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MJE

The M^cGill Journal of Education

Knowledge and Mythology in Teacher Education

Rodney A. Clifton

Non-Discriminatory Assessment
of Culturally Different Students

John Lewis

Ronald J. Samuda

National-Consciousness Goals and Realities
in South and East Asian Education

William L. Tarvin

Abdulatif Hussein Faraj

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Editorial

Educational Change: Internationally and in Canada

Although this issue of the *Journal* is not devoted to one special theme or topic, there is a core of three articles dealing with international perspectives on education and educational assessment. These articles are followed by other broad issues that focus on Canada and Canadian schools.

Professor Tarvin and Faraj have made extensive studies of the changing objectives of the school systems of certain South and East Asian countries in the last two or three decades. It is of interest to us in light of our own Canadian Charter of Human Rights to see how other systems of education view the school's role in terms of nationalizing, language, ethnic or minority groups, and religious beliefs.

Previously accepted practices of educational assessment, especially in the area of intelligence testing, are being questioned, particularly in view of the unique problems that are presented when students from multicultural backgrounds must be assessed. Professors Lewis and Samuda summarize and discuss some of the current approaches to multilevel types of assessment of children from different cultural backgrounds.

The developing nation of Trinidad and Tobago is an example of a nation whose school system is still dealing with "inherited" issues that come with a colonial heritage. Professor London succinctly and clearly shows how difficult it is to bring real change in a school system that still incorporates some of the previous socioeconomic and cultural stratifications.

Professor Clifton and Professor Oosterhuis have both dealt with issues that are perennial to education, but they are issues that will always

need fresh thinking, as is the case here. Professor Clifton's two different encyclopedias, knowledge and mythology, strike at the heart of some blind assumptions made about the content of teacher education. And Professor Oosterhuis debates the current topic of learning styles. She considers several ways of determining whether or not the present excitement about learning styles is essential to quality education.

Adult women's education and sex education round out this issue. Professors O'Brien and Whitmore have dealt with the issue of empowerment, a critical component in the successful educational career of adult women. Sex education, so long confined to biological or physiological or reproductive approaches, is given a different meaning by Professor Murray. A point, not to be ignored, is that young people will receive sex education one way or another. Will the school take the responsibility to see that it is taught and that it is presented in a way that depicts sexuality as a real part of an individual's life – not as moral indoctrination and warnings, or biased and uninformed opinions?

WMT

National-Consciousness Goals and Realities in South and East Asian Education

Abstract

This paper discusses five ways South and East Asian countries are trying to enforce or reenforce national-identity goals through: (1) quantitative expansion of education, (2) standardization of the education system and of its programs and curricula, (3) promoting nationally unifying doctrines, beliefs, personalities, or languages, (4) expanding federal government control of education, and (5) amalgamation of ethnic minority groups.

Résumé

Cet article porte sur les cinq stratégies mises en oeuvre par des pays d'Asie du sud et de l'est pour l'application ou la ré-application de leurs objectifs en matière d'identité nationale: 1) expansion quantitative de l'éducation, 2) normalisation du système éducatif, de ses programmes et cursus, 3) promotion de doctrines, de croyances, de personnalités ou de langues visant l'unité nationale, 4) contrôle plus serré de l'enseignement par le gouvernement central et 5) fusion des groupes ethniques minoritaires.

Most discussions of educational goals have been written from a Western perspective, as is revealed by an examination of the summary discussion "Goals of Education" in *The Encyclopedia of Education* (McMurrin *et al.*, 1971, pp. 147-168). Developing countries frequently incorporated these Western goals into their educational systems, often as a hand-me-down from the colonial era, or as a form of pretence that by having Western goals their educational systems could be considered to be on a par

with that of advanced countries. The consequence was that there developed an ill-conceived relationship between the goals of developing countries' education systems and the realities of their societies. For instance, a central goal of Western educational systems is that education should be directed to the needs and interests of the individual, best served by a basic liberal education with its emphasis on the study and appreciation of ideas, which lead to intellectual, emotional, social, aesthetic, and moral development. When this goal is adopted by developing countries, it results in a plethora of humanistic graduates, bedecked with the status that education confers, but largely unemployable and of little use to their nations (Romulo, 1969, p. 250). Implementation of such an adopted "ivory tower" goal has had dire societal, educational, and economic consequences in many developing countries.

Educational goals may be divided into three major types: (1) national-consciousness goals, (2) economic development goals, and (3) individual-enrichment goals. All of these types of goals are important in an educational system, but the plans of action adopted to implement these goals determine which of the types is currently receiving the focus of attention. In developed countries (Japan and the Republic of Korea, to an extent, are the only South and East Asian countries to fall in this category), individual-vested goals tend to receive the emphasis, but in developing or underdeveloped countries (the rest of the South and East Asian countries), national-identity goals and economic-development goals are emphasized. What we propose to do is to examine the relationship between national-identity educational goals and plans of action which South and East Asian countries have implemented to fulfill these goals.

National-consciousness educational goals may be defined as those which engender a concept of nationhood; foster patriotism; instill an appreciation and understanding of a nation's ideological foundations, history, and culture; expunge or ameliorate ethnic, religious, and class loyalties; and promote national identity at the expense of regional, economic, or individual advancement.

Since World War II, establishing a national consciousness has been the foremost goal of the educational systems in almost all South and East Asian countries. Newly independent countries, such as India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia, have had to dedicate themselves to throwing off the mantle of colonialism, and countries such as Nepal or Thailand have had to free themselves from colonial hegemony. Others underwent radical transformation of their concept of national identity, either from losing the war (Japan) or from political forces which divided the collective *zeitgeist* (such as in China/Taiwan, North Korea/South Korea, North Vietnam/South Vietnam, and Pakistan/Bangladesh).

National-identity goals are still important in the educational systems of most South and East Asian countries, although economic problems have forced most countries to concentrate on economic-development goals. China, in the throes of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1970), provides an extreme example of a country where the educational system was totally dedicated to national-consciousness goals, even when it meant decimating a part of the system; primary and secondary level education was largely discontinued for two years and universities were closed from 1966-1970. Ideological conviction took precedence over economic achievement. Mao Tsetung's *Thought* became the only textbook, and everything had to be studied in relation to it. All that was foreign-tainted, bourgeois, apolitical, elitist, revisionist, or reactionary had to be removed from the educational system. "Curriculum had to be rethought and textbooks in every subject rewritten so that they might express more adequately and thoroughly the moral and political content and thought of Mao Tsetung" (Connel, 1980, p. 451).

The Cultural Revolution in China had largely run its course by the early 1970s, but an examination of its effects on China's educational system reveals many characteristics of a system devoted wholly to achieving national-identity goals – ideology-centred; mass (vs. elitist) participation in education; xenophobia; a central unifying person, in China's case Mao Tsetung; and disdain of economic realities or the individual's desires or interests. The Cultural Revolution tried to enforce revolutionary national consciousness in a short period of time. Most South and East Asian countries, who basically achieved their independence after World War II, have used education to achieve the same end, but have proceeded gradually to promote national identity. Some, having succeeded, are now trying to reinforce national-consciousness goals, not to enforce them.

Plans of action of an educational system which is focusing on enforcing or reinforcing national identity goals stress the following five characteristics:

I. Quantitative expansion of education (often without regard to quality), a concept emanating from the assumption that involvement in a national education system will necessarily promote national identity.

Specific plans of action include extensive programs for increasing primary level enrollment and mass literacy campaigns. (Secondary and tertiary level education are typically allowed to develop on their own.) Rapid quantitative expansion can be seen in the Philippines educational system where the number of primary schools increased from 22,764 in 1964 to 34,178 in 1984, and where primary education usually receives over 70% of the total educational ministry's budget (Philippines, 1986, pp. 7, 30-31).

Pakistan still sets as its "highest [educational] priority" the expansion of primary education in the formal sector and mass literacy in the nonformal sector. In just three years (1984-1986), Pakistan's primary enrollment increased almost 13%, but still it involved only around half of the eligible age group. The government targeted this involvement to increase to 75% in 1987/88. This target necessitated receiving 5,000,000 additional primary students, an increase of over 80% over 1983/84 (Pakistan, 1986, pp. 14, 17, 19). Bangladesh has developed programs of action to enroll 70% of its primary age group by 1990 and create the physical facilities to school this large increase (Bangladesh, 1986, p. 6).

Mass literacy campaigns are also a focus in achieving quantitative expansion. Nepal, where the literacy rate went up from 14% in 1971 to 24% in 1981, shows how painfully slow improvement in this area comes. By 1983, there were 580 functional literacy centres and 2,977 general literacy centres in Nepal (Nepal, 1984, p. 14). Pakistan's National Literacy Plan from 1984 to 1986 aimed to make 2.2 million persons literate at a cost of Rs 317,016,000. This aim was to be achieved by opening and operating 26,610 literacy centres (Pakistan, 1986, p. 43). India, where the literacy rate climbed from 29.45% in 1971 to 36.17% in 1981, has emphasized the attainment of minimum essential education in its Sixth Five-Year Plan. It has opened 69,825 Rural Functional Literacy Centres, which had 2,021,210 enrollees in 1983 (India, 1984, pp. 1, 9-10). These countries have seen the important role which quantitative expansion of education has played in forging national unity in developed South and East Asian countries, such as Japan, which has achieved almost 100% enrollment in compulsory education; Malaysia, 95% primary school enrollment; and China, 95.9% primary school enrollment (Japan, 1986, p. 15; Malaysia, 1986, p. 11; China, 1986, p. 29).

II. Standardization of the educational system and of its programs and curricula.

Many of the former colonial states of South and East Asia inherited a system of education which was regionally based and administered. The delicate task of attempting to reduce this regionalism and establish a standard nationwide system of education has been one of the most important educational aims in these countries. The most "notable" development of Indian education in the 1980s has been "the acceptance of a common structure of education throughout the country" and "the introduction of the 10+2+3 system" countrywide (India, 1986, pp. 2, 24). Thailand has also recently enforced a new 6+3+3 schooling system (Thailand, 1986, p. 9).

Establishing a common curriculum is another way of promoting "national integration," as Nepal's goals of education state. In 1980, Nepal

introduced a common secondary school curriculum with textbooks based on it (Nepal, 1986, pp. 1, 2). Bangladesh has recently introduced a new national curriculum for its primary schools (Bangladesh, 1986, p. 12). Malaysia did the same for its primary school system in 1983, and its textbooks are so designed to reenforce "national unity"; further, Malaysia is formulating a common Secondary School Curriculum (Malaysia, 1986, pp. 27-28). The Philippines' New Elementary School Curriculum and textbooks are designed to foster "feelings of pride, identity and loyalty to the country and nation, transcending [the student's] pride and loyalty to his family, tribe or region" (Philippines, 1986, p. 19). India has developed a curriculum for its new 10+2+3 education system in which the curriculum for the first ten years is "undifferentiated and all curricular areas are compulsory"; the "common core" of this national curricular framework is "the history of India's freedom movement, the constitutional obligations and other contents essential to nurture national identity" (India, 1986, pp. 27, 33). Such nationally common structures and programs negate the development of a regional consciousness and thus promote national identity.

III. *Promoting nationally unifying factors, such as a political doctrine, a religious belief, a cult personality, or a dominant language, through the educational system.*

In creating a national identity and purpose, a country often promotes a common set of values, frequently embodied in symbols or a personality and expressed in a common language, to dispel regional, class, or economic differences. A stable unified country, such as Japan, can state in its *Fundamental Law of Education* the "prohibition of partisan political education" (Japan, 1986, p. 1), just as advanced united countries in Europe and in North America can separate education from religion, advance minority interest in education, and encourage bilingualism. Developing countries often must view these as luxuries or impediments toward the common goal of national unity. Thus, a characteristic of the educational systems of many developing countries is the unabashed promotion of doctrines, personalities, and national languages which would be viewed with askance by advanced Western countries.

Education's role in political indoctrination is, of course, prevalent in Communist countries. While China's most recent statement of its educational development stresses economic development goals, its educational policy still asserts that "education must serve the nation's socialist construction and the socialist construction must rely on education" (China, 1986, p. 4). In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, "the key to education . . . is to embody the fundamental principle of socialist pedagogy," which is "to make people revolutionary, working-class and communist" (DPR Korea, 1986, p. 1). Even in a capitalist country, the

Republic of Korea, its concept of "spiritual education" is also doctrinaire, for it entails "the need for in-depth studies of the ideological base for Korean culture and the factors that militate against achieving national unity" (R. Korea, 1986, p. 20). In a politically unstable country such as Thailand, one of its educational goals is not just to promote "unfailing allegiance to the nation," but also to the "monarch" (Thailand, 1986, p. 3), who traditionally has been the most politically stabilizing force in the country.

Education's role in spreading political cultism, seen in that surrounding Mao Tsetung, is also prevalent in other countries. The major university in North Korea, Kim Il Sung University, is named after its president, and a 1984 statement about its educational system asserts that its education is based on the philosophy of "the great leader President Kim Il Sung" (DPR Korea, 1984, pp. 1, 5). Significantly that country's 1986 statement, which is less politically and more economically oriented, does not mention Kim Il Sung, rather his son, Kim Jong Il (DPR Korea, 1986, p. 12).

In South and East Asian countries where political indoctrination in education is not decisive, educational promotion of a nationally unifying religion often is. The premier objective of education in Pakistan is "to relate education to Islamic theology." A recently implemented policy of Pakistan is to use religious mosques for primary schools and literacy centres; in fact, "mosque schools are to be the hub of the attempt to expand literacy and primary education to rural areas and female education" (Pakistan, 1986, pp. 1, 3). Most countries where Islam is a majority, or even minority, religion allows a separate extensive system of Madrasah education which offers Islamic education to Muslims. Even at the tertiary level this trend is evident. For instance, in 1986 Bangladesh opened an Islamic University (Bangladesh, 1986, p. 15).

In countries without a separate system of religious education, religious education is present. In Malaysia, "Islamic religious studies will continue to be compulsory for Muslim students at the primary and secondary levels. Non-Muslim students will be taught moral educational ethics" (Malaysia, 1986, p. 3). In Thailand, the principles of Buddhism (the majority religion) are incorporated into the educational system; a goal of Thailand's educational system is to develop allegiances to the religion of the nation (Thailand, 1986, p. 3). Thus, incorporating religion in education (a policy which most Western societies now regard as deviant, although most of their educational systems sprang from religious education) is an attempt by these countries in the process of developing national identity to transfer religious affirmation to national consciousness.

Another doctrinaire approach used by South and East Asian countries trying to forge national unity is to denigrate the educational system they had

had previously, usually under colonial rule. The attack on Confucianism and the attempt to eliminate its educational influence in China in the 1970s is an example of this approach (Connel, 1980, p. 454). Bangladesh's recent report on its education states that before its independence from Pakistan, its educational system had expanded only marginally and was "elitist in character." Now its major goal is to establish "a uniform mass-oriented and universal system of education" (Bangladesh, 1986, p. 1). North Korea states that in 1945, "immediately after Korea was liberated from the colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists," 80% of its adult population was illiterate. By 1949, the report states, illiteracy had been completely eliminated (DPR Korea, 1984, p. 5). India's report states that only after the attainment of independence in 1947 was "systematic development of education . . . taken up" (India, 1986, p. 1).

Language can also be a unifying factor. Unlike emerging African countries, where linguistic diversity militates against national unity, most South and East Asian countries do not have language as an impediment to the development of a national consciousness. Japan, Pakistan, both Koreas, Thailand, Bangladesh, Nepal, and to an extent China and the Philippines (where both Filipino and English are taught from primary school onwards), all have dominant national languages. Of other countries, Malaysia is the one which has concentrated on gradually enforcing the use of a national language. Its three types of primary schools are classified by language medium: Bahasa Malaysia, Chinese, and Tamil. However, "all pupils follow the same course content and thereby develop a unified Malaysia outlook." In secondary schools, only Bahasa Malaysia is used, so pupils from the Chinese and Tamil media primary schools must spend a year in a Remove Class where they acquire proficiency in Bahasa Malaysia. The government of Malaysia is committed to making Bahasa Malaysia the main medium of all levels of education by the end of the 1980s by implementing its use in Chinese and Tamil primary schools (Malaysia, 1986, pp. 3, 11-12). However, in India, with its unimaginable cultural, social, religious, political, and economic diversity, there is constitutionally enshrined linguistic diversity: "Any section of the citizens, residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own, shall have the right to conserve the same." The Constitution also states that "all minorities whether based on religion of [sic] language shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice." Further, India's constitution also guarantees that each state should "provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary state of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups" (India, 1986, p. 3).

In summary, the nations of South and East Asia through their educational systems are striving to promote nationally unifying doctrines,

beliefs, personalities, and languages. Of course, there are attenuating dangers in the approach. A political doctrine (such as Mao Tsetung's Cultural Revolution) can be repudiated; a cult figure can be disgraced; and emphasis on a national religion or a dominant language can breed ethnic minority discontent.

IV. Expanding federal government control of education by (1) establishing a dominant educational administrative authority, (2) assuming a greater financial educational responsibility, and (3) enfranchising or regulating private systems of education.

A statement in India's recent educational report is not atypical of the situation past and present in South and East Asian countries: "Earlier, education has been [sic] primarily the responsibility of the state/union territory governments," but the 1986 National Policy in Education states that the federal government has been accepting "a larger responsibility to reenforce the national and integrative character of education . . ." (India, 1986, pp. 3-4). The following South and East Asian countries have strong federal control of education:

1. The Philippines – Along with many other duties, the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports is appointed to formulate general education objectives and policies; to adopt long-range educational plans; to plan, develop, and implement educational programs; to formulate rules, regulations, and objectives for the school system; to coordinate inter-school and school/community activities; and to recommend educational legislation (Philippines, 1986, p. 5).

2. China – In 1985, China abolished its Ministry of Education and set up a new "comprehensive organization to be in charge of the nation's education," its State Education Commission, believing that the previous ministry could not "arouse the enthusiasm of various government departments or provide the "unified administration and guidance" to bring about the proposed "reform in its educational system." A Vice-Premier or the State Council was put in charge of the new commission. The commission has more responsibility and decision-making power than the former Ministry of Education; it is charged with developing strategies, policies, and overall planning of China's educational system (China, 1986, pp. 17-18).

3. Bangladesh – "The Ministry of Education is concerned with policy formulation, planning, monitoring, and evaluation" of the educational system. Directorates of primary, secondary, and higher education, under the Ministry, are responsible for implementation of educational policy (Bangladesh, 1986, pp. 6-8).

4. Thailand – Its Ministry of Education manages all public schools and supervises private schools at all levels except the degree level. In 1980, the responsibility for primary education, formerly under the Local Administration Department, was shifted to the Ministry of Education (Thailand, 1986, p. 4).

5. Democratic People's Republic of Korea – "The state undertakes full responsibility for adequately providing all conditions for education – training teachers, building schools, arranging educational facilities, teaching aids and tools and social fixtures" (DPR Korea, 1986, p. 3).

6. Malaysia – "Education in Malaysia is a federal concern." Its "Ministry of Education is responsible for the implementation of the educational policy and the administration of the entire education system." Federal control is further insured because "educational planning is kept in line with the country's overall development planning through coordination with the National Development Planning Committee" (Malaysia, 1986, pp. 4-7).

7. Sri Lanka – Management of education is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Higher Education. The Ministry of Education is responsible for "the effective implementation of educational policy," including curriculum development, teacher education, planning and management development, school activities, nonformal education, administration, and finance. Implementation of national policy on higher and technical education is the responsibility of the Minister of Higher Education, who is the president of Sri Lanka (Sri Lanka, 1986, pp. 3-5).

In India and Pakistan, in both of which the states/territories/provinces are autonomous in education, the federal governments exert their control through finances. In India, the Planning Commission of the federal government "determines the allocation of resources," so "it exercises substantial influence on the directions of educational development in the country" (India, 1986, p. 11). In Pakistan, the recently instituted IQRA surcharge (5% of all imports), which is specifically earmarked for the promotion of education, is indicative of the federal commitment to education. The IQRA Board is under the Prime Minister's leadership (Pakistan, 1986, p. 7). In DPR Korea, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Malaysia, the Republic of Korea, and Thailand, the cost of education is borne almost exclusively by the central government.

In the Philippines, the financing of elementary education is nearly completely undertaken by the national government; secondary and tertiary education also receive significant government expenditures (Philippines, 1986, pp. 7-10). In China, both the central and local governments control educational allocations (China, 1986, p. 24). In Japan, the responsibility for financial support of public education is also shared by the national and local governments, but the national government not only has expenditures for national educational establishments but also earmarks subsidies for local education. It further provides considerable subsidies to private schools and universities, 316 billion yen in 1986, as well as additional subsidies to allow private schools to purchase large-sized and small-sized educational equipment (Japan, 1986, pp. 53-58).

A third way through which national governments are expanding the concept of a national educational system is by enfranchising or regulating

private education. In Bangladesh, private primary and secondary schools and colleges are "gradually being brought into the fold of government management," although secondary schools still are largely private. Also the Bangladeshi national government subsidizes salaries of teachers in nongovernmental schools at the secondary and college levels and in Madrasah schools, and it also provides facilities for nongovernmental schools (Bangladesh, 1986, pp. 5-7, 14-15). In Sri Lanka, the national government took over government-assisted private schools which opted to join the state system in 1961 and took over plantation sector schools in two stages in 1977 and 1980. Now private schools account for less than 1% of the total number of schools, and these must conform to government regulations. Starting in 1981, Sri Lanka's nonfee-levying private schools began to be given financial support, including coverage of all salaries paid to teachers (Sri Lanka, 1986, pp. 7, 10, 21-22).

In Pakistan, the government nationalized/provincialized private schools in 1972, although there are still some English medium private schools which are allowed to function on the condition that they fill 20% of their places with talented students irrespective of their background. The continuation of this nationalization policy was stopped in 1979 because the project had isolated the community from the educational enterprise and put too great a financial burden on the state (Pakistan, 1986, pp. 56-57). In the Philippines, the policy of further nationalization of local *barangay* high schools was stopped in 1985 because of budgetary constraints, although the educational ministry remains committed to this policy. Further, financially-troubled private schools located in remote areas where there are no public schools are now given Filipino government subsidies (Philippines, 1986, pp. 10, 28). In Nepal, a reverse trend was seen for a while. The government allowed the establishment of private schools and colleges, especially in rural areas, to promote "healthy competition among schools for qualitative improvement." However, the college privatization policy has not succeeded because the thirty private colleges, established in 1980-81, are already having financial problems. New plans call for them to be affiliated with proposed additional universities (Nepal, 1984, pp. 17-18).

V. Amalgamation of ethnic minority groups, usually located in remote rural areas, into the national scheme of education.

Among the most potentially disruptive elements to the concept of nationhood are ethnic minority groups. An ethnic group may be defined as one which has a "definable sociocultural subsystem of which an individual is a member," mutually interrelated through "family structure, kinship systems, religious beliefs and practices, ethical and moral values, standards of social acceptability, and child-rearing practices" (McDavid, 1971, p. 70). A government must evolve specific plans of action to prevent ethnic threats

to the concept of national unity, and here the educational system can play the major role. From studying the progress of education for ethnic minorities in an advanced multiminority country, such as the United States, it can be seen that the process involves three distinct phases: (1) Guaranteeing ethnic minority groups equal access to equal education. In the U.S., this entailed nullifying the doctrine of separate but equal education, enforcing integration, and bussing minority students to majority schools. (2) Subsequently producing evidence that the provided involvement in the educational system has resulted in economic benefits. In the U.S., around 80% of the minorities have been brought into the economic mainstream, that is, the middle class or above it. (3) Afterwards allowing the expression through the educational system of ethnic minority culture. In the U.S., black studies or African heritage studies and bilingualism in education for Spanish ethnic groups have developed. Thus the process evolves from assimilation to economic development (both of which militate against ethnicity) to minority cultural expression (which reasserts ethnicity).

Most multiminority South and East Asian countries have expressed goals promoting equal-access education aimed at assimilating minorities, but in reality their plans of action springing from these goals have by and large been inadequate. Still in too many countries, ethnic minority groups consider their first loyalty to their region, their ethnic group, or to their social caste, not to their country.

Here, a note may be appended on the largest minority group in South and East Asian countries – females. Despite noble statements of goals by individual countries, little progress has been made in implementing enshrined educational rights for women. This lack of real progress may result from women as a group not representing a political threat to the development of national identity in the sense that a united potentially disruptive ethnic group does. As these countries move away from enforcing national identity goals and begin focusing on economic development goals, the role of women in education may become more important because of their potential contribution, as any other resource, to economic progress. The preceding statement is phrased as a possibility because even in Japan, the most advanced East Asian country, women-education at the tertiary level is largely stereotyped: Only 3.6% (1985 figures) of the enrollment of colleges of technology consists of women, and only 23.5% of universities. Around 43% of Japanese women in tertiary level education attend junior colleges whose enrollment consists of 90% women. These junior colleges have been characterized as little more than charm and homemaking schools (Japan, 1986, pp. 13-14).

Other South and East Asian countries are struggling to get women involved in more basic levels of education. In Pakistan, the participation

rate for girls at the primary level is 33%, one-half of that for boys, and it is only 21% for girls in rural areas. In Nepal, the proportion of girls of the total primary enrollment is only 28%. According to a 1981 census in India, nearly three-fourths of the women in the country are illiterates (Pakistan, 1986, p. 49; Nepal, 1984, p. 4; India, 1984, p. 12). What is lacking in South and East Asian countries are specific plans of action for involving women in education, similar to those for other minority groups, such as specific budgetary items for women's education, the establishment of bureaus or departments of Women Education under the ministry responsible for education, literacy programs targeted specifically for women, and establishment of quotas for women at educational institutes. What is not needed are sop programs such as Bangladesh's opening of one polytechnic for women, or Nepal's special project "Equal Access to Women in Education," which aims to train and appoint more women primary teachers because their presence might encourage more girls to enroll in schools (Bangladesh, 1986, p. 15; Nepal, 1984, p. 5).

Since most ethnic minorities are concentrated in rural areas, government programs for improving the rural educational system are actual programs to dispel ethnicity and foster national consciousness. For instance, the national government of Bangladesh has recently given a special allocation for the construction of primary schools for the ethnic minorities of the Chittagong Hill Tracts region (Bangladesh, 1986, p. 17). Malaysia has increased secondary educational facilities in rural areas and has provided financial assistance to maintain the poor in the school system. Since it was not profitable for private kindergartens to function in rural areas, Malaysia also began to set up government preschools in rural areas in 1984 and, after two years, about 60% of total preschool enrollment was in rural areas (Malaysia, 1986, pp. 27-28). In Pakistan, a Special Priority Development Program was launched in 1982-83 to facilitate the pace of educational development in rural areas and to remove the widening imbalance between urban and rural sectors. Rural areas in Pakistan have 70% of the population, but a literacy rate of only 17% against 47% in urban areas (Pakistan, 1986, pp. 16, 19).

Nepal has launched a special project on education for rural development and other programs "to provide educational opportunities to areas lagging behind in education" including establishing more rural trade schools and setting up campuses of technical institutes in the Eastern and Western Development Regions (Nepal, 1984, pp. 2-3, 5, 10). In 1986, Thailand implemented a Rural Kindergarten Project "to improve rural primary schooling in remote areas." It also built 480 secondary schools in rural areas from 1982 to 1987, in an attempt to equate the quality of education between small schools in rural areas and big schools in townships and metropolitan areas (Thailand, 1986, p. 14). In the Republic of Korea,

there is a recognition of the need to spread university education, which is largely concentrated in Seoul and its vicinity, to the provinces (R. Korea, 1986, p. 58). Also, in Japan, "the overconcentration of universities in a small number of the largest cities" has led the Ministry of Education to adopt a policy of restraining this urban concentration and to develop and expand tertiary institutions in localities other than the largest cities (Japan, 1986, pp. 82-83).

China is a country of multinationalities. In addition to the majority Han people, there are 55 minority nationalities, whose total population according to 1982 figures was 67.24 million or 6.7% of the total people in China. In addition to regular allocations for education in minority areas, in recent years China has earmarked 150 million yen as a special fund for the development of education in minority nationalities areas and remote areas. At the tertiary level, China has adopted two policies to improve the opportunities for minority youths to enter college: The state allows universities and colleges (1) to lower admission grades for minority students and (2) to give them priority in enrollment when they are at the same grade with Han students. Tibet is the region of China which has most resisted assimilation, perhaps because of the nature (armed intervention) of its incorporation and/or perhaps because of its religion. The central Chinese government has used qualitative expansion of education to try to bring about Tibet's national incorporation. A 1986 statement on its development of education points out that before 1951, the Tibet region had no primary, middle, or tertiary systems of education, but now it has three tertiary institutions, 56 middle schools, and 2,475 primary schools (China, 1986, pp. 87-91).

Sri Lanka illustrates problems which can arise from emphasizing economic development goals before ethnic minority national-consciousness plans of action have ingrained the concept of national identity. Two of the stated objectives of educational policy in Sri Lanka are to develop (1) an appreciation of the contribution made by the different ethnic groups to the national culture and (2) attitudes conducive to maintenance of harmonious relations among the different ethnic groups (Sri Lanka, 1986, p. 2). Plans of action to implement these goals have basically been lacking, resulting in four groups – the Singalese, the Tamils, the Muslims, and the Christians – with ethnic consciousness, not national consciousness.

The thrust of Sri Lanka's educational objectives has been toward achieving economic development, and the country had shown economic progress, at least until the Tamil insurgency, which was brought on partially by the Tamils' perception of social and economic disparities. Three recent policy orientations – the restructuring of the school system begun in 1985, the recent establishment of school clusters "to meet the educational

needs of the entire area [they] serve," and the 1977 and 1980 two-stage government usurpation of the schools in the plantation sector – show the government's overtures toward getting a unified educational system (Sri Lanka, 1986, pp. 21-22), although given the tense divisions in Sri Lanka each move could be interpreted by an ethnic group as an attempt to stifle minority voice in education.

Significantly none of the developments in the Ministry of Education's 1986 statement mention any specific education plans of action to defuse ethnic tension, and its list of problems and difficulties deals with financial matters. Indeed the opening statement of this publication – "For centuries the religion of the majority (Buddhism) nurtured a value system which embraced the concept of equality" (Sri Lanka, 1986, p. 1) – in its singularity slights the Hindi, Muslim, and Christian minorities by omitting their dedication to the same concept. All in all, one can conclude that Sri Lanka negatively illustrates the thesis of the primacy of national-consciousness goals to an educational system and the dire consequences of emphasizing economic development goals before a national consensus is established.

In summary, we have discussed five characteristics of an educational system which is focusing on enforcing or reenforcing national-identity goals: (1) quantitative expansion, (2) standardization of the system, (3) use of unifying factors, (4) expansion of central government control, and (5) amalgamation of ethnic regional minorities. Most South and East Asian countries have stated goals expressing these commitments to mass education, equal quality of education, equal access to education, and respect for ethnic minority, for all of which the central government ensures compliance. As we have shown, South and East Asian countries have developed educational plans of action to foster national unity; however, in reality the plans of action emanating from these goals are often insufficient.

Too often, those countries, which should be concentrating on national identity, rush too quickly toward meeting economic-development targets. Too often they spend too much on prestigious tertiary level education, neglecting the bases of education – the primary and secondary levels. Too often central government educational policy is geared to meeting crises, not to long-range planning. Too often ministries of education, safely encased in capital metropolises, never give a thought to education in remote regions or education for minorities, including women, until prodded by UNESCO. What these countries must realize is that unresponsiveness to national-identity yearnings can be as significant an indicator of the ill direction of a country as crumbling economic figures. What each South and

East Asian country – from the least developed (Bangladesh) to the most developed (Japan) – needs to do is to examine how well it is enforcing or reenforcing its national identity goals.

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Non-Discriminatory Assessment of Culturally Different Students

Abstract

Intellectual assessment has been based traditionally on the assumption that intelligence is static or unchanging. This conception has resulted in inadequate testing practices with culturally different students. This paper examines alternative approaches to the cognitive assessment of ethnically different students. The two most viable methods – comprehensive and dynamic assessment – are discussed, with the hope that non-discriminatory assessment techniques will be used with minority students.

Résumé

L'évaluation des facultés intellectuelles part généralement de l'hypothèse que l'intelligence est statique ou qu'elle n'évolue pas. Cette méprise a donné lieu à des tests qui ne conviennent pas aux étudiants de milieux culturels fort différents. Dans cet article, Lewis analyse les autres façons d'aborder l'évaluation cognitive d'étudiants différents sur le plan ethnique. Il analyse les deux méthodes qui conviennent le mieux – l'évaluation cognitive d'étudiants différents sur le plan ethnique. Il analyse les deux méthodes qui conviennent le mieux – l'évaluation exhaustive et l'évaluation dynamique – dans l'espoir que des techniques d'évaluation non discriminatoires seront employées avec les étudiants des minorités.

Psychologists who deliver services in a multicultural society face the problem of deciding which aspects of a particular problem are unique to a specific cultural or ethnic group, and which cut across cultural differences and are common to all individuals. The same problem faces educators in assessing the intelligence of students of varied backgrounds.

Traditionally, the assessment of cognitive ability began with the assumption that such ability is static and unchanged by teaching and learning. The tendency was to regard mental ability as innate. Although this concept of mental ability has helped us to understand some aspects of human intelligence, it does not adequately explain what intelligence is nor how it functions. In fact, static appraisal techniques have been found to be inadequate under special circumstances, such as when they are applied to the assessment of the mentally retarded (Haywood *et al.*, 1975) and culturally different minority groups (Budoff, 1973; Feuerstein, 1979). The discovery of these inadequacies has prompted assessment experts to suggest alternative approaches to assessment when dealing with culturally different children (Mercer, 1979; Samuda, 1975).

The concept of intelligence has been the subject of intense examination. While some psychologists believe that intelligence can be represented by a single number or factor, others (Carroll, 1983; Detterman & Sternberg, 1982; Sternberg, 1977) contend that tests based on a single factor or even multiple factors cannot account for all the variance of mental ability between individuals. Factor analytic studies of intelligence have been useful in identifying the number of specific abilities that make up an overall mental ability, but they fall short in explaining how a specific ability or cluster of abilities develops. Mental ability tests would be far more useful if, in addition to measuring intelligence as a product, they also could identify the process by which intelligence changes and/or accumulates as an individual acquires new experiences.

With this view of intelligence in mind, psychologists have set out to devise new approaches to intellectual assessment that take into account not only static knowledge but also cognitive processes. While these approaches do depend on the use of tests and test scores as a measure of mental ability, they also incorporate teaching and clinical observation to determine the cognitive style and any learning deficit of a student. Assessment, therefore, is an ongoing process in which the teacher monitors and reinforces academic progress and cognitive development. Many studies have advocated the need to shift from conventional methods of assessing minority students to these new approaches (Garcia, 1981; MacIntyre, 1985; Reschly, 1981; Salvia & Ysseldyke, 1978; Scarr, 1981). We now present two of the most vital approaches for discussion: comprehensive individual assessment and dynamic assessment.

Comprehensive Assessment

The goal of comprehensive assessment is to produce an accurate appraisal of students' current level and mode of intellectual functioning within the context of their cultural background and experience. Specific

learning needs are diagnosed and assets are identified to help the teacher formulate remedial programs for students. In practice, such an assessment process would involve a team consisting of a counsellor or psychometrician, a teacher, and a school administrator in the process of gathering data through testing, observation, consultation, and diagnosis. Often parents would be invited to participate in the process. The assessment follows these guidelines:

1. Diagnostic decisions, placement, and program changes in any counselling situation should be based on a wide range of information about the student.
2. Assessment results from a team deliberation on such information as how the student's performance is influenced by acculturation, language skills, behaviour mode, socioeconomic background, and ethnocultural identity.
3. The appraisal of the student's needs, strengths, weaknesses, and level of present cognitive functioning is made with reference to the background data outlined in point 2.
4. The main assessment objective is to define and design a teaching or remedial program that would best help the student to profit from the school system.
5. The remedial program should be carried out and monitored regularly by the assessment team.

The information generated by a process following these guidelines is called a comprehensive profile. In contrast to a single score, as obtained from a conventional intelligence test, the comprehensive profile is made up of information from a wide range of data sources: 1) observational data, 2) school records and other available data, 3) language dominance, 4) educational assessment data, 5) sensory-motor and/or developmental data, 6) adaptive behaviour data, 7) medical data, 8) personality assessment data (including self-report), and 9) intellectual assessment data.

The team approach, coupled with the wide range of data collected, allow a comprehensive profile about the individual being assessed to be constructed. The intellectual assessment of the student should be performed last, so that the results can be interpreted in the context of all the other information gathered. The works of Chodzinski and Samuda (1983), Salvia and Ysseldyke (1978), and Sattler (1982) provide many valuable suggestions on how to collect, validate, and interpret many tests and background information for cross-cultural assessment.

Comprehensive assessment is a continuous process. As individuals develop, their intellectual and achievement profiles change. Identifying the factors and information processing modes of students in each subject area

can help the teacher design appropriate learning materials and procedures to meet each individual's needs. The emphasis should be on helping students maximize competencies and opportunities, particularly in the case of minority students (Reschly, 1980). With this in mind, Harold Dent (1976) has suggested that assessment procedures should follow four directives. First, the assessment must provide an accurate appraisal of students' current level and mode of functioning within the context of their cultural background and experience. Second, assessment must identify specific educational needs rather than focus on perceived or inferred intellectual deficits. Third, assessment must focus on learning assets and strengths as the basis for the development of new learning skills. Finally, assessment must be a dynamic, ongoing process.

Dynamic Assessment

In contrast to the psychometric tradition which treats intelligence as a static product, Vygotsky (1978) perceives intelligence as a dynamic process that changes with development and learning. As learners interact with other people, their learning stimulates cognitive development. As cognitive development proceeds, a zone of proximal development, can be delineated to reflect the gap between the learners' actual development and their developmental potential. This potential enables the psychologist or teacher to help improve the learners' mental ability. In this sense, the assessment is dynamic and helpful.

Vygotsky (1978) defines the zone of proximal development as

...the distance between the actual development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers. (p. 86)

The size of this zone is determined by using conventional intelligence tests in a "test-teach-test" format. An individual is first given a test, or part of it, to determine the items which can be performed correctly and those which are difficult to solve. After this initial performance, the psychologist or teacher works with the student to help him/her complete the difficult items. This is done by appropriate prompting by the teacher until the student achieves competence. Finally, the test is administered again to ascertain the degree to which learning has helped the individual to perform better on the same intelligence test. The zone of proximal development is indicated by the number of prompts given in the teaching phase and their transfer effect. An individual who has received few prompts and who is able to solve many problems of a similar nature has achieved high transfer and,

by implication, has a high learning potential. Clinical observations of the learning process would yield rough calibrations of a person's ability to benefit from prompting and learning, speed in learning new materials, and transfer capabilities. However, it should be recognized that much of this learning also depends on the nature and quality of the prompts given. The prompts are only appropriate and effective when the teacher or psychologist involved knows the componential features of both initial and transfer tasks and is able to provide prompts effectively.

Dynamic assessment, when compared with traditional psychometric methods, seems to yield a richer understanding of human intelligence. This approach has been developed further by the methods and tests of Budoff and Feuerstein. A description of both these methodologies is now presented.

The Budoff method

Budoff's method of assessment begins with a testing of the individual with a series of both familiar and novel tasks. The performance of these tasks provides a base-line measure which can be compared to subsequent performance of the same tasks. This is the diagnostic phase.

The second phase of assessment engages the tester and testee in a teaching and learning process. The tester (the teacher) explains to the testee (the student) the principles of thought and logic required to perform the tasks in the pretest. The teacher can teach either general reasoning skills or basic concepts. He/she can then, based on his/her teaching, rearrange the tasks in the original test from easy to difficult, and ask the testee to do it again beginning with the easiest item and proceeding to progressively more difficult items. This methodology enables the teacher to ascertain two dimensions of the effectiveness of the teaching and learning: 1) whether the student's performance improved with teaching; and 2) the degree of improvement. From these clinical observations, the teacher can acquire data on the learning potential of the testee and the manner and speed with which performance is being improved. The teacher can also identify the student's preferred cognitive modality; that is, whether auditory or kinesthetic inputs most help the student in attaining an improved understanding of a particular subject or task.

The test-teach-test method of assessment can be used for a single task or a number of tasks. In the case of several tasks, a battery of tests is employed. So far, Budoff's research has concentrated on assessment using a single-task approach. He also believes in the use of nonverbal tests such as the *Kohs Block Designs Test* (1932) and the *Raven Coloured Progressive Matrices* (1956) for assessing and improving children's reasoning abilities. Because both the test items and the training exercises are relatively free of

cultural bias, children of diverse backgrounds can gain true cognitive experience unhampered by negative situational factors such as culture block and language deficiencies. This approach has proven effective in improving the cognitive ability scores of some children.

A parallel approach is found in the Soviet Union. The child is required to perform a task independently, then the examiner/tutor guides him/her in performing aspects which were failed. The child is then asked to repeat the same task by himself/herself to determine the gain obtained from the help given.

The Feuerstein method

Feuerstein has been concerned with assessing the untapped cognitive potential of culturally deprived children so as to remedy their deficiencies through an active intervention program which builds a more effective cognitive structure. The acquisition of such a structure will enable a person of low mental ability to become more adaptable, flexible, and therefore more capable of comprehending, planning, and solving problems.

Feuerstein makes a clear distinction between cultural deprivation and cultural difference. Culturally different individuals are simply persons who are members of a minority group within a mainstream culture. Because of their difference, individuals may suffer from performance deficiencies and/or lack economic opportunities. Such deficiencies can change as they acquire the essential skills necessary for succeeding in the society. A strong affiliation with their own minority culture can provide a sound psychological foundation to deal with the requirements and expectations of the dominant culture.

Culturally deprived individuals, on the other hand, are persons who are deprived of their own background culture. They have, in effect, become alienated from any cultural affiliation. This alienation may have been caused by any number of single or interactive factors: social class, physical factors, religion, psychological factors, and learning. Whatever the cause, cultural deprivation often leads to poor cognitive ability which reduces individuals' chances of keeping up with their peers and the school's expectations. Even manifestations such as a lack of motivation and the ability to learn and change in therapeutic and remedial situations can signal cultural deprivation. It is not difficult to realize that, under these circumstances, the use of conventional intelligence tests for assessment would only compound the already unfavorable situation by seeming to indicate that the individual has a low IQ. A different approach of assessment is needed if change is intended to be a logical follow-up of that assessment.

In their investigation into the problems confronting the culturally deprived, Feuerstein and Hoffman (1982) discovered that such individuals suffer from "a disruption of intergenerational transmission and mediational processes." Not only are they deprived of the learning experiences mediated by parents that normally occur during childhood, but they also are prevented from developing a sense of order about the environment and from formulating effective cognitive schemes with which to handle daily life problems.

In a normal childhood, interactions between child and parents are typically replete with examples of mediated learning. In this process, the parents selectively accept or reject certain stimuli to present to the child. In effect, the parents filter, frame, schedule, and sequence events at home and mediate relationships of time, space, causality, and affection. Through these experiences, children gradually construct their cognitive structures and link themselves with their cultural past and their social reality.

It may be said that every culture provides a structure within which the organization, interpretation, and understanding of events and relationships can occur through exposure and experience. It is this organization of experience that links individuals with their society. It also enables them to be flexible, adaptable, and creative in rooting themselves with the past, handling the present, and anticipating the future in the context of their cultural milieu. Language plays an important part in this process, as do other forms of communication and sharing. Feuerstein suggests that a mediated learning experience (MLE), such as occurs between a child and a parent in the normal process of development, is necessary to initiate every member of a society into the universal cognitive structure of that society. For those who have been deprived of this initiation, Feuerstein believes that the introduction of a mediating learning experience intended to fill in the gaps left by deprivation is helpful.

If it is assumed that culturally deprived persons, whether children or adults, have a much higher potential than they have been able to demonstrate in conventional intelligence tests, then a teacher, acting as a mediator, can help improve their cognitive ability by providing them with alternative perceptions and interpretations of the world. In order to do so, the teacher must first gain an understanding of their intelligence as well as their cognitive potential. Feuerstein uses a dynamic assessment approach which he calls the Learning Potential Assessment Device (LPAD).

The LPAD begins with a clear delineation of psychometric goals, as follows:

1. To assess students' cognitive modifiability by observing them function in situations designed to produce a change in them.

2. To assess the extent of students' modifiability in terms of cognitive functioning, and how significant their attained functioning is in the hierarchy of universal cognitive operations ranging from perception to abstract thinking.

3. To determine the transfer value of what is learned in one area to other areas of operations.

4. To identify students' preferred modalities for learning and the problem-solving strategies that work best for them.

The assessment process engages both the student and the assessor or counsellor in active modificational operations. As the student performs the given tasks, the counsellor intervenes whenever necessary to present alternative ways of perceiving, interpreting, and problem-solving. Any change in the student is noted, as well as the amount of intervention required to produce the change. On the basis of these observations, the counsellor then predicts the level of change potential in the student.

To facilitate this dynamic assessment process, conventional testing procedures have been modified to accommodate new goals. The characteristics that make up the essence of the new approach are:

1. The tester acts as a responsive, concerned, and individualized counsellor rather than a standard neutral questioner.

2. The test questions or task items must be clear and well-sequenced. They should permit ready assessment of students' present level of cognitive functioning and the way in which their problem-solving skills and relational thinking may be changed.

3. The assessment must focus on the process of intelligence rather than on its product. Emphasis is placed on the change in students' cognitive skill.

4. The responses that reflect both the process and product of cognitive operations are viewed as salient indicators of students' potential.

The LPAD thus helps to tap an individual's acquisition components and performance components of intelligence, and identifies where the deficits lie. Contained within the LPAD are detailed lists of the impairments that may be found among culturally deprived persons in three levels of cognitive functioning.

Even though the LPAD is concerned with an understanding of cognitive processes as a basis for remedial work, there are some weaknesses in the instruments employed. For one thing, the beginning and the end of the test-teach-test process tend to measure cognitive ability in terms of standardized units. Then, because this kind of clinical assessment requires assessors to approach the interpretation of results as well as the mediation

in their own way, the outcomes of the assessments do not lend themselves easily to comparison. Finally, the basic assumption that everyone is modifiable is an overgeneralization. Nevertheless, when viewed as a special assessment method aimed at facilitating therapeutic measures, the LPAD serves to meet the needs of people who are culturally deprived. Used properly, tests using the LPAD can yield the following information about the testee: 1) capacity to grasp an underlying principle, 2) amount of work required to teach a principle, 3) capacity to transfer what is learned to solve new problems, 4) modality preference in cognitive operations, and 5) the effects of mediation strategies on changing cognitive structures.

The Kaufman method

Kaufman is concerned with the assessment of fluid intelligence and achievement. The *Kaufman Assessment Battery for Children*, also called the K-ABC, measures intellectual functioning in two broad categories: Mental Composite Processing and Achievement. Mental Composite Processing and Simultaneous Processing are assessed through close observation as the tests are administered individually.

The K-ABC is made up of 16 subtests designed to measure different elements of children's intellectual capacity. Ten of the subtests are used to assess intellectual functioning, while the remaining six assess achievement. The battery is standardized on a nationwide sample of normal and exceptional students between two-and-a-half and twelve-and-a-half years of age. The tests are administered individually and involve only rudimentary verbal skills. In fact, a nonverbal scale is included to test children with language differences or language disorders. Norms have been established to reflect sociocultural factors. This makes the tests useful for assessing children from minority ethnic backgrounds.

The number of subtests used for assessment varies, depending on the age of the child. The guideline is: seven subtests for age two-and-a-half, nine subtests for age three, 11 subtests for ages four and five, 12 subtests for age six, and 13 subtests for ages seven to twelve. No child is given more than 13 tests. The testing time ranges from 35 to 85 minutes, depending on the age and speed of the child (Kaufman, 1975).

When administering the tests, the teacher first makes sure that the testee understands the tasks involved before asking him or her to perform them. The scores are interpreted with flexibility and care in order to decide what posttest intervention strategy should be taken to help the testee. The interpretation of test scores follows five empirical steps. The tester first transforms the obtained scores into percentile ranks and classifications. Next, the scores on the sequential processing scale is compared to those on

the simultaneous processing scale. Thirdly, the mental processing standard scores are compared with the achievement standard scores. Fourthly, the mental processing scores are scrutinized to determine strengths and weaknesses among the subtests used. Finally, assessment is made on the basis of strengths and weaknesses on the achievement scale.

In appraising the appropriateness of the K-ABC battery for the assessment of the intellectual ability of minority students, one may refer to the theoretical basis on which the tests are constructed. The concept that sequential and simultaneous processing is distinctly different from mental processes has its origin in the neurophysiological concepts of Luria (1966). According to him, the two hemispheres of the human brain perform different functions. While sequential processing handles tasks such as the habitualization of skills, rote memory, and narration, simultaneous processing deals with spatial organization, linguistic expressions, and comparison and contrast tasks. A number of empirical studies that support distinction between mental composite processing and achievement are cited in the K-ABC interpretation manual.

The fact that the K-ABC battery separates the mental processing scores from the achievement scores may explain why it is more useful in assessing the intellectual ability of minority children than conventional tests such as the *Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children - Revised* (WISC-R) and the *System of Multipluralistic Assessment* (SOMPA). Various cultural groups have different cognitive processing styles as well as different relationships between simultaneous processing and sequential processing. Kaufman and Kaufman (1982) have studied the effect of the K-ABC on Hispanic children, and have found the assessment to be more accurate than results obtained from the WISC-R. Whereas, the K-ABC Achievement Scale uses a predominantly visual approach, the WISC-R Verbal Scale by comparison places unfair emphasis on language skills. The flexibility in interpretation of the K-ABC also helps the tester to derive richer information with which to design effective posttest intervention strategies. In fact, the tester can clearly determine the characteristics of the testee's cognitive performance and verbal achievement.

Discussion

It seems, on the basis of the preliminary research results, that both the LPAD and the K-ABC are more appropriate assessment devices for testing minority children than the WISC-R and SOMPA. In certain ways, Feuerstein's method might be considered more dynamic than Kaufman's, but both share similar areas of emphasis and styles. Both methods deemphasize factual information and general learned content, and instead concentrate on problem-solving tasks of a nonverbal and culture-fair nature. Both

approaches incorporate a training component to help the testee who doesn't understand the tasks involved in the assessment. The Feuerstein approach trains the testee in order to measure learning potential, while the Kaufman method does the same thing so that more reliable scores can be obtained.

As a whole, the innovative approaches to mental ability assessment have shifted the focus away from quantitative product scores to qualitative observations and interpretations of the process of mental ability functioning. Dynamic assessment is based on the assumption that intelligence is a multifaceted, multidimensional, and fluid construct that continually undergoes change. This approach attempts to determine not only the characteristics of the various components of intelligence but also how they function. One way of doing this is to use the verbalizations of testees as a vehicle to tap the underlying cognitive processes as they work through various problems.

In recent years psychologists have experimented with the use of writing to assess individual cognitive abilities, learning style, conceptual knowledge, and problem-solving skills. Because writing reflects a person's skills in planning, sequencing, labeling, organizing, hypothesis-testing, and other forms of representational thought, the assessor can use analogies to examine the writer's comparative thinking and categorization skills. Observations on how testees assemble, expand, and regroup ideas through writing to represent feelings and experiences can yield insight into how they order their world. As Glaser and Pellegrino (1982) indicate, this assessment approach links learning abilities to concepts in cognitive development in order to identify a person's intellectual strengths and weaknesses.

When the assessment turns to the areas of planning and sequencing, time no longer is a factor. The tests then become directed towards students' intellectual power rather than their speed in completing tasks. The interactions between the testers and the students may now take many forms: verbal, visual, representational, and compositional, just to name a few. Moreover, the contents of the interaction may be analyzed during the initiation process or recorded for later detailed scrutiny and future comparisons. Students can be asked to express themselves from a first person's or a third person's point of view, thus providing information about their ability for subjective and objective analysis. A piece of writing can be assessed in terms of language skills, thought organization, and cognitive closure, all of which reflect the writer's level of cognitive development. In order to ensure reliability in measurement, the expressive performance of a person, whether oral or written, should be assessed over a period of time, requiring different modes of expression and responses to varying situations. The tester seeks to examine both the consistency in performance and the quality of expression as the basis for assessment.

It is evident that the assessment of minority students requires new and innovative ways of appraising behaviour. Above all, there is the need for intercultural understanding and sensitivity. By exploring new paradigms and by experimenting with new instruments, teachers and psychologists can best meet the needs of students who veer markedly from the mainstream within a culturally diverse society.

When viewed in the context of cultural diversity, the innovations described in this article provide the hope that nondiscriminatory assessment can be achieved. Clearly, teachers need to become more aware that standardized norm-referenced tests are irrelevant and inappropriate if they are to achieve the ideals of educational equity in the assessment and placement of students who veer from the mainstream by virtue of cultural, linguistic, and/or socioeconomic circumstances. Dynamic assessment and the approaches suggested by such writers as Sternberg, Budoff, Feuerstein, and Kaufman are opening up new avenues that could enhance and bolster a fairer system of coping with an increasingly complex population of students in the schools of North America.

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Knowledge and Mythology in Teacher Education

Abstract

It is argued that recent proposals to improve teacher education programs in Canada will not result in significant improvements because they are based upon a model of teacher education that is similar to an encyclopedia of mythology rather than an encyclopedia of knowledge. This model of teacher education is not likely to change in the near future unless more fundamental and massive proposals are adopted. Most faculties of education are probably unable, and unwilling, to implement such radical changes.

Résumé

D'aucuns affirment que les récentes propositions visant à améliorer les programmes de formation des enseignants au Canada n'entraîneront pas d'amélioration significative du simple fait qu'ils sont basés sur un modèle qui ressemble plus à une encyclopédie de la mythologie qu'à une encyclopédie du savoir. Ce modèle ne devrait rien changer à court terme à moins que des mesures beaucoup plus draconiennes ne soient prises. La plupart des facultés des sciences de l'éducation sont sans doute incapables et peu désireuses d'appliquer des changements aussi radicaux.

In Canadian faculties of education there has been a renewed interest in how the education of teachers may be improved. Recently, new initiatives have been proposed from an understanding of the historical developments (see Kerr, 1983; Patterson, 1979) and philosophical

perspectives on teacher education (see Hopkins, 1982; Miller & Taylor, 1984; Volpe, 1981; Wideen & Holborn, 1986). The proposed revisions in teacher education include such recurring themes as separating the practical aspects from the theoretical aspects, increasing the basic degree programs from four to five years, and increasing the length of practice teaching.

There is little convincing evidence that these proposals will improve teacher education, nor that they will improve the education of children, which is the ultimate aim. Rather, if one examines teacher education from a broader perspective one can see why there is little hope of improving teacher education without much more fundamental changes – changes which most faculties of education are probably unwilling and unable to implement.

Two Ideal Types of Teacher Education Programs

Sociologists often use the concept of ideal types to discuss the nature of social institutions. An ideal type is intended to be a simplified and somewhat exaggerated image of reality. As such, it is recognized that reality is much more complex than the ideal type would indicate, but that it is a model of reality. Like all models, an ideal type may provide a simplified perspective which can help one interpret and understand reality.

In education, there seem to be two ideal types in the construction of programs. First, there is a Socratic model in which students work very closely with a great person and learn by participating in an extended apprenticeship. This model is often used in doctoral programs, particularly in European universities. Second, there is an encyclopedic model where students are provided with courses intended to complete their "circle of knowledge" (see Wegener, 1978, p. 48). This is the model that is generally used in both undergraduate and graduate university programs in Canada.

In the encyclopedic model there are also two ideal types – one is a model based upon an encyclopedia of knowledge, and the other is a model based upon an encyclopedia of mythology. The distinguishing characteristics of an encyclopedia of knowledge are the reliance upon rationality, the interrelationship of knowledge, and the acceptance of the belief that knowledge, obtained through rational procedures, may not be useful in the solution of practical problems (see Nisbet, 1971, p. 24; Wegener, 1978, pp. 90-126). Following through with this analogy, in an encyclopedia of knowledge each topic is based upon a rational and often scientific understanding of each specific issue, topics are cross-referenced, and there is little concern for the practical application of the information. In an encyclopedia of mythology, on the other hand, the distinguishing characteristics are the importance of tradition rather than rationality, the uniqueness of each piece of information rather than its conjunction with

other pieces of information, and the immediate usefulness of the information.

Thus, the information in an encyclopedia of knowledge is open to rational debate and revision on the basis of scholarly research (Nisbet, 1971, p. 32), while the information in an encyclopedia of mythology is not open to debate and revision (Becker & Barnes, 1961). From another perspective, in an encyclopedia of knowledge, opinion and knowledge are distinct, while in an encyclopedia of mythology, opinion (often from elders) and knowledge are indistinguishable. Furthermore, in an encyclopedia of knowledge, information and action are distinct, while in an encyclopedia of mythology, information and action are united. Becker and Barnes, in discussing the mythological thought of preliterate people, implicitly make this distinction in the following words:

... a large part of their thought is not expressed in words, much less in systematic theories, and even when they do give verbal expression to their social insights, proverbs rather than more thoroughly generalized abstractions are the rule. In short, their social thought must often be inferred from their conduct; it is usually concrete and implicit, it takes the form of pithy sayings arising from circumscribed experience rather than condensed formulas of universal applicability
.... Concrete versus abstract with a vengeance! (p. 15)

The Reality of Teacher Education Programs

Now that the ideal type of knowledge and mythology have been briefly discussed, the focus will be on teacher education programs in order to develop a better understanding of them. In this respect, this writer argues that the programs that he has been associated with over the past twenty-five years reflect the encyclopedia of mythology to a much greater degree than they reflect the encyclopedia of knowledge. This does not mean that teacher education programs are devoid of knowledge. Such a position is not tenable, but it can be argued that the overall ethos of teacher education programs is mythological. There are four types of evidence which support this claim.

First, members of most faculties of education do not publish, at a very high rate, scholarly articles in either education journals or in the journals of the disciplines that are the foundations of educational practice (see Arlin, 1978; Clifton & McDonald, 1984; Dreeben, 1970, p. 121; Kerr, 1983, p. 533; Schwebel, 1982). At the same time, there is little participation by professors of education in scholarly conferences (Clifton & McDonald, 1984), while there is usually much higher participation in practical conferences oriented towards school teachers (see Conant, 1963, p.

7). Additionally, members of faculties of education do not generally obtain as much research money as members of most other faculties, as is shown by statistics from various Canadian universities on the ranking of education in comparison with other units. Thus, for many faculty members in education, knowledge is not gained through research and scholarly inquiry, but is gained through experience and practice. In effect, faculty members in education have not generally internalized what Wallerstein (1969, p. 8) notes as an important part of the ethos of the university: "The work of the university is not peace by combat – intellectual combat," where the bullets are words and the missiles are scholarly papers.

Second, there is a very strong practical orientation in most programs for the education of student teachers. Many professors of education have noted that, in their view, practice teaching is the most important aspect of the education of student teachers (see Clifton, 1979; Lortie, 1975, p. 70-71), and a recent survey of education students at the University of Alberta notes that over 92 percent of them think that their practice teaching is a much more important aspect of their preparation than courses in the social scientific basis of education or even courses in classroom management (Nixon & Bumbarger, 1984). Moreover, there is a persistent and consistent disparaging of theoretical courses – history, philosophy, and sociology of education, for example – by professors of education, politicians, school administrators, student teachers, and teachers, and at the same time there is an idealization of courses in practical skills – courses in instruction and management (Dreeben, 1970, p. 126; Lortie, 1975, p. 74; Miller & Taylor, 1984, p. 333). As such, courses in faculties of education are often noted for being "mickey mouse" (Lortie, 1975, p. 160). This practical orientation alienates professors of education and student teachers from the intellectual roots of the profession and turns them towards the mythological aspects of the practice of teaching.

Third, there are many ritualistic aspects of teacher education that are not generally subjected to scholarly inquiry and debate. Perhaps the most pervasive is the ritual of writing lesson plans and the ritual of going out to practice teach. Students in faculties of education seem to be continually writing detailed lesson plans that few, if any, continue to write when they are bona fide teachers. Moreover, student teachers, professors of education, and teachers continue to believe in the importance of practice teaching even though there is some evidence that practice teaching is simply an exercise in survival that has little relationship to one's ultimate performance as a bona fide teacher (see Clifton, 1979; Emerson, 1986, p. 11).

Finally, a great number of courses are generally offered in faculties of education, and there is typically very little integration of these courses into coherent programs of study (see Clifton & Long, 1984; Hunt, 1978).

That is, there is little sense of the sequencing of courses so that they fit into a logically developed scheme that is consistent with the principles of curriculum construction taught by professors of education. An examination of the calendars for universities in Western Canada, comparing the organization of courses in the faculties of law and medicine with the organization of courses in the faculties of education, illustrates that the programs are much more highly organized in law and medicine than in education. Moreover, a large part of the organizational structure that is evident in teacher education programs seems to come from the requirement for certification imposed by the provincial departments of education.

As a result of the great number of courses that are offered and the loose organization of these courses into programs, student teachers, to a considerable degree, create their own education programs on the basis of such things as the time courses are offered, who teaches the course, when they must work at their part-time jobs, and perhaps the courses they think they may need to get a teaching position. Theoretically, at least, the loose organization of courses and the great diversity of courses that are offered in faculties of education suggest that knowledge is not perceived as being rational and interrelated but traditional and unique.

In essence, programs of study in faculties of education closely resemble an encyclopedia of mythology. There are a great number of courses that are loosely, if at all, interrelated with each other; there are a number of ritualistic practices which are not open to scholarly inquiry and debate; there is a very strong practical orientation in the programs; and there are few signs that the faculty members have internalized the value of research and scholarly inquiry which is the basis of an encyclopedia of knowledge and the ideal of the university.

The Future of Teacher Education

There is little doubt that teaching is one of the most stressful and uncertain of all the professions (Dreeben, 1979, p. 79; Lortie, 1975, p. 134-161; Veenman, 1984, pp. 153-160). Within their classrooms, teachers find it stressful to deal with students who have great diversity in ability, interest, and motivation; also, they find it stressful to interact with students on the basis of universalistic principles while, at the same time, maintaining their concern for each individual. Teaching is a stressful profession, in part, because of the conflicting expectations of the teachers' instructional role and their socialization role – a role they are increasingly expected to perform.

With the advent of a number of recent trends in Canadian society, the amount of stress in teaching will no doubt increase. One observes increasing criticism of teachers in the public media (see Adelson, 1983;

Brimelow, 1983; Bruning, 1986; Kerr, 1983; Nikiforuk, 1984; White, 1984); new policies, such as family life education, mainstreaming, and multiculturalism which increase the demands upon teachers; and concurrently the **Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms** which will undoubtedly ensure that students gain rights and privileges they have not had before (see Magsino, 1985). These social factors will tend to increase the amount of stress upon teachers because of the uncertainty that they will bring into the negotiation between students and teachers. These changes will force teachers to deal with greater variability in students' attitudes and behaviour which, in turn, will ensure that teachers will have less confidence, rather than more confidence, in their interaction with students.

Nevertheless, the stresses and uncertainties of teachers are less than those of student teachers. Not only do student teachers have to face all the stresses and uncertainties associated with teaching (at least in their minds), but they must also face two additional stresses and uncertainties. Specifically, they face the stress of knowing that, for a variety of reasons, their program is far from adequate in preparing them for a teaching career (see Dreeben, 1970, pp. 116-156; Sarason, Davidson, & Blatt, 1986, pp. 97-116; Veenman, 1984, p. 147), and they face the stress of knowing that there are relatively few teaching positions available, and those that are available are far from ideal.

Uncertainty causes stress which is likely to be exhibited in two ways. First, it is likely to be exhibited in the changing patterns of negotiation within university classrooms. Stress increases the affiliation of students. As such, student teachers who are under considerable stress are much more likely to interact with each other, develop social cohesion, and ultimately engage in joint action directed towards reducing their stress (Albas & Albas, 1984). When student teachers are under stress, professors are much more likely to face a unified group of emotionally volatile student teachers than when they are not under stress. That is, these student teachers are more likely to become antagonistic towards both their professors and the courses which they perceive, at least in part, as causing their discomfort. Moreover, the basis of this antagonism is more likely to be emotional than rational.

Second, student teachers who are under stress are likely to search for other ways to help them face their situations. There is some evidence which suggests that when people are under stress they often engage in magical rituals as a way of mitigating the stress. Malinowski (1954), for example, has illustrated how Trobriand Islanders use rituals to help them face the uncertainty of fishing in the unsafe seas, Albas and Albas (1984) have illustrated how university students use rituals to help them face the uncertainty of final examinations, and many others have noted that religious ceremonies become much more salient to people who are chronically ill.

Thus, the increased uncertainties faced by student teachers will probably result in united action directed towards their professors and courses, and an increased concern for magical rituals. When professors are faced with hostile student teachers, they are likely to seek ways of mitigating the stress which results from the uncertainty of such interaction. One obvious way for professors to mitigate their stress, and to be seen as serving the needs of their student teachers, is to inflate the grades that the student teachers receive in their courses. In fact, an examination of the average grades received by students in education and students in arts and sciences at several Canadian universities illustrates that education students have substantially higher grades than arts and science students. In a related situation, Taylor and Miller (1985, p. 112) report very high, and very positively skewed, grades for the evaluations of student teachers' practicums. Specifically, the average grade was 186.99 out of 225 (83%) when judged by the cooperating teachers and 169.08 (75%) when judged by the faculty consultants.

In this respect, professors of education (and perhaps even cooperating teachers) seem to attempt to deal with both their own uncertainty and the uncertainty of their student teachers by distributing grades so that fewer student teachers fail and a larger percentage obtain higher grades. The inflation of grades reduces the negotiation between student teachers and their professors by reducing, for the student teachers, the uncertainty of their success in courses. Inadvertently, the inflation of grades is also an implicit recognition, by both professors and student teachers, that the information passed on in courses is more myth than knowledge. If the information were knowledge it would be much more meaningful to make distinctions on the basis of quality, while if the information is myth it is much less meaningful to make such distinctions. This happens because the real test of a myth is in its application to a particular situation, and since there are a great variety of very complex teaching situations, neither professors nor cooperating teachers really know what will ultimately work for particular student teachers in their own classrooms.

The second and related way of dealing with the situation is that professors of education may bend even further towards the demands of their student teachers and make their courses even more relevant. Relevant courses will appeal to the ritualistic needs of the student teachers so that they will at least think that they can deal more effectively with the uncertainties of their present and anticipated situations. In this respect, the talismanic phrase is "the needs of student teachers." Thus, there will be increased pressure from student teachers, as well as from professors who want to meet the perceived needs of their student teachers, to create additional courses designed to meet increasingly specific and practical needs. For example, where once there was one course on the teaching of reading in elementary schools, there will become a number of courses directed towards

specific needs, such as reading for emotionally disturbed pupils, reading for ethnic minority pupils, and reading for Native Indian pupils.

There will also be greater pressure for more practical courses at the graduate level. This will happen because more teachers have completed their undergraduate degrees and they desire the increased salary that results from additional years of study and, at the same time, they also want to deal more effectively with the specific uncertainties they face on a day-to-day basis in their own classrooms (see Hargreaves, 1984). These graduate student teachers are more likely to take courses on a part-time basis, and they are more likely to register in departments and programs that they see as offering very practical and very specific programs. Thus, these graduate student teachers are not as committed to knowledge as to the increase in salary and the solution of practical problems. Their basic commitment is to the mythology of teaching rather than to its intellectual basis.

Moreover, these graduate student teachers are likely to request, from their professors, more specific courses in practical areas. They may request individual reading courses or they may request, through their teachers' union, more specific programs directed towards specific problems. In fact, a recent analysis of the graduate calendar at the University of Manitoba illustrates that in Education there are approximately 3.6 times the number of graduate courses on a per faculty member basis, as for faculty members in Arts and Science, and at the University of Saskatchewan there are 1.9 times the number of graduate courses, on a per faculty member basis, in the College of Education, as for faculty members in the College of Arts and Sciences. Moreover, at the University of Manitoba, some faculty members in Education have "supervised" fifteen individual reading courses, besides their regular nine hours of teaching, while other faculty members have taught fifteen courses, which is approximately two and one-half times the normal teaching load. This may happen because both the professors and their graduate student teachers see themselves as dealing with specific practical situations and specific ritualistic behaviour. Conversely, they do not see knowledge, or a liberal education (see Wegener, 1976), as being either necessary or important.

The more professors of education extend themselves into more practical areas, the less they will likely know about these areas, and consequently the more likely they will rely on ritualistic behaviour and the less likely they will be rigorous in evaluating their student teachers' work. This is because the professors will really know very little about the specific situations since their information has been gained through experience rather than through research and scholarship. Moreover, professors of education will not have had the same experience as their student teachers. As a result, student teachers will often think that they know more about the practical

situations in schools than do their professors (which may be correct in many cases), and this will depreciate the professors' authority and increase the potential for courses to be seen as "mickey mouse." Grades will likely become even more inflated, and student teachers will likely seek even more practical courses, which their professors will be even less able to deliver satisfactorily. At the same time, professors will be even less sure of themselves and they will attempt to decrease their stress by engaging in more ritualistic behaviour and further inflate the grades of their student teachers. This will lead professors and their student teachers further away from the encyclopedia of knowledge, which is the ideal of the university, and further embed them in the encyclopedia of mythology.

New Policies are Necessary

From this perspective, the changes being proposed by faculties of education, such as separating the practical aspects of teacher education from the theoretical aspects, increasing basic degree programs from four to five years, or increasing practice teaching from six to 18 weeks, are simply perfunctory. Ultimately, it will make very little difference. What is needed is a revolution in which faculties of education, as well as those institutions and individuals which support them, change their conception from mythology to knowledge. The attitudes, behaviour, and values of the "Enlightenment" must become disseminated throughout the society and must specifically become internalized by all those involved with education.

From this perspective, there is little use in attempting to improve teacher education programs from inside faculties of education, or even from inside universities. Outside intervention is necessary to break the vicious circle so that both teacher education and the education of children are improved. Political parties in government must appoint ministers of education who ascribe to the encyclopedia of knowledge, and opposition parties must appoint "shadow-ministers" who hold similar dispositions. Members of parliament, who have been school board members, teachers, superintendents of school, or professors of education, should not normally be considered as suitable candidates. If they have been marginally successful in any of these occupations, there is little doubt that they have already been beguiled by the encyclopedia of mythology.

Following this, there are three policies that must be implemented. First, ministers of education must initiate a critical examination of all teacher education programs. This examination must be conducted by people who have been proponents of the encyclopedia of knowledge. Ministers must then encourage universities to establish more rigorous programs for the education of teachers. In order to do this they must persuade senior administrators in universities to act as if teachers' education is the mandate

of the total institution, rather than the mandate of just a faculty of education.

Second, ministers of education must change their policies for the certification of teachers. Interim and permanent certificates must not be awarded to people simply because they have been recommended by faculties of education, or because they have taken additional courses at either the undergraduate or graduate levels. Likewise, departments of education must revoke the teaching certificates of incompetent teachers. Certification must be based upon demonstrable knowledge and skill through assessment procedures which are independent of faculties of education.

Finally, ministers of education must establish policies and provide funding for the support of educational research of high quality. In this respect, it is important that faculty members in education compete with other researchers for these funds. At the same time, faculties of education, school boards, and private schools must be encouraged to participate in educational research in order to improve their educational programs and to affirm that knowledge and practice are based upon research and scholarship.

Conclusion

These proposals are designed to begin weaning the educational community, particularly faculties of education, from the encyclopedia of mythology to the encyclopedia of knowledge. It is suggested that without such policies, the concern for practical courses and programs will continue to degenerate into a vicious circle leading faculties of education further into the encyclopedia of mythology and further away from the encyclopedia of knowledge. This will happen because the appropriate attitudes, behaviour, and values, on the part of professors of education, student teachers, teachers, and school administrators, have already been initiated into this encyclopedia, the encyclopedia is easy to read and understand, and it has ritualistic suggestions which are perceived as being practical. Moreover, professors of education are, on average, an aging population, and as they grow older they will probably become even more conservative in their mythological beliefs. At the same time, academic freedom, enshrined in collective agreements, and the fact that many of these older professors will have attained the status of "full professor" (without having substantial publication records) means that there will be a considerable amount of license for professors to maintain and disseminate their myths.

Senior administrators of universities, professors of arts and sciences, and university students often claim that many professors of education, as well as their student teachers, are not very intelligent or they are lazy (Schwebel, 1985). This is not true. These professors and their student

teachers work extremely hard, but they are steeped in the world of mythology rather than in the world of knowledge. As such, they simply cannot help believing in the encyclopedia of mythology. What is required is a revolution in the faculties of education that would be of similar magnitude as the revolution from Newtonian physics to quantum physics.

At the same time, one continually hears proclamations from professors of education that they are in fact knowledgeable and that they do follow *The Scientific Basis of the Art of Teaching* (Gage, 1978). As such, one may be fooled into thinking that the encyclopedia of knowledge, as the basis for university programs in education, is slowly but surely being adopted. There is little evidence to support such optimism. The encyclopedia of knowledge is not adopted by proclamations, but by research and scholarship; that is, the encyclopedia of knowledge is sanctified by engaging in the intellectual combat that is the basic value of the university. The reality is that most faculty members and student teachers in faculties of education are working in a "pre-Enlightenment" stage where myth has precedence over knowledge, where opinion is knowledge, where knowledge (opinion) must be practical, and where tradition has precedence over scholarship. As such, these people do not understand the concepts of "research" and "scholarship" even though they use the words in a ritualistic manner.

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Selecting Students for Secondary Education in a Developing Society: The case of Trinidad and Tobago

Abstract

The method of selecting students for secondary school in Trinidad and Tobago has undergone changes in recent years. The modifications have been effective in that they permit access to a larger number of students; they nevertheless accommodate some of the former practices of elitism in the selection process. This paper examines one of these major changes, together with implications for education and the society.

Résumé

Le mode de sélection des étudiants qui entrent au secondaire à Trinidad et Tobago a subi des mutations ces dernières années. Ces modifications ont porté fruit en ce sens qu'elles permettent l'accès d'un plus grand nombre d'étudiants; elles conservent néanmoins certaines pratiques élitistes. London analyse ici l'un des principaux changements et ses répercussions sur l'éducation et la société.

A characteristic feature of most developing nations is the high premium they put upon education and schooling, in spite of their recent experience that professional certification does not necessarily lead to employment and to material advancement. This experience of certification unaccompanied by the promise of employment is of relatively recent origin in developing nations, where the situation was different until about a decade ago. At that time gainful employment was a natural sequel to certification.

The demand for education on the part of the local society is often high, a factor in part responsible for recent expansions in the education sector in most developing nations. In the expansion programme many schools have been built, but in almost every case demand for school places still exceeds capacity. As a result, the procedures for selection of students for school, especially at the secondary level, have had to undergo refurbishment and realignment.

Since Trinidad and Tobago acceded to political independence in 1962, several adjustments have been made in that nation's examination strategies for gaining access to secondary school. Attempts have been made, for example, to relax prior levels of achievement in secondary school entrance examinations and to democratize access to secondary education via revised entrance requirements.

In spite of these recent adjustments, the logic embedded in the selection mechanism has not undergone much change. The selection procedures are designed to facilitate a certain degree of upward mobility within the local society. According to sociologist Turner (1960), patterns of upward mobility in western society may conform to one of two ideal-typical modes: the contest mode or the sponsorship mode.

In Trinidad and Tobago, the prevailing systems of examinations for selecting students for secondary education conform to the principles of both sponsorship and contest, as far as the norms for local socio-economic mobility are concerned. It is also argued that because of the "ideal" nature of Turner's (1960) classification, the examination systems referred to in Trinidad and Tobago may not provide a neat "fit" with this model, but may simply manifest a certain degree of rapprochement between the two ideals.

Objectives and Methodology

The main purpose of this paper is to examine the degree to which the logic of contest and/or the logic of sponsorship, as propounded by Turner (1960), prevail(s) in the examination system used in the selection of students for secondary education in Trinidad and Tobago. Turner (1960) argues that the practice of one or the other of these forms of upward mobility leads to different consequences in the host society. Therefore, this paper will examine for Trinidad and Tobago, the possible consequences of the pattern of mobility detected in its examination system.

In order to fulfil these objectives the entrance examination (the 11-plus or Common Entrance examination), which must be written by all students as a means of gaining access to secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago, will be analyzed. Lastly, because of the central position for the

Turner (1960) model, its main features will be discussed as a prelude to the major discussion.

The Turner Model

Turner (1960) argues that two ideal typical forms of upward mobility may be found in most societies: contest mobility and sponsorship mobility. These forms of mobility are based upon what he refers to as the "prevailing folk norms" or generally agreed upon beliefs and practices of the given society, which are in turn reflected in the systems of examination practised in the schools of the society in question. These patterns of mobility are related to their respective systems of schooling, for promoting mobility is one of the basic objectives of most schooling endeavours.

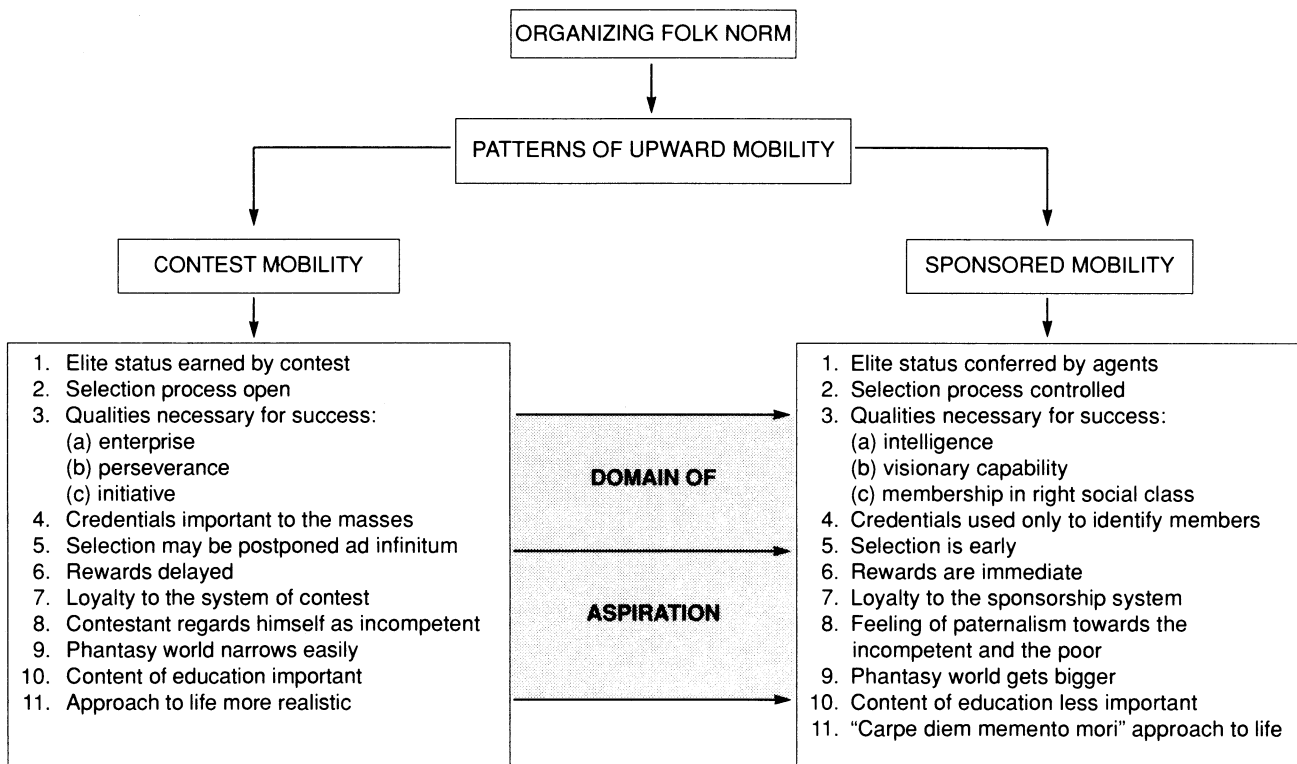
The folk norms not only play an important role in defining the types of mobility practised by the respective society, but also legitimate the systems of examination. Meyer and Rowan hint at this legitimization role of the folk norm by stating that:

Educational organizations function to maintain the societally agreed-on rites defined in societal myths . . . of education. Education rests on and obtains enormous resources from central institutional rules about what valid education is. (1978, p. 65)

Having outlined the rationale for establishment of the two forms of mobility, Turner states that:

Contest mobility is a system in which elite status is the prize in an open contest, and is taken by the aspirant's own efforts. While the contest is governed by some rules of fair play the contestants have wide latitude in the strategies they employ. Since the "prize" of successful upward mobility is not in the hands of an established elite to give out, the latter cannot determine who shall attain it and who shall not. Under sponsored mobility elite recruits are chosen by the established elite or their agents, and elite status is given on the basis of some criterion of supposed merit, and cannot be taken by any amount of effort or strategy. Upward mobility is like entry into a private club where each candidate must be "sponsored" by one or more members. Ultimately, the members grant or deny upward mobility on the basis of whether they judge the candidate to have those qualities they wish to see in fellow members. (1960, p. 856)

Figure 1
Summary of main features of the Turner Model



Source: Adapted from Ralph H. Turner, Sponsored and content mobility and the school system. *Amer. Soc. Review*, vol. 25, 1960, 855-867.

Contest mobility may therefore be likened to a sporting event in which many contestants are competing for a few recognized prizes. The contest is fair only if all the players compete on an equal basis, and victory is solely by one's own efforts. Thus, as Bernstein (1975) points out in his discussion of the relationship between school and society, individualism, enterprise, perseverance, and personal initiative are some of the main principles of solidarity that distinguish contestants in a framework of contest mobility.

In contrast, sponsored mobility rejects the contest and favours a controlled selection process, in which elites or their agents are deemed to be the best qualified to choose individuals to be recipients of elite status. Whereas in contest mobility the governing objective is to give elite status to those who earn it, in sponsored mobility the elite society becomes the agent that establishes and interprets its own entrance criteria.

The diagram in Figure 1 is an attempt to summarize, compare, and contrast the main features of the patterns of sponsorship and of contest found in the Turner (1960) model of social mobility. In its adapted format, the model (Figure 1) accepts that the organizing folk norms, that is, the generally agreed upon beliefs and practices of the society, engender two patterns of upward mobility, the contest type and the sponsorship type. Figure 1 also indicates a "domain of aspiration" in which contest participants aspire to effect mobility through existing "sponsorship" devices, but in which sponsored participants do not aspire for mobility through "contest" devices. That is, aspiration is unidirectional, with contest participants aspiring for upward mobility through the less rigorous and demanding devices of sponsorship.

Each pattern of mobility suggested in the Turner model is predicated upon a certain internal logic, and contest and sponsorship are the two forms of mobility that inform systems of examinations in most societies. The extent to which the 11-plus examination in Trinidad and Tobago manifests Turner's (1960) sponsorship and/or contest will now be examined.

The 11-Plus Examination

The 11-plus or Common Entrance Examination was introduced into Trinidad and Tobago from the United Kingdom in the early 1960s, as the basic method for selecting candidates for secondary education. As the name implies, this examination is "common", open to all students who qualify on the basis of chronological age. Officially, students should not be coached for this examination, but should succeed (or fail) on the basis of "natural ability."

This policy assumes an egalitarian administration of the 11-plus examination whereby opportunity must be given to all. This egalitarian principle is enshrined in the Constitution of the State (Trinidad and Tobago), and suggests that state examinations are "contest" as opposed to "sponsorship".

In practice, there is compliance with this official policy. Partly because of a shortage of secondary school places, the 11-plus examination is keen competition. However, sponsorship enters and partly determines the nature of the competition. From birth some students are registered in "good" schools from which a "good" pass in the 11-plus examination may be expected. Admission to such schools is usually limited to students coming from privileged families of the local society.

This element of sponsorship within contest mobility is exaggerated at about the age of ten, when students may be given "extra lessons" before and after school hours in preparation for the 11-plus examination. Extra help is not free, so only the well-to-do can afford it. The mechanism is essentially a head-start strategy which disadvantages the student of the poor.

The logic of sponsorship and the logic of contest are also reflected in the perception of local high schools. Schools, especially those at the secondary level, are perceived as "prestige" and "non-prestige". Thus, "success" at the 11-plus examination is determined not merely by gaining a passing mark, but essentially by passing "high enough" to be placed in a "prestige" school. Ignominy and shame often attend the aspirant to a "prestige" school, who is placed in a second-rate school as a result of his placement on the 11-plus examination.

In recent years about 25,000 students write the 11-plus examination annually, of which about 20,000 gain access to secondary schools. Of this figure of 20,000 only about 5,000 are allocated to the "prestige" schools. This paucity of places, together with scarcity of resources (especially in respect of other schools) provides a breeding ground for sponsorship within the 11-plus examination. One of these mechanisms is locally referred to as "The Concordat."

The Concordat is an official and legal agreement between the Government and the Boards of Management of the local denominational secondary schools, which guarantees the right of their principals to admit up to 20% of their first-year intake of students, without strict consideration of the results of the 11-plus examination. These denominational secondary schools are the "prestige" schools of the nation. No other secondary school in the state may admit beginning students without strict reference to the student's performance on the 11-plus examination. This central logic of The

Concordat has not been questioned by the local society; its well-spring being some of the deep cultural values held by the population.

Concordat privileges may be considered the epitome of sponsorship within a contest framework. Prior to the official release of the examination results, principals of "prestige" denominational high schools are summoned to the Ministry of Education to select their 20% of first-year students. Principals do not have a completely free hand: they may choose only from a list handed to them by the Ministry of Education. The list contains the names of students who achieved only a certain minimum score on the 11-plus examination, but not all students whose names appear on this list are chosen.

"Many are called, but few are chosen" is the principle of this process. From the list referred to, principals may freely and legitimately select those students who satisfy certain unwritten criteria. Very often these conditions are based on family connections, influence in the society, political affiliation, and wealth. Within such a sponsorship framework the poor, the disenfranchised, the weak, and the uninfluential do not have a second chance at "prestige" secondary schooling.

Because of prestige attached to the denominational secondary schools, the most gifted students are attracted to them. About 80% of their students ranked highly in the 11-plus examination, most of them coming from families who share similar social class characteristics. As far as these schools are concerned, The Concordat allows for a second chance for students of a more privileged social class background to attend a "prestige" school, but at the same time reentrenches the unfortunate and the underprivileged in their socio-economic milieu, by virtue of their incapability to compete successfully for selection for a prestige school through a second chance valve.

One of the potential results of this dual practice of sponsorship via the Concordat, and of contest via placement in the 11-plus examination, is the encouragement and perpetuation of a social class cleavage which Trinidad and Tobago has attempted to dismantle. One therefore finds in Trinidad and Tobago "prestige" denominational secondary schools where members of the more privileged class are further socialized into certain norms, and "non-prestige", or "second-rate", government-run schools where less fortunate students predominate and are socialized into different social, perceptual, and behavioural norms.

The logic of contest in the 11-plus examination is also manifested in the concept of the "second-chance", recently built into the examination system. It gives the 12-plus students a chance to repeat the 11-plus

examination, thereby gaining potential access into an upper-class school. This opportunity is open to students who did not secure a place at a secondary school on their first 11-plus examination, and to those who wish to repeat the examination for a "better placement."

The strategy of the "second-chance" approximates what Bowles and Gintis (1976) refer to as a confidence mechanism, the application of which merely heightens the rationale for contest among students, in the hope that the desired pass for the desired school would be achieved on the second round. This kind of logic is not only tantalizing, but has the effect of legitimizing in the minds of the poor (and the unsuccessful in particular) that their inability is the reason they have not "made the grade." In Turner's model, the legitimization of such feelings of failure is inherent to the logic of contest mobility.

Consequences for the Local Society

It was indicated above that Turner's model is dynamic, with the ability to point to consequences for society. Thus, although the model does not neatly fit the 11-plus examination system found in Trinidad and Tobago, certain consequences for the local society may be observed as a result of the differential practice of the logic of sponsorship and the logic of contest, which have been found to operate in the examination system discussed.

In the first instance, the presence of the two forms of logic found in the 11-plus examination divides the students and potentially lead to a dichotomized society where the "hewers of wood" are separated from the "drawers of water." This kind of distinction has been shaped by the traditional local society, but has recently been subjected to change through those efforts to unshackle and liberate the nation politically and socially in the post-independence era. The socio-economic distinctions implied in the above examination and selection procedures are therefore vestiges of a previous model of social formation which particular grass-roots elements in the local society have struggled for many years to change. The Concordat, symbol of sponsorship, serves to dull the edge of the contest ideal, which post-independence governments have attempted to popularize at the expense of sponsorship elements in the system of education.

Why sponsorship, and in particular sponsorship through an instrument such as The Concordat, persists is worthy of future investigation. Boudon (1974) suggests that such persistence may be legitimized through the value system accepted by the society as being "natural" or "right". If this is the case in Trinidad and Tobago, then social justification may be found for the Government's recent efforts to promote

the contest ideal, vis-à-vis the sponsorship ideal, in its secondary school selection process. On the other hand promotion of a contest form of selection, and retention of the sponsorship mode through an agency such as The Concordat, could suggest two interesting features about Trinidad and Tobago society: its desire for melioristic changes in education along democratic lines, and its attempt to retain a by-product of a previous approach to social formation. That approach is essentially of the sponsorship type.

Not only schools, but also teachers and the image which the larger society holds about them, are affected as well by the ideology of contest and the ideology of sponsorship which prevail in the 11-plus examination. It was remarked above that the operationalization of the two ideologies leads to two different categories of secondary school students, in two different types of schools. By extension, the teachers who teach in each type of school are automatically subjected as well to the same kind of societal evaluation. Thus, in spite of the fact that common standards of certification are required for entering the teaching profession, teachers in local "prestige" schools are considered as being more professional than those teachers in "non-prestige" schools.

This difference in the societal image of the teacher has proven to be counter-productive as far as teacher output is concerned. In general, it is believed that teachers in the "prestige" schools are more industrious and more competent than their counterparts in the "non-prestige" schools. This belief on the part of the local society appears to be a realization of the prophecy of self-fulfilment, in that the teachers themselves have come to internalize these differences and act accordingly. This difference in teacher behaviour and output is particularly harmful to the local society, because of the fact that the teachers in "non-prestige" schools, who apparently produce less, comprise about 80% of the national teaching corps.

Differences in the two modes of socio-economic mobility are indirectly associated with differences in the spatial distribution of educational facilities as well. In Trinidad and Tobago there exists a strong urban bias in favour of "prestige" secondary schools, while "non-prestige" schools are usually found in rural districts. The denominational secondary schools, where sponsorship as a mode of selection of students applies, are the older schools which have built up for themselves a certain enviable tradition in academic performance. These schools are located in the major urban centres. On the other hand the "non-prestige" schools, constructed under the more recent school building programmes, have been located in the rural areas supposedly in an attempt to equalize access of educational opportunities for the local population. It is in these newer, "non-prestige" schools where the logic of contest, and not the logic of sponsorship as

explained in the Turner (1960) model, is applied as the sole rationale for student admission.

So intense is the competition in the 11-plus examination that preparation for it and expectation of the results have become in almost every case a "family affair." The routine of family living often becomes disrupted, as parents are obliged to make personal sacrifices and adjustments in family routine to obtain extra lessons for their children in preparation for this examination. Parent involvement is also manifested at the time of release of the results of the examination. There is abundant evidence that parents vicariously share with their children the agony of eager expectation of these results, thereby rearranging the normal flow of sentiments and activities in everyday family living.

These traumatic experiences have not gone unnoticed by local policy makers, who have attempted at best to mitigate the problem. One of the solutions engaged, for example, has taken the form of an attempt to standardize all secondary schools in the nation through a curricular adjustment to be manifested in what is to be known as the "national model" school. The desire to squeeze all secondary schools in the nation into one national mold has been accepted as government policy, but became a particular educational goal only during the early part of this decade when the economic fortunes of Trinidad and Tobago were more promising.

The stipulation which mandated the new "national model" school states as follows:

That an integrated comprehensive programme embracing the academic, pre-technician, commercial, general industrial, and limited specialized craft training, utilizing common facilities and with common management be adopted as the national model for secondary education. It is recognized that the constraints of finance, management and teaching resources may force a phased implementation of such a policy, but this model should be the basis for the planning of all future facilities. (Prime Minister's Proposals, 1975, p. 4)

The call for such a change from a perceived two-tier system to a single-tier "National Model" system represents a call for a symbolic change in secondary education in Trinidad and Tobago. The transformation called for in the National Model is certainly intended in part to cushion and, if possible, eliminate the societal ills engendered by the operation of sponsorship and contest logic in the selection process for secondary school. However, as Deal and Wisk (1983) have remarked, such symbolic changes in school systems are difficult to accomplish. Whether or not this endeavour

will prove successful in Trinidad and Tobago will be known only with the passage of time, and through the continued struggles for a fiercely contested terrain, the school.

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Learning Styles: Are they fundamental to quality education?

Abstract

In the last few years numbers of educators have insisted that attention should be paid to students' learning styles. Demands for change in curriculum, methodology, and classroom structure have suggested that if students could select the strategies that mesh with their learning style, the achievement levels and competencies of students would be raised substantially. In this paper the learning styles theories and claims of the Dunns, McCarthy, and Myers are examined with reference to their insistence on change and promises of student improvements. It is suggested that the learning styles theorists are creative and sensitive teachers whose theories are not necessarily innovative in education.

Résumé

Depuis quelques années, un certain nombre d'enseignants insistent sur l'importance qu'il convient d'attacher aux modes d'apprentissage des étudiants. Les demandes de modification des programmes d'enseignement, la méthodologie et la structure des salles de classe donnent à penser que si les étudiants pouvaient choisir les stratégies qui s'harmonisent avec leur mode d'apprentissage, leurs compétences et leurs résultats s'amélioreraient d'autant. Dans cet article, les théories sur les modes d'apprentissage et les revendications de R. et K. Dunn, McCarthy et Myers sont examinées à la lumière de l'insistance avec laquelle ils préconisent des changements et des promesses de voir les étudiants s'améliorer. Les théoriciens des modes d'apprentissage sont dépeints comme des enseignants créatifs et sensibles dont les théories pédagogiques ne sont pas nécessairement novatrices.

In the last decade of educational innovations, the term "learning styles" has come to be increasingly accepted as the crucial motivator for excellence in the nineties (Lawrence, 1982). Teacher conventions offer workshops and seminars on teaching and learning styles; administrators and business managers attend conferences to explore their leadership styles (Honey & Mumford, 1983). Style in these contexts does not mean a fashion in the popular, ever-changing notion of style; style in the context of learning, teaching, and leadership means a uniqueness, a difference in being from others that enables each of us to accept self and others as of equal value and ability but with a different "style." According to Dunn and Griggs (1988), "[l]earning style is a biologically and developmentally imposed set of characteristics that make the same teaching method wonderful for some and terrible for others" (p.3). If each one could be made aware of his/her unique learning style to be meshed with another's teaching or leadership style, the educational process would result in greater successes than it has known.

At a time when the hue and cry of illiteracy, "educational impoverishment" (Bloom, 1987), and diminishing student achievements are often in the forefront of sloganeering and the media, it is appropriate to ask whether learning style awareness is to be the antidote for educational shortcomings. Dunn and Griggs (1988) claim enhanced achievement levels, motivational incentives, and educational relevance for those who learn and teach with style diagnosis. They argue forcefully for change in the present educational scene, and they are not lone crusaders. "Most people do not like change, . . . but we are educators, and many years ago we promised ourselves that we are going to be good educators, ones who think and care" (Dunn & Griggs, 1988, p. 1). In 1980, McCarthy had already stated that: "Change indeed is painful, yet necessary. If we are to be true to our students, we teachers must bear this pain" (p. 70).

But what is it that must change? To what extent is this demand for change another bandwagon in educational circles? In the past twenty years we have witnessed the open classroom concept, the integrated day, learning centres, upgraded classrooms, program continuities, math their way, and global education. Is the learning style continuous with these innovations, or does it call for a more radical change? Will learning styles provide the answer to the ever-prevailing dilemma of teaching content vs. student needs? Can the system, the curriculum content, and the teacher accommodate the learning style demands?

This paper seeks to explore the answers to some of these questions pertaining to change, demands, and accommodations by looking at what is seen to constitute learning styles by different theorists. Ultimately the question consists of whether a framework of individual style-differences is

so radically new and, if it is, whether it is a desirable framework for educational change in the coming years.

Learning Styles

Lynn Curry (1987), in a publication endorsed and recommended for educators by the **National Association of Secondary School Principals**, has organized much of the learning style documentation and diagnostic instruments by means of an onion metaphor. Although the poorly copied and typed format of the document does not inspire confidence in a report, the onion metaphor does provide an intriguing image for organization. The outer layer contains the "instructional preferences," the middle layer consists of "information processing," and the innermost layer contains what she labels the "cognitive personality." As one moves from the outer to the inner layer the individual is less amenable to change, and the demands for educational-system and content changes become greater.

Instructional preferences

Variations in instructional preferences describe the environmental elements, and the emotional, sociological, and physiological dimensions that influence how, when, where we learn best. Some of us learn with noise (e.g., Walkmans blaring); others require silence. Some need bright lights; others prefer low lighting. For some, informality is beneficial; others need more formal direction and structure. There are those who are highly motivated to succeed; there are many with low motivational levels. Group learning benefits many; others prefer to learn alone. Authority figures (i.e. lecturing teachers) are crucial for some learners; independence and self-chosen responsibilities benefit others. There are visual, auditory, tactile, and kinesthetic mode preferences in learning. Chronobiological differences acknowledge that some students are better performers in the early morning; others are better in the afternoon or evening. Some students require food and drink while studying; others find such "intake" activities distracting. According to Dunn and Griggs (1988), these differences are inherent and biological.

These instructional preferences are not limited to primary or elementary students; they are evident in high school, universities, and adult education. Teacher and system sensitivities to these differences have been frequent in primary and/or elementary school. Such awareness dissipates when students enter junior high and teachers become more subject-specific. By the time the students are enrolled in university courses, the classroom structures and curricular content disallow learning style awareness. Students choose to enter university because their learning style matches the teaching style, and they choose to specialize in those subjects which enable them to

succeed. Those who do not learn well in the given secondary and post-secondary systems, drop out, or choose other learning situations. For Dunn *et al.* (1988), learning style diagnosis and subsequent matched teaching situations would encourage many more students to choose to continue higher education.

Information processing

Kolb (1983) and McCarthy's (1980) dimensions of perception and processing (i.e., concrete experience vs. abstract conceptualization) are diagrammed in a four quadrant circle-shape typology. Quadrant one intuitors are experiential, feeling-directed individuals who observe and reflect and are innovative and divergent in their approach to learning. They ask "why?" when they are confronted with a task. Quadrant two intellectuals prefer to reflect on abstractions. They are the more analytical assimilators of knowledge who want to know "what?" is to be learned. Quadrant three implementors think abstractly by doing. They are primarily convergent thinkers who ask "how?" in learning situations. Quadrant four inventors are dynamic, feeling directed activists (i.e., doers) who ask "what if?" most frequently.

Since these four types of students present themselves in every classroom at all levels, instructional planning ought to take these differences into account (McCarthy, 1980). Units and lessons beginning with an experiential motivation phase provide interest and success for the students. The content phase of information processing in lectures or other forms of didactic teaching appeals to the intellectuals. The workbook, paper writing, and assignment phase encourages the implementors. The feedback, application, practicum component allows the inventors to be involved (Van Brummelen, 1988). Such four-phased lesson planning provides 100% of the students with meaningful learning at least 25% of the time. Since present classroom practices and methods appeal to the intellectuals and the implementors (quadrants two and three) types, no more than 50% of the students are engaged in learning their way when style differences are ignored. Although the quoted percentages are not the same for all learning style advocates, there is general agreement among the theorists that it cannot be expected that all types will learn in a mode that favours the intellectual-reflective type and essentially discourages the majority of the students from becoming engaged in meaningful learning (Lawrence, 1982; McCarthy, 1980).

The cognitive personality

The innermost layer that directs and affects our information processing and instructional preferences is composed of the personality

dimensions as described by C.G. Jung (1923/1971). According to Myers (1980) who, with her mother, devised the Myers-Briggs Type Assessment of personality on the basis of the Jungian typology, "seemingly chance variation in human behaviour is not due to chance; it is in fact the logical result of a few basic, observable differences in mental functioning" (p. 1).

Typology differences prevail because of differences in attitudes and functions (Jung, 1923/1971) or, as Myers calls them, "perceptions and judgments" (1980). The dimensions of extraversion/introversion depict people's relative interest in outer or inner reality. "The introvert's main interests are in the inner world of concepts and ideas, while the extravert is more involved with the outer world of people and things" (Myers, 1980, p.7). Sensing and intuition are sharply distinguishable and contrasting ways in which people perceive. For the sensing individual, the primary mode of learning is through the five senses. For intuitive persons, there is an inner awareness that directs them in their learning. There are two ways in which we can come to conclusions: through a logical, impersonal, thinking process; or through an appreciative, feeling judgment which values the personal and the subjective as the dominant mode. In dealing with the world around us, some of us are more openly perceptive; others are more closed and/or judgmental. The perceptive attitude is found in those who prefer to delay decision-making until all the evidence is in; the judging attitude prevails for those who deem that the time has come to stop "waffling" and to make a verdict.

Myers and Briggs' personality assessment describes sixteen distinct typologies on the basis of the dimensions of extraversion/introversion, sensing/intuiting, thinking/feeling, judging/perceiving. Combinations vary from the INTJ (introverted, intuitive, thinking, judging type) to the ESFP (extraverted, sensing, feeling, perceiving type). However, "pure" types, as in most things, are rare. Myers advocates that people have faith in their type and learn to develop their unique gifts in a world that too often negates their type as of equal worth and value.

Summary

The demanded changes correspond to the onion layers in moving from the periphery to the "heart of the matter." Dunn and Griggs' model essentially proposes a change in the setting to accommodate learner differences. Scheduling is to be flexible, seating arrangements less fixed, freedom of movement is to be available, and student involvements are self-chosen. For McCarthy, the changes involve teaching methodologies that will present all students with the same content but in a variety of ways. For Myers, it is crucial that the student comes to accept self as given; changes in the education of different types call for a diversity in program offerings,

content specifics, and standards of evaluation. All students cannot be expected to achieve the same levels of excellence, unless a level of excellence for each type can be constructed.

Teaching to Learning Type

The presented dilemma for educators now becomes the extent to which type is fixed or amenable to change and the extent to which content or subject-specifics can be stretched to accommodate differences. Is a painting a viable alternative to a written composition in a creative writing course? Learning style theorists are not in agreement as to what should be the focus for the educator. Do we "type" to teach or do we teach to "type"? The one approach makes typing mandatory for effective learning to take place; the other stresses the need for variety and "type"-difference awareness in curriculum and content demands.

Type assessment

Dunn and Griggs (1988) claim that: "Students can function well in school and enjoy it, if only we [educators] are willing to examine how they learn and then redirect the system – our educational system – to respond to their individual instructional needs" (p. 2). Traveling about the United States to observe learning style operative in a variety of secondary schools, they concluded that change from a rigid, controlling content-oriented lecturing approach to a more flexible, open, student-centred instructional strategy is a risk-taking change that needs to be implemented over several years.

But, according to Dunn and Griggs (1988), the results are well worth the risks. In Corsicana High (a large public high school in Texas), students were observed to be "highly motivated to achieve academically, and many expressed the belief that learning style assessment enabled them to obtain the grade point averages that made them eligible for scholarships" (p. 15). In a Chicago high school, students reported how "difficult school had been for them before learning styles [differentiated their instructional needs], but . . . they now easily accept the concept that everyone learns differently and that everyone can learn" (p. 25). In a rural Pennsylvania high school "we were told that students' grades had improved immeasurably, as had student interest and motivation" (p. 33).

There are difficulties in assessing learner type and styles, not the least of which is that "very few learning style identification instruments are reliable and valid" (Dunn & Griggs, 1988, p. 2). Since researchers tend to define the concepts differently, their created instruments tap into different dimensions and make cross-validation of instruments difficult to obtain. In

the Corsicana high school, teachers and students assessed sensory modalities to accommodate tactual/kinesthetic, auditory, and visual preferences. In Chicago, teachers and students used the *Teaching/Learning Inventory*, of Dunn and Dunn (1977), to assess instructional planning, teaching methods, student groupings, room design, classroom environment, evaluation techniques, and educational philosophy. In Pennsylvania and Minnesota, teachers used the National Association of Secondary School Principals' adaption of the Dunn and Dunn instrument known as *Student Styles: Diagnosing and Prescribing Programs*.

Because some of the instruments are more comprehensive than others, claims of increased motivation and performance are difficult to verify. Dunn and Dunn's (1977) style diagnosis has been linked to substantial gains in reading, arithmetic, language arts, and science (Curry, 1988). However, whether these gains are to be attributed to sensory modality awareness, or group learning, or chronobiological sensitivity, or the teaching environment, or the students' freedom of choice, or any combination of these cannot be deduced from the Curry report nor from Dunn and Griggs.

Structuring for types

For McCarthy, Kolb, and Van Brummelen, it is more important that teachers be sensitive to student style differences than that students be able to assess their own learning style. "All students need to be taught in all four ways, in order to be comfortable and successful part of the time while being stretched to develop other learning abilities" (McCarthy, 1980, p. 90). In McCarthy's model, teacher-designed activities for specific units are sequenced to have the class as a whole move through the phases of experience, knowledge, application, and action with a variety of methods that also tap into right brain/left brain mode preferences. McCarthy cites extensively from right brain/left brain research to argue that we are all "two-brained species, each having its special mind" (p. 73), and educators need to develop teaching methodologies that will effectively develop both modes because "both hemispheres are equally important" (p. 74).

Because the educational system favours verbal left-brain development, the model aims to redress the imbalance with the simultaneous development of the creative, nonverbal, holistic right hemisphere activity. "The goal of education should be to help our students develop a whole brain" (p. 77). It is time to teach the whole brain, the intellectual and the intuitive, the mind and heart, content-centred and student-centred curriculum" (McCarthy, 1980, p. 77). Our teaching and the educational system have created a false dichotomy (or brain split) because we have trained people to be much more comfortable with one style than another.

McCarthy provides extensive models of lesson plans that enable educators at elementary through college level to implement theory into practice. However, before teachers begin to apply the models, it is important that they assess their own learning and teaching style. The implementation of change involves a sensitivity to one's own tolerance for change; sometimes it may be possible to take no more than one small step at a time.

A change of type

McCarthy's impassioned plea to teach the "whole brain, intellectual and intuitive, mind and heart" (p. 77) suggests that one's learning style is not as "fixed" as Dunn and Griggs would have us believe. Although Curry's onion image with the cognitive "type" as the innermost disposition suggests that the type is not amenable to change. Myers' description of type development is not echoed in the source of her typology, i.e., C.G. Jung. According to Jung, the typologies do not necessarily function to characterize personalities for life. "The typologies' essential function is to be like the points on a compass ... to provide a critical tool for the researcher... to help in understanding the wide variations that occur among individuals" (Jung, 1923/1971, pp. 541, 555). In Myers-Briggs' assessment of typology the concluding "labels" obscure the fact that functions and attitudes are on a continuum and that there are various points along each assessed continuum which could make the differences between one extravert and another extravert greater than the differences between an extravert and an introvert. A typology assessment with its resulting INTJ or ESFP is a categorization; it does not assess unique styles or needs.

As to the question pertaining to change of type, according to Jung, the dominant functions and attitudes of thinking/feeling, sensing/intuiting, extraversion/introversion, judging/perceiving are complementary polarities. The dominant thinking type finds its recessive-feeling complement deep within the unconscious self. Development of personality does not consist of expansion of the dominant function or attitude at the expense of one's shadow or "latent" functions. Development consists of exploring the recessive as well as the dominant functions and attitudes of personality. Developmental changes in personality can make the introverted more extraverted, the sensing more intuitive, the feeling more thought-directed, the perceptive more judgmental.

Summary

Styles assessment necessarily precedes teaching methodologies, according to Dunn and Dunn (1977) and Dunn and Griggs (1988). The responsibility for choice lies with self-aware students who select from a

smorgasbord of teaching and learning situations to enhance their learning curriculum content. This same self-awareness is stressed in Myers' statements of "successful development of type being helped or hindered in the environment" (1988, p. 176). However, for McCarthy, it is more crucial that teachers be made aware of different learning styles in leading students to learn. Typing to teach essentially creates an attitude of: "I am unique; address my unique needs." Teaching for types, on the other hand, is a mentality of: there are different learning styles in the classroom which are to be developed through a multimodal variety of methods and activities.

Conclusion

It is clear from their writings that R. and K. Dunn, Griggs, and McCarthy are experienced classroom teachers; individuals who, in the course of teaching many students, felt compelled to change their teaching styles from the ways they had been trained to teach. As teachers they were creative, sensitive, flexible, and receptive to student needs. These are qualities that are to be desired for many teachers. They are not, however, the qualities which can be systemized into a diagnostic instrument with impressive reliability and validity indices that would enable one to weed out the promising future teachers from the less than desirable teacher trainees. They are also not the qualities which would correct all educational shortcomings and stifle the cries of "cultural illiteracy."

The changes which the learning style advocates demand are the changes which they found to be effective in their teaching situations. But, as McCarthy herself stated, teaching-style awareness should precede learning-style teaching because there are those for whom any change can be too burdensome.

And for those teachers who are presently sensitive, creative, and eager to embrace change, regardless of the risks, McCarthy's lesson plans may be somewhat of a disappointment. The phases of motivation, experience, knowledge, application, and feedback are not necessarily unique to McCarthy's model. These phases have been implemented by dedicated and professional educators for years, especially in the elementary grades. Modifications of McCarthy's model can even be found in the current college/university classroom where students are provided with a variety of choices and incentives in terms of papers or projects, practica or presentation, group work or lectures, take-home exam or alternative evaluative procedures. Essentially the changes that are demanded consist of an implementation of methods that are already being used by the more competent teachers at all levels of education.

McCarthy's plea to teach the whole brain – the whole child – is an emphasis that is being heard increasingly in the nation's classrooms. It

consists of educational strategies that are continuous with the innovations in the past decades: the learning centres, the integrated day, math their way. Such teaching involves a dedication to continuing professional development, a willingness to admit that present methods do not always succeed, and a sensitivity to students' needs and uniqueness.

Learning style advocates have formulated the differences that exist among students. Learning styles becomes a bandwagon in education only to the extent that we would think it to be the cure for all educational ills. Its greatest value lies in the promotion of sensitivity and variety, the wish to go the "extra mile" with the student who remains baffled by subject demands, the recognition of different ways of being. In the context of all educational innovations and emphases, learning style acceptance allows each one of us to declare that "it's okay to be different but I can learn with you and you may learn from me and together we will work with others." The changes that are demanded by learning-style theorists of the system, the content, and the teacher are essentially no more than changes of increasing competence and dedication to being "good educators."

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Empowering Mature Women Students in Higher Education

Abstract

In order to accommodate the large numbers of older women who are entering universities, institutions of higher education need to examine assumptions about how adults – particularly women students – learn. The distinctive life tasks of women reflect a particular need for self-fulfillment and gaining control over their lives. Inherent in the notion of control is empowerment. This study examines the concept of empowerment in the context of adult learning. A case study is used as an educational model which met the empowerment needs of a group of older women students.

Résumé

Pour accueillir les nombreuses femmes d'un certain âge qui entrent à l'université, les établissements d'enseignement supérieur doivent analyser les hypothèses qui circulent sur le processus d'apprentissage des adultes, surtout des femmes. L'autonomie fonctionnelle distinctive des femmes traduit chez elles le besoin de s'épanouir et de prendre leur vie en main. Le concept de pouvoir est inhérent à la notion de contrôle. Cette étude examine le concept de pouvoir dans le cadre de l'éducation permanente. Une étude de cas sert de modèle éducatif répondant aux besoins de pouvoir d'un groupe d'étudiantes d'un certain âge.

A significant challenge facing higher education over the past several years has been the influx into the classroom of older, or nontraditional, students. Of particular interest are the characteristics of this population and

the bearing that these characteristics have on learning needs (Cross, 1981). Since women 35 years of age and over comprise about 65% of the student population considered adult students (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1979), there has been a plethora of research done on their specific characteristics, motivations for returning to school, and their support needs for entry and while they are students (Speer & Dorfman, 1986). However, there is little in the literature to substantiate women's actual learning needs while students and whether or not these needs are being addressed by higher education.

In an issue of *Convergence* devoted to "Women and Education," Margaret Gayfer (1980) points to the paucity of information concerning the assessment and evaluation of education programs for women. She urges the use of "case studies, descriptions of actual experiences, assessments of how and why women participate (or do not)" (p. 10) in order to identify knowledge gaps which assist in program planning. By using a case study to illustrate the concept of empowerment as need this article reports on an attempt to address these gaps by examining some of the characteristics of women students, 35 years and over, and their learning needs.

Although empowerment is an important concept in the context of adult learning, there is a very limited discussion of it in the higher education literature. A recent paper (Seebaran, 1989) offers an empowerment model in social service education which may be transferred to other settings. For purposes of this article, empowerment is defined as a multiphased process involving individual, group, and environmental change. Further elaboration of the meaning and implications of empowerment are discussed in more detail later. Finally, a case study is presented to illustrate the experiences of a group of older women students in a classroom setting.

Adult Education Theory

Adult learning theory informs us that learning needs flow from the characteristics of the student population. Adult educators' assumptions about learners have certainly had great impact on understandings of how the learners define themselves. Further, these self-definitions provide a general assessment of learning needs which have, to some extent, influenced classroom instruction. The response of higher education should be reflected in the approaches, strategies, and techniques employed to address these needs in the actual learning situation (Knowles, 1970, 1980). According to most adult educators, the adult learner's self-concept is that of being a doer and of being self-directed in decision-making (Brookfield, 1986; Kidd, 1973; Knowles, 1975). Probably the most salient concept is that the adult student largely defines self in terms of experience. In fact, Knowles (1980) says that experience is the person; an adult is what she or he has done. The obvious conclusion to be drawn is that education for adults must be learner-centred

and learner-directed while building on their life experiences. One of the major criticisms leveled at higher education relative to adult students is the lack of credibility given to life experience and its relevance to academic study (Schlossberg, 1987).

Women as Learners

No existing typology differentiates between men and women as learners. Even the word Knowles uses to describe the process of adult learning, andragogy, has its roots in the teaching of males. Although Brookfield (1986) does not address gender differences, he points to limitations in the existing research on adult learning which can be applied to gender when he says "... we fall far too frequently into the mistake of declaring that research reveals that adults, in a generic sense, learn in a certain way" (p. 32). When the lives of women and men are examined it is evident that the contextual experience is quite different for each. Most men have been in the workforce without interruption since their late teens or early twenties while women have more fragmented careers due to childbearing and other family responsibilities.

Life cycle tasks and empowerment

In addition there has been a growing acceptance for some time that adulthood is a developmental period with its own transition points and crises (Havighurst, 1972; Knowles, 1970; Levinson, 1978). These kinds of events account for most adults seeking further education (Aslanian & Brickell, 1980). The unique transition points for women which most often motivate a return to school are the "empty nest," widowhood, or divorce. More recently, Gilligan's (1982) hypothesis that relationships are of paramount importance to women, particularly in the area of decision-making, undoubtedly has implications for the education of women. Moreover, adult educators have talked at length about the process of learning and the importance of dialogue, reflection and action, and drawing on learners' experiences but have spoken solely to the needs of individuals. If the factors that shape most women's lives are unique, if their life experiences are different from those of men and if they do, as Gilligan (1982) says, speak in a different voice, it can be assumed that they also have unique learning needs which should inform the approaches, the strategies, and the methods used in the actual instructional setting.

The literature also stresses distinctive tasks which characterize the life of the returning woman student whose life course until this time has been mostly dictated by demands of family life and managing a home. She has a need to believe in her capabilities and potential as she constructs a new and separate identity (Hildreth, Dilworth-Anderson, & Rabe, 1983;

Kasworm, 1980) and establishes new social roles in family and society (Geisler & Thrush, 1975; Uhlenburg, 1979). Her changing self-perception frees and encourages her to function independently (Erdwins, Tyler, & Mellinger, 1982). At the same time, she has the need for having her previous knowledge and experience as homemaker recognized as valid and useful in the educational experience (Kelly, 1988).

The most important need articulated by many older women students is personal or self-fulfillment (Betz, 1982). Further research has shown that this cannot be separated from career goals and that personal fulfillment is often interpreted by older women students as having a life of one's own. The response of one married woman, in her late 40s, to the question of why she came back to university summarizes the recurrent theme of needing both a separate identity and a new direction which includes a career.

I felt that my life with all the children... was not in itself fulfilling enough.... One had already left the nest and I could foresee the others would leave in turn. I needed something other than looking after the house and my husband.... I wanted to do something that was fulfilling and also be in a position to earn my own living. (O'Brien & Poff, 1988)

Self-fulfillment means gaining control over one's own life and decisions. Inherent in the notion of control is empowerment so that by gaining control, women are empowered. Achieving more control and becoming empowered appear to be crucial and essential tasks for nontraditional women students. Learning should then be an empowering experience, particularly for women over the age of 35.

Empowerment Defined

Though questions of power and powerlessness have been a topic of research for many years (Abramson, Seligman, & Teasdale, 1978; Freire, 1985; Gaventa, 1980; Lukes, 1974; Seeman, 1966), the notion of empowerment has recently received increased attention from groups as divergent as educators, political scientists, sociologists, and psychologists. Adult educators and feminists have discussed such concepts for many years (Brookfield, 1986; Franklin, *et al.*, 1984; Freire, 1985; Lather, 1988; Stanley & Wise, 1979). Definitions of empowerment therefore vary enormously, though most regard it as a process (rather than a static state of being) involving different levels or phases from individual change to a group or collective emphasis, to an action phase involving organizational or institutional change (Cochran, 1986). For purposes of this paper, empowerment will be defined as:

...an interactive process through which less powerful people experience personal and social change, enabling them to achieve influence over the organizations and institutions which affect their lives and the communities in which they live.¹

In spite of the varying approaches to the discussion of empowerment, there are some common underlying assumptions. Individuals are assumed, for example, to understand their own needs better than anyone else (particularly the experts), and consequently they should have the power both to define and act upon them. A second assumption is that all people possess strengths upon which they can build. Third, the process of empowerment is assumed to be a lifelong endeavour; that is, people develop individually, socially, and politically throughout their lives. Perhaps the key assumption involves the importance of recognizing personal knowledge and experience as valid and useful in coping effectively with one's environment (Fernandes & Tandon, 1981; Freire, 1973; Hall, 1981; Participatory Research in Asia [PRIA], 1985; Reason & Rowan, 1981; Tandon, 1981).

At each level, empowerment involves certain actions or components which constitute the empowerment process. Table 1 (see page 310) summarizes the phases and specific components of that process.

At the individual level, virtually all writers refer to self-confidence, feelings of self-efficacy, or a sense of self-worth as being important to the individual empowerment process. Most also include the acquisition of knowledge and skills, or a learning process involving these. Some cite data indicating that individual productivity improves when people genuinely participate in decision making (Barr *et al.*, 1984).

Many researchers discuss the importance of "mediating structures" in the process of empowerment. These structures include family and neighbourhood ties, the community, and other group situations which serve to link individuals with the larger context (Berger & Neuhaus, 1977; Cochran & Henderson, 1986; Rappoport, 1981). Social support networks reinforce personal growth and feelings of competence and also provide supports for action. Cooperative action enhances the sense of belonging as do positive personal relationships among participants. As those involved learn to reflect critically and to give and receive feedback, mutual trust and cohesiveness are likely to be strengthened.

Certain elements which could be called empowering make up action directed towards change at levels beyond personal and group spheres. Participants may be able to exert influence on key individuals or institutions affecting their lives or change the way they understand and experience power.

Table 1***Phases and Specific Components of Empowerment***

Phase of Empowerment	Specific Component
Individual	Self-confidence, feelings of efficacy, and self-worth Learning (knowledge and skills) Productivity
Group	Reinforcement of self-confidence; efficacy Sense of belonging Interpersonal relationships Trust Group cohesiveness Collective analysis and reflection
Environmental/action	Increased resources Publicity Accountability Raised expectations Organizational growth; learning

Participant support for a program or organization increases its base of human resources. Publicity can be used to present recommendations or voice concerns about funding reductions. Accountability may be a key link between participation and use of evaluation results. If participants are in control of the process and do not then use the results to take action, they cannot blame the expert for misrepresenting the situation (Gaventa, personal communication, 1985). As people work together to change structural barriers to their mutual goals, expectations are raised about what could be accomplished. Their collective energy and interest is more difficult for administrators to ignore. Finally, as differing perspectives have a legitimate role to play in the process of decision-making, organizations will be able to develop and grow. (For an expanded discussion of the phases of empowerment, see Whitmore, 1988.)

Case Example of Empowerment of Women Learners

The authors recently structured a practicum on qualitative research for older women. One of the goals was an attempt to facilitate their empowerment. The substance of the course consisted of qualitative research methodology – design, data collection, analysis, and write-up. Eight women, ranging in age from late 30s to early 70s, met twice a week for two and one-half hours over a period of six weeks. The profiles of these women were typical of nontraditional older women students. Six of them were divorced, one was widowed, and all were in the workforce. They saw university attendance as a means of self-fulfillment as well as upgrading their skills. During the early part of the course they learned the basic theories and application of a qualitative research approach. The emphasis in class was on participation and interaction, especially in encouraging students to solve problems they encountered and to develop and value their own learning styles. This stimulated self-disclosure which aided in class team-building and engendered in students attitudes of self-respect and an increased ability to listen to others and interpret what they were saying. An effort was made at all times to allow for students' input in how to proceed and essentially to work at their pace.

One assignment in particular, given in preparation for doing data analysis, drew on the personal experiences of each woman. It was one of the means for them to gain self-awareness and a sense of personal uniqueness, while furthering understanding that there is a universality to human experience. This awareness is a strong prerequisite for doing qualitative data analysis. Students were asked to write a one-page description of a favourite play space they had in childhood, including how this place looked, why it was important to them, and what feelings they now had about this place. They then analyzed their stories for specific themes (location and size of space, others who may have shared the space, how it was used, feelings associated with the space). This exercise not only accented and affirmed for each woman the personal and contextual characteristics and needs of her use of space, but enabled her to identify similarities and differences between each person's play space description. Students later employed their skills of analysis when they thematized and described the data from interviews they conducted as part of the major class assignment.

The major assignment, that each person interview three women who had graduated from the same university after the age of 35, allowed students to pull together previous learnings and test out their application to the life situations of other women. Most importantly, it gave each woman the opportunity to contrast her own life experiences with those of the interviewee and, in many cases, affirm her personal perceptions.

Evidence of participants' empowerment

To what extent did the women in the course experience or demonstrate empowerment? At the end of the course and again two months later in a follow-up interview with the group, a series of questions related to all three phases of empowerment were asked. Table 2 summarizes their responses.

Table 2

Empowerment as Experienced by Participants in the Qualitative Research Practicum

Phase of Empowerment	Specific Component
Individual	Self-esteem; confidence -validation of one's own experience Knowledge/skills -listening and communication -identifying pertinent information; abstraction Self-awareness Productivity
Group	Group cohesion Sense of belonging -importance of personal sharing -importance of teaching style Collective analysis and reflection
Environmental/action	Increased resources (improved skill on the job) Search for employment Reaching out to strangers

Individual: In response to the question "In what ways have you benefited individually from participating in this project?", the women indicated enhanced self-esteem and confidence, increased knowledge and skills, greater self-awareness, and a sense of productivity. For example, indicating increased feelings of self worth, one woman said, "I was in a transition stage of my life and was 'down'. This experience let me know I'm

OK; the person I used to be." In the follow-up interview, another stated, "In looking for another job, my approach is different because I feel more positive about me and the things I can do . . . I can do lots of things and just never gave myself credit." The lack of confidence which many mature women feel when entering university is captured by the statement made by one student in this group: "When I started, I was insecure. I figured others were professionals, or in school (university) longer than me. But they are just ordinary people with the same hang-ups. It takes away some of the self-doubt." The self-confidence also emerged from a question about negatives or "costs" for individual participants. "I was quite intimidated by having to do interviews . . . I had to confront my own fears. I thought I had it under control, but had to work hard to motivate myself."

When asked about knowledge or skills they felt that they acquired, all participants reported gains. Most felt that their interviewing skills had improved, for example. "I listened differently, not only to what but how they said something." They also agreed that they had learned to listen better. "I hear what people are saying, not what I want to hear." Most also learned how to identify pertinent information and to abstract ideas from discussions of concrete experience. This was summed up by one person who, when asked "what did you like best?", responded that she gained the "ability to delve into (information) and get the most out of it." This included an ability to be critical, as suggested by a group member who said, "I'm skeptical about statistics now. I realize that it's not the whole story. There is a need for more depth. I realize the importance of face to face contact." Another added, "I'll always question surveys. People's answers can change from the written to the verbal."

Greater self-awareness was evident in a variety of ways. All felt that the playspace exercise was key in this regard, for their own analysis of that memory told them a lot about themselves. The content and pace of the course offered a reflective tone. "In the course, I had time to think about myself. Now I'm not so hyper, strung out," was how one participant expressed it. Several members of the group noted their increased comfort with silence in an interview or even in daily conversation. "I'm not afraid of silence. I sit and wait. Before I used to prattle and now I don't need to fill the void."

In some instances, productivity, especially on the job, was enhanced as well. "At work when I have to read a lengthy policy statement, I can pick out the pertinent parts more easily; whereas before, I would have read the whole thing through several times (which would have taken much more time)." Others felt that the informality of the class helped them "have more input and therefore more output."

Group: It was clearly evident from both actions and words that the group became quite cohesive, in spite of the range of ages and experience. They called one another on the telephone for advice or support and, over time, have maintained contact with one another. "We cared. Something broke the ice. It was strange to share personal stuff, but I did. There was trust, no backbiting. . . ." One person suggested that "it was good to work as a group. I could share myself and felt very comfortable. No one was afraid to admit confusion," adding "I felt I belonged." She added that "the playspace exercise brought us closer, especially analyzing each other's material." Another important ingredient in this sense of belonging was the teaching style used by the professors. It was a learning experience for the professors, and each person in the group had something to contribute in terms of personal experience, knowledge, and skills. The professors also shared their own personal experience in addition to delivering the specific, substantive material of the course. One student put it this way: "The professors didn't set themselves apart. It was a mutual teaching and learning experience." Another added, "I didn't feel like a child in school. I was not conscious of learning; it just happened."

The collective analysis and reflection added to group cohesion in that they could recognize common experiences and feelings. "I feel differently about me (because I realize that) I'm not the only one (experiencing something)." Members not only enjoyed sharing their knowledge but felt that the small size of the group allowed for much more interaction and discussion. No one could remain silent and participants were pushed in their thinking; "I was not embarrassed to say I didn't know or ask questions or express my opinion. In a larger group, it would be too embarrassing."

It is important to note that the experience reported by women who were interviewed served to validate the experience of class members as mature students in a university setting. Students found that the data were applicable to their own lives, and they could readily identify with the feelings and experience of the respondents. In affirming their own experience, it reduced their sense of isolation as well as building their self-confidence and awareness.

Action: There was considerable evidence that class members made concrete use of the knowledge and skills learned in the course. When asked, "Are there ways you have used the material or this experience outside of class?" most described specific activities. Those with jobs involving interviews with people reported that they utilized their new skills and were pleased with the results. For example, one person employed as a supervisor in a nursing home stated that there was a definite difference in the types of questions she asked in interviewing staff. The questions had more depth, and she obtained more information. "I ask people how they feel about things,

their opinions. Before, my questions were much more superficial." Another added that in interviewing for a newsletter at her job, "The skills have become part of me, especially listening. Now I talk less, let the respondent talk more."

Group members were able to transfer the teaching style modeled in this class to other contexts. For example, one person indicated that she had changed her approach to staff and volunteer training (in a Palliative Care Unit at a nursing home). "I put less emphasis on the delivery of information and more on 'how do they feel (about their jobs),' and 'why are they doing this?' I look at the process of care (from the patient's point of view) vs. merely from the staff's view. (I spend more time) answering their questions, as people. I will also be more selective in (recruiting) course participants, will listen more to why people want to take the (training) course."

One woman had just moved to a new community and was seeking employment. In the follow-up interview, she stated enthusiastically, "I had five (job) interviews in one day. Before this course, I would never have done that and presented myself with confidence. The water would have been dripping off of me. My usual approach would have been to have been early and sit in the car and sweat. Then I would go in (to the interview) and be a wreck. This course was a real confidence builder. I felt really good." She added that, in her job search, she had also telephoned her MP and asked for an introduction to the MLAs from the county, something that she never would have done before.

Later, this same person talked about meeting new people in the community and described her first social event. "I feel I'm being tested in this new community. Before, I would have stayed home (from a party of younger, local women) or stayed for only a short time. This time, I stayed for a long time and really enjoyed it. Later, in a conversation with one of the women, she said, 'I really 'passed the test.' This is a real change for me!"

Conclusions

This case study responds to Gayfer's call for more information about why adult women participate in educational programs and how programs can best be structured to meet their needs. It also confirms Betz's conclusions about the importance of personal fulfillment, and O'Brien and Poff's research highlighting women's need for autonomy. From the data in this case example, it is also clear that personal interaction and sharing with others is of prime importance for women in the learning context. As stated earlier, the life experience and motivations of adult women in returning to school

are quite different from men's and therefore lead to differing needs in the learning context. Students' need for empowerment, though certainly valid in all learning contexts, is manifested for adult women especially in terms of personal fulfillment and group interaction. The size of the group and the structure of the learning experience assisted participants in changing their self-perception and building a sense of competence. Many women who are returning to university are in a transition phase. A traditional university course delivers substantive knowledge, but the mature woman student needs an empowering process to make the best use of that knowledge.

Has involvement in this course empowered the women who participated? The initial assessment is yes, at all three levels, though particularly at the individual and group levels. If one assumes that self-esteem and confidence are basic building blocks for action at other levels, then the women in this group made a very important beginning. Discussions of the role of women learners in a patriarchal system set such gains in a feminist context. In terms of expanding and enriching their social support networks, the friendships made among them are strong and likely to endure. Contact with the women they interviewed not only enriched their personal experience but also enhanced their sense of belonging to a larger movement. At the environmental level, empowerment occurred primarily in terms of individual (rather than collective) action.

Some of the components in this example corroborated earlier studies (Whitmore, 1988), notably at the individual and group levels. Definitions within individual categories, such as self-esteem/confidence, are expanded to include validation of one's own experience. Similarly, the acquisition of knowledge and skills are defined more specifically as listening and communication, and being able to abstract meaning from concrete data. In terms of group empowerment, importance of personal sharing helps define "sense of belonging" more clearly. Of particular significance for educational settings is the question of teaching style and how important this is in the empowering process. At the environmental level, action primarily involved application on the job of what participants had gained. Thus, the increased confidence and knowledge/skills, developed at the individual level, translated directly into improved performance at work. It also resulted in a more assertive search for employment. Finally, one woman's increased confidence and her group experience in the course allowed her to reach out more comfortably to strangers in a new community.

In most discussions of empowerment, action at the environmental level assumes a collective exercise involving a cohesive group and a common purpose beyond the immediate task. The implication is that direct collective action is the only, or at least the most desirable, model. This may well reflect a more male model of what constitutes "real" action (Maguire,

1987). Women are likely to be more comfortable in smaller groups or taking action at a quieter, more individual level. Such a conclusion confirms an earlier finding (Whitmore, 1989) that our understanding of action at the environmental level needs to be broadened to include the value of action taken by individuals. Indeed, the great strength of the women's movement has been in its actions by individual women in their own lives and in small group interaction and consciousness raising. To be effective, of course, such actions must clearly be linked to a feminist analysis and an understanding of the context of male domination.

Questions for further research certainly involve the empowerment needs of women and men. Are they different? If so, how? As noted earlier, women have a strong need for confidence-building and relationships, and though men need these as well, the emphasis given them, especially in the learning context, is likely to be different when one talks about certain components of empowerment.

In this study, there is clear evidence that the participants felt empowered and could offer specific examples of how this occurred at all levels. This example adds more detailed information about what empowerment means and what specific components actually constitute the empowerment process. Most importantly, perhaps, new dimensions have been addressed in the discussion of empowerment at the environmental level and the definition of action. The tentative conclusions here need to be examined further in the context of other case studies.

Universities seeking to attract mature women students need to seriously consider their unique learning needs. This implies a heightened consciousness of process in the classroom and how the learning experience is structured. University teachers need to be aware of adult education principles and their application but, in addition, these same principles have to be examined in light of gender differences. With Gayfer (1980) we can conclude that "the new kind of learning for women is to create and validate their own knowledge, to rethink the concepts inherited by men, and to take on this challenge as a widely-encompassing and genuinely radical form of adult education" (p. 8).

NOTE

1. This definition is drawn primarily from Cochran's work, with some modification.

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Sex Education: A discourse of sexuality

Abstract

In spite of the difficulties surrounding the issue of whether or not the schools should provide sex education classes, it is clear that adolescents need accurate information about sexual interactions and a way to examine and reflect upon this significant aspect of their lives as well as to consider their own responsibilities. The schools can make a useful contribution in this area, yet problems will result from too narrow or partial an approach to decisions about the content of such a programme.

Résumé

En dépit du caractère épineux de la question de savoir si oui ou non les écoles doivent offrir des cours d'éducation sexuelle, il est clair que les adolescents ont besoin d'informations précises sur les interactions sexuelles et de moyens de réfléchir à cet aspect important de leur existence qui n'est pas sans incidence sur leur sens des responsabilités. Les écoles peuvent offrir une précieuse contribution à cet égard même s'il faut s'attendre à des problèmes dus à l'étroitesse ou à la partialité des décisions portant sur le contenu de ce genre de programme.

As young people grow up to take their places as adult members of the society they will have emerged through adolescence having been surrounded by the influences of their home, their family with its network of relationships, their peers, the school, and the society in which they live. By adolescence they will have reached physical sexual maturity and their

attitudes will have been largely formed. They will have some correct information, some misinformed ideas, and some degree of interest as well as some notions about the possibility of finding out anything they do not now know and, perhaps most importantly, some feeling of self-esteem. They will have learned a great deal about sexuality whether or not anyone has consciously undertaken to teach them a particular content and, in spite of any particular content taught, they will have also received ideas and influences from many other sources. Many young people will have already become sexually active by the time they leave high school (Dawson, 1986; Herold, 1984). Who belongs to that group is not evident for there is no public ceremony to mark the initiated. But the statistical fact indicates that adolescents need to have accurate information about sexual interactions and they need to learn how to deal responsibly with this significant force in their lives. From whom should they learn or from whom will they learn?

Should those responsible for the education of young people speak of "sex" to high school students, or should they be silent? Should they remain silent because it is a domain of information and attitude over which parents should have complete control? Should they remain silent because drawing attention to this might seem to sanction the sexual exploration and activity of young people? Should they remain silent if they do not know what to say, either as individuals or as representatives of society's views, or if they do not know what young people need individually or as the next generation of responsible adults?

Family's role in sex education

A strong conservative claim that only parents should teach (their own) children about sex and that this should remain a right and responsibility of the parents in the private realm of the family often successfully opposes the introduction of sex education in the schools, even though there is widespread support for such programmes among teachers and the general public (Parsons, 1983, p. 44). But not all parents are well enough informed or willing to teach their children even minimum biological facts of reproduction. Other than avoiding controversy, the results of leaving the subject of sexuality to parents have not been good. Many young people are woefully ignorant of the facts which they need in order to make responsible decisions. If the subject of sexuality is left entirely to parents, for those young people who have parents who have been unable or unwilling to speak to their children, this area remains shrouded in silence, and they are less able to question what has been given to them in their particular situation.

There are children who have been, and others who will be, abused by their parents either sexually, physically, emotionally, or through neglect.

As well some adults have negative, restrictive, and prejudicial attitudes which they transmit to their children. Unless there is some forum which will allow these young people to consider, perhaps a little dispassionately, their own family background with respect to sexuality they will be less able to be free of their situation. Some individuals may indeed find some way of doing this themselves or have help in doing so, but for many the whole topic of sexuality remains inarticulated and inaccessible for reflection and intervention. The fact that there are many parents unable and unwilling to ensure that their children have even basic information about the issues of sexuality, and some who may in fact transmit partial and harmful attitudes, suggests that educators should not remain silent about sex based on the reason that parents ought to have complete control about this topic.

It is not a matter of deciding if the schools ought to have the exclusive responsibility for the topic of sexuality. It is rather a question of whether the schools can or should have some positive contribution to offer young people, many of whom are confused and unable to approach these questions with any clarity of thought or feeling.

In any case, amongst all the spheres which help to form every individual's attitude about the expression of sexuality, the family will provide one of the strongest influences. Whether the parents wish the responsibility or not, whether they ever speak to their children or not about the issues involved, the way which the parents and other members of the household behave; the nature of the relationships between them; the domestic arrangements; the attitudes about men, women, and children which are evident; the ease or difficulty expressing affection, physically and emotionally; and the respect each person in the family is given will all affect the kinds of relationships which each young person growing up in that environment will be able to have, including expressions of sexuality. Each child has a nature unlike any other child's, so the effect of any particular situation on any one will not be predictable, but every individual will have been strongly influenced by the family situation through which he/she has grown up.

School's role in sex education

It has often been suggested that offering sex education courses in the public school system would increase the incidence of premarital sexual activity. It has been documented by some researchers that more young people, especially more young women, engage in sexual intercourse at a younger age than was previously the case (Zelnick & Kantner, 1977). There have been many reasons given to explain why this may be so. Changes in the behaviour patterns of young people are related to changes in many features of the society, but it is a complex relationship which cannot be

understood by isolating one or more aspects and ignoring others. One of the reasons cited for this perceived increase is a relatively freer accessibility of information about sexual activity and contraception. This is not confirmed by studies which are made about adolescent sexual behaviour (*New York Times*, March 13, 1985).

The rates of sexual activity among teenagers are roughly the same in the United States, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Canada, although exposure to sex education courses is significantly greater in many of these countries. Those countries with the lowest rates of teenage pregnancy do not have the highest abortion rates. (The United States has by far the highest abortion rate, along with the highest pregnancy rate.) The lowest rates of teenage pregnancy occur in those countries with liberal attitudes toward sex, easily accessible contraceptive services, and comprehensive programs in sex education. (Gutmann, 1987, p. 110)

The sexual exploration and activity of young people is not increased by sex education programmes in the schools (Zabin *et al.*, 1986; Zelnik & Kantner, 1977). Physical sexual development takes place as a part of the natural process of growth during adolescence and, as young people's bodies change, the way they express themselves and relate to themselves and to others should change. As they become more independent of the care and protection of their parents, young people must learn to take responsibility for all aspects of their own lives, including sexuality, and one of the ways they will be able to do this is to explore all aspects of sexuality and to make discoveries about themselves and others within the larger cultural context. Helping them to be as sensitive, as thoughtful, and as careful as possible in the process is far more important than preventing sexual exploration and activity, and, as difficult as the first might seem to be, it may be even more possible than the second.

Sexuality is not only a matter of reproductive function and specific sexual response, although it includes these important aspects. Each of us is born either male or female. The implications of this fact upon our lives and how we respond to its limitations and possibilities constitutes the nature of our sexuality. It is concerned with the most intimate aspects of our lives, with the question of personal identity and self-image, and it is a factor in all our relationships.

Influence of the media

Even if schools do not introduce the topic of sexuality, all young people will be influenced by the information, images, and attitudes presented

in the media. This important medium of exchange between members of the society is a powerful force in the shaping of our expectations and our aspirations, but the assumptions and the ideals transmitted by this means are generally unexamined and hence unquestioned.

Films, television programming, magazines, advertising, and musical lyrics provide a constant barrage of sexual innuendo and explicit sexual reference and display for everyone in the society. Attention is drawn to sexual images because one's attention is captured by such reference. As competition for our attention increases and as we become less surprised, and therefore less noticing of what is presented, commercial interests and advertisers use more sensational images which are at the very limits of acceptability, or they make use of those images which will feed our romantic and sexual fantasies. It is a vicious circle because our ideals and our romantic and sexual fantasies are very often shaped by the images which have been represented in the media (Kilbourne, 1987).

The ideals, as they are represented in the media, of a sexually desirable female and a sexually powerful male, attainable with the purchase of the right products or services and an undertaking of certain practices, have consequences for all those who are impressed by these, including young people. In order to be a little freer of the control which these images have over our imaginations and our aspirations, we need to be able to examine the assumptions held and the motivations which support these images of an ideal or images which aim to elicit a sexual response. Can a school sex education programme undertake to make visible those influences which have a far more potent effect on us when they are invisible? Amongst other things, a programme of sex education should draw attention to those influences on our sexuality which are hidden and those which need to be examined and reflected upon in order to allow individuals to find responsible and fulfilling ways of expressing their own sexuality within the society. Sexual exploration and activity of young people will take place whether or not a course in sex education is offered, but a discourse about sexuality will become more audible, not be increased, if sex education is offered. We might, of course, choose to remain silent about sex if we wish young people to remain silent about the issues which they will face in any case.

Yet it is clear, with the increase in the incidence of acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) and other sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), that it is more and more important that sexually active young people know how to protect themselves as well as they can and that they become familiar and comfortable with ways of communicating with one another about these issues. Sex education has a crucial role to play in the effort to slow the spread of these diseases.

The content of sex education

Even if it is agreed that it would be useful to provide some information and to allow an opportunity for discussion about the topic of sexuality, perhaps until it is clear what should be taught, teachers should remain silent. The content of any sex education course is bound to conflict with the convictions of some parents. Whether or not teachers intend to remain neutral it is difficult, if not impossible, to discuss issues of sexuality without imparting attitudes. There is no specifiable set of behaviours which could be said to constitute correct sexual activity, and there is no moral position, with regard to sexuality, which might be agreed to be the right one. Since sexual behaviour is a private and intimate matter, it may seem that the appropriate way of dealing with this many-faceted topic in the schools would be to remain silent, but this is an evasion of the responsibility to provide students with a way of coming to understand the many issues surrounding sexuality. Teaching young people how to reflect upon the issues involved and to take charge of their own lives is very different from teaching sexual behaviour. Instead of requiring silence from those who do not know how each person should act, perhaps silence should be required from those who are convinced that their own decisions ought to be the ones which everyone should choose.

In light of these considerations, even if it is clear that sex ought to be spoken about with young people in the schools, there seem to be many problems which surround the issue.

More and more schools understand that they have an obligation to provide their students with accurate information about the facts of reproduction, contraception, and the prevention of STDs, but they may avoid a discussion of other aspects of sexuality because of the difficulty in dealing with attitudinal questions for which there are no clearly definable answers of right and wrong. Such an approach has some value but it is limited. Students need biological, anatomical, and medical information, but sex should be presented to young people as something more than a biological function and the results of that function; (biological) sexuality also brings responsibilities. The personal, social, ethical, and moral issues which surround sexuality must also be discussed in any programme of sex education if young people are expected to take account of these considerations. Silence in this regard may be understood to imply that these issues are not important.

If a programme of sex education is introduced in order to decrease the incidence of STDs and unwanted pregnancy the content of the course will concentrate on the possible dangers of unprotected sexual intercourse, the prevention of STDs and a recognition of disease symptoms, the methods of

treatment, and the prevention of pregnancy. While such information is useful, an emphasis on the possible negative aspects of sex without a celebration of the positive aspects instills fear and produces inhibitions. Michelle Fine (1988) has labeled this kind of programme a **discourse of victimization**, and she points out that this kind of discussion portrays young women as victims of male predators. The paradoxical message implied in such a course is that a woman can gain protection through marriage to one of the men she fears in another context (p. 31).

On the other hand, if the objective of a course in sex education is to ensure that young people engage in less premarital sexual activity, then the programme will present judgemental and moralistic standards and call for self-control and abstinence outside a heterosexual marriage. Fine has called such a legalistic approach a **discourse of individual morality** (p. 32), which is a little misleading, because the type of programme which supports the imposition of a cultural or religious morality upon individuals does not suggest that individuals should develop a responsible attitude concerning the issues surrounding sexuality and about their own sexual expression. A study of the understandings of sexuality and the moral injunctions from different religious and cultural traditions may provide a useful way to encourage discussion about the requirement of moral and legal standards and the assumptions upon which they are based.

Another method of approaching the topic of sexual behaviour of young people is by means of a study of statistical information about the activities, the opinions, the questions, and the concerns of adolescents (Herold, 1984). Any statistical survey will be limited by the techniques used to gather data, by the questions asked, and the interpretive methods used in presenting the information. How any statistical survey can be useful is not clear although statistics may serve to show the wide range of sexual behaviour which exists. A descriptive study which tabulates the experiences and the opinions of many individuals does not result in expert advice, nor can it provide a statement of what might be considered "normal", although it is sometimes expected to do so, and there is often a subtle implication that it does do so. The qualitative aspect of sexuality and the importance of the relationship cannot be included in a statistical report, yet young people do need to learn to connect the physiological acts of sexual interaction with these other considerations.

Concluding that there is no one moral stance which ought to be taught may result in an attitude of relativism. The gathering of opinion and the reportage of personal experience, likes, and dislikes resembles a statistical survey in its attempt to provide a description of the facts without imposing value judgements upon the students. But no discussion of sexuality can remain morally neutral; an attempt to do so will imply that

sexual virtue lies in self-expression, which very soon becomes self-interested and selfish. The fact that there is no one standard which could guide the sexual behaviour of every individual does not mean that standards are not necessary. To find how conscience could be developed so that responsibility could be taken for all relationships, including sexual ones, is a more difficult problem than either discovering what is pleasant, or setting out rules of conduct as established by an external authority.

What could be offered?

To offer a programme of sex education in the schools is to offer a discourse of sexuality to the students. Providing a way of speaking about the issues involved allows young people to find a way of reflecting upon them, a necessary condition for taking charge of their sexuality and becoming responsible for their relationships. As students become adults they are expected to take this responsibility; perhaps it is something which can be learned. A silence about sexuality perpetuates victimization. Cases of abuse and harassment are the most obvious examples, but more often people are victims of hidden influences such as the ideals and assumptions which are imposed upon them by the media, the consequences of the traditional hierarchy of power with respect to gender and class, and established notions of what is natural or virtuous behaviour.

Recently the concept of sexuality has been understood as a construction which includes a cluster of issues related only because society has agreed that they are sexual issues. Although the issues range from reproductive to moral and political, they are all associated with gender in the broadest sense. Because silence has surrounded some of the topics which involve the more intimate aspects of sexuality, other aspects such as those dealing with issues of gender roles and power relationships have also been surrounded by silence. When any of these topics is discussed all areas of sexuality are open to question. Sexuality has become a topic of rational deliberation and scientific investigation. However, with an over-enthusiasm of this kind of approach, we may lose an appreciation of the potential for delight and fulfilment or the opposite, for a degradation and despair, with sexual expression. Also, an understanding of the possibility of reaching our highest aspirations, or losing sight of them altogether, may be lost. An art and a philosophy of sex is needed as well as a science of sexuality, so that the aesthetic sense can be acknowledged and ethical concerns can be met, along with the desire to understand the processes.

In this increasingly complex society many traditions and cultures co-exist, technology has given us the possibility of many more choices than were previously possible, and among individuals there is a wide range of sexual preference, orientation, and behaviour. Each of us must face

questions about how we should live. Many of the most difficult choices involve sexual issues. Educators need to provide young people with a language with which to address the problems and with a practice of seeing what the consequences of particular choices are. It is difficult to decide on the content of a programme of sex education and once that is decided many problems will arise concerning the methods of teaching it. Even with an ideal programme the students will still not know how to solve all the problems which they will inevitably confront, but they may know better how to approach them.

Sexuality involves many very complex issues and the way in which one's sexuality is accepted and expressed has profound implications for society and for the life of every individual. How can young people be helped to understand themselves as sexual beings without a fear or without an excessive imagination or preoccupation? All of the difficulties outlined above result from a partiality of content or approach to the subject of sexuality when it is discussed in a course. Perhaps what is needed is an acknowledgement of the necessity of examining the global aspects of sexuality, i.e., the concepts of masculinity and femininity, as they are presently understood in the social context and as they might be understood more broadly; the way the images of ideals are developed in the society and influence behaviours, aspirations, and expectations of others; the issue of the traditional hierarchy of power and the consequences it has had in the society; the biological, psychological, and sociological "facts of life"; encouragement of young people to have wonderful, caring, and intimate relationships in which they will find delight and self-affirmation in sexual expression and for which they will take responsibility.

NOTE

The author acknowledges the valuable and stimulating discussions with Ann Manicom about these issues.

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Book Reviews

Terry Wotherspoon, Editor.
THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF CANADIAN SCHOOLING.
Toronto: Methuen, 1987

D.W. Livingstone and Contributors.
CRITICAL PEDAGOGY AND CULTURAL POWER.
South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey, 1987.
342 pp. \$16.95 paperback.

Governments have acted to expand the accountability of educational institutions at the same time as they have decreased funding, cut back programs, restricted access, fired teachers, and privatized services. School boards have been exhorted to provide more relevant schooling at the same time as they have had their financial resources cut out from under them. Teachers' unions, parents' associations, and community groups have similarly had local decision-making and community control eroded.

The ideology of schooling expands to make this inequality even harder to perceive by promoting reform under the exigencies of fiscal responsibility, market forces, and the new rationality. As Schechter says in Wotherspoon, "Centralization helps to ensure that even the debate of educational reform is framed within the parameters of the discourse of modernity: progress, welfare, meritocratic equality."

These two books make an important contribution in the area of the political economy of Canadian education. In the past, political economy has focused its energies largely on economics and politics, while neglecting education. This has been a shortcoming in political economy and a drawback to the analysis of the Canadian education system. In Wotherspoon

and Livingstone political economy is not only applied to education, but it is done with a distinctively Canadian focus.

The Political Economy of Canadian Education relates changes in education to changes in the political and economic structure. Interconnections are traced between "goods and services which are produced and consumed, major patterns of trade and finance, patterns of class and social conflict, and the types of individuals, groups and institutions which prevail." There is an emphasis on structure and subjects in their relation.

Wotherspoon's book is a broad analysis of the relationship between political economy and education. Fifteen articles deal with the themes of the process of educational reform and its attendant conflicts, curricular development in the schooling process, postsecondary education, and schooling for work and unemployment.

Fisher and Gilgoff's article on British Columbia's postsecondary education is especially interesting because it analyzes cutbacks in the public sector. Their examination of the impact of federal postsecondary fiscal transfers on provincial educational policy can readily be applied to other Canadian provinces. The impact of new technology, rationalization and bureaucratization, the diversification of educational services, multiculturalism, the segregation of work, and vocationalism are examined in separate chapters. The subordination of women, barriers to native Indians, class stratification, and gender-role stereotyping are also presented. Together these issues provide a broad spectrum of analyses in the political economy of educational development.

Livingstone's *Critical Pedagogy and Cultural Power* is one of a series of critical perspectives in education, this one originating in a two-day forum of the Critical Pedagogy and Cultural Studies Group in 1984 at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. This multidisciplinary group has been collaborating for many years. There are thirteen chapters organized into four sections, each with its own topical introduction. The chapters include the analysis of cultural perspectives, general ideological forms in education, schooling and skilling, and political practices. There is also an excellent introduction by Henry Giroux and Paulo Freire which succinctly reviews major theoretical problems in the area of pedagogy and cultural studies. Whereas early radical analyses of education criticized solely the reproduction of class divisions in school, Giroux and Freire say that there is a need to theorize about the diversity of oppression, and to propose alternatives. Experience is legitimized through various historical forms: popular culture, mass media, trade unions, and the family.

Livingstone says that there is currently less normative support for established institutions. Political controversy and ideological uncertainty

have conspired to produce a context appropriate for the analysis of educational practice and rhetoric and the discussion of alternative educational futures. The tasks are to: 1) understand educational relationships as social constructions with historical antecedents; 2) identify discrepancies between ideology and experience; 3) take the vantage point of the subordinated; 4) make the political pedagogical and the pedagogical political, and thus extend the sphere of educational critique; 5) discuss the analysis of experience with those who experience; and 6) expose relations of cultural domination.

The first section of the book clearly builds on the "new sociology of education" of the early 1970s which sought to link a phenomenology with a Marxist structural analysis. Corrigan's article argues that the routinization of the curriculum schools subjectivities. The formal and hidden curriculum reproduces fragmentation, and artificial separations of academic subjects also disguises the connections and relationships which exist between both social and academic subjects. This article echoes his shared article in Wotherspoon's book. Through this chapter, and that by Mary O'Brien, on how the analysis of gender relations has been factually neglected in the study of class oppression, there is a general attempt to expand the traditional scope of political economy through the analysis of schooling relations.

The second section on ideology and education contains articles on the mass media and how it obscures cultural contradictions, promotes compensatory values, and diminishes oppositional consciousness. These articles emphasize that through the analysis of the mass media dominant myths can be deconstructed and resistant strategies built.

Livingstone's article on upgrading of skills and increasing occupational opportunities in section three is similar to his article in Wotherspoon. Gaskell analyzes the devaluation of clerical work, Simon examines the social construction of subjective orientations to work, and Olsen argues that the increasing use of computers in education will make the mental/manual labour distinction more pervasive and inequitable. The forth section has a critique of radical pedagogy and its discourse, and it also includes an article on alternative schools in Toronto.

In addition to the important areas covered in Wotherspoon and Livingstone, there are two further tasks which need to be explored in a political economy of Canadian education. First, we need an analysis of the rhetorical constructions of public discourse and controversy over educational reform. People's identities are constructed in public life, as well as in school. We need analyses of the discourse of reform which accompanies changes in the public school system, for this discourse about schools affects the discourse which happens in schools. Second, we need to situate the analysis of political reform within a regional analysis of the political economy of Canadian education. There is very little work on the regional

dimension of Canadian education and on how the differences in the regional economies affect schooling. These directions need to be explored for all levels.

The books edited by Wotherspoon and Livingstone are excellent, up-to-date collections of work in the Canadian political economy of education. They are not just treatments of Canadian education by political economy, but reflect developments of a distinctively Canadian political economy. They would be appropriate for a senior undergraduate class in the sociology of education, and they should be necessary reading for students of education.

Chris McCormick
Acadia University

Sandra Burt, Lorraine Code & Lindsay Dorney.
CHANGING PATTERNS: WOMEN IN CANADA.
Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988.
345 pp. \$16.95 (paper).

Nancy Adamson, Linda Briskin & Margaret McPhail.
FEMINIST ORGANIZING FOR CHANGE:
THE CONTEMPORARY WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN CANADA.
Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988.
332 pp. \$19.95 (paper).

Alison Prentice, Paula Bourne, Gail Cuthbert Brandt, Beth Light, Wendy Mitchinson & Naomi Black.
CANADIAN WOMEN: A HISTORY.
Toronto: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovitch, 1988.
496 pp. \$22.95 (paper).

Popular opinion about the current status of women in Canada ranges from the view that "Nothing has changed" to the notion that the battles for equality have been essentially won and we are now living in the "post-feminist era." The truth may lie anywhere along this continuum. As we approach the last decade of the 20th century, we may scrutinize the opportunities given women, the respect accorded them, their constitutional rights, and their educational advances but still find these indices of social justice wanting. Or we may rejoice that, unlike our grandmothers, Canadian women are legally "persons," we constitute more than half the undergraduate population at Canadian universities, we may have access to all kinds of jobs and professions, and we can lay claim to "equal pay for work of equal value." On the one hand, we could say that discrimination has not disappeared, rather it has become more difficult to deal with because it is

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now more subtle; or we could, on the other hand, maintain that many positive changes have taken place and women are considerably better off than they were at the beginning of the century.

Whichever way we evaluate the current status of women, one thing we cannot deny is that there is an increasing body of scholarship in this area. The hundreds of volumes on display at the third **International Women's Book Fair** held in the summer of 1988 provided evidence of this that was almost literally overwhelming. The three books under review here, all published in Toronto in that year, are but a small sample of the significant work that is being done in Canada to record, analyze, and interpret women's role in society.

Changing Patterns is a collection of eleven essays. Despite the fact that these are written by eleven different women and that the idea of "pattern" does not infuse each chapter, the book forms a coherent whole. It begins with Lorraine Code on "Feminist Theory," a brief introduction to formalized concepts about women – from Aristotle, through 19th century liberalism, to the contemporary feminist movement. Most attention is given to the latter. Different categories of feminist theory such as "Liberal Feminism," "Marxist and Socialist Feminism," and "Radical Feminism" are identified, and particular ideological stances such as those relating to feminism in France are outlined. Code's chapter is the kind of overview that undergraduates appreciate because it "gives them a handle" on an increasingly diffuse and complex field. It also provides a firm base for the specialized chapters that follow.

"Pioneers and Suffragists" by Jane Errington and "The Canadian Women's Movement" by Naomi Black together give a succinct account of the people and events that have shaped the women's movements of the last two centuries. Like Code's theoretical chapter, these two run the risk of superficiality, but all three offset this danger by providing useful, up-to-date reading lists that flesh out the material and indicate the enormous range of research that has been done on women. The remaining chapters deal with specialized topics of contemporary interest such as the changing family, immigrant women, women and literature, public policy, medicine, psychology, and reproductive technology.

Altogether, this is a work that should prove to be a text for many an introductory course in Women's Studies. Its basic thrust is intended to show that the status of women has been radically altered in a positive direction. It may not be entirely convincing but it does set forth basic information and ideas clearly, leaving the way open for more advanced and probing studies.

Feminist Organizing for Change is not likely to be as popular with undergraduates as *Changing Patterns*. Its unwieldy title is a reflection of its

awkward internal structure. It represents an experiment in style that does not quite succeed. In a very honest effort to deal with the complexity of the contemporary feminist movement and to acknowledge their own places in it, the authors openly enunciate their biases. Like other feminist writers, they reject the possibility of pure objectivity in the social sciences and forthrightly identify themselves as "socialist feminists." They also acknowledge the individual viewpoints that, consciously or unconsciously, are reflections of the experience of the three persons who wrote the book. From time to time, the authors step forward, out of the text as it were, and speak in their own voices. This technique, too, becomes tedious.

Nevertheless, this is a dynamic book. It gives a feeling of the struggle women have in making sense of the movement, of making choices, questing for truth, seeking identity both individually and corporately. In their account of the history of the women's movements (the first and second waves) in Canada, authors Adamson, Briskin, and McPhail are not only aiming to record and understand change, they want to make change. They are indisputably involved. Their attempt to engage the readers, too, may not always work but it was an effort well worth the making. Their bibliography, appendices of unpublished documents, and lists of women's organizations make the book a helpful reference source for still further study. It is a pity that the potentially helpful chronology seems to be too quixotically chosen to live up to its promise.

Canadian Women: A History is the most substantial and satisfying of the three books under review here. Like the others, it is multi-authored and, like them, it covers a vast range of material and ideas. It records the lives of Canadian women from pre-European days to the present; it sympathizes with their hardships; it admires the ingenuity and fortitude of individuals; it analyzes the goals and methods of groups; it takes account of general social conditions and prevailing ideologies; and it examines the controversies among women, showing that the "Canadian Women's Movement" is by no means a monolithic entity. This work is enriched by anecdote and detail, by carefully selected quotations, by photographs, and by excellent statistical tables and graphs. It is likely to become a standard work, not just because of the prestige of its authors, but by the quality of its scholarship.

All three works considered here contribute constructively to the understanding of Canadian society. All three should be read by the academy and the population at large. It will be a great waste if they only stay within the reach of students of the women's movement. They can all help us to determine the nature and degree of real change in the lives and the potential of Canadian women.

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Burton L. White.

EDUCATING THE INFANT AND TODDLER

Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1988.

361 pp. \$19.95.

The experiences of the first few years of a child's life have special significance for the entire life span. . . . most children are better off when most of their waking time during these first years is spent with their parents, grandparents, or someone else who has a special feeling for them. Full time day care for children under three is not generally advisable . . . (pp. 150, 151)

Burton L. White's views on the education of infants have been clear and consistent over many years. His numerous studies of young children have shown that the three-year-old child who demonstrates relatively advanced language and intellectual skills is likely to be well prepared for formal education at five or six years of age. On the other hand, the child who is nine months or more behind in these skills may never achieve educational success.

In contrast to other early childhood educators, White maintains that, unless a child has special needs, he or she does not have to attend a day care centre or a nursery school in order to be prepared, intellectually or socially, for elementary school. Instead, White advocates a program of support and education for parents, all parents, regardless of need or circumstances. The home, he insists, is the ideal location, and the parents the best teachers, for the upbringing of the young child.

To this end, *Educating the Infant and Toddler* has been written to provide parents and parent educators with information on learning processes and child development. It also describes a program of parent support, New Parents as Teachers (NPAT), that White has created in the state of Missouri. The book is divided into four basic sections: developmental processes, developmental influences and problems, child care education, and the NPAT project. The appendices occupy almost as much space as the text and require additional explanation.

Included among the aspects of development in Part 1 are: intelligence, language, social skills, personality, and physical and perceptual abilities. White reviews the parameters and briefly describes the stages for each aspect of development. He describes selected instruments used for assessing the various developmental processes. In areas where tests are not available, he explains what has been accomplished in assessment and what kind of diagnostic tools we might expect in the future. He outlines ways

parents and teachers can enhance their infant's development in different areas; equally important, he also describes what does not work. White criticizes some recent notions of the capacities of neonates; for example, their ability to learn a second language. Throughout the text he urges parents to be wary of unrealistic claims to increase the developmental potential of infants. "In the meantime," White states, "what we do know about helping a child develop into a healthy social creature – with a genuine enthusiasm for learning, fine language and intellectual skills . . . offers substantial and remarkable opportunities for parents and professionals to provide much better beginnings for children" (p. 70).

Nine chapters in Part II review influences and problems pertaining to development. The chapter entitled "Spoiling" should be particularly useful to parents. White describes situations in which spoiling is likely to occur and outlines avoidance procedures.

In Part III White advocates the creation of programs that will provide education for parents. He believes strongly that the educational experiences of the young are far too important to be ignored by a nation concerned for the welfare of its people. New parents, he suggests, would benefit the most from such a program – the object of which would be to assist the family unit as the ideal educational system.

Part IV describes the Missouri NPAT project that White helped to establish in 1981. The purpose of the project was "... to create a sensible and comprehensive educational system to help parents guide the learning processes of their children from birth to the third birthday" (p. 160). For the pilot program four different communities were selected; a staff was trained. All new parents within these communities were included in the educational project. The educational system included the following components: assessment, group visits, and home visits.

Assessment. Each infant was screened for interpersonal skill acquisition, intellectual and linguistic progress, and hearing. These assessments were repeated at regular intervals in each infant's life. Information on the family's medical history and the mother's birth experiences was also collected.

Group visits. Seven to eight couples, whose children were close in age, met every four weeks until their infants were 5 months, then every six weeks until their children's third birthday. The hour and a half meetings were held at the local centres created by NPAT. These meetings included guest speakers, toy-making sessions, and video or film presentations. A social atmosphere was encouraged through refreshments and informal discussions.

Home visits. These sessions were also scheduled once a month and lasted about an hour. The staff person observed the infant for the first ten minutes, noting developmental progress and interaction with parent(s). The parents were then asked what changes they had observed with their child and what concerns they had about any aspect of their child's development. Simple suggestions that were appropriate in fostering progress for this child were offered.

To assess the effectiveness of the NPAT project, the evaluation was contracted to an independent agency. A post-hoc control group design was used; the control group families were matched to the families in the educational project. The results indicated that while the project did not seem to enhance the infant's interpersonal skills, in those areas that had more of an influence on later academic work, the benefits were substantial and dramatic. The project infants scored substantially higher than the control group children in nearly all linguistic and intellectual areas. These benefits were seen across all socioeconomic levels. In addition, 99% of the responding parents reported a great deal of satisfaction with all the services provided through the NPAT project.

The cost of the project was between \$800 and \$1,000 per family (per year) – small in comparison to other plans. White feels that projects such as this one are so beneficial, and so cost effective, that their implementation on a much wider scale is inevitable.

Included in the appendices are samples of NPAT curriculum materials and group meeting and home visit agendas. Also provided is a useful review of 66 books on child care and development. Ninety-one films and videotapes are also assessed for their content and suitability for parent education projects. Information on magazines, newsletters, and resource centres is provided, but only a short bibliography is included.

The major problem with *Educating the Infant and Toddler* seems to be its lack of cohesion; the book is more a collection of information that White has written and presented in greater depth through his other publications. In the chapter on the development of intelligence, he tells the reader at one point that there is too much information to include any details in the text, and yet he does not provide suggestions for further reading. If every chapter were to include a list of references, this problem might be reduced. The bibliography at the end of the text is only three and a half pages, hardly a comprehensive compilation.

Nevertheless, White's *Educating the Infant and the Toddler* does have a number of strong features. The appendices provide information that is useful to parents and educators alike. The description of the NPAT project is

most interesting; and its feasibility is convincing. White clarifies his position against formalized day care services, and provides a description of what he firmly believes is the most desirable way to influence the lives of children for the better – an education-for-parenthood program.

Judith Pollard Slaughter
McGill University

**The Gallup Organization Inc.
GEOGRAPHY: AN INTERNATIONAL GALLUP SURVEY.
SURVEY OF FINDINGS.
Princeton, NJ: The Gallup Organization Inc., 1988.
118 pp.**

Perhaps the first thing to note, in reviewing this book, is that 1988 was the centenary of the founding of the **National Geographic Society** (NGS), and that this interest in and concern for geography to the benefit of the American citizen is of long standing. The founding of the Society came a mere four years after that of the **Royal Scottish Geographical Society**, also in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was the era of Manifest Destiny, rapid colonial expansions, explorations, and increasingly accurate cartography, all of which were paralleled by increasing literacy, as nations expanded their school systems, and the cost-cutting of the publishing industry in a manner which both used and enhanced geography. "Geographical literacy" was one of several "in" literacies associated with education and the social consciousness of the latter half of that century.

The extent to which geography was understood, as opposed to being popular and entertaining or surprising in those late 1800s and early 1900s, will however remain a moot point. And it is here that the difference lies between the founding of an institution, both as a matter of interest and education, and the difficulty of a subsequent examination of the status of that initial interest by that particular institution. The NGS has overcome this problem by putting the survey nationally and internationally into the hands of professional survey companies. Now to the content(s) of the Survey itself.

Geography: An International Gallup Survey assesses the extent of the basic geographic literacy among adults 18 years and over in the United States as well as in eight "companion countries." The study also explores both the degree to which Americans think that knowledge of geography is important and their level of awareness of geography's influence on a variety

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Geography: An International Gallup Survey assesses the extent of the basic geographic literacy among adults 18 years and over in the United States as well as in eight "companion countries." The study also explores both the degree to which Americans think that knowledge of geography is important and their level of awareness of geography's influence on a variety

of events, large and small, far away and close to home. Such was the aim of the exercise, and it has been faithfully adhered to throughout.

Within the context of the United States, the "...extent of geographic literacy... is contrasted to the adult population of the United States 40 years ago." The other eight countries, all surveyed along with the United States, within a three-week period, 25 April – 12 May, 1988, were the neighbouring countries of Mexico and Canada, plus six industrialized nations: Japan, France, West Germany, the United Kingdom, Sweden, and Italy. In-depth personal interviews were carried out in all nine countries to a total of 10,000 respondents. In order to set the tone prior to questioning the respondents on geography, an evaluation was made of how these people rated the importance, usefulness, and necessity of geography against other skills and disciplines. Taking only the percentages from absolutely necessary (AN) and important (I), geography as compared to others was rated:

Subject/skill	AN%	I%
Mathematics	83	15
Computer skills	64	27
Science	38	54
Geography	37	53
History	36	55
Foreign language	20	48

It was, therefore, within this context that actual questioning began. (The percentages do not add up to 100%, probably because some respondents indicated more than one subject/skill as "absolutely necessary" or "important.")

Headed "What Americans know (and don't know) about geography," the questioning took three forms:

Multiple choice: Similar to that found in school examinations, included the correct answer, but excluded "all the above" and "none of the above."

Open-ended country identification: Not only was a question asked but also the respondent was given a card "with the names of 64 countries on it grouped in regions." Here it was conceded that the facilitation of coding may have had a by-product, a small reminder to the respondent. However, a respondent with no idea of the answer could not guess accurately enough and frequently enough to skew the raw data.

Map identification: This involved both actual continent and country maps as well as one fictitious country for testing map-reading.

A brief review of questions, answers, and the survey of findings would probably be both excessively lengthy and misleading. Even though the study is lengthy, this Gallup Survey should serve as mandatory reading and study for certain professionals in teaching and in higher education: (1) principals and teachers in elementary and secondary schools, (2) heads of geography departments in high schools and colleges, (3) senior civil servants and departments/ministries of education, and (4) members of faculties of education in social sciences (geography, history, economics [not social studies, i.e., psychology and sociology]), in elementary and secondary teacher education and teacher training.

Almost needless to say, the conclusions of the survey include reasons for a greater emphasis on geography. Out of 775 interviews, the following reasons and the percentage of respondents giving those reasons are:

Learn about the world	30%
Understand current events/world affairs	28%
Learn about other countries/people/cultures	27%
Map skills/global perspectives	15%
Learn more about the United States	10%
Travel	7%
Other	5%
Don't know	4%

What solutions are offered? Again, almost inevitably (hence the mandatory list of readers), schools were considered to be the major vehicle for improvements in knowledge and skill (77% of those polled). There was also a small group (194) described as being composed of those who knew "a great deal" about local public schools who stated that "not enough emphasis" was given to the following subjects: geography (65%), foreign languages (58%), history (57%), mathematics (51%), computer skills (46%), science (45%).

One does not skim through or dip into this survey. Be prepared to read it in depth, over a period of time, and return to it frequently, remembering that this is a survey not a solution. Neither is this a problem for study only by Americans; nor is it one which will go away in time or by being simply ignored. There is no substitute for geography.

The Gazette (Montreal), on May 3, 1989, carried the following headline on the editorial page "Children as ignorant as freshmen." It was explained that the "children" in the title are 11-year-olds in Great Britain, the "Freshmen" are United States college students, and the problem is lack of geographical knowledge. Before the various parties or sides commence cheering or jeering, note should be taken of curriculum differences in the two countries. For example, this reviewer was in Scotland in March, 1988, where it was observed that the later-childhood curriculum in the elementary school is no longer the national and international and global geography of his school days. Currently, Social Sciences, an amalgam of geography, history, and nature study allied to maths and mapping skills, is taught and practised predominantly as a combination of Local and Community Studies with Outdoor Education. The latter can consist of anything from the half-day field trip locally to a full-week camp in some different locale. One, therefore, has to be careful in what one is comparing. As one of my colleagues, a historian, commented recently, "It's easy, too easy, to demonstrate what people don't know!"

With that in mind, read a necessary, timely, and largely objective, extended survey which has the added advantages of having a wide geographical distribution, involving a brief period of time, and including a viable, international sample population drawn from both genders, different age groups, various cultures, and a range of economic and cultural as well as linguistic settings.

A.K. Maconochie
McGill University

Books Received

The following is a list of books received by the MJE. Not all the books received can be reviewed, although reviews of some of these books may appear in future issues. We wish to thank all of the publishers who have sent us review copies.

Anson, Chris M. (Ed.). (1989). *Writing and response: Theory, practice and research*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. 371 pp. \$14.95 (NCTE members \$11.95).

Boberg, Alice L. (1988). *Exploring the teaching milieu*. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd. 160 pp. \$17.95.

Calvé, Pierre, & Mollica, Anthony. (1987). *Le français langue second: Des principes à la pratique*. Welland, ON: The Canadian Modern Language Review. La revue canadienne des langues vivantes. 411 pp.

Canadian Education Association. (1989, March). *Grade promotion and retention: Practices in Canadian school boards*. Toronto: Canadian Education Association. 36 pp. \$3.

Canadian Education Association. (1989, May). *Food for thought: School board nutrition policies and programs for hungry children*. Toronto: Canadian Education Association. 20 pp. \$3.

Cardelle, Frank D. (1989). *Youth and adult: The shared journey towards wholeness*. New York: Gardner Press. 20 pp. \$14.95.

Commissioner of Official Languages. (1988, September). *Official Languages Act*. Ottawa: Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. 110 O'Connor Street. Ottawa, ON. K1A 0T8.

Conseil des Collèges. (1989, February). *La qualité du français au collégial; Éléments pour un plan d'action*. Quebec: Conseil des Collèges, Gouvernement du Québec.

Crowley, Sharon. (1989). *A teacher's introduction to deconstruction*. Urbana, IL: NCTE. 64 pp. \$7.50; \$5.95, members.

Dagg, Anne Innis; Thompson, Patricia J. (1988). *MisEducation: Women & Canadian universities*. Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. 135 pp. \$17.25.

Dobrin, David N. (1989). *Writing and technique*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. 213 pp. \$18.75 (NCTE members \$14.95).

Gifted & Talented Education Council of the Alberta Teachers Association. (July, 1987). *Teacher designed enrichment activities*. Alberta: The Alberta Teachers Association.

Harste, Jerome C. (1989). *New policy guidelines for reading: Connecting research and practice*. Urbana, IL: NCTE. 81 pp. \$7.50; \$5.95, members.

Ingram, Ernest J. (1989). *Projects. A guide to their use and design*. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Inc. 192 pp. \$17.95.

Irons, Glenwood H. (1988). *Second language acquisition: Selected readings in theory and practice*. Welland, ON: The Canadian Modern Language Review. La revue canadienne des langues vivantes. 434 pp.

Keck, Jennifer; Dauphinais, Henriette; Lewko, John. (1989). *Critical paths: Organizing on health issues in the community*. Toronto: Between the lines. 100 pp. \$11.95 paper, \$33.95 cloth.

King, Ruby Hope (Ed.). (1987). *Education in the Caribbean: Historical perspectives*. Kingston, Jamaica: Faculty of Education, University of the West Indies. 196 pp.

Kogen, Myra (Ed.). (1989). *Writing in the business professions*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. 302 pp. \$18.75 (NCTE members \$14.95).

LeBlanc, R.; Compain, J.; Duquette, L.; Séguin, H. (1989). *L'enseignement des langues secondes aux adultes: Recherches et pratiques*. Ottawa: Les presses de l'Université d'Ottawa. 245 pp. \$24.95 paper.

Lloyd-Jones, Richard, & Lunsford, Andrea A. (1989). *The English coalition conference: Democracy through language*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. 87 pp. \$6.95. (NCTE members \$5.50).

Milburn, Geoffrey; Goodson, Ivor F.; Clark, Robert J. (Eds.). (1989). *Re-interpreting curriculum research: Images & arguments*. London, ON: The Althouse Press, University of Western Ontario. 195 pp. \$14.95.

Milne, David. (1989). *The Canadian Constitution: From patriation to Meech Lake*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd. 310 pp. \$7.95 paper; \$14.95 cloth.

Milner, Joseph O'Beirne; Milner, Lucy Ford Morcock. (Eds.). (1989). *Passages to literature*. Urbana, IL: NCTE. 126 pp. \$8.75; \$6.95, members.

Norbert, Lucie; de Bellefeuille, Danielle; Chalifoux, Chantal; Dicks, Jim; Laing, Margaret (Under direction of Gilles Jasmin). (1989). *Profile of higher education in Canada*. Ottawa: Department of Secretary of State of Canada. 34 pp.

Phelan, Patricia (Chair), and the Committee on Classroom Practice. (1989). *Talking to learn. Classroom practices in teaching English, Vol. 24*. Urbana, IL: NCTE. 143 pp. \$8.75; \$6.50, members.

Sangster, Joan. (1989). *Dreams of equality: Women on the Canadian left, 1920-1950*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart. 274 pp. \$15.95.

Schulz, William E. (1989). *Communication and interpersonal skills*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart. 110 pp. \$9.95.

Secretary of State of Canada. (1988). *Federal and provincial support to post-secondary education in Canada (A report to parliament 1987-88)*. Ottawa: Department of Secretary of State of Canada. 109 pp.

Stewig, John Wareren; Sebesta, Sam Leaton. (Eds.). (1989). *Using literature in the elementary classroom*. Urbana, IL: NCTE. 132 pp. \$8.95; \$6.75, members.

Wilson, John, & Cowell, Barbara. (1989). *Taking education seriously*. London, ON: The Althouse Press, Faculty of Education, the University of Western Ontario. 148 pp. \$9.95.

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