Streaming: Knowledge and Attitudes

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Introduction

ecently, there have been a number of contributions to the local press as to whether Government primary schools should be streamed or not. These letters discussed various issues such as the role of the teacher, the relationship between pupils and teachers; and the relationship between teachers and pupils of different abilities. Unfortunately, these opinions were only expressed by University lecturers, politicians and researchers. The voices of the teachers, parents and children involved in streaming were not heard.

On 14 June 1988, the Department of Information, in a Press Release, stated that a committee set up by the Ministry of Education was attempting to investigate the opinions of parents and teachers on the system. However, no results have been published as yet. It was for this reason that in our study we concentrated on such an issue in order to open a new field where such attitudes are given primary importance.

It was not the purpose of our study to make a case for or against streaming. The study was designed to gather ethnographical material on the knowledge and attitudes that the pupils and their parents have towards streaming. It also attempted to trace out the part played by these attitudes in determining the success of failure of a pupil's academic performance.

Description of Study

The study was carried out in a state school, here referred to as 'Fra Mudest Primary School'. This school was chosen for the study because of its good academic reputation, if this is to be measured by the high percentage of pupils who are successful in the Junior Lyceum entrance examination.

The first part of the study was carried out towards the end of the scholastic year 1987-88, so that by then pupils would have settled down in their respective classes. Before the sample was selected, one or two preliminary decisions had to be made. It was first of all decided to restrict the survey to one age-group and secondly to focus on the three ability streams — the top, the middle and the bottom stream (i.e. stream A, B and C respectively.

Therefore, three classes, one from each ability stream were chosen as the sample. The advantage of selecting one age group was that assessment of progress and attainment would be easier because of the uniformity of the curriculum. While a small sample presents problems with regards to the generalisability of our findings, ethnographic research techniques allow the researcher to get closer to the people concerned. What is lost in breadth is recovered in depth.

These three particular classes were visited on several occasions for two main reasons. Firstly, to get familiar with the teachers and the pupils concerned and secondly to assess the atmosphere in each of the classes in question. What is meant by "atmosphere" will become clear in the course of this paper.

The teachers supplied details which included the pupils' dates of birth and their addresses. In each of the 'A' and B stream class there were 30 pupils, while in the 'C' stream class there were only 26 pupils. It was decided to randomly select 20 pupils from each class and to inverview them individually. The main aim of these interviews was to find out the pupils' attitude towards streaming and education in general.

The second part of the study was to obtain information on the home background of the pupils in the classes in question. There were three possible ways of doing this: one was to ask the pupils to provide it, the second was to send a questionnaire to the parents and the third was by means of a personal visit to the home.

In the first method (questions to the pupils), questions would have had to be severely restricted, information provided by them was likely to be unreliable and only a very superficial assessment of the home would have been possible.

The questionnaire method was likely to be just as unsatisfactory. Inevitably, there would have been questionnaires not returned, returned incomplete or inaccurately completed. Besides, as we discovered later, there were a number of parents who where incapable of reading the questions and of writing the answers.

In an interview, it is possible to acquire certain information which could not be obtained through a written questionnaire. In particular, assessment of the emotional atmosphere of the home requires a careful and tactful approach. During an interview, it is possible to lead gradually to questions on family relationships, parental harmony and the like, but a bold question in a questionnaire would either have aroused antagonism or have had to be omitted.

From every point of view, a visit to the home appeared to be the most desirable approach — this method was therefore selected. Short notes were sent to parents of all the pupils in the three classes. In this note, the parents were asked whether they were interested in being called upon in their own home to discuss certain issues concerning their child's education. The response was such that out of 30 notes that were sent to the parents of the 'A' stream pupils, 25 answered in the affirmative, 3 refused to be visited and 2 did not answer at all. Out of 30 requests that were sent to parents of 'B' stream pupils, 15 gave a positive answer and the other 15 notes were not answered. Finally, out of the 26 notes given to the parents of the 'C' stream pupils, only 9 answered in the affirmative, and the rest did not answer at all.

The homes were visited during the summer months. Once contact was made, it was found that the majority of the parents interviewed (mostly mothers) were extremely cooperative and ready to answer most of the questions asked. Information gathered throughout the interviews regarded details about the home environment, details about the parents, the latter's occupation, level of education, the knowledge they had of streaming, and their attitude towards streaming. Many interviews were over in 20 minutes, but a considerable number extended far beyond the 30 minute limit which had been established by the present researchers.

The *third* part of the study — the part concerning the school staff — was carried out at the beginning of the scholastic year 1988-89. The administrative and teaching staff were given a questionnaire enquiring about their opinions on streaming and how the staff and pupils would be affected if schools were unstreamed. Filling in a questionnaire has probably diluted and oversimplified their opinions. However, due to the time constraints of this study, interviews were out of the question.

Summary of Findings

The relationship between streaming and failure at school was an important consideration of

our study. We found that causes for such failure may begin at the very start of the child's life, yet be quiescent for years. They may start at any time and cease as suddenly; but it is easier for them to start than the effects to disappear. Some causes are intellectual, others fundamentally emotional but the chief cause of deterioration in academic performance was found to be in the attitude of the pupil, and not in his/her level of ability, though the cause of his/her attitudes are many and varied. We found that streaming represents a major influence on a pupil's attitude towards schooling.

a. Attitudes of Pupils

In order to be successful, a pupil must have at least an average academic aptitude and willingness to work. The pupil of an inadequate academic aptitude will be allocated to the lowest stream. At school, such a pupil confronts other disadvantages. We found that the school organisation, the content of the curriculum and the attitudes of the teaching staff towards such a child were aggravating his or her problems. The staff approved of the bright pupils, of the streaming system and of this same system as a means of adapting to individual difference. In our study, 90% of the teachers strongly believed that streaming was beneficial to all pupils, whatever their academic ability. Such an atmosphere at school was found to influence a pupil's own attitude to academic work.

The method of directly asking pupils about their attitudes towards streaming had to be abandoned, partly because of the school's attitude and partly because "the children couldn't think about streaming in isolation". (Jackson 1964: p. 64). A number of general questions were therefore asked, with the hope that the answers would reveal the world as seen through the children's eyes.

i. Attitudes to own class

So as to find out the children's attitude to their own class, all the children in question were asked: "Are you happy in this class?"

"I am very happy to be in my own class. I have a very good teacher and I have many friends."

- 'A' stream child.

"Of course I'm happy. I cannot be in a better class."

— 'A' stream child.

"I'm happy because I'm with the most intelligent children." — 'A stream child.

"I'm happy but I wish I was in a better class." — 'B' stream child. "It's allright, but it's better to be in the 'A' class". — 'B' stream child.

"So and so. I wish I was with quieter children." — 'C' stream child.

"I think I could be better in a 'B' stream class."

— 'C' stream child.

"It's just the same. At least we don't have much homework." — 'C' stream child.

ii. Own Academic Image

The second question put to the pupils was the following: "if you had to study with someone, whom would you choose?" This showed that children, on the whole, had a realistic picture of what pupils thought of each other academically.

"I would surely choose a girl from my own class." — 'A' stream child.

"We think on the same lines in this class."

- 'A' stream child.

"We are all bright pupils." — 'A' stream child.

"I would choose someone from my class because we all cover the same work."

— 'B' stream child.

"A boy from my class. I wouldn't choose an 'A' child because I am afraid I wouldn't catch up."

— 'B' stream child.

"I don't like to study but if I had to I would study with someone from my own class."

— 'C' stream child.

"I would only study with a boy from my class."

— 'C' stream child.

"Perhaps I would study with someone from stream C or stream B. — 'B' stream child.

iii. Friendship Patterns

The next question: "Which class is your best friend in?" was an attempt to catch a glimpse of how the streaming process controls friendships and tightens the groups further.

"My best friend is in my class."

- 'A' stream child.

"My friends are all in my class."

- 'A' stream child.

"My best friend is in my class but I have another friend in the stream 'C' as he was in my class last year." — 'B' stream child.

"My best friend is in my class ... he has always been in my class." — 'B' stream child.

"My friends are all in my class. We have always been together." — 'C' stream child.

"My best friend goes to a Secondary School."

— 'C' stream child.

iv. Image of own class and of others

By answering the question, "Would you like to be in another class?", the pupils had to state whether they were happy or not to be a member of a particular class. They were also asked to state the choice of steam.

"No, I wouldn't like to be in another class because they are not good enough academically."

- 'A' stream child.

"If I had a good teacher, I wouldn't mind being in another class." — 'A' stream child.

"No, because in this class I am with the best children. I have a very good teacher and I'm happy." — 'A' stream child.

"Yes, I would like to be in an 'A' stream class because I could learn more."

— 'B' stream child.

"I'm not sure, because this year I have a good teacher." — 'B' stream child.

"Yes, so that I could be with well-behaved children." — 'C' stream child.

"No, because I do not think I will understand anything. They learn difficult things in the 'A' stream." — 'C' stream child.

"I would not want to be in the top class because I'm afraid." — 'C' stream child.

'A' pupils learn more ... and they are intelligent ... they are better than us and they learn a lot."

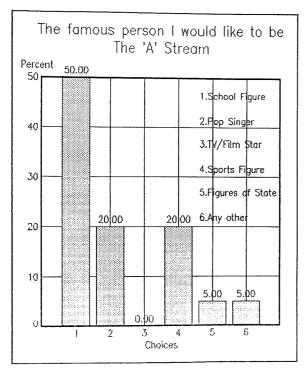
— 'C' stream child.

v. Culture and Streaming

In the next question — "If you weren't yourself which famous person would you like to be?", the children were given a list of choices namely a 'school figure', a 'pop singer', a 'film/t.v. star' a 'sports figure', a 'figure of state', and 'any other'. Each one was read out and each pupil had to choose one of the above areas mentioned, or any other of their own choice. The aim of such an exercise was to pick up the pattern of responses and trace a remote trend which linked education to cultural differences and cultural poverty. (Jackson, 1964). See Figures 1a, 1b, 1c).

vi. Job Aspirations

The final attempt to catch a glimpse of the correlation between pupils' attitudes and streaming, was to find out the job aspirations of the pupils





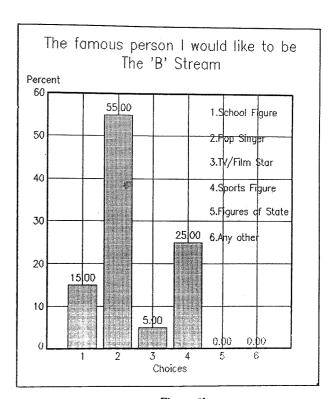


Figure 1b

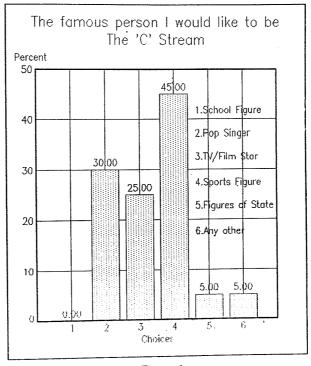


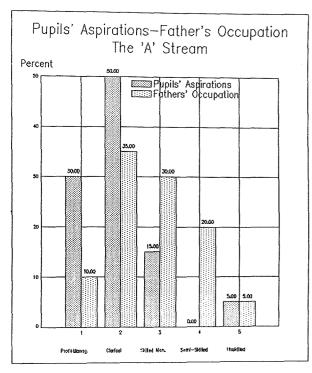
Figure 1c

in question (Hargreaves, 1967). The pupils were asked "What job would you like to have when you grow up"? What is of interest here is whether the pupils' own occupational aspirations are stream-related or not. Yet the more interesting finding emerged when the statistics were related to the fathers' occupation. (See Figures 2a, 2b, 2c).

b. The Home Background

The attitude of a pupil to his studies can be affected by a great variety of influences. Among these one can mention the influence of socialisation process in the home.

Poor parenting, emotional disharmony, lack of proper facilities to do homework, parental



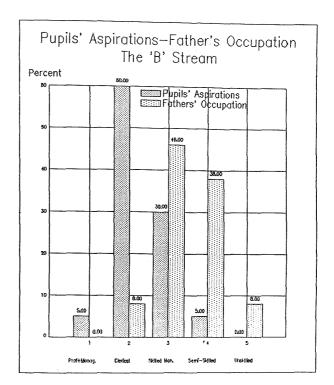


Figure 2a

Figure 2b

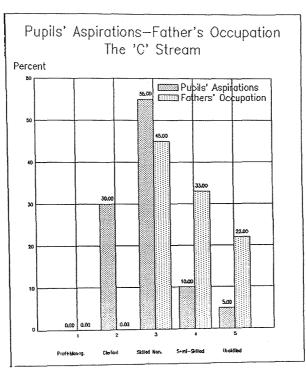


Figure 2c

separation — all these conditions and more can adversely affect the academic performance of pupils.

i. Socio-Economic Background
Our research has demonstrated a strong

relationship between academic deterioration and the socio-economic background of students, and between low academic achievement and the education of parents. Thus, all the lower stream pupils in our sample seemed to come from lower socio-economic groupings.

Table 1. Parental Occupational Categories in Relation to Streaming

Parental Occupational Categories	'A' STREAM	'B' STREAM	'C' STREAM
Professional and Managerial	10%	0%	0%
Clerical	35%	8%	0%
Silled Manual	30%	46%	45%
Semi-skilled Manual	20%	38%	33%
Unskilled Manual	5%	8%	22%

Through a variety of interviews it was discovered that those families from lower socio-economic groups did not tend to have a strong supporting attitude to education and thus deterioration set in. On the other hand, many of the 'A' stream pupils seemed to come from higher socio-economic groups, and to be constantly supported by their parents.

ii. Parental Education

Related to the socio-economic groups of the parents is the type of education they themselves received. One of the most striking findings in this research is that amongst the parents of the 'C' stream pupils, there was not even one case where both parents were educated beyond the age of fourteen. On the other hand, there were half the parents of the 'A' stream pupils who were both educated beyond that age.

A pupil's academic attainment was found to be affected also by family size as compared to the size of the home. From our visits to the homes, it was found that the 'A' stream families, though on average larger in size, lived in spacious homes whilst the 'C' stream families, though on average smaller in size, lived in very small houses. The 'A' stream pupils were almost all provided with a suitable place where they could concentrate on their work, whilst the 'C' stream pupils had to struggle to find some space where to do their work.

iii. Culture

Another important aspect of the home which affected attainment was the type of culture that parents initiated their students in. All people have a culture, but society and schooling rewards one type of culture over another. The child from the higher socio-economic groups has a flying start over his lower socio-economic group rivals in richness of vocabulary and in general knowledge. The conversation of parents was found to be more informative and such a child had access to a wider variety of books and educational games. Such a pupil was fround to receive much more tutoring whilst doing his homework and as a result was academically successful.

c. Parental Attitudes

Less obvious attitudes, although of equal importance, were those generated by the day-today commentary by the parent or the school, on homework and on books. Other pointers to the parental attitudes were found in the priority they gave to homework over other activities, the frequency of constructive interviews with the Head of the school and the extent to which the casual absences of the child from school were with their tacit consent or active connivance. Slowly, but surely, the parental comments (even in our presence during the interviews) and their scale of priorities have their affect on the attitude of the child. Even a parental attitude of neutrality or 'laissez-faire' is a big handicap to a child who is competing against other children who have fully supporting parents.

In our study, parental attitudes towards education, and streaming were assessed through the responses of the parents themselves during the home visits. Unfortunately, the parents who were interviewed were already affected by the progress or lack of progress of their child at school.

i. Importance of Education for Parents

Parents were asked how much they value their child's education. The following are the most common comments:

"It's indispensable ... it's so important that no one can manage without it."

- 'A' stream child.

"It's crucial because it's something that a person cannot live without."

- 'A' stream child.

"It is important." ... — 'B' stream parent.

"It is necessary nowadays."

— 'B' stream parent.

"I think it's quite important, don't you think so?" — 'C' stream parent.

"I don't really know, because nowadays ... you see ... people who are not educated still can afford to buy villas, BMW's and whatever..."

- 'C' stream parent.

ii. Age at which child is expected to leave school
A further evidence of parental attitudes
towards education emerged when the parents
were asked at which age they expect their child to

leave school.

"He can remain as much as he wants to. The longer he stays, the happier we'ed be."

- 'A' stream parent.

"I always wished my daughter to become a secretary, or a typist." — B' stream parent.

"My son wishes to become a mechanic, like his dad, but after a while, I'm sure he'll get bored".

— 'A' stream parent.

"If he stays till 16 ... isn't it enough?"

— 'C' stream parent.

iii. Views about Junior Lyceum Exam.

Parents were also asked to give their views about the Junior Lyceum entrance examination.

"I can't imagine what the education system would be like without the Junior Lyceum Exam."

— 'A' stream parent

"I am in favour. Without the exam, the level of education will decline." — 'A' stream parent.

"It wouldn't be right if everyone enters the Junior Lyceum because not everyone is capable."

— 'B' stream parent.

"There should be an exam to select the children. Those who are intelligent will pass and those who are not intelligent will fail."

- 'B' stream parent.

"It's too much pressure on the children. Exams frighten children."

— 'B' stream parent.

"There are too many subjects. Religion and social studies should not have been included. After all they are not that important."

- 'B' stream parent.

"It's better to have an exam."

— 'C' stream parent.

"Exams are not enough to assess a child's ability."

— 'C' stream parent.

"The Junior Lyceum Exam is a game.... Like all other exams ... don't you agree?

- 'C' stream parent.

iv. Parental knowledge of streaming.

Although "Fra Mudest Primary School" is a streamed school, yet when the parents in question were interviewed it was discovered that a good number among them did not have a clear idea of what streaming really entails.

"No, what does it mean."

- 'C' stream parent.

"I think it's when they place them in different classes."

— 'B' stream parent.

"Not exactly. But I think it depends on how intelligent the children are."

— 'B' stream parent.

"Believe me. I don't understand anything about school. You see, I left school when I was young...". "C' stream parent.

"I'm not really sure ... but I think they choose the child according to marks he gets in his final exam."

— 'B' stream parent.

"I don't know exactly how they do it, but I think they put the bright ones in one class and the stupid in another." — 'B' stream parent.

v. Favourable/unfavourable attitudes

After the meaning of streaming was explained to the parents in question, they in turn were then asked to express their attitudes towards the streaming system.

"I surely do not agree with mixing. If possible I would suggest that streaming should start as early as possible — even from year 1."

'A' stream parent.

"Firstly, the less intelligent will not cope with the bright ones and will get discouraged. Secondly the bright ones will become frustrated because they will move at a very slow pace — which is not natural to them."

'A' stream parent.

"I would not like my child to be with children who are worse than him. I would prefer if he mixed with better children."

'B' stream parent.

"No, I do not agree, because it is not fair on the children to be selected. The ones who are backward can perhaps do better if they are mixed with brighter ones."

'A' stream parent.

"I don't really know what is good for the children. Everything in life has its good points and bad points." 'B' stream parent.

"If he mixes with brighter children, he will learn something from them — at least how to behave."

'A' stream parent.

"He's learnt so many rude words from the children in his class. I did not want to send him to school anymore. If he mixes with other children who are better than him, then yes ... it will be beneficial for my child."

'C' stream parent.

vi. Knowledge about Stream Mobility

Parents were also asked to give their views as to the possibility for a child who is in the lower stream to move into a higher stream, the following year.

"A lower stream pupil is too much at a disadvantage and I'm sorry to say that he will never, ever catch up." 'A' stream parent.

"It's impossible for a stupid child to become suddenly intelligent." 'A' stream parent.

"It is possible but it's important that firstly, the child wants to learn and he finds a good teacher and good parents who dedicate their time for the benefit of the child."

'B' stream parent.

"It's impossible. He is just not cut out for school. He's just like his dad. He's not capable and moreover he doesn't want to learn. He literally hates school, that's all there is to it."

'C' stream parent.

"Of course it is possible. If the child wants to learn — yes he will succeed. But my son won't because he can't stand anything that has to do with school."

'C' stream parent.

"Of course, I'm sure he will make it, but he has to have a very good teacher who gives him individual attention all the time."

'C' stream parent.

vii. Reasons for their child being in that particular stream.

Parents were asked why they thought their children were in the present streams.

"I know perfectly well why my child is in the 'A' stream. He is intelligent and those who are intelligent will obviously do well in their exams and so they should be all kept together. The bright ones are all placed in the 'A' stream so that they will move at the same pace."

'A' stream parent.

"If one child is capable of carrying only a bottle, you can't give him a whole crate of bottles to carry. My son is intelligent and so he deserves the 'A'. 'A' stream parent.

"I know why my child is in a 'B' stream. He is not willing to learn. He never studies or reads a book in his free time. He doesn't deserve a better class ... it's his fault."

'B' stream parent.

"My child should be in a better stream, but throughout his school years he never had a good teacher. I'm not surprised that he is in the 'B' stream." 'B' stream parent.

"It's our fault, we never helped our child with his homework ... you see, we've had serious trouble in our family, and I think it upset our child very much." 'B' stream parent.

"My son here is hopeless, he is so stupid and slow that he only deserves the worst."

'C' stream parent.

"I don't really know what stream my daughter is in." 'C' stream parent.

c. Staff's Attitudes

i. Attitude towards streaming

The teachers in question were asked to give their opinions about the streaming system — that is whether they were in favour or against the system. The following are their comments:

"Of the same standard — so better results." — 'A' stream teacher.

"In my opinion this is the best procedure in the set up of the educational system as it is in Malta."

— 'B' stream teacher.

"Because lessons could be given accordingly to the ability of the children."

- 'C' stream teacher.

"Children of very low intelligence should be provided with remedial teaching, but there's no need for streaming children of normal intelligence." — 'C' stream teacher.

"Teaching is easier, more rewarding. Children benefit from streaming, because the child will be working with other children with the same ability."

— 'B' stream teacher.

"The teacher is more able to plan and offer the children in her care the right learning opportunities, which they may benefit most from."

— 'C' stream teacher.

"Less bright children won't be able to keep up with the brighter ones, and the latter will slow down because of them."

- 'C' stream teacher.

ii. Prime purpose of Streaming

The teachers were then invited to select prime purposes of streaming from a list of five commonly mentioned ones. The top three purposes are:

"Streaming meets the needs of all children. It helps both the gifted and the less-gifted child."

"Streaming simplifies the school organisation."

"Streaming makes teaching easier".

iii. Destreaming

Teachers were then asked to comment about how they thought pupils and staff would be affected if the school were unstreamed. The teachers were asked to choose between "better" or "worse" They were also asked to comment about their choice if they wished.

The following comments refer to the effect on the gifted-child:

"In many cases, the pupils' academic standards would worsen."

— 'C' stream teacher.

"The gifted child would lose interest and strive - 'A' stream teacher. less."

"The 'A' child would certainly be at a disadvantage because he will not be able to develop his capacities to the full."

- 'A' stream teacher.

"A mixed academical environment automatically forces the teacher to teach at a low level which in turn is detrimental to an 'A' - 'C' stream teacher. child."

"An 'A' child would still be able to get the optimum opportunities of learning."

- 'B' stream teacher.

The comments on the effect of destreaming on the less-gifted child are as follows:

"No chance of improvement."

- 'A' stream teacher.

"He would never catch up with the others, and would be demoralised."

- 'B' stream teacher.

"The abilities of children would be too far apart entailing group work." — 'B' stream teacher.

"A low stream child in an unstreamed school will probably be discouraged by the good performance of the high achievers in his class. He has more chance to feel that he is a failure. This will cripple more his chances to develop his limited potential and himself as a person.'

- 'C' stream teacher.

"The teacher has to find a compromise in the teaching level in a class of 30 children with mixed abilities. Normally an average level of teaching is already too high for a low stream — 'C' stream teacher.

"He would not be affected."

- 'A' stream teacher.

"The child may or may not progress depending on the attention given by the teacher."

B' stream teacher.

"Some wouldn't care, but others might feel better, although it would be hard for them to keep up with the brighter ones."

- 'C' stream teacher.

iv. Comments as regards lower stream pupils.

"These children are stupid.... They are not capable of doing anuthing."

"We never give them new books, they're savages!"

"They're like a bucket with a hole in it ... whatever goes in, falls out!"

Comments as regards 'A' stream pupils.

"These are my angels!"

"'A' stream children tend to feel superior and underestimate the low stream children."

"In an unstreamed school the pupil wouldn't feel as proud of her 'A' class."

v. The morale of teachers in an unstreamed school

"Certain individuals adapt themselves more to 'A' stream children." — 'C' stream teacher.

"The morale of the 'A' stream staff would be definitely worse." Most teachers.

"Certain teachers feel more comfortable with lower stream children and are better oriented to provide the best opportunities for the full development of the lower stream child."

vi. How would discipline be affected by affected by destreaming?

"Discipline will deteriorate."

"The school organisation would worsen." "In certain cases it would improve."

vii. Child's place in Society

"I feel that certain activities should be provided by the school (regular and occastional) e.g. school mass, assembly, school quizzes, sport sessions, drama and cultural activities. The child from any stream may participate and feel that he has something to offer.

Besides, he will develop as a personality, as in such a way he will be motivated. As a result he will develop more his potential and facilitate more his learning process."

— 'C' stream teacher.

"It all depends on the character of the child." - 'A' stream teacher.

"Their place in society has many pros and - 'C' stream teacher. cons."

viii. General Comments about Streaming/ Destreaming

"Streaming is imperative."

- 'A' stream teacher.

"Streaming is a necessary evil because not all children are gifted children."

"B' stream teacher.

"In a streamed class there is better under-

standing, better communication among children and healthier competition."

- 'B' stream teacher.

"When a class is unstreamed it would involve a lot of group work which entails more preparation on the teacher's side besides requiring more patience when dealing with the low streamed group." — 'C' stream teacher.

"Group work and individual help are imperative with unstreamed classes. How could you do this if you have to follow a rigid curriculum?" — 'B' stream teacher.

"A teacher teaching in an unstreamed class cannot cater for so many different IQ's and potentialities with the maximum of effectiveness, for the best development and performance of each child." — 'C' stream teacher.

"Unstreaming is idealistic, but what do we want, idealism or practicality; what does a developing country like ours need?"

— 'C' stream teacher.

ix. Proposals

Teachers generally suggested that destreaming could only come about:

- (a) After at least a 10 year campaign with parents.
- (b) The number of pupils in class were to be lowered by at least a third.
- (c) If there were to be a revolution in the present methods of teaching.
- (d) If schools were fully equipped with all the facilities for such a class.
- (e) If criteria for employment were to be lowered. There were still factories asking for G.C.E.'s

and making potential factory girls sitting for Maltese and English composition and Mathematics.

— 'C' stream teacher.

"I believe that the 'half way' streaming and individual care for the less gifted children is the answer. Bottom stream classes should be better equipped with adequate teaching apparatus. They should be grouped in small groups to enable the teacher to cater for individual attention. — 'B' stream teacher.

"It depends on the size of school and class. In a small class it makes little difference because the teacher will be able to cope with all the children. In a class of 30 children where very little individual attention is possible, the 'A' stream child will suffer and so would the very weak one."

"A' stream teacher.

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