and Boundaries of Membership (Saskatoon: Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, March 1974), pp. 9-10.
persons wishing to become teaching assistants or educational resources technicians. When one notes that such courses frequently include classes in child development, adolescent psychology, communications, school organization, and basic methodology, one is led to wonder whether the graduates of these courses will not soon, with their own blessing and that of society, be carrying out many of the functions now being performed by the professional teacher.

In the United States, where it is estimated there will be more than one million paraprofessionals employed in schools by 1976, teacher aides have been involved in a variety of instructional tasks. Here is one description of a typical suburban aide:

The suburban paraprofessional, called an instructional aide in San Mateo (Calif.) Union High School District, is usually a middle-aged housewife with a college degree or some college experience, according to Shirley Rosenberg, who has served as coordinator of instructional aides in San Mateo since 1965. She may hold out-of-state teaching credentials or have some teaching experience. Her children are in school, and she is interested in doing something on a regular basis which will allow her to be home during non-school hours and on school holidays. She does not want to work full time, yet wants to do something more challenging than the usual combination of PTA, Scout or other organization work. A night course at San Francisco State College has helped expose her to the latest ideas on motivation, discipline and evaluation, the nature of today's high school student and changes taking place

---

on the high school scene. She works an average of 16 to 20 hours per week at $2.50 to $3.00 an hour, most often in English, reading, math, science and social studies classes. Mrs. Rosenberg says the typical San Mateo paraprofessional works with students in small groups or individually, either to shore them up in weak spots, or to assist them in assignments missed or not understood. She corrects papers, helps foreign students with language handicaps, draws up bibliographies, researches materials, develops filmstrips, assists with laboratory experiments.4

Teachers React

As a result of the growing numbers of auxiliary personnel being hired by school boards, teachers have begun giving greater attention to the way in which such persons can participate in the school program, and to the implications that their employment may have on the traditional roles and the economic status of teachers themselves. In general, the reaction by teachers' organizations in Canada has been one of resistance to the involvement of non-certificated personnel in the instructional process. During the past year, headlines in teacher publications have read:

"ATA Voices Strong Opposition to Differentiated Staffing"

"Teachers Must Have Final Say" (M.T.S.)

"BCTF Opposed to Teacher Aides Teaching"

Teacher opinion appears to be divided on whether there is any place at all for teacher aides (other than the purely clerical or stenographic variety) in schools. Some teachers cite such non-professional duties as preparing

materials, keeping records and checking objective tests as suitable tasks for a teacher aide. Others would include working with students in small groups, assisting with laboratory experiments, listening to children read, and correcting compositions in English as being equally appropriate tasks for an aide. Still other teachers take the view that, with the recent improvements in teacher supply, there is no need to employ anyone as a teacher aide. Rather, we should be utilizing the newly available pool of qualified teachers to increase the number of professional personnel in the schools and to make substantial reductions in existing pupil-teacher ratios -- the improvements that have been postponed for decades because of the teacher shortage.

Teachers' organizations have tended to approach the problem of role definition by specifying what auxiliary personnel should or should not be permitted to do. For example, the policy statement adopted by the Manitoba Teachers' Society in 1972 states in part:

The use of the teacher's time can be made more effective with the assistance of auxiliary personnel, such as teacher aides, school aides, auxiliaries and volunteers. Such personnel can relieve the teacher from non-teaching tasks related to his responsibilities as a teacher. The following principles shall govern the use of such personnel:

(a) They shall not perform teaching tasks such as planning, diagnosing, prescribing, instructing and evaluating.
(b) They must perform their functions at all times under the supervision and direction of a member or members of the teaching staff.
(c) Their assistance shall be given only to the extent and for the purposes that the teachers determine.
(d) Teachers must be involved in the selection of such auxiliary school personnel with whom they are to be associated.
(e) They shall not be used as substitute teachers.\(^5\)

The 1973 policy resolutions of the Alberta Teachers' Association include the following:

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Alberta Teachers' Association recognize that non-certificated personnel may become involved in instructional activities, as resource people provided that:
(a) the person has a relevant area of expertise,
(b) the involvement is on a short-term basis,
(c) the activity is planned, organized, supervised, and evaluated by a certificated teacher.

BE IT RESOLVED, that The Alberta Teachers' Association take action to ensure that teachers' aides do not:
(a) diagnose educational needs of students, (b) prescribe remediation, (c) carry any instructional responsibility, (d) evaluate the results of instruction.

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Association oppose the employment of teachers' aides when such employment may effect a reduction of certificated staff.\(^6\)

The Manitoba statement requires the teacher to provide the instruction: the Alberta statement requires only that the teacher retain the responsibility for the instruction that is provided. Both statements attempt to draw a line between "professional" and "non-professional" tasks.

\(^5\)Manitoba Teachers' Society, New Staffing Patterns and Quality Education (Winnipeg: the Society, 1972), pp. 103-104.

Other Professions -- Similar Problems

Other professions have experienced and are experiencing the same kind of role conflicts that are only now beginning to face educators. Many of the duties once performed exclusively by registered nurses are now carried out by certified nursing assistants. The proliferation of aides, orderlies and special technicians in hospitals has resulted in the registered nurse being removed from the direct service to the patient she once provided. Despite the specific definitions originally established, loopholes and extensions have crept in, with greater and greater incursions upon the duties that formerly required the qualifications of a professional nurse.

Last year in Regina, Premier Allan Blakeney, himself a lawyer, told delegates to the Canadian Bar Association convention that the legal profession "must be ready to meet the challenge and the inevitability of major change";

Mr. Blakeney posed the question of whether lawyers are spending a considerable proportion of their time on tasks which could be performed as well and at lower cost by "paraprofessionals" working under the supervision of lawyers in law offices. He suggested that if lawyers did not expand the delivery team for legal services through the use of paraprofessionals then it would be "highly likely that there will be a changing -- a cutting back -- of the scope of the legal profession monopoly." Certain kinds of work now the exclusive prerogative of lawyers would be removed from the "statutory umbrella" covering the practice of law so that the work could be done by non-lawyers with training both more limited and more specialized.
Today, thousands of people appear in lower courts without representation. Thousands more plead guilty, and leave with a sense of bitterness. The question arises: is this really necessary? Must we insist that a client facing a charge under the Highway Traffic Act be represented by someone skilled in the doctrine of negligence at sea? Is a fully trained lawyer, expert in the intricacies of contract law, necessary to prepare the probate material for a $20,000 estate?  

A continuing squabble is presently in progress between dentists and denturists, the latter group striving for the right to deal directly with the public, without the necessity of working under the supervision of dentists: 

Nowhere in Canada is the fight between dentists and denturists as bitter as it is in Ontario. 

The dentist is a university graduate who has had to acquire some medical knowledge during his years of training. He insists that only he is qualified to treat the person who sits in a dental chair. He measures and makes impressions for dentures and does the fitting but does not himself manufacture them. 

That is done in a dental laboratory by a technician or mechanic who now seeks to call himself a denturist, deal directly with the public and get more money for his skilled services. He is a graduate of a training school and makes no claim to medical knowledge. 

He has won that right, in full or in part, in several provinces and makes dentures for a price less than that

charged by a dentist who must add the cost of his oral examination and adjustment to his bill to the patient.

The denturist has not won that right in Ontario and faces prosecution in the courts if he practises on his own.

Ontario denturists contend that pressure and lobbying in the legislature by organized dentists brought about legislation last year that prohibits a denturist from dealing directly with the public except under supervision of a dentist.

The dentists deny this.

Charges and countercharges by the opposing forces have flown freely in recent months with the fight at times sinking to the name-calling level.8

And in Saskatchewan another facet of the dentist’s traditional domain is soon to be usurped:

When many Saskatchewan six-year-olds start school in September, they will find not only teachers but also dental nurses waiting to welcome them.

The dental nurses -- the first of whom will graduate this summer -- will be the backbone of a provincial dental care program that officials describe as the first of its kind in North America.

Under the program, six-year-olds will get free dental care this fall and over the next five years the program will be expanded to include all children from age 3 to 12.

---

8"The Great False Teeth Debate: Battle in Ontario Bitterest of All", Star-Phoenix, Saskatoon, April 5, 1974, p. 41.
The dental nurses are virtually essential because of the province's shortage of dentists and because of the cost of training dentists.

It takes six years and about $60,000 to train a dentist, while a dental nurse is trained in two years for $15,000 and can perform many of the simpler dental tasks.

"I think the first dental nurses in the field will be a little shaky," said Bev Sall of Milestone, Saskatchewan, a first-year student in the program, "but after they've done it for a while they'll be competent".

Delores Mantai, of Regina, who has been taking her children to the training clinic to have work done by senior students, believes the dental nurses will be competent from the start.

"I've been up in the clinic and to the dentist and I can't see any difference," Mrs. Mantai said.

"I have never seen a tear shed by any of the children during the times I've been at the clinic."

There are 60 nurses in first-year training and 36 finishing the final year of the course.

When they graduate, they will find themselves working for the health department at salaries of something over $700 a month and travelling from school to school with their equipment.9

What does all this have to do with education and teaching? Nothing, say many. But others see direct parallels with the teaching profession. The all-powerful society of which we are a part may well decide unilaterally

to reform the definitions, the performance and the delivery of all professional services.

Some Assumptions

With the foregoing paragraphs as a background, I shall now outline a possible approach that teachers might take in coping with the emerging changes in their professional environment. Before doing so, however, I wish to list and briefly discuss certain assumptions upon which my ensuing comments will be based.

Limited resources. It seems to me that we must recognize that there will always be limited resources for any publicly supported enterprise. In education, this fact will cause society to consider and investigate any proposal that may provide equivalent service (or seemingly equivalent service) for less money. This in turn will require educators constantly to rationalize and defend what they are doing and why they are doing it.

Differentiation. Paraprofessionals are here. Their numbers will increase. There are at least some people who believe that we could cut the present number of certificated teachers in half, add an equivalent number of less qualified persons at half the salary, and have no appreciable reduction in the quality of the educational program. I do not share that view. At the same time, however, I find it difficult to state categorically that, for quality education, every single role in the instructional process must be filled by someone who possesses at least a Bachelor of Education degree. I will agree that, if schools are to continue to be organized in the present mode -- one teacher, one class-room -- one can defend the concept that a graduate teacher be
required for all. I am doubtful, however, that the present pattern will still be the dominant one in the twenty-first century. Accordingly, I subscribe to the view that we must be prepared to accept — even to initiate — a variety of attempts to devise new and different staffing patterns in our schools.

Drawing a line. It is a temptation to try to draw a black-and-white line between what is a "professional" task and what is a "non-professional" task. I question whether the time devoted to developing this difficult distinction and the effort directed toward a stern policing of the application of it will in the long run be of greatest value either to education or to teachers. For one thing, such an approach tends to stand on the belief that the possession of a teaching certificate is conclusive proof that the holder can teach and the non-holder cannot. This approach also tends to rely on a legalistic definition of quality education, failing to recognize that, as things are now, society can change the rules merely by changing the statutes.

Dilution of standards. Some allege that the introduction of para-professionals is merely a subversive means of diluting the standards of the profession. It may be. It may not. Without a careful analysis of the competencies required to attain specified educational goals, and without careful and deliberate attention to the assignment of appropriate personnel to various tasks, the indiscriminate addition of aides could very well lead to a decimation of the teaching profession. On the other hand, provided one is ready to accept the logic of role differentiation, and provided there are adequate mechanisms for teachers to be participants in the decision-making process, there need not be any dilution of standards.
in the roles where extensive qualifications and skills are really required.

**Collective bargaining.** I believe that collective bargaining is and will be the major mechanism by which teachers will influence the course of public education. For too long, however, teachers and their organizations have defined the concept narrowly, thinking only in terms of salaries and related benefits. When I say "collective bargaining," I shall mean the ways in which we, as an occupational group, define and reach agreement upon our relationships with the other people and the other groups in our society.

**Organizational Alternatives**

There are two classical organization types: craft unions and industrial unions. The craft union includes persons who share the same basic skill, or craft. The industrial union seeks to include all persons employed in a particular industry.

Professional associations have certain union-like characteristics. Basically, they are like craft unions, although increasing numbers of "professionals" are finding themselves encompassed by unions that are industrial in nature.

In 1972, the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation received a report from its Ad Hoc Committee on the Boundaries of Membership. The report examined the various bases that might be considered for defining membership in the Federation. The report said, in part:

The organization of public education may undergo considerable revision. It is doubtful that any one black-and-white pattern that may be devised now can endure for all time. On the other hand, an initial decision on
the membership issue must be adopted by the Federation now.

There are at least four organizational alternatives available:

1. **An elite organization** including only those instructional personnel who have met certain prescribed standards of qualification.

2. **Two organizations** (either affiliated, or associated under an umbrella organization, or separate), one including professional instructional personnel, the other including non-professional instructional personnel.

3. **One organization** including all instructional personnel.

4. **One organization** including all persons employed by school boards.

None of the four is a perfect solution. Under the first alternative, even the present membership should be curtailed by excluding persons who do not meet the minimum standards for regular certification. Under the second alternative, the possibilities exist for "inter-union" rivalries and jurisdictional disputes. Under the third alternative, it will become necessary to establish role definitions and required qualification standards for the various members. Under the fourth alternative, which is a kind of "industry-wide" pattern, instructional personnel would no longer retain a separate organizational identity.

It is important to note that the Canadian Union of Public Employees, which would resemble the fourth alternative, has already moved to absorb teacher aides in two Saskatchewan cities. This same union made a determined bid last year to become the representative of all New
Brunswick teachers.  

In the United States, the two national teachers' organizations -- the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association -- have made some provision for paraprofessionals, either as full members, as special category members, or as members of affiliated organizations:

The prospect of organizing a potential one-million paraprofessionals has put a glint in the eye of AFT and NEA -- and not just in terms of additional membership muscle. Big city unions, in particular, are known to feel that their future strength depends on teachers and paraprofessionals supporting each other. For one thing, if paraprofessionals staffed classrooms during a teacher strike, it would deprive the teachers of their strategic ability to shut down schools.

"There are some who believe that AFT membership should be restricted to only fully qualified classroom teachers and that all other nonsupervisory educational personnel should be excluded," AFT President David Selden told his union's 1970 convention. "I want to make this simple assertion: Anyone who works for the board of education in a nonsupervisory capacity and who is in a position to act as a scab or strikebreaker ought to be brought into the union. It is hard enough for teachers to muster the strength to win strikes without having to do it over the opposition of co-workers."

NEA is almost equally blunt in apprising teachers of this fact of educational life. NEA's 1971 Organizing Auxiliary Personnel: A Handbook for Local Associations

---

has this to say: "Can the professional association afford not to assist the paraprofessionals? The answer is clear: Local associations across the country have no choice but to take steps to protect the rights of teachers. Associations must ensure that auxiliary personnel are used to free teachers to perform better their prime functions as teachers -- and not used as a means of increasing class size, reducing the number of teachers or cutting the salary budget. What better way to accomplish this than by working cooperatively with auxiliary personnel and helping them to establish viable organizations of their own?"  

In 1971, the NEA Representative Assembly amended the bylaws to permit a separate membership category for auxiliary personnel, allowing them to join the NEA, pay annual dues of ten dollars, and receive all rights and privileges of active members except those of holding office and being represented in the Representative Assembly.  

Ironically, the American Federation of Teachers, while able to see merit in including paraprofessional instructional personnel in its membership, is unable to accept the rationale (collegiality and co-operative teamwork) for including principals and supervisors in the same organization.

Who Is a Teacher?

Like its sister organizations in Canada, the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation was created by and for teachers. Forty years ago the founders of the STF decided that they needed to have a strong and effective pro-  

11National School Public Relations Association, op. cit., p. 44.  
12ibid., p. 47.
fessional organization, and that it had better include everyone involved
in the instructional program of our schools. Apparently they even
wondered whether the name "teacher" was a sufficiently broad definition of
the organization's membership, for the name originally proposed was
"Saskatchewan Education Federation." They didn't spend too much time
debating what a teacher was, because at that time the vast majority of the
potential members all had the same role -- to teach all the subjects to
all the students in their one-room school. There were difficult questions,
of course. Could a single organization meet the needs of both rural and
urban teachers? men teachers and women teachers? elementary and secondary
teachers? teachers with six weeks of training and with six years of
training? teachers who were principals and teachers who were superintendents?
The answer to all of these questions, it was decided, was "yes."

Today we face a similar problem with respect to membership. The
problem seems to be more vexing and more difficult, but that may be attri-
butable more to its proximity than to its inherent complexity.

The superficial solution to the question of membership is that the
teachers' organization should include all who are teachers. This, of course,
is the first of several semantic pitfalls that we encounter in dealing with
this issue. One must then ask, "Who is a teacher?" One respondent may say,
"A teacher is a person who holds a valid certificate of qualification."
Another may say, "A teacher is a person who holds a valid certificate and
is employed by a school board to teach in the schools." By contrast, a
third person may say, "My teacher is he from whom I learn." The semantic
problem is this: calling a person a teacher does not make him one;
conversely, calling a person some other name while having him teach, makes
him no less a teacher. This "name game" is the root of much of the misunderstanding that arises in the current debate about teachers and teachers' aides.

The traditional definition of "teacher" (and therefore member of the teacher organization) has been the possession of a teacher's certificate issued by the Minister of Education. A teacher's certificate has been a statement that the holder has completed a specified quantity of academic and professional classes; the assumption has been that the completion of these classes has made him capable to teach, whereas the failure to complete these classes would have left him incapable to teach. The minimum requirement for obtaining a teacher's certificate has always been determined arbitrarily, and has been set more on the basis of shortage (either of people or of money) than on the basis of educational justification. This being the case, one sometimes wonders whether the process of issuing teachers' certificates is still necessary, or whether it is an anachronism that is now useful only to provide the appearance of ministerial accountability and the assurance of status to teachers who have completed a certain course of study. (Lest I be misunderstood, let me say that teacher certification has played an important part in maintaining and improving the qualifications and the quality of teaching personnel in our schools. There is no doubt that, if retained, it will continue in some measure to do so.)

In recent years, the practical definition of "teacher" has begun to be expressed in terms of role or function, rather than certification and training. In most models of differentiated staffing, the process of education is divided into several components, some of which may be assigned
to persons with greater qualifications or skills, some to persons with few or no professional qualifications. This procedure has led to the use of many labels: master teacher, assistant teacher, associate teacher, teacher aide, instructional aide, volunteer aide, etc. Likewise, it has led to analyzing the definition of teaching -- to say, for example, that teaching includes diagnosis, prescription, instruction and evaluation, and that a certificated teacher must diagnose, prescribe and evaluate, although he may delegate instruction to his non-certificated assistant.

Elsewhere in the school system, outside the formal classroom, other educational specialties have been added: guidance counsellors, educational psychologists, psychometricians, school librarians, speech and hearing specialists, to name a few. All are important members of the educational team; all contribute in various ways to decisions about educational experiences for students.\(^\text{13}\)

In five years we have seen the addition of several hundred persons to school staffs in Saskatchewan, most of them being called "teachers'.

\(^{13}\)The dilemma created for both the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation and the individual is described in the March, 1973 issue of the Saskatoon Teachers' Association Newsletter by school psychologist, Carl A. Krause:

The S.T.F. is no longer an organization of teachers only, even as presently constituted. There are today a good number of non-teachers within the ranks of the S.T.F., and I am one of them. I shall explain my not uncommon situation. I was once a classroom teacher but have not been employed as one for eight years. However, because I still hold a teaching certificate and because I am employed by the Saskatoon Board of Education in a consultative capacity, I am thus a member of the S.T.F. Even if I do not wish to be a member, I must, by virtue of that teaching certificate, be a member. On the other hand, my office partner, with equivalent training but without a teaching certificate, and hired to do a similar job, is denied membership. I cannot get out; he cannot get in.
aides." It is clear that the role being played by these people is varied; it ranges from being completely clerical and stenographic, to being directly involved in the instruction of students. In the kindergarten pilot projects presently being carried on, and in many schools with native students, there are instructional assistants and, under any of the usual definitions of the term "teaching," they are teaching. I therefore suggest that the problem we are facing, in Saskatchewan and in Canada, is not whether we will deal with instructional assistants, but how.

In summary, I think that, in the future, we shall see a decline in the exclusive reliance on teacher certification, the salary classifications based only on preparation and experience, the formal and traditional teacher education courses, and the monolithic role definition of the teacher and his task. We shall probably see more diversification in the various educational roles, in the bases for salary determination, and in the nature of teacher education (the latter becoming more competency-based in nature). If these things do occur, the certificates and labels and titles we are now using will become increasingly inadequate as a basis for determining who may perform what function in the educational process, and who should belong to a teachers' organization.

**A Criterion for Membership**

Every teachers' organization in Canada will have to review and determine its membership boundaries. I believe that the most viable and educationally sound arrangement is for a provincial teachers' organization to include every person who is employed in a publicly supported school system and who is a member of the instructional team.
Any statement of general principle will create some debate as to its application in a specific set of circumstances. The foregoing statement is no exception. It is an attempt to draw a line. As I see it, the criterion means that, in so far as membership in a teacher organization is concerned, all clerical, custodial, transportation and business management personnel should be out; all educational and instructional personnel should be in. Any line of demarcation will be difficult to apply; but it is better for the line to encompass all members of the educational team than to divide the instructional participants on the basis of whether a certain act is "professional" or "non-professional," or whether a certain person is named "master" or "assistant" or "aide."

It is worth noting that in the past we have always argued forcefully that, although the name, the role, the function and the salary of a principal are different from those of a teacher, both persons are an integral part of a team. Similarly, we have not excluded certificated persons with only six weeks or one year of professional education from the teacher group, even though they fell far short of the minimum standard that we said should exist. We said that, in education, a teamwork approach is imperative. The same argument, in my opinion, applies equally well to the other instructional roles and positions that are now emerging in our educational institutions.

Implementation

Only a person who knows nothing about the nature of social and educational change would contend that existing structures and relationships will endure indefinitely. Indeed, the very basis of education is change.
change in knowledge, change in skills, change in people. Such a view of society and education does not, of course, envision frivolous change, merely for the sake of change itself.

Teachers believe that they should, as a group, have a very considerable voice and influence in decisions affecting education. To this end they have formed organizations and have sought mechanisms that would provide them with an adequate role in educational decision-making.

A major thrust by teacher groups in recent decades has been to obtain full collective bargaining rights. Included in this concept is the absence of statutory or other legal restrictions on the scope of bargaining, and the right to negotiate all conditions of employment. Even the scope of the bargaining unit (and, by implication, the determination of who shall teach) should be negotiable.

A recent study suggests that "teacher unionism" is not fundamentally a "welfare movement," but has essential differences from unionism in other areas of life, particularly in respect to the actual or potential impact of collective bargaining:

Although the organizational effect of collective bargaining has been to intensify the rule bureaucracy character of schools, it is equally capable of enhancing both professional autonomy and decentralized policy-making. Predictably it could become a force in shaping the school as a professional organization, dependent on professional standards, with collegial rather than hierarchical structure . . . .

In this context, it may be seen that education is passing through a critical period in its existence. On the one hand, the current emphasis by teacher organiza-
tions on expanding the control function of impersonal rules will lead to an increased bureaucratization of the school and result in both diminished flexibility and less professional behavior for the teachers. On the other hand, there are two professionalizing side benefits accompanying this increased rule dependence which need to be considered. For example, the absolute authority of administrators and supervisors will have been reduced (a necessary prerequisite to a collegial organization) and the decision making process in the schools will become more democratized. Thus, depending in large measure on how teacher unions exercise their options, the school may be increasingly bureaucratized or it may emerge as the long advocated "professional model." ¹⁴

In any case, collective bargaining in public education is a fact. Its usefulness to education can be enhanced if it is allowed to become the major vehicle to permit teacher involvement in (and thereby obtain teacher commitment to) changes in all aspects of the teacher's role and conditions of employment. Society may force changes upon an unwilling teaching profession; but proposed changes in education can be effectively implemented only if they are introduced with the support of, rather than in spite of, the teachers in the schools.

If teachers aspire to having an equal share in all the major decisions affecting the instructional program, and if they see collective bargaining as the primary mechanism for doing so, it will be necessary for them to...

look at their organizations and their collective bargaining units with these objectives in mind. There is little likelihood that teachers will have an equal voice with society's representatives (local and provincial governments) in determining the nature of and roles in the educational program, particularly via the collective bargaining process, if they are not prepared to accommodate within their group all the members of the instructional team in respect of whom they are seeking to make decisions.

It is my view that collective bargaining would be the best route for implementing a policy that the membership of a teachers' organization encompass all persons involved in the instructional program. If this were the policy selected, a collective bargaining agreement should ultimately specify:

1. the criteria that would describe the scope of the bargaining unit;
2. the administrative procedure to be used for determining the status of an individual whose eligibility for membership was unclear;
3. the classifications for which members may qualify;
4. the duties or role definitions of the various classifications of members;
5. the qualifications required for the various classifications;
6. the numbers or proportions of persons in the various classifications that would be necessary for providing a satisfactory level of educational service.

It is clear that teachers, through their organization, would have to (a) develop and clarify their policies and aspirations on the foregoing points, and (b) bargain with the representatives of society for the
inclusion of these policies in a collective agreement. It is also clear that this approach holds the greatest promise for teachers if they wish to ameliorate and rationalize the impact that the employment of auxiliary personnel is going to have on their economic and professional status.

Summary

This paper has attempted to propose and support the following points with respect to auxiliary instructional personnel in Canadian schools:

1. They are here; they are "teaching"; their numbers will increase. Our problem is not whether to deal with them, but how.

2. To splinter the instructional team is to invite rivalries and dissension between the various types of instructional personnel. Such an approach is opposite to the one that Canadian teachers have traditionally taken.

3. To include all members of the instructional team in a single organization and a single bargaining unit requires an acceptance of the desirability and need for differentiation of prescribed roles and required qualifications among the instructional team members.

4. Canadian teachers want to "half-share" educational decision-making. Teachers' organizations cannot hope to "half-share" decisions on educational roles and programs if they include in their membership only a portion of the instructional teams that are working in the school systems.

5. The greatest strength for ensuring
   (a) a co-operative, collegial, teamwork orientation to the provision of instructional services in school systems, and
   (b) unified action to obtain the prerequisite conditions for quality education, will be found in a broadly based grouping of educational practitioners that can operationalize a
fully developed system of collective bargaining.

More than anything else, Canadian teachers now need to examine the issues and trends respecting auxiliary personnel, to agree upon the organizational forms and objectives that are a judicious blend of idealism and practicability, and then to place themselves in a position for action on, rather than reaction to, the emerging changes in the educational milieu.
### Illustrative of the variety of tasks presently performed by teacher aides are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supervise students in and out of classrooms, including extracurricular activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepare, typing and duplicating materials including non-print media.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operate, maintaining the use of, and servicing audio-visual equipment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assist, sometimes tutoring, individual students and small groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical tasks such as taking attendance, keeping records, filing and keeping inventories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marking or editing student work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrying out demonstrations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting up and assisting in laboratories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing instruction in specialist areas not otherwise available in a particular school such as archery, tie-dying, ballet, certain foreign languages.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The trend to involvement of teacher aides in schools appears to be a response to three forces:

- Pressure from teachers (and others) to redefine their jobs so as to exclude many clerical or other tasks not viewed as requiring formal teacher preparation or, at least, as not being appropriate to persons with advanced training.
- A recognition of the importance of individualising instruction both from the point of view of increased learning efficiency and the need for schools to provide for the unique interests and aptitudes of students. Effecting this individualisation is seen as contingent upon lowering the pupil-adult ratio in schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>September 1976 - September 6-1190-903</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### APPENDIX

**CATALOGUE 81-001**

**Region, Vol. 3, No. 6**

**Volunteer, such titles are paraprofessionals or auxiliary school personnel** have been used in many Canadian schools.

In general, their legal status within the school system is unclear as is their position relative to organized labor. Similarly confused is a description of what their duties may or may not include and, consequently, where special training, if any, they should receive.

**BEST COPY AVAILABLE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supervise students in and out of classrooms, including extracurricular activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepare, typing and duplicating materials including non-print media.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operate, maintaining the use of, and servicing audio-visual equipment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assist, sometimes tutoring, individual students and small groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical tasks such as taking attendance, keeping records, filing and keeping inventories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marking or editing student work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrying out demonstrations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting up and assisting in laboratories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing instruction in specialist areas not otherwise available in a particular school such as archery, tie-dying, ballet, certain foreign languages.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The trend to involvement of teacher aides in schools appears to be a response to three forces:

- Pressure from teachers (and others) to redefine their jobs so as to exclude many clerical or other tasks not viewed as requiring formal teacher preparation or, at least, as not being appropriate to persons with advanced training.
- A recognition of the importance of individualising instruction both from the point of view of increased learning efficiency and the need for schools to provide for the unique interests and aptitudes of students. Effecting this individualisation is seen as contingent upon lowering the pupil-adult ratio in schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>September 1976 - September 6-1190-903</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### APPENDIX

**CATALOGUE 81-001**

**Region, Vol. 3, No. 6**

**Volunteer, such titles are paraprofessionals or auxiliary school personnel** have been used in many Canadian schools.

In general, their legal status within the school system is unclear as is their position relative to organized labor. Similarly confused is a description of what their duties may or may not include and, consequently, where special training, if any, they should receive.

**BEST COPY AVAILABLE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supervise students in and out of classrooms, including extracurricular activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepare, typing and duplicating materials including non-print media.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operate, maintaining the use of, and servicing audio-visual equipment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assist, sometimes tutoring, individual students and small groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical tasks such as taking attendance, keeping records, filing and keeping inventories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marking or editing student work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrying out demonstrations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting up and assisting in laboratories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing instruction in specialist areas not otherwise available in a particular school such as archery, tie-dying, ballet, certain foreign languages.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The trend to involvement of teacher aides in schools appears to be a response to three forces:

- Pressure from teachers (and others) to redefine their jobs so as to exclude many clerical or other tasks not viewed as requiring formal teacher preparation or, at least, as not being appropriate to persons with advanced training.
- A recognition of the importance of individualising instruction both from the point of view of increased learning efficiency and the need for schools to provide for the unique interests and aptitudes of students. Effecting this individualisation is seen as contingent upon lowering the pupil-adult ratio in schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>September 1976 - September 6-1190-903</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A desire for greater community involvement had led to the creation of teacher aides in decision-making and in the classroom. Two principal considerations have gone into making teacher aides an integral part of the educational system: the perception that involving the public is only one aspect of education, that it must be supplemented by the interests of the community, and, more specifically, by the perception that the school's effectiveness is strongly influenced by parental and community support for its daily activities.

The following table provides approximate information on the number of teacher aides and the number of hours worked per week. Except for British Columbia, data were obtained in cooperation with Departments of Education. The source for British Columbia data was a voluntary survey (approximately 90% return) conducted by the B.C. Teachers' Federation. Data in a comparable form were not available from elsewhere. The Prince Edward Island Department of Education reported no teacher aides in that system. While there are teacher aides in Alberta schools, no reliable information on them is presently available.

It is hazardous to discuss trends or draw conclusions from information covering a two-year period only. However, figures on average weekly working hours are noteworthy. Many, if not most, aides do not work a conventional work week; the particularly low figure for volunteer aides (2.7 hours per week in 1972-73) exemplifies the part-time, perhaps even casual, nature of this work. In terms of trends, since the overall number of teacher aides has increased slightly more than 1972-73 to 1973-74 than did the number of hours worked per week, the effect of these differing growth rates was a decrease in the average week worked for both paid sides (by 15%, from 19.9 to 17.9 hours) and volunteer aides (by 60% from 6.5 to 2.7 hours). Whether this is a temporary fluctuation or a longer term indicator is uncertain.

What is the optimal number of teacher aides in a school? The answer to this question depends upon a number of interrelated considerations, most importantly a clarification of the respective roles of teachers and aides. This, as with many of the issues involved in education, is a matter of discussion among educators and educational policy makers. With regard to the relative numbers of teachers to aides, in 1973-74 the ratio of the total number of paid and volunteer aides to full-time elementary and secondary teachers for those provinces included in the table, varied from a high of 32% in British Columbia to a low of 3% in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. Moreover, while the overall teacher aide population was growing substantially from 1972-73 to 1973-74, the teaching force declined marginally.

If teacher aides are to become a permanent feature of the educational system then perhaps there is a need for data that will begin to shed light on questions such as that above. Other information on sides that could be helpful to educational planners includes: number related to personal characteristics such as sex and to school or district characteristics such as school level; method and amount of payment; special qualifications possessed; location and content of training programs; career patterns; effect on school organization and instructional processes; relationships to other school personnel.

A formal training of teacher aides is a recent endeavor in this province. In 1972-73, 339 persons were being trained as education resource technologists or teacher assistants at the University of Toronto. In addition, 32 persons were being trained in one Junior College in British Columbia.

A desire of many communities to participate davantage in the educational process is a normal and healthy one. However, it is important to recognize that teachers are not the only factors in what is referred to as the 'education of the community': the role of the teacher aide must be considered in light of this. The school is not the only institution where involvement of the community is encouraged; the community organization, the local government, the business community, the local church, the local museum each has its role to play. In order to encourage participation, it is important to be careful not to create a situation where there is a conflict of interest.

On the teacher aide, it is important to distinguish between the role the aide serves in education and the role of education is served by the aide. The former role is that of education; for example, the aide may be helping to teach a particular subject, to teach a special subject, to teach a particular group of students. The latter role is that of the aide's role in education; for example, the aide may be helping to teach a particular subject, to teach a special subject, to teach a particular group of students. The latter role is that of the aide's role in education; for example, the aide may be helping to teach a particular subject, to teach a special subject, to teach a particular group of students.

The table below presents data on the number of aides in a school and the number of hours worked per week. These data were obtained from a voluntary survey (approximately 90% return) conducted by the B.C. Teachers' Federation. Data in a comparable form were not available from elsewhere. The Prince Edward Island Department of Education reported no teacher aides in that system. While there are teacher aides in Alberta schools, no reliable information on them is presently available.

The following table provides approximate information on the number of teacher aides and the number of hours worked per week. Except for British Columbia, data were obtained in cooperation with Departments of Education. The source for British Columbia data was a voluntary survey (approximately 90% return) conducted by the B.C. Teachers' Federation. Data in a comparable form were not available from elsewhere. The Prince Edward Island Department of Education reported no teacher aides in that system. While there are teacher aides in Alberta schools, no reliable information on them is presently available.

The table below presents data on the number of aides in a school and the number of hours worked per week. These data were obtained from a voluntary survey (approximately 90% return) conducted by the B.C. Teachers' Federation. Data in a comparable form were not available from elsewhere. The Prince Edward Island Department of Education reported no teacher aides in that system. While there are teacher aides in Alberta schools, no reliable information on them is presently available.

The table below presents data on the number of aides in a school and the number of hours worked per week. These data were obtained from a voluntary survey (approximately 90% return) conducted by the B.C. Teachers' Federation. Data in a comparable form were not available from elsewhere. The Prince Edward Island Department of Education reported no teacher aides in that system. While there are teacher aides in Alberta schools, no reliable information on them is presently available.

The table below presents data on the number of aides in a school and the number of hours worked per week. These data were obtained from a voluntary survey (approximately 90% return) conducted by the B.C. Teachers' Federation. Data in a comparable form were not available from elsewhere. The Prince Edward Island Department of Education reported no teacher aides in that system. While there are teacher aides in Alberta schools, no reliable information on them is presently available.

The table below presents data on the number of aides in a school and the number of hours worked per week. These data were obtained from a voluntary survey (approximately 90% return) conducted by the B.C. Teachers' Federation. Data in a comparable form were not available from elsewhere. The Prince Edward Island Department of Education reported no teacher aides in that system. While there are teacher aides in Alberta schools, no reliable information on them is presently available.

The table below presents data on the number of aides in a school and the number of hours worked per week. These data were obtained from a voluntary survey (approximately 90% return) conducted by the B.C. Teachers' Federation. Data in a comparable form were not available from elsewhere. The Prince Edward Island Department of Education reported no teacher aides in that system. While there are teacher aides in Alberta schools, no reliable information on them is presently available.

The table below presents data on the number of aides in a school and the number of hours worked per week. These data were obtained from a voluntary survey (approximately 90% return) conducted by the B.C. Teachers' Federation. Data in a comparable form were not available from elsewhere. The Prince Edward Island Department of Education reported no teacher aides in that system. While there are teacher aides in Alberta schools, no reliable information on them is presently available.

The table below presents data on the number of aides in a school and the number of hours worked per week. These data were obtained from a voluntary survey (approximately 90% return) conducted by the B.C. Teachers' Federation. Data in a comparable form were not available from elsewhere. The Prince Edward Island Department of Education reported no teacher aides in that system. While there are teacher aides in Alberta schools, no reliable information on them is presently available.

The table below presents data on the number of aides in a school and the number of hours worked per week. These data were obtained from a voluntary survey (approximately 90% return) conducted by the B.C. Teachers' Federation. Data in a comparable form were not available from elsewhere. The Prince Edward Island Department of Education reported no teacher aides in that system. While there are teacher aides in Alberta schools, no reliable information on them is presently available.

The table below presents data on the number of aides in a school and the number of hours worked per week. These data were obtained from a voluntary survey (approximately 90% return) conducted by the B.C. Teachers' Federation. Data in a comparable form were not available from elsewhere. The Prince Edward Island Department of Education reported no teacher aides in that system. While there are teacher aides in Alberta schools, no reliable information on them is presently available.

The table below presents data on the number of aides in a school and the number of hours worked per week. These data were obtained from a voluntary survey (approximately 90% return) conducted by the B.C. Teachers' Federation. Data in a comparable form were not available from elsewhere. The Prince Edward Island Department of Education reported no teacher aides in that system. While there are teacher aides in Alberta schools, no reliable information on them is presently available.

The table below presents data on the number of aides in a school and the number of hours worked per week. These data were obtained from a voluntary survey (approximately 90% return) conducted by the B.C. Teachers' Federation. Data in a comparable form were not available from elsewhere. The Prince Edward Island Department of Education reported no teacher aides in that system. While there are teacher aides in Alberta schools, no reliable information on them is presently available.

The table below presents data on the number of aides in a school and the number of hours worked per week. These data were obtained from a voluntary survey (approximately 90% return) conducted by the B.C. Teachers' Federation. Data in a comparable form were not available from elsewhere. The Prince Edward Island Department of Education reported no teacher aides in that system. While there are teacher aides in Alberta schools, no reliable information on them is presently available.

The table below presents data on the number of aides in a school and the number of hours worked per week. These data were obtained from a voluntary survey (approximately 90% return) conducted by the B.C. Teachers' Federation. Data in a comparable form were not available from elsewhere. The Prince Edward Island Department of Education reported no teacher aides in that system. While there are teacher aides in Alberta schools, no reliable information on them is presently available.

The table below presents data on the number of aides in a school and the number of hours worked per week. These data were obtained from a voluntary survey (approximately 90% return) conducted by the B.C. Teachers' Federation. Data in a comparable form were not available from elsewhere. The Prince Edward Island Department of Education reported no teacher aides in that system. While there are teacher aides in Alberta schools, no reliable information on them is presently available.

The table below presents data on the number of aides in a school and the number of hours worked per week. These data were obtained from a voluntary survey (approximately 90% return) conducted by the B.C. Teachers' Federation. Data in a comparable form were not available from elsewhere. The Prince Edward Island Department of Education reported no teacher aides in that system. While there are teacher aides in Alberta schools, no reliable information on them is presently available.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Hours/Week</th>
<th>Total Hours/Week</th>
<th>Average Hours/Week</th>
<th>Hours/Week</th>
<th>Total Hours/Week</th>
<th>Average Hours/Week</th>
<th>% change 1973-74 over 1972-73</th>
<th>Variation (%) de 1972-73 à 1973-74</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Newfoundland - Terre-Neuve:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid aides - Auxiliaries rémunérés</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>+ 26</td>
<td>+ 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteer aides - Auxiliaries bénévoles</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>828</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New Brunswick - Nouveau-Brunswick:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid aides - Auxiliaries rémunérés</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>1,679</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteer aides - Auxiliaries bénévoles</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>1,255</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nova Scotia - Nouvelle-Écosse:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid aides - Auxiliaries rémunérés</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteer aides - Auxiliaries bénévoles</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ontario:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid aides - Auxiliaries rémunérés</td>
<td>1,311</td>
<td>35,325</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>1,679</td>
<td>30,990</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>+ 9</td>
<td>+ 16</td>
<td>+ 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteer aides - Auxiliaries bénévoles</td>
<td>3,914</td>
<td>35,325</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>13,900</td>
<td>37,049</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>+ 29</td>
<td>+ 36</td>
<td>+ 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Manitoba:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid aides - Auxiliaries rémunérés</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>11,119</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>1,176</td>
<td>11,745</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>+ 65</td>
<td>+ 96</td>
<td>+ 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteer aides - Auxiliaries bénévoles</td>
<td>1,601</td>
<td>4,340</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2,092</td>
<td>6,685</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>+ 30</td>
<td>+ 56</td>
<td>+ 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Saskatchewan:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid aides - Auxiliaries rémunérés</td>
<td>639</td>
<td>14,716</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>1,139</td>
<td>19,928</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>+ 27</td>
<td>+ 76</td>
<td>+ 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteer aides - Auxiliaries bénévoles</td>
<td>725</td>
<td>17,744</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1,744</td>
<td>2,340</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>+ 23</td>
<td>+ 48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>British Columbia - Colombie-Britannique:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid aides - Auxiliaries rémunérés</td>
<td>1,085</td>
<td>14,112</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>1,108</td>
<td>11,776</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>+ 30</td>
<td>+ 27</td>
<td>+ 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteer aides - Auxiliaries bénévoles</td>
<td>7,094</td>
<td>15,633</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>6,216</td>
<td>14,881</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>- 11</td>
<td>- 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quebec:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid aides - Auxiliaries rémunérés</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteer aides - Auxiliaries bénévoles</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>- 23</td>
<td>+ 114</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid aides - Auxiliaries rémunérés</td>
<td>3,975</td>
<td>70,103</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>5,958</td>
<td>106,016</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>+ 48</td>
<td>+ 36</td>
<td>+ 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteer aides - Auxiliaries bénévoles</td>
<td>33,958</td>
<td>61,237</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>56,256</td>
<td>64,772</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>+ 76</td>
<td>+ 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>