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EDITORIAL

CANADIAN EDUCATION:

THE PAST AND FUTURE TEACHER – AND SOME INSIGHTS ON CURRICULUM.

A common thread in this issue is the sense of standing in a pivotal moment of time, being pulled between a past and future that are sharply different from each other. Perhaps we are more deeply affected than we know by the arrival of a new millennium. The authors deal with changing views of teachers, their professional development, their roles and feelings; with political and social pressures; with new approaches to curriculum; and with new demands for collaboration across disciplinary and physical boundaries. A final important thread is the way all of this adult thinking and doing (built on the influences of the past and the pressures of the present) is translated and transformed through the consciousness of children and adolescents (the minds and hearts of the future).

The issue begins with Cécile Laroque's thoughtful exploration of the ideal of "service" teachers adopt, and have adopted throughout the past century, always in a prevailing social and political context. There is no doubt that all educators need a strong sense of ethics, values and professional coherence to withstand the extraordinary level of demands coming from governments, the corporate world, parents, and, most of all, students themselves.

Edwin G. Ralph continues his long-term project working with student teachers and their mentors in the school and in the university setting. He shows how crucial mutual expectations can be; both partners in the process may otherwise react to the experience inappropriately and fail to communicate. This is no trivial matter; the results of both successful and unsuccessful mentoring of teachers, as we know, last for decades and have untold social influence.

Marc Dussault, Colette Deaudelin, and Stéphane Thibodeau explore teacher isolation – in the long years after student teaching, when the individual teacher has often moved further and further away from collegial and collaborative settings. Teachers who have not developed strategies for forging warm and long-term relationships can find themselves acutely alone even in the midst of a busy school, often through the systemic, structural conditions in which they work. New curricular and pedagogical goals seek to change this, but the teacher him or herself must be a conscious agent in the process.

Frank Nezavdal examines the dilemma of standardized testing for many teachers who struggle to combine it with what they see as the heart of their educational mission: their nurturing of, and service to, the development of young people – whatever their academic profile and future path.

Scott Tunison looks at teachers working through the change process, either willingly or unwillingly, especially in the area of technology. By drawing on a work of science fiction, John Wyndham's *The Chrysalids*, he encourages all of us, as educators, to allow ourselves imaginative space to play with the notion of change. By doing so we may defuse some of the associated anxieties even while we confront, directly, the larger social implications of policy decisions in classrooms, schools and communities.

In all these studies, the awareness and abilities of the teacher are key elements; reflection and self-awareness are seen as essential foundations for a professional resilience and sense of agency.

In the next group of articles, curriculum becomes the focus. Science education, language arts, personal and social development and the teaching of history are explored in a variety of original ways. The first article concerns teacher education for future science specialists (C. LeMaistre, J. Hanrahan, and J. Rebuffot). It shows how cross-faculty collaboration can break down barriers and benefit students and their learning. The second describes a writing project that draws student, school and community together in an underprivileged inner city setting (Herb Katz and Ken McCluskey). By encouraging students to write with their family members, and celebrate their world, the project helps them to gain strength and confidence in school. The third article is an exploration of childhood, triggered by thoughts about a curriculum "kit" that warns children about strangers (Karyn Cooper). This text reminds us that we often fail to consider the effect of adult interventions in a child's imagination. The fourth is a study of a virtual museum; it examines what is offered in connection with history curriculum in two Canadian provinces (Maryse Paquin). The fifth – again dealing with history – examines ways to involve students more directly and significantly in the "raw material" of historical thinking, the documents of an earlier age (Ruth W. Sandwell).

In all of these texts the authors speak from rich experience of both students and curriculum. They are based in, or developed this work in, four different parts of Canada: Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia. Their contexts are varied, but some of their goals in the development of curriculum are the same. Recurrent notions in these articles are the need for a sound knowledge base; dialogue; breaking down stereotypes; motivation; involvement; intuition and empathy. Like the first group of articles concerned with teachers and their professional development, these five offer a

significant set of viewpoints which invite us to move forward thoughtfully, bringing the best of the past together with the promise of what is to come.

A.B.

ÉDITORIAL

L'ÉDUCATION AU CANADA :

L'ENSEIGNANT DU PASSÉ ET CELUI DE L'AVENIR.

QUELQUES INTUITIONS À PROPOS DU PROGRAMME D'ÉTUDES

L'un des fils conducteurs de ce numéro est le sentiment de se trouver à un tournant de l'histoire, tiraillés que nous sommes entre un passé et un avenir radicalement différents l'un de l'autre. Sans doute sommes-nous plus profondément touchés que nous ne voulons l'admettre par l'arrivée récente du nouveau millénaire. Les auteurs traitent des points de vue changeants que l'on se fait des enseignants, de leur perfectionnement professionnel, de leurs rôles et de leurs sentiments, des pressions politiques et sociales, des nouvelles façons d'aborder le programme d'études; et des nouvelles demandes de collaboration à travers les frontières disciplinaires et matérielles. Un dernier point important est la façon dont ces réflexions et ces façons d'agir de la part d'adultes, qui subissent les influences du passé et les pressions du présent, sont traduites et transformées par la conscience des enfants et des adolescents, qui sont les esprits et les coeurs de demain.

Le numéro commence par l'examen réfléchi de Cécile Laroque sur l'idéal que les maîtres en exercice adoptent et ont adopté depuis un siècle, toujours dans un contexte social et politique prédominant. Tous les éducateurs ont, sans doute, besoin d'un sens profond de l'éthique, des valeurs et de la cohérence professionnelle pour supporter les contraintes extraordinaires qui leur sont imposées par les pouvoirs publics, le milieu des affaires, les parents et, surtout, les élèves proprement dits.

Edwin G. Ralph poursuit son projet de longue haleine dans le cadre duquel il travaille avec des professeurs stagiaires et leurs mentors à l'école et à l'université. Il révèle le caractère crucial de leurs attentes mutuelles, à défaut de quoi les partenaires de ce processus risquent de mal réagir à l'expérience et de mal communiquer entre eux. Il ne s'agit pas d'une question triviale; les résultats du mentorat fructueux et infructueux des enseignants, tels que nous les connaissons, durent pendant des dizaines d'années et exercent des influences sociales dont on ne parle pas.

Marc Dussault, Colette Deaudelin et Stéphane Thibodeau étudient l'isolement des enseignants au cours des longues années qui suivent leur formation, alors que chacun est souvent de plus en plus éloigné de son

milieu collégial axé sur la collaboration. Les enseignants qui n'ont pas adopté de stratégie pour nouer des rapports chaleureux et à long terme risquent de se retrouver très seuls, même au milieu d'une école bruyante, en vertu de la situation structurelle et systémique où ils sont appelés à travailler. De nouveaux objectifs curriculaires et pédagogiques cherchent à modifier cette situation, mais l'enseignant doit être un agent conscient de ce processus.

Frank Nezavdal examine le dilemme des testes standardisés que doivent subir de nombreux enseignants qui luttent pour les combiner à ce qu'ils perçoivent comme étant au coeur de leur mission pédagogique : leur soutien au développement des jeunes et les services qu'ils leur rendent, quels que soient leur profil académique et leur cheminement futur.

Scott Tunison se penche sur les enseignants qui s'adaptent à ce processus de changement, volontairement ou pas, surtout dans le domaine des technologies. En s'inspirant d'un ouvrage de science fiction, *The Chrysalids* de John Wyndham, il nous encourage tous, en tant qu'éducateurs, à faire place à l'imaginaire pour qu'il se combine à la notion de changement. Ce faisant, il se peut que nous arrivions à désamorcer certaines des angoisses connexes, même quand nous devons affronter directement les implications sociales plus vastes des décisions politiques dans les salles de cours, les écoles et les collectivités.

Dans toutes ces études, la sensibilisation et les compétences de l'enseignant sont des éléments cruciaux; la réflexion et la conscience de soi sont perçues comme les fondements indispensables à la résistance professionnelle et au sentiment d'appartenance.

Le programme d'études est le thème central du groupe d'articles qui suit. On y jette un regard nouveau sur l'enseignement des sciences, celui des arts langagiers, le perfectionnement personnel et social et l'enseignement de l'histoire. Le premier article porte sur la formation des futurs professeurs de sciences (C. LeMaistre, J. Hanrahan et J. Rebuffot). Il révèle de quelle façon la collaboration interfacultaire peut briser les obstacles et être bénéfique aux étudiants et à leur apprentissage. Le deuxième article décrit un projet de rédaction qui réunit les élèves, l'école et la collectivité au coeur d'un quartier défavorisé (Herb Katz et Ken McCluskey). En encourageant les étudiants à écrire avec des membres de leur famille et à célébrer leur univers, ce projet les aide à acquérir de la force et de la confiance dans l'école. Le troisième article est une étude de l'enfance, déclenchée par des réflexions sur une « pochette » du programme qui met en garde les enfants contre les étrangers (Karyn Cooper). Ce texte nous rappelle que nous omettons souvent de tenir compte de l'effet des interventions des adultes sur l'imagination d'un enfant. Le quatrième article est une étude d'un musée virtuel; il examine ce qu'offre le programme d'histoire dans deux provinces canadiennes (Maryse Paquin). Le cinquième (qui traite à nouveau d'histoire) étudie les

moyens d'obtenir la participation plus directe et plus profonde des élèves à la « matière première » de la réflexion historique, et aux documents d'une époque révolue (Ruth W. Sandwell).

Dans tous ces textes, les auteurs parlent d'après la riche expérience qu'ils possèdent des élèves et du programme d'études. Les auteurs travaillent ou ont rédigé ces articles dans quatre régions différentes du Canada : le Québec, l'Ontario, le Manitoba et la Colombie-Britannique. Leurs contextes sont variés, mais certains de leurs objectifs dans l'élaboration du programme d'études sont identiques. Les notions qui reviennent régulièrement dans ces articles sont le besoin d'un solide corpus de connaissances, d'un dialogue, de l'élimination des stéréotypes, de la motivation, de la participation, de l'intuition et de l'empathie. À l'instar du premier groupe d'articles qui portent sur les enseignants et sur leur perfectionnement professionnel, ces cinq autres offrent un ensemble important de points de vue qui nous invitent à avancer de manière réfléchie, en regroupant le meilleur de ce que le passé à offert et la promesse de ce que l'on peut escompter.

A.B.

POUR LA PROFESSION ENSEIGNANTE, QUEL IDÉAL DE SERVICE?

CÉCILE LAROCQUE *Université Laurentienne*

RÉSUMÉ. Cet article propose un modèle professionnel dans lequel l'enseignement scolaire se caractérise par le service qu'il rend à l'élève dans son accomplissement comme personne morale. La première partie analyse l'éthique sous-jacente à trois modèles professionnels du XX^e siècle : les modèles de mission sociale, de thérapie et des affaires. La deuxième partie propose un modèle professionnel inspiré de la pensée personnaliste. L'ensemble de cet article répond à une question fondamentale: Quel idéal de service ou quelle éthique convient à la profession enseignante?

WHAT IS THE IDEAL OF SERVICE FOR THE TEACHING PROFESSION?

ABSTRACT. This article proposes a model of teaching as a professional activity characterized by the service it provides for the student in his or her development as a moral person. The first section analyses the ethical bases of three twentieth-century models of the profession: the social model, the therapy model and the business model. The second section proposes a professional model centered on the person. This article answers a fundamental question: what ideal of service or set of ethics is appropriate for the teaching profession?

Le débat actuel que suscitent les professions, en tant que modèles d'organisation du travail, constitue un sujet d'intérêt majeur autant pour le monde de la recherche qui tente de cerner la nature d'une profession que pour un bon nombre d'occupations qui aspirent au statut professionnel. Cet intérêt se manifeste particulièrement dans le mouvement de professionnalisation de l'enseignement scolaire. Au Canada, deux provinces ont déjà accordé le statut juridique de profession à l'enseignement, la Colombie-Britannique en 1988 et l'Ontario en 1996. Parmi les tâches qui relèvent maintenant de ces nouveaux ordres professionnels se trouve celle de formuler une éthique professionnelle. Cette éthique devra comprendre certains éléments d'ordre déontologique, par exemple des normes, des devoirs et des responsabilités et certains autres d'ordre rationnel et axiologique, par exemple, des principes, des convictions, des finalités et des valeurs dont le rôle est double : indiquer la source des impératifs et contribuer à donner un sens et une direction au travail des membres de la corporation (Campbell,

1999; Gohier, 1999). La prise en compte de tous ces éléments est nécessaire pour que l'éthique de l'enseignement ne soit pas seulement un outil pour réglementer les membres, mais également un guide qui aide les professionnels à prendre des décisions dans la ligne de la spécificité de leur travail. Or, au dire de plusieurs auteurs, dont Giroux (1999), Goodlad (1990) et Lessard (1999), l'enseignement se distingue des autres occupations par le service qu'il rend à l'élève dans son accomplissement comme personne morale. On peut alors se demander en quoi et jusqu'où l'idéal de service qui a inspiré et guidé le travail des enseignantes et des enseignants depuis environ un siècle a respecté cette priorité. Une façon de le découvrir est d'analyser l'idéal éthique sous-jacent à divers modèles d'éducation.

L'objet de cet article est double : d'une part, découvrir l'idéal éthique qui a orienté l'enseignement au vingtième siècle, et d'autre part, proposer un idéal de service dans lequel la personne peut y occuper la place centrale. La première partie met au jour certains éléments de l'éthique sous-jacente à trois modèles professionnels : les modèles de mission sociale, de thérapie et des affaires. L'analyse porte d'abord sur les finalités éducatives qui ont orienté l'éducation dans les milieux scolaires inspirés de ces modèles. Un examen des devoirs, des responsabilités et des valeurs rattachés à chacun de ces contextes permet ensuite de rendre compte de deux éléments, qui selon Volant (1985, p. 9-10) sont constitutifs de toute réflexion morale : l'aspect impératif et l'aspect évaluatif. L'analyse de chaque modèle se conclut par une évaluation de l'idéal de service en regard de l'accomplissement humain et de l'œuvre de l'enseignement scolaire.

La deuxième partie présente un modèle éthique inspiré de la pensée personnaliste et suit la même démarche d'analyse que celle des trois modèles précédents. L'ensemble de cette étude ouvre des pistes à poursuivre en vue de la formulation d'une éthique professionnelle capable d'inspirer, d'orienter et de soutenir le travail des enseignantes et des enseignants.¹

DES ÉTHIQUES PROFESSIONNELLES

L'éthique de mission sociale

Un premier idéal de service s'inscrit dans un modèle de mission sociale enraciné soit dans une pensée séculière, soit dans une pensée religieuse. Dans ce modèle qui a dominé le milieu scolaire jusque vers 1960, on accorde beaucoup d'importance aux dimensions rationnelles et sociales de l'être humain. L'école a alors le mandat d'imprimer chez l'élève tout ce dont il a besoin pour s'adapter au milieu dans lequel il est destiné à vivre. L'éducation scolaire est une œuvre foncièrement sociale dans laquelle le personnel enseignant doit amener l'élève à agir dans la ligne des intérêts de la collectivité. Le 'maître' exerce son autorité en misant sur l'ascendant naturel

que lui confèrent son expérience, sa culture et la dignité de sa mission. En somme, dans un système d'éducation qui se pense et s'organise à partir d'une morale sociale, on vise à former des citoyens réalistes, disciplinés et bien intégrés à la société civile ou religieuse. (Durkheim, 1966, p. 41-66)

Pour atteindre ces finalités, la société confie aux enseignantes et aux enseignants deux responsabilités principales : enseigner et faire l'éducation morale de l'élève. Le personnel enseignant doit transmettre à l'élève les connaissances héritées des générations précédentes tout en l'exhortant à accomplir son devoir, à rechercher le bien commun et à développer le sens de la discipline. Il doit aussi valoriser l'aspect raisonnable des règles et des lois de la société ainsi que l'attachement à divers groupes sociaux, en particulier, à l'État et à la patrie. L'aspect impératif du modèle de mission sociale peut se résumer dans le devoir accompli mais tel que le dictent la tradition et les règles sociales.

La dimension évaluative de l'éthique sous-jacente au modèle de mission sociale découle naturellement des fondements rationnels et de la conception du devoir. Dans ce contexte, on évalue la bonne conduite à la lumière des valeurs de soumission, de solidarité, de dévouement, d'appartenance, de dépassement et de maîtrise de soi. Inversement, la concurrence, le déchaînement des appétits individuels, l'absence de règles précises, le manque de conscience commune et d'autorité morale au-dessus des intérêts particuliers définissent la mauvaise conduite. L'élève ou le citoyen qui s'attire des louanges est celui qui réussit à s'approprier les connaissances et les habitudes des générations précédentes et qui vit en conformité avec ce que la société reconnaît comme conduite idéale.

En quoi, et jusqu'où l'idéal du modèle de mission sociale est-il prometteur comme fondement d'une éthique professionnelle de l'enseignement scolaire? En d'autres mots, quels éléments de cet idéal de service méritent d'être retenus? Toute la valeur de l'éthique sous-jacente au modèle de mission sociale repose d'abord sur l'attention donnée à la dimension sociale de l'être humain avec tout ce que ça implique de dépassement de soi et d'attention aux intérêts collectifs. On ne peut nier que la survie des êtres humains dépend, en grande partie, de la création et de la conservation des liens entre individus et sociétés. Le souci de la formation morale est un deuxième élément à conserver. À une époque où les exigences minimales de la vie en société sont loin d'être respectées et où plus de la moitié de la population mondiale est privée du bien-être que devraient apporter la solidarité et le partage du bien commun, n'est-il pas nécessaire de retenir du modèle de mission sociale les éléments éthiques qui permettent d'entrevoir l'enseignement non seulement comme un projet social mais aussi comme une œuvre à caractère moral?

Cette contribution n'annule cependant pas les faiblesses d'une morale sociale à tendance rationnelle, conformiste et légaliste. Peut-on affirmer qu'un acte est bon simplement parce qu'il est conforme aux idées, aux valeurs et aux idéaux des générations précédentes ou de la norme sociale? L'histoire a démontré que des décisions prises au nom du seul respect de la loi religieuse ou civile peuvent aller à l'encontre du respect des libertés et des droits inhérents à la dignité humaine. On n'a qu'à penser à l'esclavage, à l'exclusion des femmes dans plusieurs secteurs de travail, au régime d'apartheid et aux génocides. Le respect de la loi ne peut donc pas être considéré comme sommet de l'accomplissement humain. Une autre faiblesse se trouve dans le fait de réduire la personne à sa dimension sociale, donc de ne pas la considérer comme un être unique, avec des besoins et des droits individuels. De plus, la seule attention aux faits sociologiques et à l'intelligence rationnelle ne rend pas compte de toutes les capacités humaines, entre autres, de la créativité et de la sensibilité qui sont pourtant nécessaires pour accomplir un être humain et pour humaniser le monde. En résumé, à cause de sa tendance à subordonner le bien de l'individu au bien collectif, à cause du monopole de la pensée rationnelle, à cause de son éthique légaliste et de sa propension à contrôler les gens, l'idéal de service du modèle de mission sociale ne peut pas être considéré comme entièrement convenable à une profession comme l'enseignement scolaire.

L'éthique thérapeutique

Au cours des années 1970, un deuxième modèle d'éducation se met en place à la lumière des psychologies du *Human Potential Movement* dans lesquelles la voix de Carl Rogers domine. Après avoir accordé beaucoup d'importance à la dimension sociale de l'être humain, le regard se porte maintenant sur l'individu : son unicité, son expérience, ses sentiments et ses droits. Le modèle rogorien de thérapie contient, implicitement et explicitement, des principes, des finalités, des normes, des valeurs, des manières d'être et de faire qui, pris ensemble, forment une perspective éthique.

La transposition du modèle thérapeutique dans le monde scolaire a donné naissance à l'école centrée sur l'apprenant et à la pédagogie non-directive. Selon Rogers (1969), l'école du vingtième siècle doit créer des conditions qui aident les individus à vivre de façon créative dans un monde de changements continus (p. 126 et p. 304). À la tête de ces conditions se trouvent l'apprentissage auto-déterminé et la non-directivité. Un enseignant qui s'inspire de l'idéal de service de ce modèle a de nombreux apprentissages à faire et de nouvelles responsabilités à assumer. Il doit se mettre à l'écoute des intérêts des élèves, se décentrer des contenus disciplinaires, privilégier l'apprentissage par expérience directe, faire usage des techniques du reflet positif et de l'écoute active, intervenir le moins possible au niveau des

valeurs et des croyances des apprenants et créer un climat chaleureux d'apprentissage. De plus, il a à s'initier à de nouveaux rôles, ceux de facilitateur, de catalyseur et de personne ressource, tout en laissant aux apprenants la responsabilité de l'évaluation des apprentissages. Ces nouvelles orientations éducatives découlent de la conviction que l'apprenant d'âge scolaire, tout comme le client adulte, possède en lui-même tout ce dont il a besoin pour se développer pleinement (Rogers, 1969, p. 103-127; 1972, p. 24, 74. 86).

En quoi l'idéal de service du modèle thérapeutique convient-il à la profession enseignante? Ce modèle a comme mérite principal de prendre comme point de départ et comme appui constant la confiance dans les capacités positives de l'élève. C'est ce qui explique que l'enseignant ne fasse plus appel à l'impératif des lois et des règles sociales pour engager l'élève dans son apprentissage mais plutôt à son sens interne du bien, au « moi profond » non contaminé par les règles externes. (Roger & Kinget, 1976, p. 28, 30, 294). En somme, l'approche rogérienne reconnaît le statut unique de l'élève ainsi que la valeur éducative d'un climat d'apprentissage fondé sur le dialogue et la bienveillance interindividuelle. Pour élaborer une éthique de l'enseignement, il nous apparaît pertinent de maintenir la place réservée à l'élève dans l'appropriation de son propre développement, le respect de l'individualité et la reconnaissance de la dimension affective de l'être humain.

Cependant, le modèle de thérapie comporte certaines limites en regard du développement humain et de l'œuvre de l'enseignement scolaire. D'abord, étant donné que le postulat principal est celui de la bonté naturelle, on perd de vue que, parmi les capacités humaines, certaines sont destructives. Comment ignorer que parmi les instincts naturels, certains sont à l'origine des conflits les plus sanglants? Ensuite, même s'il est exact d'affirmer que le premier pas vers la liberté est la libération des forces externes, l'être humain, une fois libéré, veut être libre en vue d'un but à poursuivre. On ne peut donc pas réduire la notion de liberté à celle de la libération des contraintes et des règles sociales. Enfin, la suprématie de l'expérience individuelle, de l'affectivité et de la subjectivité dans l'évaluation de la conduite morale indique un profond mépris des savoirs objectifs ainsi qu'une grande méfiance à l'égard de tout ce qui vient de l'extérieur – les apports de la culture, les modèles et les figures d'autorité – qui sont pourtant nécessaires pour le développement de la liberté humaine. En somme, l'idéal de service du modèle thérapeutique a le mérite de respecter l'élève dans sa valeur en tant qu'individu mais en même temps, il a les limites de présenter une conception profondément atomique de l'être humain, à savoir, l'individu considéré uniquement en tant qu'unité indépendante, sans lien vital avec les autres et la société. L'enseignement scolaire ne peut donc pas élaborer son éthique professionnelle en se basant uniquement sur la notion de service du modèle thérapeutique.

L'éthique des affaires

Nul ne peut nier que depuis environ une décennie, les principes, les normes et les valeurs du monde des affaires - efficacité, rentabilité, spécialisation, performance, redevabilité – font de plus en plus partie des schèmes de référence des gouvernements, des ministères de l'Éducation et par conséquent du milieu scolaire. Quelques exemples tirés du rapport de 1998-1999 du ministre de l'Éducation de l'Ontario confirment cette influence. Dans ce texte, le Ministre réfère à l'éducation scolaire comme « passeport pour l'emploi », il parle de « fournisseurs et de clients », il insiste sur la pertinence « des résultats mesurables » et des « indicateurs précis de rendement », il établit des liens entre performance et financement, il promet des octrois spéciaux pour les élèves qui s'inscrivent à des programmes d'informatique ou de génie, il annonce des examens provinciaux qui seront suivis d'un « plan de redressement » pour les institutions dont les résultats sont en-deçà de la norme provinciale. Comme le souligne plusieurs auteurs, il est difficile de ne pas reconnaître dans ce vocabulaire et ces pratiques une conception mécanique de l'éducation, une pédagogie inspirée de l'ingénierie (Hlebowitsh, 1990; Raphaël, 1993; Runté, 1998) et une « culture managériale qui prétend allier flexibilité et autonomie à une totale soumission aux règles de la compétitivité et du rendement » (Lessard et Tardif, 2000, p. 9).

Dans le modèle des affaires, l'école est surtout au service des objectifs économiques d'un pays ou de groupes qui détiennent le pouvoir économique ou politique. Son mandat consiste à préparer une main d'oeuvre capable de répondre aux nouvelles exigences de la mondialisation des marchés, en particulier dans les secteurs qui requièrent une spécialisation en science, en économie et en technologie. L'éducation est perçue comme une *marchandise* au même titre que les autres biens et services du monde de la production et de la consommation. Elle doit donc remplir les mêmes exigences : répondre aux besoins de la clientèle, rendre les biens attrayants et facilement accessibles et garantir aux contribuables un « produit » digne de leur « investissement ». Lorsque l'école ne répond pas à ces exigences il arrive que des organismes locaux ou gouvernementaux fassent appel à des sociétés privées pour répondre aux demandes de publics ciblés. Les écoles à charte (*Charter Schools*), le *Edison Project* aux États-Unis, les zones d'action scolaires en Angleterre, les réductions d'impôts accordées aux parents ontariens qui choisissent l'école privée pour leurs enfants, les promesses de financement de certaines compagnies lorsque les écoles s'engagent à faire la promotion exclusive de leurs produits et services : autant d'exemples de commercialisation de l'éducation.

Jusqu'à quel point ces finalités, ces normes et ces valeurs peuvent-elles inspirer l'éthique de l'enseignement scolaire? D'une part, la place accordée aux connaissances scientifiques et aux technologies de l'information et de

la communication sont indispensables pour solutionner les nombreux problèmes qui menacent la qualité de vie de la planète et de ses habitants, entre autres, maladies et pauvretés de toutes sortes, pollution de l'environnement, menaces biochimiques et nucléaires. D'autre part, l'exigence de l'imputabilité des décisions, l'impératif d'une formation initiale de haut niveau, le souci de rapprocher l'école du monde du travail sont des aspects qui peuvent enrichir la qualité du service de l'enseignement scolaire.

Malgré ces avantages, l'éthique des affaires contient des éléments qui ne conviennent pas à l'enseignement. En comparant les buts, les méthodes et les normes d'excellence du monde des affaires (*market model*) à ceux de l'éducation, McMurtry (1991, p. 212-214; 1998, p. 178-192) rappelle que le but primordial des gens d'affaires est la maximalisation du profit alors que le but premier des enseignants est la promotion et le partage du savoir. Alors que l'enseignement privilégie les méthodes qui aident l'élève à devenir un apprenant autonome, le milieu des affaires exploite les méthodes qui maintiennent et augmentent la dépendance des clients par rapport aux biens et services offerts. Alors qu'en affaires, la mesure de l'excellence est le nombre de ventes ou le nombre de produits qui réussissent à passer le test de « zéro défaut », en éducation, la réussite scolaire dépend de facteurs variés, entre autres, du degré d'engagement de l'élève dans son apprentissage, de sa capacité de jugement critique et de la façon de comprendre et de vivre l'échec. En parlant du risque inhérent à tout projet éducatif, Reboul (1980) rappelle que l'erreur ou l'essai actif est « le plus sûr moyen de comprendre les causes de l'erreur et d'éviter qu'elle ne survienne trop tard, une fois l'apprentissage terminé » (p. 65). Une mesure d'excellence qui se fonde uniquement sur les conséquences des actions n'est donc pas suffisante pour guider les choix éthiques d'un travail qui s'exerce non sur des objets mais avec des personnes qui ont la capacité tout autant de contrer l'influence des interventions éducatives que de tirer parti de leurs erreurs.

Au dire de Lessard et Tardif (2000, p. 9-11), un système d'éducation qui s'accommode trop facilement de la logique du marché risque de faire perdre à l'éducation sa visée de service public, de durcir la mentalité de consommation qui est déjà très présente dans le milieu scolaire, d'augmenter le climat de compétitivité entre les institutions scolaires et de nuire à la démocratisation du savoir et à l'égalité des chances de tous. Echegoyen (1991) va jusqu'à dire qu'un milieu inspiré d'une éthique utilitariste comme celle du modèle des affaires, ne favorise pas une conduite morale. Pour être qualifiée de morale, une action doit apparaître comme un *impératif catégorique* et non comme un *impératif hypothétique* (p. 78). En d'autres mots, alors que le milieu des affaires tient compte de l'intelligence d'une situation, des avantages pour soi et pour les autres, des circonstances de temps et de lieux, la conduite morale commande simplement parce qu'en conscience, c'est la

chose à faire. Elle est une « nécessité qui s'impose, elle est sacrée, c'est-à-dire inviolable » (Etchegoyen, 1991, p. 91). On rejoint ici l'impératif kantien : « Agis de telle sorte que tu traites l'humanité aussi bien dans ta personne que dans la personne de tout autre toujours en même temps comme une fin, et jamais simplement comme un moyen » (Kant, 1994, p. 150). Au dire d'Etchegoyen (1991, p. 77-85), lorsque les chefs d'entreprise gèrent leur entreprise en se basant sur d'autres valeurs que celles de la rentabilité et de l'efficacité, c'est parce qu'ils ont découvert jusqu'à quel point *Ethics pay*. À cause de l'instrumentalisme moral rattaché à l'éthique des affaires, il n'est donc pas approprié de l'adopter telle quelle pour inspirer l'enseignement.

L'examen de l'éthique sous-jacente à trois modèles professionnels nous porte à conclure qu'aucun modèle n'offre un idéal de service entièrement convenable à une profession dont la mission première est la poursuite du bien de la personne en elle-même et pour elle-même (Larocque, 2000). Il faut donc chercher un modèle dans lequel il est possible de vivre une éthique de niveau plus élevé que celle qu'offre la morale sociale, individualiste ou utilitariste. Ne faudrait-il pas enraciner l'éthique de l'enseignement dans une pensée où le service à la personne occupe la première place?

Une éthique inspirée de la pensée personnaliste

La philosophie personnaliste a la particularité d'accorder à la personne une importance capitale dans sa réflexion. Or, le concept de *personne* varie selon le sens donné par un auteur et selon son contexte d'insertion. Dans le cadre de cette étude, nous prenons comme référence principale la philosophie personnaliste et communautaire de Mounier (1905-1950) tout en faisant appel à des auteurs contemporains qui misent sur la richesse du concept de *personne* pour repenser l'éducation et la formation de personnes dans le contexte culturel actuel, en particulier Giroux (1993a, 1995a, 1998, 1999b), Reboul (1992) et Taylor (1991, 1998). La pensée de ces philosophes offre des éclairages significatifs pour préciser l'idéal de service qui relève de l'enseignement scolaire.

Au cours des années 1940, Mounier dénonce deux obstacles à l'accomplissement de la personne : le collectivisme et l'individualisme. Selon lui, le collectivisme, qui se manifeste surtout dans les régimes politiques totalitaires et dans les mouvements de masse, dépersonnalise les rapports humains et enlève à la personne la possibilité d'apporter sa contribution à la construction du monde. Quant à l'individualisme, qui est une conséquence du libéralisme et du capitalisme, il coupe l'être humain des liens interpersonnels ou culturels dont il a besoin pour devenir une personne et il le soumet au primat de la production et du profit. À ces visions partielles et déformantes de l'être humain, Mounier (1961) propose la notion de « personne » comme synthèse de l'individualité et de l'universalité, et la

notion de « communauté » comme projet commun, choisi en commun, en vue du bien commun à réaliser (I, p. 523-528).

Il faut, dit Mounier, arrêter de penser l'existence humaine en termes de dualisme ou de dichotomie - d'une part, la matière, d'autre part, l'esprit -, d'une part, l'individu, d'autre part, le groupe -, pour concevoir l'être humain accompli dans la perspective de l'union de deux principes contradictoires mais complémentaires : l'individuel et l'universel. Par sa dimension individuelle - les caractéristiques physiques, les traits de caractère -, l'être humain se distingue des autres espèces vivantes, tout en partageant avec elles les limites d'un être incarné dans le temps, l'espace, l'environnement, l'histoire. Par sa dimension universelle, l'être humain peut s'ouvrir à autrui et au monde et graduellement poser tous les actes que supposent l'intelligence et la liberté : penser par soi-même, juger de la valeur des choses et des actions possibles, choisir, agir et répondre de ses choix et de ses actions. En d'autres mots, seul l'être humain a la capacité de devenir une personne, c'est-à-dire, un « sujet agissant comme un centre d'orientation des objets de l'univers » à la lumière de ce qui représente pour lui un idéal d'accomplissement humain (Mounier, 1962, III, p. 438).

Dans la pensée de Mounier (1962), la notion de *personne* est inséparable de la notion de *communauté*, « l'expérience fondamentale de la personne n'étant pas l'originalité, le quant à soi, l'affirmation solitaire, la séparation, mais la communication » (III, p. 451). Il définit la communauté comme un regroupement de personnes ou un rassemblement de sujets lucides et responsables, dans lequel chaque personne est respectée pour elle-même et appréciée pour sa contribution unique et irremplaçable dans un projet commun. Elle est l'opposé des agrégats sociaux ou des masses sans visage. L'exigence de la création d'une « communauté de personnes » réaffirme la nécessité d'établir des liens interpersonnels et non seulement des liens juridiques, interindividuels, sociaux ou économiques comme le prônent les modèles de mission sociale, de thérapie ou des affaires.

Pour Mounier, (1961), le but premier de l'éducation scolaire ne peut pas être de « faire, mais d'éveiller des personnes et de les rendre capables de vivre et de s'engager comme des personnes » (I, p. 550). Mais parce qu'un être humain est aussi un « esprit incorporé » l'enseignement doit également préparer l'élève à exercer un métier ou une profession. Ce but garde toute son importance mais en autant qu'il demeure second et en autant que l'école reste attentive à former des citoyens et des travailleurs éveillés, conscients de leurs obligations et de leurs responsabilités dans la société et dans le monde. Dans la vision personnaliste, le travail est une œuvre de création et de libération qui construit le monde, l'enrichit de valeurs, rapproche les personnes les unes des autres et, en même temps, leur permet de « se faire tout en façonnant la réalité de l'histoire » (Mounier, 1961, I, p. 637).

L'enseignement pourrait alors être entrevu comme une œuvre de création et de libération des personnes dont le premier service consisterait à éveiller et à développer, dans les individus, tout ce qui peut les aider à devenir pleinement des personnes.

Si ces finalités et ces fondements conviennent à l'enseignement scolaire, quels principes, quelles responsabilités et quelles valeurs devraient faire partie de l'éthique professionnelle de l'enseignement? Le premier principe est celui de l'édification de la personne. Précisions d'abord ce que recouvre le concept de *personne* dans le contexte personnaliste. Dans un article où Giroux (1999 b, p. 246-257) pose la question « Qu'est-ce donc que devenir une personne ? », elle répond en présentant trois niveaux d'existence humaine : le niveau de la personne-sujet, le niveau de la personne juridique et le niveau de la personne morale. Au premier niveau, un individu, après avoir établi une différence et une distance entre lui-même et le milieu nourricier, apprend à penser, à parler et à agir à partir de sa propre pensée de même qu'à reconnaître les autres à qui il parle comme d'autres sujets semblables à lui mais différents de lui. Taylor (1991) dirait que cet individu apprend à reconnaître sa « structure dialogique » (1991, p. 33) et qu'il est en train de devenir un « agent humain » (1998, p. 9). Au deuxième niveau, l'individu devient un sujet de droit. Il découvre qu'il a des droits civils mais aussi des responsabilités envers la société. Il apprend à faire sa part dans l'organisation de la vie familiale et scolaire et graduellement assume des responsabilités dans la vie publique, au travail, dans les activités sociales ou politiques. Au troisième niveau, l'individu se pose des questions qui relèvent du sens de son existence. Il s'interroge sur ce qui constitue une vie riche, signifiante, vide ou honorable et il s'ouvre à des aspirations humaines fondamentales et à des biens supérieurs, comme la générosité, l'ouverture à autrui et l'idéal de vie bonne. Au dire de Taylor (1998), la personne qui s'intéresse à ce genre de questions et de biens agit à titre de sujet éthique (p. 64-65). Une éthique professionnelle inspirée de la pensée personnaliste poserait donc comme premier devoir le respect du mode progressif d'accomplissement humain, ce qui implique d'aider l'élève à accéder au statut de sujet, de sujet de droit et de sujet éthique.

Cette vision de la personne implique que l'activité enseignante se pense et se structure en fonction du développement de deux capacités typiquement humaines : la pensée autonome et le jugement moral. Comme le rappelle Mounier (1962), la pensée autonome n'est pas le résultat d'un « entassement de savoirs », ni l'application de « techniques intellectuelles » (III, p. 522-523); elle ne se construit qu'à l'intérieur d'échanges entre humains et compte tenu de certaines capacités et d'un processus de développement physique, intellectuel, affectif, social et moral. Un personnel enseignant qui veut que l'élève pense par lui-même et pour lui-même tient compte de ces conditions. Il aide d'abord l'élève à percevoir les choses, les personnes et les

événements à partir de son propre point de vue. Puis, au fur et à mesure que son champ de compréhension s'élargit, il l'amène à faire des liens entre les différentes disciplines du savoir, à s'approprier les connaissances et à leur donner un sens personnel. Convaincu que la pensée autonome se conjugue avec la pensée critique, il invite l'élève à fonder ses jugements sur des savoirs objectifs et sur ce qui est important à ses yeux. Il lui demande aussi de juger ses propres travaux, donc de les apprécier ou de les critiquer, ce qui ne diminue en rien sa responsabilité d'évaluateur. En somme, dans toutes ses interventions, il provoque la pensée personnelle de l'élève afin qu'il en vienne à vouloir apprendre par lui-même et à enrichir le savoir hérité des générations précédentes.

Quant au jugement moral juste et responsable, il se développe au même rythme que la pensée autonome mais en regard d'un idéal de vie bonne. L'enseignant soucieux de sa responsabilité dans ce domaine sait que les lumières de la raison ne suffisent pas pour garantir l'excellence de la vie morale (Giroux, 1998, p.79) C'est pourquoi, il fait aussi appel aux ressources de l'imagination et de l'affectivité, par exemple, en ce qui concerne la justice, il ne se contente pas de présenter la notion de justice; il profite de toutes les occasions pour sensibiliser l'élève à l'injustice, pour lui donner le goût d'être juste et pour cultiver ce sentiment envers toute personne. Comme le dit Mounier (1961), les enseignants doivent avoir le souci d'ouvrir la pensée et le cœur sur l'universel, donc sur l'humanité entière (I, p. 166, p. 195, p. 208, p. 453). Enfin, l'enseignant inspirée d'une éthique personnaliste suscite une réflexion à partir de questions proprement morales comme : Suis-je satisfait de la sorte d'être humain que je suis et que je deviens par mes actes; suis-je satisfait de la sorte de personne que j'aide à édifier; suis-je satisfait de la sorte de monde que je suis en train de construire? L'inclusion de ce genre de questions dans la planification des activités pédagogiques est un indice non équivoque de l'importance accordée au développement du jugement moral et de l'éducation affective.

Quelles seraient les valeurs à inclure dans une vision personnaliste de l'enseignement? En plus des valeurs qui se rattachent à la formation de la pensée autonome et du jugement moral de l'élève – l'éveil et le développement de la pensée juste, du jugement critique, de la sensibilité, de l'imagination, de la créativité, de la responsabilité, du sens de la communauté et de l'ouverture à l'universel –, deux autres valeurs qui relèvent de la nature relationnelle de l'acte d'enseigner doivent faire partie de l'éthique de la profession enseignante : le respect des personnes et l'affection de bienveillance.

Étant donné que le travail de l'enseignement s'exerce auprès de mineurs, – des jeunes de quatre à seize ans –, les élèves sont placés dans une situation de vulnérabilité par rapport à des adultes qui eux, sont dans une position de

pouvoir et d'autorité. C'est pourquoi, des pratiques comme la violence, la manipulation, le sarcasme, l'intimidation, le mépris, le favoritisme, le chantage affectif sont considérés par Reboul (1992, p. 232-240) comme des actes sacrilèges, ceux-ci ne respectant pas le caractère sacré de chaque personne. La *Déclaration des droits de l'enfant* adoptée en 1959 par l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies (ONU) rappelle, avec raison, que l'enfant comme l'adulte doit être considéré comme un « ayant droit » au respect de façon inconditionnelle, c'est-à-dire respecté pour lui-même et en lui-même, indépendamment de son âge, de son sexe, de sa race, de ses capacités, de ses limites, de son milieu social et de son comportement.

Le droit au respect inconditionnel exige de donner à l'élève la première place dans le processus d'apprentissage, c'est-à-dire de le reconnaître comme sujet et premier agent de son apprentissage. L'enseignant aussi est important mais comme agent second, c'est-à-dire comme intendant du savoir et comme guide adulte capable de juger quand et jusqu'où soutenir et interpeller l'apprenant. Le respect de l'élève exige également de parler à l'élève d'une certaine manière, pour des raisons spécifiques et seulement en présence de certaines personnes et dans des lieux déterminés, bref, le sens de la confidentialité.

Une dernière valeur à inclure dans l'idéal de service de l'enseignement est l'affection de bienveillance, une valeur que plusieurs enseignants traduisent par l'expression « aimer les élèves ». Mais que recouvrent ces mots? Le mot « affection » évoque un attachement chaleureux tandis que le mot « bienveillance » implique de tout mettre en œuvre pour réaliser le bien d'autrui. Ce type d'affection se caractérise, en premier lieu par un attachement libre de tout intérêt individuel. En plus, cette affection doit s'accompagner de bienfaisance, c'est-à-dire d'un faire orienté vers ce qui constitue un bien pour l'autre. L'affection de bienveillance comprend deux dimensions : une dimension positive et une dimension négative. Agir à la lumière de la dimension négative, c'est se limiter à ne pas nuire à autrui tandis qu'agir en s'inspirant de la dimension positive, c'est intervenir pour supprimer ou atténuer un mal ou pour augmenter un bien (Auroux, 1989, p. 235). On trouve des éléments de la dimension négative de la bienveillance dans les codes de déontologie, par exemple dans le règlement 437 de *La faute professionnelle* qui régit la profession enseignante en Ontario, un document légal qui prescrit les devoirs minimaux des enseignantes et des enseignants. Quant à la dimension positive, elle ne peut pas faire l'objet d'un devoir juridique. Elle relève d'un devoir moral, en d'autres mots de principes éthiques qui font appel à l'intégrité du jugement des professionnels, à leur sens du service, à leur capacité de s'engager de façon responsable, bref, à leur professionnalisme. Dans leur ensemble, les principes, les devoirs et les valeurs qui inspirent l'enseignement doivent tracer un idéal éthique qui

permet de protéger, de rechercher et de promouvoir le plus grand bien du système scolaire : l'élève lui-même.

Au terme de cette étude, on peut maintenant se demander quel idéal éthique convient le mieux à l'enseignement scolaire? Dans la première partie de cet article, l'analyse des modèles de mission sociale, de thérapie et des affaires a mis au jour certains éléments éthiques qui méritent d'être retenus et d'autres qui ne sauraient convenir à une profession qui vise l'accomplissement de l'élève comme *personne*. Bien que le modèle de mission sociale favorise le développement d'une dimension essentielle à l'accomplissement humain – la dimension sociale –, il risque de favoriser le développement de l'être social au détriment de la formation du jugement et du respect de l'individualité. On pourrait croire que le modèle thérapeutique se soucie de toutes les composantes de la personne, un des livres de Rogers (1972) ayant justement pour titre *Le développement de la personne*. Pourtant, l'examen des postulats sous-jacents à cette approche a révélé que le terme *personne* réfère presque exclusivement au premier niveau du développement humain, c'est-à-dire au niveau individuel. Bien qu'en éducation, la reconnaissance de l'élève comme sujet et agent de son apprentissage constitue un postulat éthique indispensable, en soustrayant l'élève de toute évaluation externe, on l'enferme sur lui-même et on le prive de l'expérience et des savoirs hérités des générations précédents. En outre, le modèle thérapeutique fait de l'enseignement un métier sans savoirs particuliers, le recours au sentiment intérieur étant perçu comme un guide plus fiable que la délibération rationnelle (Gauthier et alii, 1997, p. 15). Enfin, l'analyse du modèle du monde des affaires a mis en évidence que certains aspects définitoires de l'activité commerciale sont irréconciliables avec l'enseignement. C'est le cas des fins poursuivies, des motivations des personnes, des méthodes et des normes par lesquelles on juge de l'excellence des résultats de l'activité d'enseignement. Bref, l'analyse de ces modèles a démontré que les morales qui prennent comme point de départ et point d'arrivée uniquement les normes et les valeurs sociales, les exigences individuelles ou les objectifs de production et de vente de biens et de services, ne peut pas convenir à un travail qui vise avant tout le développement de l'élève comme *personne* morale.

Dans la deuxième partie, la pensée de Mounier a été choisie comme toile de fond pour corriger et compléter les conceptions incomplètes de la personne des trois premiers modèles. La présentation des finalités éducatives, des responsabilités et des valeurs de ce nouveau modèle a démontré que l'éthique personnaliste trace un horizon à l'intérieur duquel l'élève peut se développer non seulement comme individu, citoyen ou producteur mais également comme personne lucide, sensible, responsable, ouverte aux autres et à l'ensemble de l'humanité. L'idéal de service de ce modèle offrirait alors à l'élève la possibilité de s'accomplir pleinement comme personne tout en

contribuant à humaniser notre monde et à faire reconnaître la spécificité de la profession de l'enseignement.

REMERCIEMENT

Je veux exprimer ma reconnaissance à Aline Giroux qui, depuis 1995, m'a guidée dans l'approfondissement des questions éthiques et professionnelles pour l'enseignement scolaire.

NOTE

1. Pour une étude approfondie de l'idéal de service prôné dans les modèles de mission sociale, de thérapie, des affaires et de métier, on peut consulter : Larocque, Cécile, N. (2000). *La professionnalisation de l'enseignement scolaire. Une perspective éthique*. Thèse de doctorat. Université d'Ottawa. Ottawa.

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ENHANCING MENTORSHIP IN THE PRACTICUM: IMPROVING CONTEXTUAL SUPERVISION

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ABSTRACT. This report describes a project that enacted recent changes to the implementation of the Contextual Supervision (CS) model with two cohorts of classroom cooperating teachers (CCTS) and their teacher-interns in an extended-practicum program in Western Canada. When compared to the results of previous research on CS, the findings from the current study reveal a distinct improvement in the appropriate matching of cooperating teachers' mentorship styles with their teacher-interns' skill-specific developmental levels in teaching. Reasons for this improvement are presented, and implications for practicum organizers are drawn.

**POUR FAVORISER LE MENTORAT DURANT LES STAGES PRATIQUES :
L'AMÉLIORATION DES SUPERVISIONS CONTEXTUELLES**

RÉSUMÉ. Cet article décrit la mise en place de récents changements dans l'implantation du modèle de supervision contextuelle (SC) auprès de deux groupes de maîtres associés et de leurs stagiaires lors d'un stage de longue durée dans l'ouest canadien. Lorsque les résultats de cette présente étude sont comparés aux recherches antérieures portant sur la supervision contextuelle, les conclusions révèlent une amélioration appréciable dans l'appariement du style de mentorat des maîtres associés et du degré de développement des habiletés pédagogiques du stagiaire. Les raisons de cette amélioration sont présentées ainsi que leurs implications dans la planification des stages pratiques.

A key component of pre-service teacher preparation is the extended-practicum, in which student-teachers engage in an "internship" experience within a school setting. The university teacher-educator and the classroom cooperating teacher (CCT) at the school site jointly fulfill the supervisory role in this practicum by assisting the pre-service teacher-intern in developing his/her professional knowledge and skills (Dalzell, 1997). A recurring problem that periodically arises during this supervisory process, however, is one of interpersonal conflict between the classroom cooperating teacher and the teacher-intern (Ralph, 2000). Although such difficulties are often rationalized as a "personality clash," an "irreconcilable difference," a "stubborn and intransigent position," or "plain ignorance" (Fullan & Miles, 1992;

Ralph, 1993a), a primary cause of such disagreements is a mismatch of the supervisor's leadership style with the protégé's developmental level (Ralph, 1993b, 2000).

This report describes an approach to supervision, the Contextual Supervision model, that can lead to a distinct improvement in the appropriate matching of cooperating teachers' mentorship styles with their teacher-interns' skill-specific developmental levels in teaching. The purpose is to present research evidence identifying how the gap or mismatch between mentors and protégés may be reduced, and by extension, to achieve two other goals: to improve mentorship of interns and thereby to see them develop professionally.

Some teacher educators have shown an aversion to using the term "supervision" (Glickman, 1992; Paris & Gespass, 2001) because of its possible negative connotation, and because the practice may have been misused or abused. Recently more fashionable terms have developed, such as "mentoring," "coaching," or facilitation." However I choose to sidestep this terminology controversy. At the core of all these terms is the same "apprenticeship process" rooted in the tenets of cognitive developmental psychology. This apprenticeship or internship model is based on the following three key assumptions undergirding the process of how beginning teachers construct their personal knowledge about the teaching/learning process (see, for example, Lave & Wenger, 1993; Vygotsky, 1978):

1. Novice teachers learn to teach by integrating the new experiences that they encounter in their practicum program with knowledge previously acquired in their campus coursework and prior life events.
2. This professional-development process occurs within a socio-cultural setting mediated by the more capable person(s) in the mentorship role, who assist(s) the supervisee's instructional development. The mentor does this by providing appropriate scaffolding (i.e., supervisory guidance and support) within the novice's existing task-specific zone of proximal development (i.e., the gap between the individual's actual and potential capacity to perform a particular instructional skill).
3. The ultimate goal of this supervisory process is for supervisors to move from a relatively structured and explicitly directive approach (when initially assisting neophytes in the profession) to one that would eventually become less directive. This adjustment of the supervisor's behaviour is made as supervisees develop their professional competencies, and as they gradually become less dependent on their mentor(s) and more self-evaluative of their own instructional performance.

I am therefore not uncomfortable with the term supervision for three reasons:

- (a) it has widespread usage
- (b) decrying it is demeaning to any individuals who have effectively and successfully participated in the supervisory process as it benefited all stakeholders
- (c) instructional supervision (or mentoring, or coaching) is a leadership process in which any educational professional, by virtue of his/her previous expertise and experiences, assists a less experienced or knowledgeable colleague in acquiring new professional knowledge/skills or to improve existing ones (Ralph, 2000, p.312).

The Contextual Supervision (CS) mentorship model has been developed, applied, and refined during the past several years in the extended practicum setting. CS has been found to achieve three aims: it assists supervisory personnel (i.e., both the college supervisors and the classroom cooperating teachers) in identifying and resolving the mismatching problem mentioned above; it thereby improves their mentorship effectiveness; and in turn it coaches preservice teachers more successfully to develop their professional skills and attributes (Ralph, 1998; 2000; Watt, 1998).

DESCRIPTION OF CS

I have defined Contextual Supervision (CS) as a developmental leadership model that is used by supervisors (i.e., experienced practitioners in either permanent or temporary mentoring roles) to promote the professional development (i.e., the acquisition or the improvement of job-related skills, tasks, and/or knowledge) of supervisees (i.e., protégés in this relationship whose goal is to learn and/or improve these professional skills or tasks Ralph, 1993b, 1996a, 1998, 2000, and 2001). The CS model, based on the original Situational Leadership approach (Hersey, 1985; Hersey & Blanchard, 1977), has been developed and refined during the past twelve years in the field of the supervision of instructional development. It has been used both with beginning pre-K to 12 teachers and their supervisors, and with novice instructors at the college and university level. (See Ralph, 1993b, 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1996-1997, 1998; Watt, 1998).

The CS process is *Contextual* because the mentoring relationship is affected by a complex web of factors unique to each mentorship setting, as represented by the outer border in Figure 1. These factors may be psychological, social, organizational, cultural, or a combination thereof. Many of these influences may not be ones that can be changed by the mentor nor the protégé; however, the only factor over which the supervisory participants *do* have direct control is their own behaviours in the relationship. For the supervisors, this factor is their mentorship or supervisory style, which consists of two key dimensions: their “task” response (i.e., a concern for the

technical performance aspect of learning or perfecting a particular skill); and the “support” response (i.e., a concern for the “human” or psycho/social/emotional component in the protégé’s learning). These two leadership dimensions have long been identified, described, and studied in the extensive research literature of management and organizational behaviour (Hersey & Blanchard, 1977; McShane, 2001; Robbins & Langton, 2002).

For the protégés, the key element over which they have most control in the supervisory context is their own skill-specific developmental level in performing the particular task being practised or learned. This developmental level consists of two dimensions: their level of “competence” (i.e., their actual ability to perform or apply the particular skill being practised) and their level of “confidence” (i.e., the degree of self-assurance, composure, and feeling of security and/or safety they possess in performing that task). Thus, each learner has the ultimate responsibility to practice the skill until it is internalized as part of his/her professional repertoire. However, the cliché “practice makes perfect” needs to be modified to reflect the more authentic process emphasized in Contextual Supervision: “practice incorporating appropriate supervisory feedback makes perfect.”

The CS model is portrayed in Figure 1.

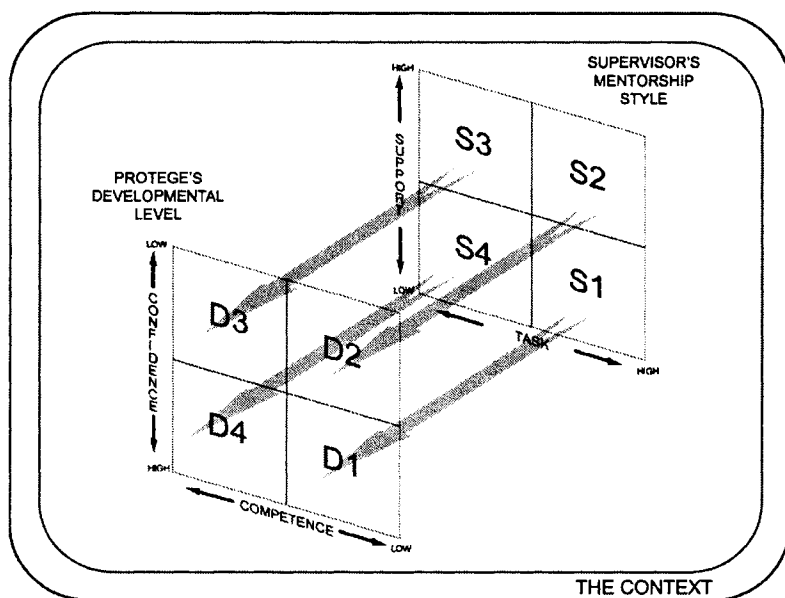


FIGURE 1. Contextual Supervision. (The mentor matches his/her supervisory style to coincide with the skill-specific developmental level of his/her protégé.)

The heart of the CS model is represented by the arrows linking the S-grid and the D-grid that portray the appropriate matching by the mentor or supervisor of one of his/her four basic supervisory styles with the similarly numbered developmental-level quadrant exhibited by the protégé he/she is mentoring.

CS and Other Models

I have compared and contrasted CS with seven other contemporary supervisory models, and I have demonstrated that CS incorporates many of the strengths of these approaches and bypasses their limitations (Ralph, 1993b, 1998, 1999b). Interested readers are invited to consult these references for details of their analysis.

APPLICATION OF CS

The research on CS has been conducted with pre-service teachers and their mentors (i.e., their college-based supervisors and classroom cooperating teachers) during the extended-practicum period of their teacher-education program. Throughout the practicum period, the college supervisor conducts regular workshops with a cohort of pairs of teacher-interns and their cooperating teachers, and also coordinates five clinical-supervision sessions with each pair. These workshops and supervision sessions are held in order to facilitate the mentor's supervision of the protégé's mastery of a recognized set of essential instructional skills drawn from the body of teaching-effectiveness research (see, for example, University of Saskatchewan, 2002-2003).

This set of professional attributes, knowledge, and skills consists of eight broad categories of generic teaching skills—each composed of a specific set of sub-skills (see, for example, Anderson & Burns, 1989; Borich, 2000; Good & Brophy, 2000; Wittrock, 1986). These categories (with an example of a related sub-skill) are:

- (a) personal and professional attributes (e.g., fulfils professional commitments);
- (b) instructional preparation (e.g., creates short- and long-term teaching plans);
- (c) presenting (e.g. provides clear directions);
- (d) classroom management (e.g., handles disruptive student behaviour effectively);
- (e) oral-questioning (e.g., poses clear questions);
- (f) responding (e.g., provides positive reinforcement in an effective manner);

- (g) evaluating pupil work (e.g., uses a variety of assessment instruments);
- (h) implementing methodologies (e.g., employs a variety of instructional approaches to motivate students' learning).

A teacher-intern's performance of each of the instructional skills can be analyzed through the framework of the developmental-grid component of the CS model. As is the case with *any* individual learning *any* new task, two basic elements emerge: (a) the person's actual level of physical or psychomotor ability to perform the skill in question, and (b) his/her existing psychological/emotional thoughts and feelings about the performance.

With respect to the instructional category of classroom management, for instance, the supervisor will determine the developmental level of the intern in the skill of "handling disruptive student behaviour effectively." This can be done by observing the extent to which he/she performs that task during the routine of day-to-day school activities (i.e., the "competence" dimension) and by conversing with (and observing) the intern regarding the degree of his/her feelings of apprehension and/or comfort about doing it (i.e., the "confidence" aspect).

During the practicum inservices and the triad clinical sessions in which the majority of the CS research was conducted, the supervisor would describe and demonstrate how CS was to be applied by both the college supervisor and the cooperating teacher, in order to assist the supervisees to learn (or to improve) their professional skills in their teaching practice. The application of the CS model consists of three phases or steps.

Three steps

1. DETERMINE DEVELOPMENT LEVEL. The first phase in applying CS is for the pair (or the triad, if the college supervisor is present) to determine the existing development level of the protégé to perform the specific task or skill being learned.

As indicated above and as illustrated in the "D grid" of Figure 1, a protégé's skill-specific level of development consists of varying degrees of both his/her *competence* and his/her *confidence* in performing that task. The D1 level reflects an individual's level of low competence and high confidence to do the task (i.e., he/she does not know how to execute the skill, but is confident, willing, and eager to learn). A supervisee at D2 is low on both dimensions; a learner at D3 shows high competence and low confidence in executing the skill; but one at D4 is high on both elements.

A supervisee's level of development may be ascertained in three ways: by his/her answers to direct questions about it from the mentor; from the pairs' (or triads') pre- and post-conferences, informal dialogue, and casual conversations about the protégé's teaching progress; and from formal and informal

observations of the novice's teaching by the cooperating teacher and/or college supervisor.

The existing levels of a supervisee's development are skill-specific, they are changeable over time, they may be different for different skills, and they are not to be fixed to permanently label or categorize a protégé's overall performance (Ralph, 1992, 1996a, 2000).

2. SYNCHRONIZE SUPERVISORY STYLE. After determining the protégé's task-specific level of performance, the mentor must appropriately adjust his/her supervisory response to meet the observed developmental needs of the supervisee for the skill in question. This matching process represents the essence of the CS model.

As described above and as depicted in Figure 1, the supervisor's mentorship or supervisory style consists of two leadership dimensions, depicted on the two axes of the "S-grid." One dimension is the *support* element (i.e., the human-relationship aspect, in which the mentor's response may vary along a range from a greater to lesser degree of encouragement, positive reinforcement, and psychological/emotional support for the protégé as he/she attempts to develop the teaching skill in question). The other style component is the *task* dimension (i.e., the technical or mechanical aspect of mastering a skill or competency being practised, in which the mentor's response may vary along a continuum from greater to lesser directive guidance and specific technical advice). This task-dimension involves telling, showing, guiding, and providing directions or procedural strategies regarding the protégé's "technique" in performing the skill.

As illustrated by the multiple-arrow portion of Figure 1, the mentor executes this matching process by synchronizing an S1 style with the protégé's D1 level, the S2 style with a D2 level, and so on. The key principle, here, is that the mentor's *task* response is inversely proportional in magnitude to the extent of the protégé's *competence* level; and simultaneously, the extent of the mentor's *supportive* behaviour is similarly reciprocal in degree to the novice's level of *confidence* in performing the particular skill.

For example, a protégé's *low* level of competence in a skill calls for the mentor's *high* degree of task orientation (i.e., the supervisee does not know the "what to do" or the "how to do it" and therefore needs the mentor to specify clearly these elements). Further, the protégé's *high* level of confidence requires a *low* supportive response from the supervisor (i.e., the learner already has adequate self-assurance and does not therefore require a great amount of mentor encouragement and praise to bolster the learner's already existing high level of confidence).

3. CONTINUALLY MONITOR AND ADJUST STYLE. The mentorship pair (or triad) would continually monitor the protégé's skill development, and the mentor

would accordingly synchronize his/her supervisory style with the supervisee's skill-specific developmental level. Typically, as a protégé advances from D1 to D2 to D3 to D4 in performing a skill, the mentor would reciprocate by responding correspondingly with an S1, S2, S3 and S4 style.

At this juncture, the question of mentors' supervisory abilities should be addressed. What are the developmental levels of competence and confidence of supervisors in terms of their specific abilities and skills to coach, mentor, lead, guide, facilitate and otherwise assist protégés to develop? Although not within the scope of the recent research on CS, this key element is critical in the conceptualization and effective implementation of the model.

Although I have not conducted extensive research on this aspect of CS, my mentorship work with several hundred internship pairs over the past sixteen years has informed my own supervisory practice in the following ways (Ralph, 1998):

1. Classroom cooperating teachers (like their interns) are at a specific developmental level in terms of their own competence and confidence in applying the CS model during supervision.
2. They, too, reflect a change in developmental levels as they gain experience in implementing the model in their supervisory routines with their interns, as do their interns with respect to the teaching skills.
3. I, as the college supervisor, must alter my own supervisory style (in terms of my "task" and "supportive" responses) with the classroom cooperating teachers. This is necessary in order to match inversely the extent of their respective levels of supervisory competence and confidence – in the same way they are supposed to function with their interns.
4. In several cases where mismatches between supervisor style and intern development have been identified in the pair's relationship, I have been able to assist the cooperating teacher adjust his/her style to match appropriately the intern's existing skill-specific developmental level.
5. This adjustment helped alleviate the interpersonal problem, and the pair resumed a more cordial working relationship.

RESEARCH FINDINGS ON THE CONTEXTUAL SUPERVISION MODEL

In this section, I compare the findings from the earlier research on CS with those from a current study. The *general* purpose of *all* of these studies was to examine the effectiveness of the CS approach in helping supervisors do their job. The *specific* purpose of *all* the studies was to help supervisors reduce any mismatch (between supervisory style and intern development) that arose during the practicum.

The difference between the earlier studies and the current one was the addition of 3 elements to the latter that I postulated would reduce the

mismatch gap that seemed to regularly appear in each of the earlier studies. I describe the three changes in *The Current Study*, following.

The 1991-1999 findings

From 1991 to 1999 research was conducted on the effectiveness of the CS model, and the findings have been extensively reported in the literature. For instance, in a series of early studies, as the designer of the CS approach, I reported how I used CS, personally, to inform my own mentorship and supervisory practice. I did this first as a faculty advisor with several cohorts of pairs in the extended-practicum program at my university (Ralph, 1991, 1992, 1992-1993, 1993a, 1993b, 1994; Ralph & Yang, 1993) and then as a peer-consultant and workshop leader in instructional development for new post-secondary instructors (Ralph, 1995, 1996b, 1996-1997, 1998; Ralph & Konchak, 1996).

Later, results from several studies that investigated the use of CS by whole cohorts of instructional supervisors (who were trained to apply CS in their mentorship of teacher-interns) were also reported. In these latter studies, as the faculty supervisor, I did not merely apply CS privately in my own supervision, as was the case in the first series of studies. Instead I presented the model to six different cohorts of classroom cooperating teachers over a six-year period, who in turn learned it and applied it in their own supervisory practices with their interns during the six extended- practicum sessions (Ralph, 1996a, 1998, 1999a, 2000, 2002). Some of these studies examined the supervision of teacher-interns' practice of classroom management skills, while other studies investigated the CS model used in the interns' application of oral-questioning in teaching.

A synthesis of the key findings of *all* of the above studies of the CS model reveals that:

- (a) a protégé progresses through different developmental levels for each instructional skill;
- (b) a mentor who adjusts her/his leadership style to match these developmental levels (i.e., S1 with D1, S2 with D2, and so on) appears to enhance the protégé's professional growth in these skills;
- (c) interpersonal problems typically arise when mismatching occurs between mentor style and protégé development level;
- (d) these conflicts tend to subside if this misalignment is corrected when the supervisor synchronizes his/her leadership style with the corresponding development level of the supervisee;
- (e) classroom cooperating teachers, on the whole, seem to prefer using a high supportive/low directive style (i.e., S3 or S4), and in some such

cases may actually limit the professional development of supervisees who may be at a D1 or D2 level in their performance of a specific skill.

These findings suggest that when mentors/supervisors are familiar with CS and its principles they are more consistent in matching their mentorship/leadership style appropriately with the development levels of the supervisees. The studies not only confirmed that supervisors seem to prefer using supervisory styles with higher support and lower task responses when working with other adults, but also that supervisees, as a whole, tend to rate themselves lower in skill development than their mentors rank them. One further problem was identified by means of previous CS research. This problem was that even when cohorts have been exposed to CS preparation and training in supervisory workshops, an ambiguity about, or a misinterpretation of, some of the CS principles and /or its implementation persisted among a certain percentage of cooperating teachers. Yet it has also been shown that the CS concepts and principles, once understood and accepted by personnel in supervisory roles, are relatively easy to apply (Ralph, 1998, 1999a, Watt, 1998).

All of the research on CS cited above has shown that the overall strengths of the model are that:

- (a) it has been shown to help supervisory personnel clarify their conceptualization of the whole supervision/mentoring process;
- (b) it replaces a "one-size-fits-all" approach by providing for mentors to vary their leadership styles according to the professional needs of their protégés;
- (c) it is intuitively appealing and relatively easy to learn, and it offers mentors a tool to help analyze and alleviate supervisory conflicts (which have typically been misrepresented or distorted by such clichés as: "We have a personality clash," "She is simply ignorant" or, "He is plain stubborn"); and
- (d) it has revealed that such relationship problems are often the result of mentors mismatching their supervisory styles with protégés' task-specific developmental levels.

One limitation has been repeatedly identified in the CS research that was conducted from 1995 to 1999 (i.e., the studies of several cohorts of classroom cooperating teachers and their interns in extended-practicum programs). This limitation is that not all of the supervisors trained in the application of CS were consistent in appropriately matching their mentorship styles with the developmental-levels of their interns. This inconsistency was shown to be greater for cohorts of supervisory pairs who were working on enhancing protégés' oral-questioning skills than it was for cohorts who were

attempting to develop interns' classroom management competence (Ralph, 1995, 1998, 1999a, 2000, 2002).

Possible explanations for this difference are that:

- (a) because classroom management is typically deemed more important than questioning skills, more attention is paid to developing the former;
- (b) questioning skills are difficult to develop and maintain – for *all* teachers, and thus require sustained work by *all* participants; and
- (c) interns' and cooperating teachers' prior experiences with questioning skills may cause each sub-group to value and therefore to employ them differently.

I concluded that further research was needed to address this gap question, to explore alternative solutions to the problem, and to determine if the mismatch could be remedied. I therefore conducted another study described below.

The current study

In order to attempt to reduce the persistent mismatching gap that appears to arise among a certain number of internship pairs, I recently instituted three distinct changes in the extended-practicum program with my last two assigned cohorts of practicum pairs of classroom cooperating teachers and their interns. I made these changes to the regular format and procedures of the extended-practicum program that I had originally used with my previously assigned cohorts. First, I added a new half-day "Orientation In-service" for all cooperating teachers (alone) for whom I served as faculty advisor. At this initial meeting (held prior to the beginning of each of the Fall Internships) I described, explained, and demonstrated the CS model in the context of the extended-practicum program. At these two meetings I incorporated the inservice format determined by Showers, Joyce, and Bennett (1987) in their extensive research to be highly effective in teachers' professional-development programs. (Also, all expenses were covered for the two cohorts of teachers to attend these extra in-services: i.e., substitute costs, mileage, and a luncheon.)

The main differences between this pre-internship orientation in-service and the three regular internship inservices were that the former was attended by classroom cooperating teachers prior to the beginning of the practicum (without the interns); it consisted of a half-day rather than full-day session; and it was devoted entirely to the CS model. Thus, the cooperating teachers could spend a focussed period to comprehend the model, its rationale, its application, and its previously studied effects.

The teachers' subsequent feedback to me about the orientation session was unanimously positive. Typical of the written comments provided at the conclusion of the practicum were: "I found the first inservice very informative to help me before the intern started"; "As a first time cooperating teacher, I found it very helpful. The model was a great guideline to follow and reassured me that I was on the right track as far as expectations"; and "It gave me a chance to discuss and compare notes with other supervising teachers. It was excellent support."

A second addition that I introduced to each of the last two programs was the planned and deliberate increase in my references to the CS model, whenever an opportunity arose to do so during the regular internship activities. Thus, during the three regular internship seminars with all pairs, during formal pre- and post-conferences with internship-pairs, and during informal conversations with the participants, I intentionally referred to specific facets of the CS model as the need or opportunity arose, in order to emphasize its value. For example, when one of the cooperating teachers made a comment during a discussion with a pair of interns over coffee in a staff room in the seventh week of one of the practica about an intern's performance, I responded:

Just as we learned about the CS model last week, your (the intern's) confidence is growing, and we (i.e., the two supervisors) don't have to be as concerned about encouraging you and building your confidence as much as we did earlier . . . you display more of an air of assurance, now . . .

A third component new to the study of the two recent internship programs, was my addition of a second half-day inservice (again for the cooperating teachers only) after the conclusion of the practicum. In this second half-day, I convened a "Debriefing Session" with them to discuss their recently completed supervisory experiences with, and reactions to, the CS model. During this meeting (again, for which all teachers' expenses were paid), I presented the findings synthesized from the data I had just collected during the practicum. During this post-internship meeting I also requested the teachers' reactions to these findings and the implications thereof, and I also solicited their written feedback in two areas:

- (a) How the CS model may have helped them in the supervisory process, and
- (b) What suggestions they would make for future cooperating teachers who apply the CS model in their supervisory duties.

I introduced these three changes described above in direct response to the negative finding described earlier that repeatedly emerged in all of the CS studies from 1995 to 1999: namely, the constant presence of 25% to 30% of

cooperating teachers in each cohort who appeared to mismatch their mentorship style with the task-specific developmental level of their interns.

Although various reasons have been advanced for this mismatching phenomenon (e.g., participant disinterest in the model, misunderstanding of it, inability to apply it, devaluation of it, satisfaction with past and present practice, or the college supervisor/researcher's ineffectiveness at describing/promoting it, Ralph, 1993b, 1996a, 1998, 2000, 2002) my quest was to reduce this limitation. Then, as a result, I wished to improve the overall effectiveness of the mentorship process for future cooperating teachers and their interns. Thus, I sought to record and analyze the results of these three program changes with my two most recent cohorts. I now present these findings in the following sub-section, and I also compare them to the results of the earlier studies.

THE CURRENT FINDINGS. The difference between this most recent study of the implementation of CS and the earlier ones was the addition of the three changes described above. In all other respects, the program format, the procedures, and the related components were similar to those of the earlier CS studies reported previously (Ralph, 1993b, 1996a, 1998, 2000, 2002). The data collection process in both the present and the earlier previous studies was also identical, except in this most recent study of the two last cohorts, I also solicited cooperating teachers' written responses for the two items described in the above sub-section (i.e., the perceived strengths of the CS model, and the teachers' suggestions for future practica).

DATA COLLECTION. In specific terms, all of these studies examined the extent that the two partners in each of the supervisory pairs were in agreement as to (a) where they perceived themselves, and (b) where they placed their partners in terms of grid locations in the two CS quadrants. (Each intern and CCT located his/her own position and his/her partner's position within the respective development and style grids on blank copies of the CS model. They marked the positions at two different times: first during the 5th week, and later, during the 11th week of the 16-week internship period. I then collated and calculated the number of matchings and mis-matchings that existed for all pairs in all of the cohorts for the Week 11 rankings, after the interns had practised the skill for six weeks, under the Contextual Supervision of their cooperating teachers.)

DEVELOPMENTAL LEVEL. With respect to a comparison of the degree of the supervisors' matching of their mentor style with protégé development between the previous programs and the "new" one, I summarize the results in Table 1.

TABLE 1. Degree of Match Between Participants' Self- and Partner-Plotted Quadrant Locations on the CS Grids, Final Session (Week 11, N= 40 pairs)

INTERNS' DEVELOPMENTAL-LEVEL GRID		
Consistent match between partners' plottings	87	(87)
Interns plotted selves higher than did cooperating teachers	5	(10)
Interns plotted selves lower than did cooperating teachers	8	(3)
COOPERATING TEACHERS' SUPERVISORY-STYLE GRID		
Consistent match between partners' plottings	83	(71)
Cooperating teachers plotted selves higher than did interns	17	(11)
Cooperating teachers plotted selves lower than did interns	0	(18)

NOTE: The values represent percentages of the pairs whose plottings of their own performance and that of their partners matched similar quadrants (e.g., S1 with D1, S2 with D2, and so forth). The skill being supervised was classroom management. For comparative purposes the values in parentheses indicate the cumulative findings from similar studies conducted from 1993 to 1999 (N = 99).

An examination of these findings shows that for the partners' agreement for the supervisors' style there was more consistent matching for the latter groups. For the partners' agreement about the interns' developmental level, however, the findings between the earlier and recent studies were more similar.

If one assumes that the closer the match between leader style and learner development, the more effective the mentoring process, then it also seems reasonable to presume that the three changes implemented with the most current cohorts accounted for the improvement of successful matching for supervisory style. As indicated in Table 1, the "new" 83% agreement compared to previous 71% for the mentors' supervisory style demonstrates this substantial increase in the degree of appropriate matching by the participants. The similar 87% values for the developmental level show that the participants in both the early and recent cohorts apparently had less difficulty in determining the interns' levels of growth than they did on agreeing on the cooperating teachers' supervisory styles.

However, despite the improvement noted in the most recent internship program, a degree of inconsistency of matching in both areas persists. For instance, as shown in the upper portion of Table 1, 5% of the interns from the recent cohorts still ranked themselves higher on the D-scale than did their cooperating teachers (or, alternatively, their teachers rated them lower in development than the interns ranked themselves). Also, 8% of the interns ranked themselves lower in development than did their cooperating teachers. An explanation for this aspect of mismatching may relate to the differences between expert and novice teachers, whereby the former, because of their accumulated experiences, focus more on a sophisticated and

holistic picture of the teaching/learning process, while the latter tend to be more narrow and idealistic in their perspective (Berliner, 1986; Shulman, 1987; Veenman, 1984). Thus, in the 5% case, the interns may have over-estimated their skill level in classroom management. For the 8% sub-group, the interns may have “outwardly” appeared capable, but “inwardly” may have lacked the confidence that their supervisors thought they had.

SUPERVISORY-STYLE. With respect to agreement on positioning both by the interns and by the cooperating teachers, themselves, of the cooperating teachers' locations on the S-grid, as shown in the lower portion of Table 1, 17% of the pairs mismatched their plottings. In this sub-group, the teachers placed themselves numerically higher on the S-grid than their interns placed them.

The issue at the root of this inconsistency is not so much the question of which partner's plotting is “correct” or “incorrect”, as it is to ascertain why each of the partners saw a difference in the supervisory style of the cooperating teachers. For instance, if the cooperating teacher views herself as being S4 (low support) but the intern sees her as being S3 (high support), then there is a possibility of conflict arising in the mentoring process. As shown in Figure 1, the differences between an S3 and an S4 style is the degree of support and encouragement given by the supervisory teacher to the intern (because the degree of task orientation is virtually the same for both S3 and S4 styles). Moreover, if the protégé is at a D3 development level (low confidence) he/she “requires” the high support of the S3 style, not the lower support of the S4 style. Thus, mentors need to monitor closely the degree of confidence possessed by their proteges, and reciprocate with inverse proportions of supportive behaviour.

The key in resolving this style difference is for the pair, together, to re-assess or verify the existing developmental level of the intern in performing the skill in question. If they determine, for instance, that the level is D3 (high competence and low confidence), then according to the CS model the mentor is obliged to respond with an S3 style (in which the high degree of supervisory support appropriately meets the intern's low confidence need).

SHIFTING OF GRID-POSITIONS. Table 2 summarizes the change of participants' respective grid-positions throughout a five-week period of the interns' intensive practice of the skills used in effective classroom management.

The values in Table 2 represent two mean-rankings of the interns' and the cooperating teachers' self-plotted positions on the respective D-level and S-style grids, as well as each sub-groups' mean plottings of their partners' quadrant positions on the grids, with respect to the area of the mentoring of teacher-interns' classroom management skills. These plottings were recorded at both Week 6 and Week 11 of the extended-practicum. For

TABLE 2. Changes of Participants' Respective Grid-Positions in the CS Quadrants
(N = 40 pairs)

	Mean Rankings by:			
	Interns		CCTs	
Week Six				
• Interns' developmental level	3.19	(2.88)	3.44	(3.13)
• Cooperating teachers' supervisory style	3.13	(2.46)	3.07	(2.51)
Week Eleven				
• Interns' developmental level	3.71	(3.68)	3.70	(3.61)
• Cooperating teachers' supervisory style	3.54	(3.03)	3.72	(3.24)

NOTE: The values represent each sub-group's mean rankings of participants' self- and partner-plotted positions within the quadrants of the two CS grids. (The skill being practiced was classroom management.) For comparative purposes the values shown in parentheses indicate the cumulative findings from similar studies reported from 1993 to 1999 (N = 99).

comparative purposes, the values shown in parentheses indicate the cumulative findings from the earlier studies conducted from 1993 to 1999 (N=99).

An analysis of these data yields the following findings:

1. Because *all* values for the most recent study (i.e., the first values in each column) are greater than for those from the previous studies (i.e., the values in parentheses), one may assume that the improvements were due to the implementation of the three changes added to the recent program.
2. All participants in both the earlier and recent studies improved in their respective classroom management and supervisory skills over the five-week period of concentrated mentoring, as shown by a comparison between the Week 6 and Week 11 data.
3. With respect to the Week 11 data for the most recent study, the *overall* results indicate a *general* agreement by all participants for their self- and partner-plottings, because all four means were located within the upper portion of Quadrant 3 of the respective D- and S-grids (i.e., 3.71 and 3.70 for interns' developmental level and 3.54 and 3.72 for classroom cooperating teachers' mentorship style).
4. Closer analysis of these four mean values for Week 11, moreover, indicate that the interns as a sub-group saw themselves with a developmental level of confidence (3.71) almost equal to the level that their cooperating teachers perceived them to possess (3.70). For the S-plottings, the interns as a group ranked their classroom cooperating teachers as providing more support (3.54) than their mentors saw themselves as giving (3.72).
5. A comparison of the Week 11 values for the two mean rankings given by cooperating teachers (3.70 and 3.72) suggest that, in general, the teachers

saw themselves as consistently matching their leadership style with their protégés' developmental level. However, a discrepancy arose between the interns' two values for Week 11, in which they as a group saw themselves as developmentally higher (3.71) than their classroom cooperating teachers gave them credit for (3.54).

The key implication of all of these findings reported in Tables 1 and 2 is that improvement in the reduction of mismatching occurred in the two recent cohorts' programs, compared to the degree of mismatching identified in the earlier studies. However, further consideration should be given to continue to eliminate/reduce the mismatching problem that still persists.

STYLE/DEVELOPMENT MISMATCH. Ideally, if the CS model functioned perfectly there would be a 100% agreement of matchings in both the upper and lower portions of Table 1 and in the Week 11 data of Table 2. The values in Table 1 for both the recent and the previous studies show, however, that there was a greater consistency of match between partner's plottings of interns' developmental levels than there was for partners' rankings of cooperating teachers' supervisory styles.

An explanation for this finding may lie in the fact that the interns' teaching skills are typically more familiar to both sub-groups than are the relatively "new" mentorship skills within the CS model—which had only been introduced to the two most recent cohorts' of participants a few weeks earlier. In the current study, the Orientation Session conducted with mentors prior to the start of the internship did provide teachers with more exposure to CS than was the case for the cohorts in the previous studies. It thus appears that the more accustomed participants became with the CS model, then the closer the matchings of S and D quadrants became, as demonstrated by the 83% to 71% comparison in Table 1.

Yet, there still exists a 4% discrepancy in the current study's results (i.e., between the 87% D-grid agreement and the 83% S-style matchings), which necessitates that further analysis be conducted to seek reasons for this discrepancy, and to generate strategies to reduce the gap even further. Nevertheless, in overall terms, comparing the findings from the most recent study with those of the earlier CS research suggests that making the three changes to the recent program had a positive effect in reducing the extent of mismatching that had existed previously.

COOPERATING TEACHERS' FEEDBACK. At the Debriefing Seminar held with the CCTs after the conclusion of the extended-practicum, teachers provided oral and written comments regarding their reaction to the CS model and their perceptions of its usefulness in the practicum program, and they suggested improvements for future internship sessions.

They cited specific, positive benefits of the CS model. Typical comments illustrating these strengths were: "It helped me understand how interns view their own needs"; "As a first time supervisor I found it very helpful and a great guideline to follow"; "It was good to see the growth or weakness of myself and the intern throughout the term"; "It gave us a basis for discussion where we both used the same language" and "It helped define my role as a supervising teacher as the intern developed."

The respondents also offered suggestions to enhance the CS mentorship process in future practica. A sample of these comments were: "I suggest that the CS model be presented to all individuals involved in the internship very early and in depth prior even to meeting each other"; "Use it to help both [partners] develop through the process"; "Stress the importance of using CS as a communication tool"; and "Tell them to keep reflecting on what stage you and your intern both are at and to adjust your support accordingly."

Thus, it appears that these CCTs' comments, taken together, confirm the reported results from both the current study and the previous ones, namely, that the CS model is a useful supervisory tool, but that mentors need to be well versed in its application.

I suggest that these research results have demonstrated that the CS approach is a useful conceptual and analytical guide with potential to assist supervisory personnel in their practice. I have argued that CS is a guide (but not a panacea); if applied sensibly, it can be employed to analyze conflict-areas resulting from supervisory error (but not to ignore other possible sources of disagreement); and it can help identify solutions to these problems by suggesting adjustments in supervisory style (but not to absolve partners of their respective professional commitments and responsibilities).

I have also argued that:

Implementing CS is superior to clinging inflexibly to a single supervisory style or to operating unsystematically or erratically via a trial-and-error approach. Familiarity with the model would assist supervisors who may misinterpret others' lack of skill or confidence as resistance or stubbornness to reframe these normal responses into legitimate problems to address and solve during the supervisory process. (Ralph, 1993b: 294-295)

In sum, I also believe that this "familiarity with the model" (i.e., supervisory being skilled at how (a) to determine the supervisee's task-specific development level, and (b) to adjust their own leadership behavior to the developmental needs of supervisees) will develop among supervisory personnel as they apply CS.

However, in the light of all of these data, three critical questions remain: (a) to what extent was the apparent improvement in matching of style with development due to the incorporation of the three stated changes? To what

extent was it due to the impact of other confounding factors, such as the Hawthorne effect? (b) Are the "new" findings valid and reliable, given the difference in size of the two samples ($N = 40$ and $N = 99$)? (c) Even though an apparent improvement was achieved, how can the lingering pattern of the gap be reduced even further between the views of approximately 15 percent of cohorts who mismatch protégé development and mentor style?

In order to respond to these questions, the recent studies could be replicated with new cohorts of teacher-interns and their cooperating teachers. In these replications, one could seek to determine if the incorporation of the same three changes described in this study would produce similar results with the newest cohorts in reducing the mismatching problem.

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LES CAUSES DE L'ISOLEMENT PROFESSIONNEL DES ENSEIGNANTES ET DES ENSEIGNANTS¹

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RÉSUMÉ. L'étude, réalisée auprès de 1217 enseignants, s'intéresse aux causes perçues de leur isolement professionnel. Afin de classer ces causes, la présente s'appuie sur une démarche d'analyse de contenu basée sur un système catégoriel inspiré de la théorie cognitive de la solitude (Peplau et Perlman, 1982). Les résultats montrent, entre autres, que les causes perçues par les enseignants sont davantage liées à des caractéristiques stables de leur quotidien qu'à des événements ponctuels. Enfin, l'étude propose quelques pistes de recherche et d'intervention visant à briser l'isolement professionnel.

CAUSES OF TEACHERS' PROFESSIONAL ISOLATION

ABSTRACT. This study, conducted with the participation of 1217 teachers, investigates why teachers feel professionally isolated. A content analysis based on a cognitive theory of isolation (Peplau & Perlman, 1982) was used to classify the perceived causes. The results show that the teachers' feelings are more related to the daily routines than unexpected events. Finally, further research and initiatives are suggested in order to put an end to the teachers' feelings of isolation.

INTRODUCTION

Le système d'éducation québécois fait actuellement face à des critiques sévères. En effet, on remarque, par exemple, l'insatisfaction de la population, des taux de décrochage élevé et de réussite qui laissent songeur, un manque de capacité de l'école à susciter l'intérêt des jeunes et une formation de base qui semble mal les préparer au marché du travail (Ministère de l'éducation, 1996). En somme, le système scolaire du Québec présente une réussite mitigée.

Pour trouver des solutions à ces problèmes, la recherche se penche, entre autres, sur l'apprentissage des élèves, sur les stratégies d'enseignement et sur les conditions de travail des enseignants. La présente étude s'inscrit dans cette dernière perspective en s'intéressant à la condition sociale du travail

des enseignants. En effet, il semble que cette condition dénote des déficiences importantes et ce, tant quantitativement que qualitativement.

L'isolement professionnel représente une des conditions les plus souvent invoquées pour expliquer les difficultés des enseignants (Achilles et Gaines, 1991; Flinders, 1988; Lieberman et Miller, 1992; Lortie, 1975; Martin et McGrevin, 1990; Rosenholtz, 1985; Smith et Scott, 1990; Sarason, Levine, Goldenberg, Cherlin et Bennett, 1966). Cette forme d'isolement constitue un sentiment négatif résultant de déficiences au niveau des réseaux relationnels au travail.

L'isolement professionnel peut engendrer plusieurs conséquences négatives. D'aucuns pensent qu'il peut nuire au développement professionnel (Barnett, 1990; Rosenholtz, 1985; Smith et Scott, 1990) et à la performance au travail (Anderson, 1989; Smith et Scott, 1990) tout comme il peut engendrer une résistance au changement (Smith et Scott, 1990). Il peut également être lié à l'insatisfaction personnelle (Rosenholtz, 1985) et à l'épuisement professionnel (Chandler, 1983). Ces avis sur les conséquences négatives de l'isolement semblent être corroborés par les études empiriques qui montrent une relation positive entre l'isolement et le stress des enseignants (Dussault, Deaudelin, Royer et Loisselle, 1999) ainsi qu'une relation négative entre l'isolement et la performance des directions d'école (Dussault et Thibodeau, 1997). En définitive, il semble que l'isolement professionnel puisse avoir des effets très négatifs sur la santé des individus et des organisations (Joyce, Wolf et Calhoun, 1993).

En ce qui concerne les causes de l'isolement professionnel, il semble que certaines causes personnelles et organisationnelles entrent en jeu. Au plan personnel, ces causes peuvent être la peur du jugement (Lieberman et Miller, 1992; Lortie, 1975; Rosenholtz, 1985; Sarason, 1982; Smith et Scott, 1990), la croyance voulant que "c'est comme ça que les choses doivent se passer" (Bird et Little, 1986; Lieberman et Miller, 1992; Smith et Scott, 1990), le fait de se sentir le seul responsable (Lortie, 1975; Rosenholtz, 1985) ainsi que le manque d'habiletés sociales (Lortie, 1975; Rosenholtz, 1985; Smith et Scott, 1990). Au plan organisationnel, Barnett (1989), le Conseil supérieur de l'éducation (1984), Flinders (1988), Garber (1991), Levine (1989), Lortie (1975) et Smith et Scott (1990) croient, à l'instar de la Commission des enseignantes et enseignants de commissions scolaires (1988), que la structure organisationnelle constitue un facteur qui influence grandement l'isolement au travail. D'autres considèrent que la charge de travail (Barnett, 1989; Smith et Scott, 1990) et certaines tâches propres à la fonction d'enseignant (Rosenholtz, 1985) peuvent favoriser l'occurrence de cet isolement. Cette dernière cause ressort également de l'étude de Carpentier-Roy et Pharand (1992). Les enseignants de cette étude mentionnent également que les politiques de gestion, le manque de temps

libre en même temps que les pairs et le manque de structure favorisant les échanges et l'organisation du travail peuvent contribuer à leur isolement professionnel. Ainsi, l'isolement professionnel semble prendre sa source au niveau de la personne elle-même et de l'organisation. Malgré l'apparente abondance de causes suggérées par les auteurs en sociologie de l'éducation (Sarason, 1982, par exemple), peu sont identifiées à la suite d'étude empirique. Les causes témoignent en réalité de l'expression de l'opinion des auteurs consultés. À notre connaissance, la présente étude s'avère la seule qui vise explicitement à identifier les causes de l'isolement professionnel des enseignants.

CADRE THÉORIQUE

À l'instar de Dussault et al. (1999) et de Thibodeau, Dussault et Deaudelin (1997), la présente étude utilise une théorie explicative de la solitude pour comprendre l'isolement professionnel des enseignants. En effet, elle se base sur l'approche cognitive de la solitude développée principalement par Peplau et Perlman. Cette approche semble la plus appropriée à l'étude de l'isolement professionnel des enseignants, car elle est la plus étroitement liée à la tradition de recherche sur la solitude (Peplau et Perlman, 1982). Bien qu'elle ne distingue pas l'isolement personnel de l'isolement au travail, elle a néanmoins déjà été utilisée avec diverses populations, dont les infirmiers (Russell, 1996), les enseignants (Dussault et al., 1999; Russell, 1996) ainsi que les directions d'école (Thibodeau et al., 1997, Dussault et Barnett, 1996, Dussault et Thibodeau, 1997). Le cadre théorique présenté dans la section qui suit s'appuie sur divers travaux auxquels ont contribué Peplau et Perlman (Peplau et Caldwell, 1978; Peplau, Miceli et Morasch, 1982; Peplau et Perlman 1979, 1982; Peplau, Russell et Heim, 1979; Perlman et Peplau, 1981; Rubenstein, Shaver et Peplau, 1979). Cutrona (1982) et Weiss (1973) apportent, quant à eux, un éclairage sur certains facteurs qui peuvent prédisposer une personne à vivre l'isolement.

Approche cognitive

Thibodeau et al. (1997, p.397) définissent l'isolement professionnel, à la lumière de l'approche cognitive, "comme un sentiment négatif qui apparaît quand le réseau de relations sociales de la personne au travail présente un déficit quantitatif et qualitatif important. Il constitue alors une expérience unipolaire négative".

Les antécédents, qui constituent les causes de l'isolement, se présentent sous deux classes distinctes : les événements précipitants et les facteurs prédisposants ou de maintien. La figure 1 présente une synthèse des causes de l'isolement suggérées par le cadre théorique.

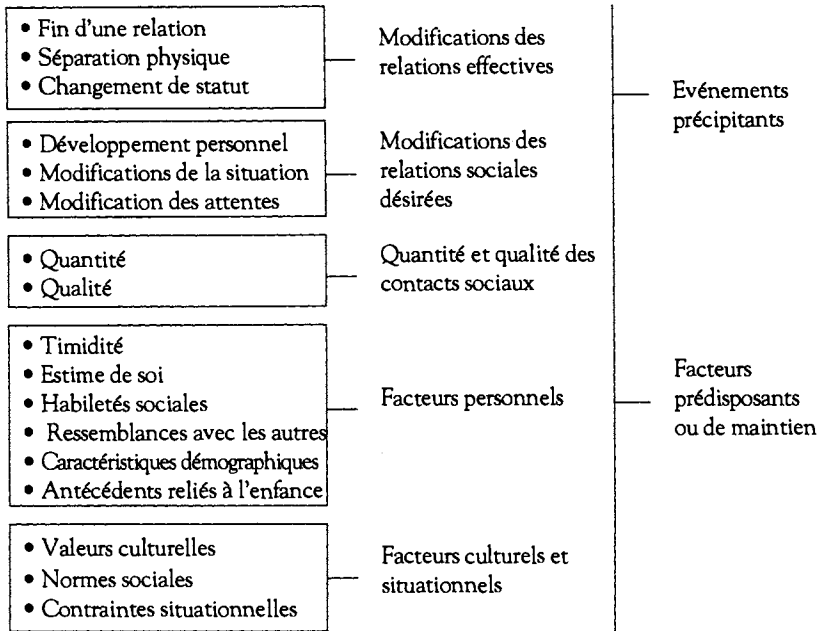


FIGURE 1. Antécédents de l'isolement

Événements précipitants.

La définition de l'isolement selon laquelle ce dernier résulte d'un déficit relationnel suggère deux types d'événements qui peuvent le déclencher. Il s'agit de tout événement ponctuel qui amène chez l'enseignant 1) une modification dans ses relations effectives ou 2) des modifications des relations qu'il désire au travail.

Pour ce qui est des modifications des relations effectives de la personne, lorsqu'une modification de ces relations sociales mène à un nombre sous-optimal d'interactions sociales, elle risque d'accroître le sentiment d'isolement. Ces changements peuvent affecter une relation ou le réseau relationnel. Il peut s'agir, par exemple, d'un événement qui amène, chez l'enseignant, une rupture de ses relations au travail. Cette modification des relations effectives peut être liée à trois causes. L'enseignant peut :

- vivre une rupture temporaire ou définitive à cause d'un conflit au travail ou de la perte d'un collègue (fin d'une relation);
- changer d'établissement d'enseignement ou de groupe de travail (séparation physique);
- être promu responsable de niveau ou de matière (changement de statut).

En ce qui concerne les modifications des relations sociales désirées, selon la théorie cognitive de la solitude, une augmentation des relations sociales désirées non accompagnée par un accroissement des relations sociales effectives peut précipiter l'isolement. Ainsi, tout événement qui amène l'enseignant à modifier à la hausse ses besoins sociaux alors que cette modification n'est pas accompagnée d'une augmentation équivalente des relations constitue une cause possible de son isolement professionnel. La modification des relations sociales désirées peut être liée aux trois causes suivantes :

- un changement personnel qui amène l'enseignant à modifier ses besoins sociaux (développement personnel);
- un événement qui place l'enseignant dans une situation bien particulière, par exemple, un changement de tâche, d'environnement physique (modifications de la situation);
- une situation bien précise dans laquelle l'enseignant s'attend à un certain niveau de relations et que dans les faits, ses attentes ne sont pas rencontrées (modifications des attentes).

En somme, il existe deux types d'événements qui peuvent faire surgir l'isolement. Il s'agit des modifications des relations effectives de la personne et des modifications des relations désirées. Bref, si ces facteurs peuvent causer directement l'isolement, d'autres le causent indirectement en prédisposant la personne à vivre une telle expérience.

Facteurs prédisposants et de maintien

Une variété de facteurs accroît la vulnérabilité des individus à l'isolement. Ils peuvent augmenter la probabilité que la personne devienne isolée et rendre plus difficile l'établissement de relations sociales satisfaisantes. Ces facteurs dits prédisposants ou de maintien sont la quantité et la qualité des relations sociales d'un individu, ses caractéristiques personnelles et les caractéristiques plus générales d'une situation ou d'une culture donnée. Ils constituent des aspects stables du contexte dans lequel vit la personne. De plus, ces facteurs façonnent et limitent la façon dont l'individu réagit aux changements qui peuvent altérer les niveaux de contacts sociaux qu'il vit ou désire vivre. Ainsi, ils prédisposent l'enseignant à se sentir isolé et à entretenir ce sentiment.

En ce qui a trait à la quantité et qualité des contacts sociaux, la faible quantité et la piètre qualité des contacts sociaux peuvent engendrer l'isolement. En effet, si la personne a peu de contacts ou si ces derniers ne sont pas de qualité, elle peut ressentir l'isolement. C'est le cas de l'enseignant qui a :

- une faible fréquence ou même une absence de relations sociales au travail (quantité);
- des relations qui ne lui permettent pas de satisfaire ses besoins sociaux : attachement, intégration sociale, attention, valeur personnelle et conseils (Weiss, 1973) (qualité).

Pour ce qui est des facteurs personnels, les caractéristiques individuelles qui rendent difficile l'établissement ou le maintien de relations satisfaisantes accroissent la probabilité que la personne se sente isolée. Certaines caractéristiques comme la timidité, l'estime de soi et l'apparence physique peuvent provoquer l'isolement de plusieurs façons. Ce sont de tels facteurs personnels qui peuvent amener l'enseignant à :

- éviter d'entrer en contact avec les membres de l'organisation (timidité);
- se sous-estimer et ainsi éviter de prendre des risques sociaux (Cutrona, 1982) (estime de soi);
- établir ou maintenir difficilement des relations au travail (habiletés sociales);
- se distinguer des autres membres de l'organisation (ressemblances avec les autres et caractéristiques démographiques);
- ressentir de l'isolement à cause de facteurs liés au climat familial, à ses relations avec ses parents (antécédents reliés à l'enfance).

En ce qui concerne les facteurs culturels et situationnels, les valeurs culturelles et les caractéristiques de situations sociales spécifiques peuvent aussi contribuer à l'isolement. L'enseignant peut se sentir isolé à cause de valeurs, de normes sociales ou des contraintes d'une situation spécifique et stable. Les causes de son isolement professionnel relèvent de facteurs culturels et situationnels lorsqu'il se sent isolé en raison :

- de certitudes fondamentales qui affectent les comportements des membres de l'organisation et qui se reflètent dans la structure organisationnelle (valeurs culturelles);
- des principes, des codes et des règles servant de références aux membres de l'organisation et qui priment dans celle-ci (normes sociales);
- des contraintes stables qu'impose la fonction d'enseignant ou l'environnement de travail (contraintes liées à la situation).

En résumé, il existe deux classes distinctes de causes à l'isolement. Il s'agit des facteurs qui précipitent l'apparition de l'isolement et de ceux qui prédisposent les individus à développer ce sentiment et à l'entretenir. Les modifications des relations effectives et les modifications des relations sociales désirées constituent les deux types de changements pouvant précipiter

l'isolement. La quantité et la qualité des relations sociales, les facteurs personnels, culturels et situationnels constituent autant de facteurs prédisposants ou de maintien à ce sentiment.

Bref, à la lumière du cadre théorique, la présente étude vise à identifier les facteurs susceptibles de précipiter l'apparition du sentiment d'isolement professionnel chez les enseignants ou de prédisposer ces derniers à développer ce sentiment et à l'entretenir.

MÉTHODE

La section qui suit décrit les sujets. Elle présente ensuite les méthodes et les instruments de collecte et d'analyse des données.

Sujets

L'échantillon se compose de 1217 enseignants de la province de Québec. L'échantillon comporte 842 femmes et 340 hommes (35 n'ont pas indiqué leur sexe). Parmi ces enseignants, 575 travaillent dans une école primaire, 574, dans une école secondaire et 68, dans un centre de formation professionnelle. Ils sont âgés de 44.22 ans en moyenne.

Cueillette des données

La cueillette des données a été effectuée lors d'un envoi postal effectué à chacun des participants. Une relance postale, effectuée une semaine après le premier envoi, indiquait l'importance de leur participation. Les données ont été recueillies à l'aide d'une question ouverte tirée de l'adaptation canadienne-française du *Causal Dimension Scale* de Russell (1982). La question ouverte se lit comme suit : *"Inscrivez la principale cause de l'isolement que vous avez vécu en tant qu'enseignante ou enseignant (ou que vous pourriez vivre)"*; elle amène les participants à identifier la principale cause de leur isolement au travail. Il est à noter qu'il aurait été suffisant de demander aux répondants d'identifier la principale cause d'isolement, car comme le soutiennent les auteurs qui s'intéressent aux conditions de travail des enseignants, ceux-ci expérimentent fréquemment l'isolement professionnel et, tel que mentionné précédemment, ils considèrent même l'enseignement comme une fonction de solitude. Toutefois, afin d'éviter qu'un répondant ne néglige de répondre estimant qu'il n'a jamais vécu d'isolement, la référence à une situation fictive a été ajoutée. Par ailleurs, deux raisons motivent l'absence de définition de l'isolement professionnel dans le questionnaire. D'une part, comme le soulignent De Grâce, Joshi et Pelletier (1993) ainsi que Schwartz et Olds (1997), le sentiment d'isolement en est un que tous ont déjà ressenti à un moment de leur vie. D'autre part, une définition aurait pu orienter la réponse des participants.

Traitement des données

Une méthode qualitative d'analyse a été utilisée pour mettre en évidence les causes de l'isolement professionnel que perçoivent des enseignants. Afin de classer ces causes, l'étude s'appuie sur une démarche d'analyse de contenu (L'Écuyer, 1990) réalisée à partir d'un système catégoriel prédéterminé. Cette démarche comporte essentiellement les étapes suivantes : lectures préliminaires et établissement de la liste des énoncés; choix et définition des unités de classification ainsi que catégorisation et classification.

En ce qui concerne la démarche, la liste d'énoncés a été constituée à partir de la réponse à la question ouverte de chacun des 1217 sujets. À chaque énoncé correspond donc une unité de classification. L'étape suivante, qui selon L'Écuyer (1990) est la plus importante, consiste à regrouper les unités de classification par analogie de sens. Cette étape comporte deux sous-étapes : un premier regroupement sommaire des énoncés selon leur degré d'appartenance à l'une ou l'autre des catégories du système catégoriel présenté ci-après et ensuite, la classification finale en reprenant systématiquement chacun des énoncés. Deux codeurs ont traité individuellement l'ensemble des énoncés et ont, par la suite, discuté leurs résultats. Seuls les énoncés ayant fait l'objet d'un consensus ont été retenus. Un taux d'accord de 99% a été ainsi obtenu. Cette stratégie permet d'assurer la crédibilité des résultats.

Élaboré à partir de l'approche cognitive présentée précédemment, le système catégoriel comporte deux catégories principales : les événements précipitants et les facteurs prédisposants ou de maintien. La première compte deux sous-catégories (modifications des relations effectives et modifications de relations sociales désirées) tandis que la seconde en comporte trois (quantité et qualité, facteurs personnels ainsi que facteurs culturels et situationnels). Les définitions opérationnelles des catégories, grandement inspirées du cadre théorique, ont été présentées dans la description de l'approche cognitive faite dans la partie théorique.

RÉSULTATS

En regard de l'objectif poursuivi par la présente étude, la section qui suit énumère les causes de l'isolement professionnel identifiées par les enseignants.

Une première analyse a mené au rejet de 51 réponses, car elles étaient inclassables dans le système catégoriel (i.e. Je ne me sens pas isolé). Comme le montre le Tableau 1, la grande majorité (83,9%) des répondants attribuent leur isolement professionnel à des facteurs prédisposants alors que 16,1% l'attribuent à des événements précipitants. Ces causes sont présentées par ordre d'importance en fonction de chacune de ces deux catégories.

TABEAU 1. Fréquence et pourcentage d'apparition de chacune des causes

Antécédents de l'isolement professionnel	frq. ^a	pctg. ^b
Événements précipitants		
Modifications des relations effectives		
• Fin d'une relation	107	9,2
• Séparation physique	22	1,9
• Changement de statut	8	0,7
Modifications des relations sociales désirées		
• Développement personnel	0	0,0
• Modifications de la situation	50	4,3
• Modification des attentes	0	0,0
Facteurs prédisposants et de maintien		
Quantité et qualité des contacts sociaux		
• Quantité	33	2,8
• Qualité	342	29,3
Facteurs personnels		
• Timidité	9	0,8
• Estime de soi	22	1,9
• Habilités sociales	17	1,5
• Ressemblances et caract. démographiques	95	8,2
• Antécédents reliés à l'enfance	0	0,0
• Autres facteurs personnels	7	0,5
Facteurs culturels et situationnels		
• Valeurs culturelles	44	3,8
• Normes sociales	12	1,0
• Contraintes situationnelles	398	34,1

^a frq. = fréquence. ^b pctg. = pourcentage (%)

Parmi les facteurs prédisposants, les facteurs culturels et situationnels reviennent dans 38,9% des cas. Dans cette catégorie, ce sont les causes relatives aux contraintes liées à la situation que les enseignants mentionnent le plus souvent (34,1%). Il s'agit, par exemple, du manque de temps et le fait d'être le seul enseignant d'une matière dans l'école. Les valeurs culturelles sont identifiées dans 3,8% en tant que cause principale. Elles se présentent, entre autres, comme la compétition entre les enseignants. Les causes d'isolement liées aux normes sociales ne sont évoquées que dans 1% des cas. Il s'agit, par exemple, d'enseignants à statut précaire qui se disent souvent moins bien considérés que leurs pairs.

La quantité et la qualité des contacts sociaux occupent la deuxième place en importance; les répondants les mentionnent dans 32,1% des cas. Parmi ces dernières, les causes liées à la qualité des contacts sont évoquées le plus fréquemment (29,3%). Les enseignants expriment alors un manque de soutien, de compréhension, de confiance ou encore d'aide et d'écoute, par exemple. En ce qui concerne leur quantité (2,8%), ils mentionnent un manque de contacts avec les collègues.

Enfin, parmi les facteurs prédisposants, les enseignants identifient les facteurs personnels (12,9%) en dernière position. Les caractéristiques démographiques sont alors principalement évoquées (8,2%). Par exemple, des enseignants expliquent leur isolement par les idées et les valeurs différentes qu'ils véhiculent. Les autres causes liées à des facteurs personnels ne sont que peu invoquées par les enseignants de l'étude.

Les événements précipitants, quant à eux, sont considérés par les enseignants comme étant des causes de leur isolement dans 16,1% des cas. Dans cette catégorie, les modifications des relations effectives retiennent l'attention de 11,8% des répondants. En effet, par ordre d'importance, ces derniers identifient la fin d'une relation et la séparation physique comme principales causes d'isolement dans 9,2% et 1,9% des cas. Les répondants font alors état de conflits personnels au travail, par exemple. La séparation physique est, quant à elle, liée, par exemple, au transfert d'école. Pour ce qui est du changement de statut, il n'est pour ainsi dire pas mentionné (0,7%) si ce n'est que lorsqu'il est question de changement de niveau, par exemple.

Enfin, 4,3% des enseignants considèrent les modifications des relations sociales désirées comme étant la principale cause de leur isolement. Il s'agit exclusivement de modifications de la situation comme, par exemple, le stress, voire l'épuisement professionnel, qui expliqueraient leur isolement. Les modifications des attentes et les causes liées à développement personnel n'ont pas été évoquées par les enseignants.

DISCUSSION

Les résultats relatifs aux causes de l'isolement professionnel sont discutés à la lumière des travaux portant sur ce phénomène.

Comme l'indiquent les résultats, 83,9% des enseignants ayant participé à la recherche considèrent que leur isolement professionnel est lié à des facteurs prédisposants et 16,1% d'entre eux, à des événements précipitants. Selon les enseignants, la cause de leur isolement au travail relève donc davantage de caractéristiques de leur quotidien plutôt que de phénomènes déclencheurs. À cet égard, l'étude tend à montrer que l'isolement des enseignants prend sa source dans les mêmes facteurs que l'isolement des directions d'école. En effet, les enseignants soutiennent, à l'instar des directions d'école québécoises

(Thibodeau et al., 1997), que leur isolement est causé par des facteurs stables de l'organisation. Les résultats de la présente étude tendent donc à ajouter du poids à l'opinion des auteurs comme Barnett (1989), Flinders (1988) et Smith et Scott (1990) qui soutiennent que des caractéristiques organisationnelles contribuent à l'isolement professionnel.

Parmi ces facteurs prédisposants, ce sont les facteurs culturels et situationnels qui sont les plus souvent invoqués comme causes principales de l'isolement. Il s'agit, par exemple, des contraintes reliées à la situation comme l'absence de collègues enseignant la même matière dans l'école. Ainsi, en tant que seul enseignant d'une matière, l'enseignant ne retrouve personne avec qui parler de ses problèmes et échanger sur sa situation. De même, les valeurs culturelles de compétition peuvent être perçues, comme l'indiquent les résultats, comme des causes de l'isolement des enseignants.

Ensuite, le deuxième facteur prédisposant en importance réside dans la quantité et la qualité des contacts sociaux. Les résultats semblent confirmer d'une part, que les réseaux relationnels au travail des enseignants québécois présentent des déficiences importantes. D'autre part, ils montrent que les enseignants semblent considérer plus importante la piètre qualité des relations que leur faible nombre en tant que cause de leur isolement.

En ce qui concerne les événements précipitants, les modifications des relations effectives constituent la cause que rapportent le plus souvent les enseignants. La cause davantage invoquée réside alors dans les conflits, une cause évidente en soi.

Les modifications des relations sociales désirées sont les deuxième causes en importance parmi les événements précipitants. Il s'agit, par exemple, de l'épuisement professionnel. Une seule étude (Dussault et al., 1999) montre une relation positive entre l'isolement professionnel et le stress. Cependant, celle-ci entrevoit l'isolement en tant que cause du stress des enseignants et non l'inverse, comme les enseignants de la présente étude le suggèrent.

L'implantation du nouveau curriculum peut fournir un contexte favorable susceptible de contribuer à briser l'isolement des enseignants. D'abord, il s'agit d'un changement majeur qui influe sur toute l'organisation scolaire. Il faudra donc mettre en œuvre des stratégies adéquates d'implantation du changement. Or, des auteurs dont Fullan (1992) voient dans le soutien mutuel des pairs un indicateur important du succès de l'implantation d'une innovation. Par ailleurs, deux caractéristiques de cette réforme doivent être relevées. La nouvelle structure qui prévoit trois cycles au primaire de même que les nouvelles modalités d'évaluation des apprentissages sont susceptibles de favoriser les communications, à tout le moins entre les enseignants intervenant à l'intérieur d'un même cycle. De plus, le fait que la responsabilité de l'implantation soit dévolue à la direction de l'école devrait permettre

d'accentuer le travail fait avec l'équipe-école et, conséquemment, accroître les interactions entre les membres de l'équipe-école. Enfin, l'implantation du nouveau curriculum accroît les besoins de formation continue et de développement professionnel de tout le personnel scolaire. À ce sujet, de plus en plus d'auteurs, dont Wells (1993), considèrent que le développement professionnel doit intégrer une dimension collaborative.

En résumé la nouvelle structure scolaire, les stratégies d'implantation du changement de même que celles de développement professionnel devraient mettre l'accent sur la collaboration et, par le fait même, contribuer à diminuer le sentiment d'isolement chez les enseignants.

CONCLUSION

Cette étude qualitative utilisant un système catégoriel inspiré de la théorie cognitive de la solitude (Peplau et Perlman, 1982) a été réalisée auprès de 1217 enseignants afin d'identifier les causes de leur isolement au travail. Les résultats montrent que les participants à l'étude considèrent que leur isolement professionnel est davantage causé par des facteurs prédisposants que par des événements précipitants.

L'étude recèle certaines limites qui suggèrent autant de pistes de recherche. D'abord, faut-il souligner à l'instar de Perlman et Peplau (1981), que le sentiment d'isolement n'est pas la résultante d'une seule cause mais plutôt celle d'un ensemble de facteurs. Or, la présente étude examine les causes de l'isolement d'une façon unitaire. Unitaire, d'une part, en raison de l'utilisation d'un cadre d'analyse rendu rigide par l'utilisation d'une théorie unique. Unitaire, d'autre part, par sa méthode qui amène les participants à n'identifier qu'une seule cause à leur isolement et ce, qu'importe leur situation professionnelle. Les études futures pourraient, par exemple, combler cette limite en s'inspirant notamment des travaux en sociologie de l'éducation pour analyser les contextes organisationnels et les caractéristiques de l'organisation du travail des enseignants. Dans cette perspective, de nouvelles recherches sont nécessaires pour assurer une meilleure compréhension du phénomène.

Ensuite, afin de conserver un haut taux de réponse, le libellé de la question exigeait des sujets une réponse très courte. Une telle pratique impose des limites certaines à l'analyse des données, car elle rend difficile l'interprétation de certains énoncés. D'autres méthodes de collecte de données, telle l'entrevue, permettraient de passer de l'identification à la description des causes de l'isolement professionnel. Les causes identifiées dans la présente étude pourraient alors faciliter l'élaboration d'un cadre d'entrevue. Par ailleurs, elles peuvent aussi conduire à l'élaboration d'un outil diagnostique de l'isolement professionnel chez les enseignants.

De plus, tout au long de l'interprétation des résultats, les causes étant les plus souvent rapportées par les sujets sont considérées comme les plus importantes. Pourtant leur importance relative n'a été l'objet d'aucune évaluation systématique. Une telle évaluation, en plus d'ajouter à la connaissance, pourrait certainement orienter les actions visant la réduction de ce sentiment qui peut avoir des incidences importantes sur le travail des enseignants.

Il faut ajouter comme limite que cette étude ne visait pas l'analyse des différences selon des caractéristiques des répondants mais bien plutôt l'identification des causes et de leurs caractéristiques. En conséquence, les études futures pourraient comparer les causes des enseignants selon qu'ils appartiennent à un établissement d'enseignement primaire, secondaire ou de formation professionnelle. Elles pourraient aussi tenter de vérifier la relation entre l'isolement des enseignants et leur performance au travail. Enfin, les études futures pourraient s'intéresser à l'effet des nouvelles formes d'organisation du travail sur l'isolement professionnel des enseignants.

En conclusion, les voies d'intervention susceptibles de briser cet isolement relèvent tant de facteurs liés à la structure organisationnelle, qu'aux conditions quotidiennes de travail des enseignants. Il convient donc que soit poursuivies la réflexion et la recherche sur la problématique de l'isolement professionnel.

NOTE

1. Une version préliminaire de cet article a été présentée au Congrès de l'European Association for Research on Learning and Instruction, Athènes, 1997.

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THE STANDARDIZED TESTING MOVEMENT: EQUITABLE OR EXCESSIVE?

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ABSTRACT. This article addresses the problems associated with increased standardized testing, specifically in the context of the public school system in Ontario. I question the legitimacy of the persistent push for externally mandated comparative data on teaching by taking a holistic standpoint, one that treats teaching and assessing as inseparable parts of a complete process. I begin by situating the debate in the current Ontario context. Next I examine the ideological background to the current government support for standardized tests. In the third section, I discuss in detail the arguments against standardized testing. Finally I suggest non-comparative, qualitative alternatives that are more truly equitable.

LE MOUVEMENT EN FAVEUR DES TESTS STANDARDISÉS : ÉQUITABLE OU EXCESSIF?

RÉSUMÉ. Cet article touche aux problèmes reliés à l'accroissement de l'usage des tests standardisés dans le contexte particulier des écoles publiques de l'Ontario. Je mets en question la légitimité de cette pression constante pour des données comparatives sur l'enseignement en adoptant un point de vue holistique, celui qui considère l'enseignement et l'évaluation comme des parties inséparables d'un tout. Je commence par situer le débat dans le contexte ontarien actuel. Ensuite, j'examine les fondements idéologiques de la position gouvernementale en faveur des tests standardisés. Dans la troisième partie, je présente en détail les arguments qui vont à l'encontre des tests standardisés. Enfin, je suggère d'autres moyens d'évaluation non comparatifs et qualitatifs qui sont beaucoup plus équitables.

Ontario's testing landscape

This article is primarily concerned with the consequences of the current swing of the positivist pendulum as it pertains to assessment in Ontario. More specifically, I examine and question the approaches to standardized tests that are currently being used in Ontario public schools. In 1996 the provincial government of Ontario created the Education Quality and Accountability Office (EQAO). The mandate of this political body is to test achievement of all students in the province in the public school system. At

an estimated cost of \$59 million (Ontario Teachers' Federation, 2003), the EQAO has been implementing proprietary performance and criterion-referenced language and mathematics tests since 1997 at the grade 3 and 6 levels, and has since implemented tests in grade 9 and the Ontario Secondary School Literacy Test (OSSLT). Currently the EQAO has plans to bring out 12 new tests from grade 4 through grade 11 by 2007 (Ministry of Education, 2001). There is talk in the media about the possibility of the creation of a new high-school diploma that will be awarded to those students who fail to pass the OSSLT.

Many of the issues that arise in dealing with Ontario's testing context are universal and reoccur wherever similar forms of testing are being employed. However, while debate surrounding the use of standardized tests occurs in all levels of education, the issue becomes more critical when a school system imposes these standardized tests on children and adolescents. The consequences of testing in a K-12 setting are more significant than they may be in an adult or professional learning program because the affected learners in primary and secondary schooling cannot yet be seen as being fully responsible for their own learning. So, while many of the issues discussed herein may apply to post-secondary education, the stakes are different. Here participation in educational programs is not a voluntary act by adults who have taken over much or all of the responsibility for their own educational development, but rather an involuntary requirement imposed on children and adolescents in a mandatory school system.

As matters stand, there is no clear approach or consistent philosophy being applied to assessment practices in Ontario schools. On the one hand, teacher education programs and post-graduate education programs are often exploring an assessment-as-reflective-inquiry paradigm in attempting to create effective teachers, yet on the other hand, policymakers continue to implement policies that further separate the assessment process from the classroom environment. Assessment initiatives are coming from several directions including teacher, school, and school boards, and these sometimes conflict with the goals of the tests being mandated by the EQAO because these tests are autocratically constructed, externally administered, and externally marked.

Much conjecture exists in school communities regarding the efficacy and usefulness of EQAO tests. Only recently, however, have studies surfaced that reveal that neighbourhood "social capital" (Berthelot, Ross & Tremblay, 2001, p. 25) and other "neighbourhood effects" (Harris & Mercier, 2000, p. 211) have a significant impact on how well students perform on EQAO tests and at school. The Berthelot and Harris studies provide compelling evidence that EQAO test results are strongly linked to local and regional socioeconomic variables. The mass testing of students through imposed

standardized tests does two things: it penalizes students who are socially disadvantaged, and it limits the ability of teachers to help rectify that social inequity.

The OSSLT is now being used to guide the decision to promote students from high school. Teachers' efforts are becoming more constrained in this context because they are no longer the primary instruments used to assess children's literate abilities. It is particularly troubling to know that teachers stand to have no input in the promotion decisions about students who have failed the OSSLT. This loss of input raises inherent questions of teacher independence and responsibility as it pertains to equitable teaching practices. Thus, when teachers and students are being faced with externally mandated tests increasingly disconnected from classroom activities, examining the issues further becomes an urgent task.

Standardized testing: the background.

Assessment is a high stakes social practice occurring in schools and using commonly recognized norms. These norms are not incidentally held but deliberately upheld to stream students – to propel some forward while systematically impeding others. There are two major strains of testing, the comparative and non-comparative methods. Agencies and governments are currently engaged in increasingly frequent and in-depth movements to establish comparative results through “objective” testing.

The development of standardized tests has a long history in the western tradition of schooling, training, and educational programs. Murphy (1997) suggests why: “standardized testing is, perhaps, a prototypical exemplar of this broader desire to control chance” (p. 263). The desire to control chance with large-scale assessments continues to dominate the assessment frameworks in educational institutions in the United States and Canada (Serafini, 2002). The practice of creating and validating tests with the aim of identifying objective knowledge and intelligence has arisen out of the modernist western logico-scientific paradigm. But, as Tindal et al. (2001) demonstrate, “investigation of the reliability and validity of these measures has not kept pace with their development and use” (p. 203). Serafini (2002) describes the traditional view as follows: “‘assessment as measurement’ is closely aligned with a modernist philosophy and supports the factory model of education” (p. 69). From this perspective, knowledge is broadly seen as existing apart from its users, in that it can be objectively categorized and usefully quantified. Creswell (2002) describes this approach aptly: “just as atoms and molecules are subject to predicable laws and axioms, so also are the patterns of children’s behaviors in schools” (p. 45).

The term “mass testing” pertains to two classes of standardized tests: criterion-referenced tests and norm-referenced tests. These types of tests, along

with large-scale performance tests, continue to predominate in the desire to rank and score masses of students. While more will be said about the matter later, the critical point to remember about all standardized tests on which high-stakes decisions are based is that, by definition, mass tests cannot be based on individual students' profiles or needs. Norm-referenced tests compare students to their peers, or a specified percentile-weighted score of similar students. The strength of this type of test is that it can provide a picture of what a student is able to achieve in relation to others. However, gleaning that information is not sufficient; acting upon the information is what helps the struggling student. Criterion-referenced and performance-based tests can provide useful data about a learner's progress. They fail, however, to tell us *why* a student cannot achieve, as the information that these types of tests provide is limited.

The creation and use of standardized tests find varying levels of support in different jurisdictions. They are increasingly being promoted in the name of the "basic skills and accountability" rhetoric of global competitiveness. Historically, there have been numerous "pendulum swings" toward and away from positivist approaches to testing (Linn, 2001, p. 29). And while support for standardized tests has moved in and out of favour, the pendulum has clearly been swinging towards the increased implementation of mass testing in Canada, particularly in Ontario.

The critique of standardized testing

Positions countering the positivist research tradition that supports standardized testing have arisen with the move to post-modern and interpretivist approaches in qualitative research designs. Oddly, these continue to be termed "alternate" approaches (Creswell, 2002, p. 47; Connell, Johnson & White, 1992, p. 209). It is these alternate approaches to assessment that Erickson (1986 cited in Serafini, 2002) asserts have "characteristics [that] align with qualitative research methodologies and with a constructivist perspective towards knowledge" (p. 72).

The qualitative paradigm allows for a well-grounded critique of standardized tests. Such tests are ineffective at revealing what a student can do beyond their scope, and they are useless at explaining why a student has not achieved the desired outcomes. Quantitative testing, then, must be seen as having practical limits in usefulness. In the Ontario context, when a teacher is forced to fail a student who has not passed the OSSLT regardless of all other achievements, the test must be seen as being in conflict with the goals of equitable classroom practice. A single test is being used to decide promotion at the end of high-school. Thus, the aims of the EQAO are substantively disconnected from teachers, and their tests offer punitive repercussions for failing students.

Research has been questioning the objective validity of standardized tests since their inception (Resnick, 1980). The questioning of the objectivity of psychometrics has drawn attention to problems of systematic and cultural bias on standardized tests (Chase, 2001; Lewis 2001; Bracey 2001 & Mellow, 2001). Recently, Hoover's (2000) study of the standardized testing movement in Ohio has revealed that socioeconomic factors are consistently the best predictors of standardized test scores in that state. To that end, Kohn (2000a) notes the absurdity of the matter: that it would be far more efficient – with virtually the same results – to promote and demote students according to their household income (p. 7). Hansen (1993) regards the standardized testing movement as being “somewhat analogous to using a tape measure as the treatment to reduce one's waist size” (p. 20). However, the problem with standardized tests has moved beyond validity, long held to refer primarily to whether a test actually measures what it claims to measure. Berlak (1992), in his call for a new science on assessment, concluded that test designers must consider the impact of all tests on schools, teachers, and students. He reminds us that:

In the real world of schooling, separating means and ends is not possible. All assessment procedures have the power to directly or indirectly shape social relations... moral questions arise in all social relationships, which can either be resolved by the use of direct or indirect power where the values, beliefs and ideologies of those with the ability to impose their will prevail, or by a process wherein conflicts are acknowledged, and mediated recognizing both differences and commonalities in interests and values. (p. 16)

What is happening in Ontario schools is precisely Berlak's (1992) concern: government is imposing its will in a way that shows it is strongly committed to prevailing in this debate.

Assessment as social construct

Connell, Johnston and White (1992) describe assessment as a social technique, “an appraisal of socially-situated practices of reasoning and communication” (p. 209). O'Sullivan (1999) adds that “all observations are ‘socially constructed’ and are, therefore, systems of interpretation” (p. 91). Educators assess through a necessarily phenomenal world of experience where it is contradictory to affirm the absolute objective validity of intelligence quotient and other forms of standardized tests. That is, teachers must be involved as co-constructors of knowledge and be fully aware of the innate inter-subjectivity of classroom experience. Standardized tests seek to assess individuals, young people who bring a different range of experiences to the classroom, through a most peculiar claim: that all students can learn differently and come from inequitable backgrounds but be evaluated in the same way, at the same time, by the same test – designed, of course, by those who

are the social power-holders. Such a notion of objective testing is typically upheld by the classically conservative from the 'assessment-as-measurement' movement, who, likely, by the vanity generated in their own successes on such 'objective' tests, believe that the unbiased standardized test is not only possible, but useful and desirable. Adding to the inappropriateness of standardized tests are the limited factors that can possibly be tested: recall and interpretation that require students to have the same social, economic and language-based learning experiences to make similar sense of the questions. How students reason for their answers on such tests is never known, only the singular selected or written response. Assessing learning requires that we assess the reasoning. Assessing reasoning demands that we genuinely know and understand our students and their needs – those necessary precursors to effective teaching.

The main problem with standardized tests is that they gauge pluralistic knowledge against one standard set of knowledge. Unlike teachers, tests cannot strive to include and bridge the gaps between dominant knowledge and the students' knowledge. One test cannot possibly assess a classroom of individual instincts and pluralistic powers any more than we could singularly assess a nation. Stereotyping is problematic for the same reason: it reveals some limited aspects of the target groups, then it accentuates their differences simply because they are not part of the dominant norm.

The dilemma exists that some of what is collectively valued and perpetuated as desirable knowledge within the dominant norm is destructive and unsustainable, yet this model of using one standard for valuing and identifying knowledge and learning remains dogmatically prominent. O'Sullivan (1999) raises a compelling point regarding the construction of human communities, that "one of the perennial problems that human communities have faced in the past, and still experience in the present, is a state of solidarity with the community as an in-group while excluding and denigrating an out-group" (p. 246). In the communities of schooling, high-stakes tests do precisely that: they create a state of solidarity within the group that passes, and exclude the out-group by virtue of their "failure". When Western society at large believes it is the global in-group, it is no wonder that we tacitly perpetuate this and overtly test for adherence in the classroom. Comparative standardized testing remains an accepted form of ethnocentricity, perpetuating marginalization.

The political dimension

The methodology of evaluating student performance has a widely debated history in Canada because the top policy-makers are rarely educators or students of education. In Ontario, the provincial government's creation of EQAO has created a situation for the provinces' stakeholders that commits students to achieve satisfactory outcomes on standardized high-stakes tests.

The provincial government's agenda ignores the possibility that standardized testing may function as a form of educational ethnic cleansing (Kohn, 2000b). Tests become high-stakes when they are utilized to assess students in a manner that has broadly-based and far-reaching implications on students' future achievement potential. Such tests create additional pressure on schools and teachers to ensure that students perform well on single tests, while teacher and school performance is increasingly being assessed by the results of students' achievement on such tests. Clearly, there is nothing progressive about the current inability to reconcile testing approaches with political aims. The teacher, the best fit to teach, is forced to fail a student who cannot pass one literacy test, heedless of why, or to teach only to the test to give the struggling student a chance of passing.

Standardized tests have been called into question as being either tautological, non-inclusive, or both (see Kohn 2000b; Chase, 2001; Lewis 2001; Bracey 2001 & Merrow, 2001). To date, the EQAO has not demonstrated enough about their implementation, their methodology, and the research basis of their tests to counter the critique that there are major problems with the tests themselves. My attempts to acquire empirical support for the technical adequacy of EQAO tests have proven futile as there are currently no provisions for public accessibility to any EQAO data beyond the test results that are annually released to the schools and media. It should be noted that an absence of empirical support is not unique to EQAO tests for, as Tindal et al. (2001) report, "inspection of 12 commercially criterion-referenced tests revealed that only 4 test manuals addressed reliability and validity" (p. 203). While these are problems of some commercially available tests that may apply to EQAO tests, testing practices in Ontario begin to move some distance further from rationality, if Allingham's (2000) accusations are correct:

[There is] administrative ineptitude in the marking process. Considering that a panel of 'experts' . . . arbitrarily set the passing standard at about 70% . . . the writers had no stake in the process [and] many markers were not even teachers (p. 69)

If, indeed, non-teachers mark these tests, then it is clear how substantially disconnected from the classroom this process is becoming. This should be critically troubling because "marking has considerable consequences for educational and societal opportunities and is arguably one of the key instruments for selection and control" (Verkuyten, 2000, p. 453). When non-teachers are the markers, the test results are stripped further of any beneficial involvement in the classroom. The validity of the testing instrument is no longer the whole issue. There are also questions of authenticity of the testing environment. While the Ontario Curriculum documents specify outcomes for students to utilize dictionaries, peer and teacher feedback for their writing, the EQAO "on demand" series of writing tasks did not give

students access to these customary resources" (Allingham, 2000, p. 69). This potentially renders the results on these tests ambiguous. The second crucial problem with these tests is more broad: one rooted in a problematic situation of dichotomous approaches and unreconciled philosophical understandings of educational praxis at the varied levels of educational policymaking and implementation in Ontario. In other words, politicians, touting the virtues of standardized "objective" tests and "accountability" are bulldozing their tests into the classroom, seemingly unaware of the potentially disastrous consequences of high stakes testing.

Student needs and ethical concerns

The goal of streaming students via mass comparative assessments works efficiently, but to what end is this streaming? Why do we presume that, because historically only the "brighter" students have excelled, this is a desirable outcome? To the contrary, society is maximally benefited by maximal possible achievements for all students. Further, the issue here is not simply a problem with the idea of streaming students into vocational and academic directions, but rather, that there is a significant potential of erroneously streaming students based on antecedent conditions that may take many years to correct. Educating students is about maximizing learning by meeting needs, by propelling passions and by nurturing human curiosity, not closing doors forever because of one test. Socially fair and just teaching must begin from the proposition that all students are always making something positive of themselves.

Students need basic skills and students need to become literate. While everyone involved claims to be interested in serving the needs of students, the disagreement about how this can be best achieved rests in whether the purpose of any testing is to help, or to hinder, students. The main question, then, is whether it is ethical to use high stakes tests to prevent students from proceeding if they are not achieving the basic skills. If assessment is used to identify the needs of students because it is a necessary precursor to learning optimally, we can then aim at extending learning. Holding students back is not needs-based unless we are prepared to do something more for them. If we are simply preventing students from getting a high school diploma at the end of their schooling, what is the point? Any testing that is not aimed at identifying what a student needs to learn is, by definition, not needs-based. However, the issue is complicated by a shroud of simplistic externally-originating assumptions about assessing needs. Comparative tests not based in serving needs – those with implications that stand to prevent entry into other educational institutions without educative recourse, like the OSSLT – are unethical, especially when we remember what groups are being denied.

If we claim, as the Education Quality and Accountability Office (2002) does, that we "value the well-being of learners above all other interests"

(para. 1), then what follows is that only needs-based assessment is ethically sound because it is the only assessment type that reflects this stated concern for the well-being of students. When the purpose of assessment is to decide promotion, or when the stakes of a test require students to pass in order to continue on the path of formal education, clearly, the focus has shifted away from the needs of students. Students who failed the test cannot graduate, and are denied entry into further schooling when this is precisely what these students need. There should be no illusions about these consequences: the end result is to exclude those who have, for complex reasons, failed to meet the requirements of one test. And stunningly, nearly one-third of secondary school students failed the OSSLT in 2000 (Canadian Press, 2001). By giving tests of exclusivity, we are ignoring most those who need help.

The alternative: the possibilities of qualitative assessment.

Qualitative assessment is an approach that aims to assess student learning across multiple modes of accomplishment, that is, through interviews, journaling, anecdotal records or portfolios, to name a few. The links between qualitative research and qualitative assessment practices are strong. A holistic approach to assessment chooses a method of assessing that is best fit for the specified purpose in the specified context. The chosen method of assessing must be intrinsic to classroom experience rather than external to it. Carefully-developed diagnostic tools and classroom-integrated methods are essential. We need assessments that participate intimately in the classroom, as Serafini (2002) writes:

Teachers, and in many instances students, collect evidence of student's learning and use this information to guide curricular decisions. In this way, the curriculum is responsive to the assessment process, and the assessments we choose are responsive to the experiences we provide children. (p. 71)

It is an impossible aim for mass testing to be responsive to students' classroom experiences, especially when conducted after-the-fact.

Non-comparative methods of assessment aim to assess students in an unbiased and just way. They involve the student in the process; they can be implemented by taking the standpoint of those who are most disadvantaged; and they are able to drive and participate in what is being taught. Additionally, non-comparative assessments can avoid potential problems of student embarrassment and test anxiety, thereby making the learning experience pleasurable and more effective.

Impediments to a qualitative approach

The impediments to abolishing standardized tests are, however, many. They may include teachers who foresee a greater workload; they may include a public that distrusts teachers; but they clearly include politicians who sup-

port standardized tests as a simple solution for the perceived failings of the educational system. And there may be those “on the top” who prefer to uphold the status quo for obvious reasons. What cannot be overlooked in these viewpoints, however, is that there is no logical connection between standardized testing and promoting genuine educational achievement. Rather, the evidence is to the contrary.

Kachur (2000) suggests the current problems are somewhat out of teachers’ hands because there has been a “failure of a critical intellectual community to provide a viable alternative to the neoliberal and neoconservative agenda” (p. 65). Although Kachur may be right in pointing to a failure in our system, we do not need more alternative approaches. We need a new mainstream approach.

The role of education is to create a better society by using socially just and equitable approaches. The often brutal inequities of the whole should never be mimicked in the classroom. The classroom ought to be the microcosm of the social ideal: a safe, genuine and equitable place. When the statistics of our societal successes and failures are used as indicators for where we need improvement, our vision of education can stand up to meet this failure – as a reality check against a dynamic and changing social order to which we need to respond with deliberation. Hutchinson (1999) states the purpose of education as follows:

Education, in its richest sense is based in the assumption that there is something about the human spirit that can rise above its social enculturation. If this were not the case, we would simply never escape forms of domination and discrimination because we would simply accept our society’s message regarding the correct form of social relations. (p. 90)

We know that standardized testing and social conditions are inequitable and biased. But we have the methods and awareness to assess justly. Since the tension between policymakers and practitioners remains a part of our educative landscape, the question remains: What more can we do? Kohn (2000a) suggests that community and teachers overtly resist standardized testing, but practically, there is no reasonable way for teachers to resist implementing what has become a necessary part of keeping their position. And teacher resistance to such testing is politically advertised as teachers not wanting to be “accountable.” This is an easily-sold claim when politicians have a voice that teachers lack. Moreover, the value of teacher perceptions of assessment is being undermined by policymakers through their locating the shortcomings on EQAO tests onto teachers; they are doing this by concurrently introducing teacher-testing in the province. Regrettably, the increasing pressure on schools and teachers that are not performing well according to this political movement may continue into the foreseeable future. So, most importantly, we must remain aware and show that it is the case that political policy has entered too far into the classroom.

Shaker (2000) argues that the increasing stakes proposed by teacher testing is a further symptom of the same problematic issues in the system: that policy is overstepping its bounds as “the hunger for simple answers has overwhelmed good judgement” (p. 3). Sadly, the research of Anders and Richardson (1994) shows that some teachers have internalized the notion that “tests developed elsewhere were objective, and could therefore be trusted” (p. 399). In this regard, teachers, who are politically encouraged to feel lack of confidence about their own judgments, may have already internalized their own professional subordination. Murphy (1997) suggests that forcing teachers to implement standardized testing places teachers “in the unenviable position of explicitly denying their own judgement” (para. 30). Yet, the need to utilize qualitative non-comparative assessments and maintain a commitment to equitable practices has never been stronger.

The government that now forces accountability into the classroom has ironically forgotten that they are the same people who approve teacher education programs. And as Issler (2001) points out, “the process-product orientation to teaching presumes too much of a causal relation between teaching and learning and, thus, requires a greater degree of accountability than is realistic and necessary” (p. 342). It is a case of undermining teachers’ professionalism when we have politicians mandate their testing into the classroom. Public support of the policy keeps it in place for now, but the reach of the public opinion in this debate should be questioned, for if we believed completely in the views of the majority, we would not need judges in courts of law. Citizens could simply decide cases by clicking buttons online. Through this example, the underlying condition is obvious: we trust that judges are the best fit to make legal determinations. Teachers are considered less professional than judges because the public and the policymakers do not trust teachers’ determinations about students. We need to develop teacher education and assessment processes that recognize that a healthy educational system is not as simple as effectively transmitting information to students whereby teachers, administrators, and school districts are directly or indirectly evaluated according to student test scores. Pearson et al. (2001) describe the current accountability trends as destructive because increasingly “reputations, jobs, salaries, and resources are at stake” (p. 177). And the greater the consequences of test score results, the more “that pressure compels educators to use any means necessary to raise test scores” (Pearson et al, 2001, p. 177).

Conclusion

The implementation of holistic assessment requires both political and practical components. Reed (1992) proposes multicultural and invitational approaches to education that will need to “shape significant changes in both structure and delivery systems of schools” (p. 73). While we must continue

to improve our systems, we must now utilize equitable approaches in our classrooms. Reed states: "this challenge [the accountability of words and deeds by those in an educational setting] will . . . benefit children who are culturally, economically, linguistically, and racially different or otherwise disinvented" (p. 73). One cannot become a social agent of change through merely saying politically correct catch-phrases of social equality. It will take the deed, to assess inclusively, qualitatively, and holistically – deliberately. We cannot assume that teachers will automatically do this, just as we cannot assume that policymakers will automatically see a need to do it – but we must raise social awareness of the issues. We must collectively strive to bridge the gap that is widening between teachers and policymakers as the push for comparative data impinges on the professionalism of teachers and on the environment of the classroom.

High stakes comparative testing is not benign. It is inconsistent with the pursuit of equitable and authentic teaching. Teachers have a primary duty to provide a just and equitable classroom, and they have an obligation to know and state the matter when policy is infringing beyond its healthy bounds. The school community at large needs to become aware of the control agenda of the positivist, autocratic, and politically driven ideology that continues to mandate standardized tests as a punitive control gate at the exit door of public schooling. We must strive towards a reconciliation of the split between teaching, teacher education, and policy-making. Ultimately, if teachers are destined to flourish as reflective, knowledgeable professionals, they will need support from government in the removal of mass-testing schemes. Teachers must decidedly become those best fit to teach and assess students in an equitable way. Let us continue to develop the competencies of teachers as assessors and let us hope we manage to get mass-testing out of the classroom. As for the mass-testing movement itself, Eric Hoffer's (1951) description of the function of mass movements is fitting: "the technique of a mass movement aims to infect people with a malady and then offer the movement as a cure" (p. 42).

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“A PLACE AMONG THE FOSSILS”: USING METAPHORS FROM IMAGINATIVE LITERATURE TO MANAGE CHANGE IN OUR SCHOOLS

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ABSTRACT. There is a significant focus in educational research that explores the nature of change in schools. In particular, researchers appear to be examining ways to minimize the negative aspects of change for both educators and students. One change that schools are currently struggling with is the use of technology – both in terms of the integration of technology into educational delivery systems and whether technology should have a place at all in schools. This paper explores the potential of metaphors derived from familiar imaginative literature as a means of reducing the stress associated with change, and also as a means of effectively conveying the need for change – especially with respect to the use of technology in schools.

«UNE PLACE PARMI LES FOSSILES» : L'UTILISATION DE MÉTAPHORES DANS LA LITTÉRATURE IMAGINAIRE POUR MIEUX GÉRER LES CHANGEMENTS DANS NOS ÉCOLES

RÉSUMÉ. Maintes recherches en science de l'éducation traitent de la nature des changements dans nos écoles. De façon plus précise, les chercheurs semblent vouloir étudier différents moyens de diminuer les effets négatifs du changement pour les éducateurs et les élèves. L'utilisation des nouvelles technologies est un changement auquel les écoles sont actuellement confrontées. Deux aspects sous-tendent ce changement : l'intégration des technologies dans la pédagogie et la pertinence même de la présence des nouvelles technologies dans les écoles. Cet article traite du potentiel des métaphores, puisées dans la littérature imaginaire populaire, comme moyen pour réduire le stress causé par un changement, ainsi que comme moyen pour sensibiliser étudiants et professeurs au besoin de changement; et ce, particulièrement en ce qui concerne l'utilisation des nouvelles technologies dans les écoles.

A common theme in contemporary educational literature holds that education is at a crossroads that has brought us to the brink of significant change. The crossroads image evokes a Frostian “. . . two roads diverged in the yellow wood . . .” situation that not only requires a choice but also suggests that there may be a poor or incorrect choice. The choice may be to make changes or to simply continue to observe the status quo. Nevertheless,

the choice will inevitably have significant consequences for both students and educators.

A prominent educational research focus lies in exploring the nature of change in schools and, particularly, in minimizing the negative aspects of change for educators and students. For example, Fullan (2001), explores a variety of issues worthy of consideration in managing the process of change. However, it is not change itself that causes so many difficulties for people but, rather, it is how individuals think about change. He states "we have become so accustomed to the presence of change that we rarely stop to think what change really means . . . the crux of change is how individuals come to grips with this reality" (p. 29).

Change implies that individuals must give up or, at least, soften their grip on their current views, practices and/or beliefs and accept or integrate new ones in their place. This integration of new ideas rarely takes place without difficulty. Marris (as cited in Fullan, 2001) observes that "*all* real change involves loss, anxiety and struggle" (p. 30, emphasis in the original). One might say that the feelings of loss, anxiety, and struggle will be particularly evident among teachers during the change precipitated by the emergence of information technologies because they have the potential to radically alter the traditional teacher/student relationship to one in which the students "learn to be constructors of knowledge and to think rationally, creatively, and critically . . . [as they] solve authentic problems [and] retrieve and manage information" (Lowe & Vespestad, 1999, p. 35). This shifts the responsibility for learning to the student and changes the role of the teacher from knowledge dispenser to that of a learning facilitator or coach. Means (1994) fleshes this idea out with her observation that this new orientation requires teachers to be

responsible for setting up the inquiry units and for creating the organizational structure within which [students] do their work. But once the work begins, teachers no longer have the total control of the direction of instruction that they exercise in conventional classrooms. (p. 8)

While there are a wide variety of methods to help people come to terms with the reality of change, cognitive tools such as metaphors appear to have a significant impact on individuals' abilities to cope with change. "[Metaphors] enable us to build bridges between the known and the unknown through in-depth comparisons . . . extend[ing] our understanding of the connection of one phenomenon to another" (Brown & Moffett, 1999, pp. 32-33). Metaphors may be effective in reducing the anxiety associated with change by allowing the individual to have one foot in the familiar and yet place the other foot in the new or unfamiliar paradigm. Thus, an individual may use a metaphor as a tool to provide a "safe" platform from which change can be contemplated, considered, and visualized. In short, one can try the

change on for size and walk around in it for a while. As suggested by Brown and Moffett (1999), "the metaphor . . . can serve as a powerful frame or mental model to guide and inform the process of educational transformation" (p. 35).

Primary sources of useful metaphors include visual art, popular culture, films, music, and fictional literature. Porter (1991) agrees by observing ". . . the humanities can play a valuable role in educating people to be effective in organizational life" (p. xv). If Fullan (2001) is correct in his observation that change is a fact of organizational life, then an individual's effectiveness in organizational life might be a function, in part, of his or her effectiveness in coping with change. "Beyond shaping the way we think and act, metaphors also help us to solve problems . . . [by] mak[ing] the strange familiar" (Brown & Moffett, 1999, pp. 35-36). Perhaps, therefore, organizational leaders can reduce the anxiety associated with change and enhance the effectiveness of change by incorporating metaphors and other images from classic or familiar works of imaginative literature into the change process itself.

In the spirit of using the familiar as a bridge to the unfamiliar, I drew on my background as a high school English instructor for this article. I chose one of my favourite novels, *The Chrysalids* by John Wyndham (1955), as a source of metaphors to explore the issue of change in schools and, especially, the changes necessary to foster effective use of technology in schools. The novel's stance on change and society, as well as its status as being a relatively well-known work, made it immediately appealing to me as a frame around which to build this paper. Thus, the focus for this paper is to explore the usefulness of fiction in this context by applying a number of key metaphors and images derived from *The Chrysalids* to the pedagogical changes inherent in the incorporation of technology into contemporary education. In other words, what lessons can Wyndham's novel offer for contemporary educators as they cope with technological change in their schools? I will begin with a brief synopsis of the novel and an explanation of the reasons for the choice of this novel as a source of metaphor. Then I present a series of brief quotations from the novel; through these I structure the discussion of the management of technological change in contemporary education.

THE NOVEL

The Chrysalids is a post-apocalyptic novel that, on the surface, is an anti-technology treatise. The basic assumption of the story is that modern man had developed his technological abilities without adequately developing his communicative abilities. This imbalance resulted in a cataclysmic nuclear war that destroyed nearly everything and everybody on Earth. A key view brought to the surface in the novel is that while humans had evolved physically as far as they could, the human mind had not yet reached its full

potential. In fact, the war actually provided the impetus, both literally and figuratively, for the further evolution of the human mind. The nuclear fallout, over time, actually resulted in the protagonist, as well as a number of other characters, developing the ability to communicate telepathically. While a gift in many ways, this ability caused virtually insurmountable problems for them and their society.

The story takes place in Waknuk, a small agrarian community in Labrador. "This novel looks beyond the pessimistic future shrouded in the 'mushroom cloud' into the time of reconstruction after such an event . . . we are shown a world of the frontier" (Lowensteyn, 2001, p. 2). In *The Chrysalids*, the people have survived the chaos and destruction of a nuclear holocaust and started over. They have reached the stage of organized community life reminiscent of the 1800's and have developed ". . . a strict and stern inflexible morality based on a dark, incomprehensible fear of an unknown past" (Lowensteyn, 2001, p. 3). Over the generations, the community has forgotten the true nature of the destruction and has, instead, developed a religious explanation for the genetic mutations and for the destruction itself. They say that God had sent "Tribulation" on them and that they must continually strive to climb back into God's graces by destroying all that does not fit the "definition of man" or "the true image."

A common view of frontier life depicts the pioneers building and developing towards a vision of a new and exciting future. In contrast, "the people of this frontier do not look towards a new future, but instead have an all consuming passion for stability" (Lowensteyn, 2001, p. 3). This stability was viewed as the foundation in which the technological and societal marvels of the "old people" could be resurrected and preserved and became the vehicle by which the people of Waknuk could regain God's favour.

It is possible to justify their passion for stability by evoking current scientific understandings about the genetic mutations caused by exposure to nuclear radiation. However, "out of their fear of physical change, a severe conformity to the 'true image' has developed, a set of beliefs which stifles the human mind and much worse, the human spirit" (Lowensteyn, 2001, p. 3).

The novel's central thesis is that inflexibility and rigidity leads to stagnation of the human mind and, ultimately, of the human race itself. This paper uses a parallel thesis which suggests that since the human mind is developed, in part, by education, inflexibility in educational pedagogy could also ultimately lead to stagnation of the human race. I recognise that this position is overstated – implying that contemporary educators are doing a poor job of educating students. After all, technology is most certainly not some sort of panacea that will cure all of education's ills. In fact, often against incredible odds, teachers successfully and effectively teach and inspire students to be their best. Technology is merely a tool. However, "as the

Internet takes up residence in our offices, homes, and schools, we no longer have the prerogative to view technology as optional" (Oseas, 2000, p. 3).

If we compare the current role of technology in our society to the role of technology in many classrooms, a significant gap becomes evident. Cuban (2001) argues that in both milieus, technology has achieved a "ubiquitous presence." However, only in the world outside the classroom has technology become fully integrated into day-to-day operations. "School computer use – at least for most of the children in our society – [is] not infused into traditional curriculum subjects nor [are] children exposed to subject-related academic computing in school" (Giacquinta, Bauer, & Levin, 1993, p. 101). Rather, technology use is often used "solely for enrichment and reinforcement" (Cuban, p. 52). Thus, a typical child's experiences with technology in the classroom often evoke the image of a "thousand dollar flash card" (Papert, 1993, p. 41) in that the computer is used primarily as a drill machine or, perhaps, as a typewriter.

Nevertheless, as argued by Means (1994), education is "ripe" for real change in a way that has never existed before. "A new willingness to consider profound changes to the educational system is apparent in the current reform efforts of governors, state legislators, business coalitions, and teachers' associations" (p. 2). With the spectre of the school reform movement hanging over our educational systems:

in many places, serious school reform is being undertaken without any real consideration of the facilitating role that technology might play. Even more common is the introduction of new instructional technologies without any serious consideration of how these technologies might further school reform goals. (p. xi)

In other words, the two movements – school reform and the implementation of educational technology – should, or at least, could complement each other. "I have come to believe that the causal relationship [between school reform and educational technology] flows at least equally strongly in the other direction – that is, that education reform makes a school ripe for technology" (Means, p. xii). This paper does not advocate blind acceptance of technological innovation. However, it does advocate a critical examination and implementation of technological possibilities which are educationally sound in a way that integrates technology into the very fabric of educational practice.

Dolence and Norris (1995), in their examination of post secondary education, suggest that education systems are currently organized to develop in students a skill set which was appropriate in the industrial age, but society has shifted to an information age. Thus, they theorize, the skill set possessed by graduates of contemporary education is somewhat out of date in relation to the societal reality they face upon graduation. The similarities between

education's resistance to pedagogical change and Waknuk society's rigid stance on innovation and change are unmistakable. Thus, *The Chrysalids* seems a good choice as a source of metaphors and images to discuss technological change in education. In recognizing the risks inherent in resisting necessary change in Waknuk, educators may be better able to recognize the need for change in their own contexts.

THE NORM IS THE WILL OF GOD

"The norm is the will of God" is representative of Waknuk's religious precepts. It is connected to a series of "inspirational" wall hangings which decorate David's house. Other statements in the series include "only the image of God is man," "keep pure the stock of the Lord," "blessed is the Norm," and "the Devil is the father of deviation" (Wyndham, 1955, p. 18). These statements illustrate the obsession that Waknuk society has with stability and the status quo and foreshadow the "punishment" of those who are deemed "deviant."

Clearly, innovation and change are viewed by the residents of Waknuk not only with suspicion but also as the work of the devil. The existing order is seen as having been preordained by God. Maintenance of the established order is not only expected but demanded as a condition of continued membership in the society. These precepts are a clear statement of the established customs and moral codes of the society. Those who do not conform either in their appearance to the "norm" or to the established ways of thinking are literally banished to the "Fringes," an area south of Waknuk which was more severely affected by the nuclear fallout.

In contemporary education, just as in Waknuk, the forces controlling change are often part of the very fabric of the organisation. Fullan (2001) observes that "the forces reinforcing the status quo are systemic. The current system is held together in many different crosscutting ways" (p. 7). In a similar vein, Papert (1993) states "there was a time when I believed, as many people do, that teachers would be the most difficult obstacle in the way of transforming School [sic]. [However] this simplistic belief . . . is in reality a far greater obstacle to educational change than the fact that some teachers actually are conservative" (p. 57). In other words, it is not so much the teachers who block change – they are just the most convenient and obvious targets. Instead, it is the educational community as a whole that obstructs change.

Papert describes schools as biological systems ". . . which act like any living organism in defending itself against a foreign body. [Schools] put into motion an immune reaction whose end result would be to digest and assimilate the intruder" (p. 40). In this illustration, the intruder could be understood to be either the teacher who is an innovator or who forwards a new approach to instruction (for example, authentic and appropriate use of

technology). Thus, the innovator is repressed and co-opted to remain the same by the forces of the institution itself. Alternatively, teachers may become prisoners of their own paradigms and would, therefore, be unable to see or realize the true educational potential of information technology.

According to Thornburg (2002), "one of the few institutions that have escaped relatively unscathed by the disruptive technologies of the past 50 years is 'school.' By and large, schools have avoided change by ignoring, banning, or trying to co-opt new technologies" (p. 84). In this way, "School [sic] did not let itself change under the influence of the new device [computer]; it saw the computer through the mental lens of its own ways of thinking and doing" (Papert, p. 41) and force-fit it into an already-existing role. Fullan (2001) suggests that this tendency to see new technologies or ideas in light of old ones is common. Wood (2001) points out that without the necessary training and support, even "techno-enthusiasts" who were among the first to recognise the potential of technology and began using it, "often fall back on the out-dated teaching styles they grew up with, such as behaviour/response, rather than incorporating new constructivist theories about learning by doing" (p. 122). However, in view of the place technology holds in contemporary society, educators are challenged to explore new pedagogical possibilities particularly in the area of technology, and evaluate them for use in classrooms. Even more importantly, school systems are challenged to provide the necessary professional development to ensure appropriate technology use. After all, "when used by knowledgeable teachers in a supportive educational context, these new technologies can significantly enhance teaching and learning" (Wiske, 2001, p. 69).

If the forces reinforcing the status quo are systemic; the forces required to effect change must also be systemic. "[Change] requires intensive action sustained over several years to make it possible both physically and attitudinally for teachers . . . it means changing the cultures of the classrooms, the schools, the districts, the universities, and so on" (Fullan, 2001, p. 7).

Yet the fundamentals of education have changed little throughout human evolution. For example, a modern mathematics teacher teaches concepts that are hundreds or thousands of years old, often supplementing his or her lectures by drawing on a piece of paper under a document camera or writing with a piece of chalk on a blackboard. One could argue that, from the student's point of view, this educational experience differs little from the experience of Pythagoras's students.

On the one hand, it certainly could be argued that Pythagoras's students were likely able to understand and apply his mathematical concepts at least in part due to his tutelage. Thus, the teaching methods he used were appropriate and successful and, perhaps, require no change for contempo-

rary applications. In this view, the concept has not changed so the approach used to teach it need not change either. Conversely, it could be argued that since both the context for the application of the mathematical concepts and the individuals who are learning and applying the concepts have changed, the method for teaching those concepts must change as well. This sentiment is common in much of the literature regarding educational change. For example, Fernstermacher (1990), observes that:

Flying itself has not changed; it is still a matter of moving from one point to another in three-dimensional space. What has changed are the demands that must be met in order to fly well in the air traffic system of today. Neither has teaching changed in fundamental ways; it is still a matter of instructing and assisting students so that they acquire the knowledge, understanding, traits of character, and conduct required for a personally rewarding life, productive employment, and effective citizenship. But teaching under the condition of modern schooling is vastly more complex than it was thirty or forty years ago. (p. 140)

Similarly, Papert (1993) uses the following parable that is illustrative of this point:

Imagine a party of time travelers from an earlier century, among them one group of surgeons and another of school-teachers, each group eager to see how much things have changed in their profession a hundred or more years into the future. Imagine the bewilderment of the surgeons finding themselves in the operating room of a modern hospital. Although they would know that an operation of some sort was being performed, and might even be able to guess at the target organ, they would in almost all cases be unable to figure out what the surgeon was trying to accomplish or what was the purpose of the many strange devices he and the surgical staff were employing. The rituals of antiseptics and anesthesia, the beeping electronics, and even the bright lights, all so familiar to television audiences, would be utterly unfamiliar to them.

The time-traveling teachers would respond very differently to a modern elementary school classroom. They might be puzzled by a few strange objects. They might notice that some standard techniques had changed and would likely disagree among themselves about whether the changes they saw were for the better or the worse-but they would fully see the point of most of what was being attempted and could quite easily take over the class. (pp. 1-2)

Thus, the educational experiences of many students in today's schools could be said to bear more resemblance to Pythagoras's instructional methods than to any modern educational theories.

Cuban (2001) offers the following description of a classroom that "typifies" the classrooms of teachers who used computers regularly:

There were four Macs in her room, two of which did not work. She had two others stored in a closet. [She] lets the students use the two that are

working every day during choice time right after lunch. She calls the software . . . that she has loaded on the machines 'games.'

[She] promotes computer use 30 minutes per day because she believes that the software motivates [her students] and it already ubiquitous in their homes. Although she believes that the applications - some of which are drills - extend concepts the children have already learned in class, she does not require every student to go to the computers. [She] uses computers solely for enrichment and reinforcement, rather than direct instruction. District-provided training has equipped her with sufficient skills to manage these software applications and to do minimal trouble-shooting of hardware problems. (p. 52)

In this example, the computers that do work are used frequently but not in a way that integrates them into the regular work the students are doing. However, Cuban argues that computers "must be integrated seamlessly into daily routines" (p. 49) in order for their true potential to be realised. Oseas (2000) argues that the school system itself must take an active role in fostering the integration of computers into classroom routines by providing high-quality training in the methods for achieving this integration. Otherwise, "educational technologies are likely to have little impact on students' abilities to learn without trained teachers to guide and frame their use" (p. 4). While the teacher in this example has been provided with minimal training to use the computers in her classroom, she has not had the opportunity to receive the level of training necessary to achieve full integration of computers into her daily instructional routines (and she does not have enough computers in her classroom to do it in any case).

Other authors are somewhat less critical of current educational practices but still suggest that today's educators have their focus on the past. Cleveland (1997, p. 13) argues, "to manage future complexities, we certainly can't keep using the concepts that served us so well in the industrial era [as we do now]." Similarly, Kozma and Schank (1998) posit that "currently, the emphasis in U.S. schools is on individual learning and performance - what students can do by themselves without the aid of other students or external supports such as books, notes, calculators, and computers" (p. 3). However, economists such as Reich (as cited in Kozma and Schank, 1998) suggest that there has been a ". . . dramatic shift in jobs away from those engaging individuals in production services, moving workers instead toward the role of 'symbolic analysts' . . . [who] use a variety of tools and resources, including computers and scientific and creative instruments . . . [and who] often have partners and associates and work in small teams" (p. 4). Thus, Gardiner's (2000), observation that "a human being miraculously transported from 1900 to our time would recognize much of what goes on in today's classroom - the prevalent lecturing, the emphasis on drill, the decontextualized materials and activities . . ." (p. 30) illustrates what Dolence and Norris (1995) call a factory model of education in which the practices of education were

designed according to society's (or the teacher's) view of the appropriate preparation for a future life as a factory worker. Since a teacher's instructional methods reflect, in part, his or her conception of what a child needs to know for the future, the conceptions of current teachers must also change. Otherwise, in this light, one may argue that today's schools prepare students for a future that no longer exists.

Kay (1997), accepts that computers have crept into educational delivery. He stresses, however, that educators have not gone far enough. "[The current uses of computers] represent a desire on the part of a future-shocked public to see a new technology only as a better version of an old one" (p. 19). This suggests that some educators have simply adopted the trappings of technological change without really implementing it. For example, an educational institution could require its instructors to use PowerPoint or some other electronic presentation program in their lectures. While this gives the impression that the institution is technologically advanced, the "advancement" is illusory because faculty may use it in an old way – as a "high-tech" over-head projector. "To change school practice, curriculum goals and materials, assessment policies and teacher development must shift. Without these changes, a new technology will merely be used to enact traditional practices" (Wiske, 2000, p. 73).

In addition, just as Waknuk's "deviants" were banished to the "Fringes", so too can educational innovators be ostracized by their colleagues. Greenfield (1986) posits "to choose and to acknowledge responsibility for ones' choice is often a risky way of living. It may require standing with those who are heretics by powerful and possibly vengeful authorities" (p. 63). Innovators are not always welcomed either by their colleagues or by their superiors. The following vignette is an example of the ostracism experienced by an educational innovator at the hands of colleagues:

I was asked by my superintendent to join an on-line cyberschool project that he wished to get off the ground. Some fellow teachers had requested a transfer to the project but had not been chosen – they felt that it was a personal affront that one of their immediate colleagues had been selected. The principal of the school at which I was teaching told me that he was reluctant to permit me to participate because I would be away from school to participate in the project. However, what he really meant was that he was concerned not because I would be out of the classroom but, because I would be doing something out of the norm - it created problems for the principal in terms of scheduling. My use of technology in my "regular" classroom setting was also viewed by my colleagues as threatening. Some were worried that they would be expected to follow my lead and others expressed a certain level of jealousy that they were not able to use the technological tools in their classrooms due to hardware shortages.

While this experience was technology related, it did not need to be. Any innovation in a school can lead to similar reactions among staff. Consequently, the norm is reinforced as being "the will of God."

A RUSTED MIRROR

The phrase "a rusted mirror" comes from a discussion between David (the protagonist) and his uncle Axel. "A word, he said, a rusted mirror, reflecting nothing. It'd do the preachers good to see it for themselves. They'd not understand, but they might begin to think . . . What are we doing?" (p. 79). In part, this statement is another illustration of the education's tendency to stolidly maintain the status quo. However, it also refers to individuals' tendencies to adopt accepted meanings without question as well as the tendency for phrases to lose their meaning if they have been learned by rote and/or become overused. The word referred to in David and Axel's discussion is "Tribulation." Axel observes that when the context for the word has been forgotten or when the word becomes a rote response; then, the word become like a rusted mirror – it reflects no meaning. While educational pedagogy must change to incorporate technology, this change must be considered and thoughtful – not just surface adoption of educational technology because it is the current bandwagon on which to jump. McAdoo (2000) observes that schools and governments have responded to public pressure by placing large numbers of computers in schools. Further, Kleiman argues that "the investment in technology for schools resembles the investments being made in many 'dot-com' Internet companies. In both cases, the investments are based on the *potential* of new technologies, in the hope that this potential will be fulfilled in the coming years" (p. 7, emphasis in the original). However, as pointed out by Wiske (2000), the mere presence of technology does not change school practice – curricular goals and materials, assessment policies, and teacher development must change as well. Consequently, "[while] counting the computers in a school and comparing the total with other schools is straightforward; assessing what and how children are learning is another matter altogether" (p. 145).

The purpose of most educational reform proposals is, and should be, to improve instruction and enhance student achievement. Indeed, a common phrase that has almost become a mantra in current educational circles is "What's good for kids?" However, as stated in the previous section, schools are tending to prepare kids for a future that may no longer exist. Gardiner (2000) suggests that "much of education in the past [and present] was calibrated to make sure that individuals could carry out a regular job, reliably, throughout their productive adult years" (p. 31). It is an admirable and, perhaps, a desirable ambition for schools to provide a school environment that resembles a likely future place of employment for students.

However, one must ask what sort of future employment environment today's students will face. For example, most of the tasks that can be handled algorithmically are or soon will be handled electronically. Also, statistics suggest that fewer people will occupy the same occupational niche for their whole lives than was previously the case (Gardiner, 2000). Thus, today's educational systems resemble an assembly line model commonly referred to as an industrial model of education (Dolence & Norris, 1995) or a factory model (Shaffer, 2000) that was appropriate in the past but may no longer be in the present. While it may be appropriate to view school as a place to enculturate students to the world of work most likely to face them as adults, that environment must be accurate.

Thus, a potential future reality for education must recognize that our society has entered an information age that is, perhaps, unparalleled in human history. In fact, "information . . . has quite suddenly become the world's most important resource" (Cleveland, 1997, p. 13). Therefore, students must be encouraged to use technology to cope with and utilize this vast array of information much as they may be required to do in their adult work lives.

In addition, a potential future for education must take into account society's changing expectations of a high school graduate. "This most recent shift [in expectation] is requesting and even demanding that educational institutions produce graduates with computer and technical skills, strong work habits, effective teamwork skills, problem-solving skills, and literacy and numeracy skills" (Jefferson & Edwards, 2000, p. 138). This is, indeed, a dramatic shift from the traditional expectations of schools and one only a shift in the educational paradigm can serve. Most descriptions of successful integration of educational technology describe an educational experience in which students work cooperatively in authentic projects and assignments which address most if not all of these new societal expectations and will begin to reflect more of the potential of information technology in schools.

"GOD'S LAST WORD"

They weren't God's last word like they thought: God doesn't have any last word. If He did He'd be dead. But He isn't dead; and He changes and grows, like everything else that's alive. So when they were doing their best to get everything fixed and tidy on some kind of eternal lines they'd thought up for themselves, He sent along Tribulation to bust it up and remind 'em that life is change. (Wyndham, 1953, p. 153)

The above quotation, from one of David's captors, is in response to David's shock at the variety of life forms in the Fringes. David looks around him and realizes that the world is not as homogenized as he had previously thought. While he had asked Axel and others questions about life outside of Waknuk, David had never really made the connection between what he knew intel-

lectually to be true and what was actually true. He also began to internalize the ironic realization that he was more a being of the Fringes than of Waknuk due to his telepathic abilities.

In the organizational context, this quotation has particular significance. Many schools, especially good or effective ones, tend to forget that continuous reflection and change is necessary to maintain an effective organization. Much of the school effectiveness and improvement literature suggests that all schools can and should continually strive to improve. Of course, improvement also implies change.

Fullan (2001) identifies "three broad phases to the change process" which he calls "initiation, implementation and institutionalization" (p. 50). The following discussion of the change process will be organized according to these headings.

Initiation

Initiation, according to Fullan (2001), is when "someone or some group for whatever reasons initiates or promotes a certain program or direction of change" (p. 50). It would be hoped that the information presented in this paper along with the vast body of evidence suggesting the change in technology focus would provide schools with the motive to initiate change. However, they may ask "How? Where do we start?" Perhaps, then, it would be valuable to examine the successful initiation procedures of a couple of schools in order to identify a possible strategy in this regard.

Lowe and Vespstad (1999) outline the initiation process of the West Junior High School in Lawrence, Kansas in the following way. The school began with a group of students expressing an interest in computer programming. They convinced a teacher to provide supervision and began a club to learn from each other. Over the course of a few years, the program grew until the school community recognized a need for and created a new mission statement reflective of the growing importance of technology in the lives of their kids and in society in general. The school states this mission as follows: "... student work should incorporate a variety of complex information sources that will motivate a desire to expand the knowledge base. For teachers, professional development goals include achieving an instructional transition from a teacher-centered to a facilitative, learner-centered, constructivist environment that supports [local] exit outcomes" (p. 30). From there, the school went about implementing or operationalising the mission statement and has created a learning community which recognizes the importance of technology in word and deed.

A more general but similar strategy was advocated by Mehlinger (1997). He suggested that schools form broad-based committees made up of teachers,

administrators, and community members (parents) which should lead the planning process and define the mission. Instrumental to the success of this plan, in his view, is that "... a small group ... should not decide key issues without consultation with others" (p. A23). However, many other authors would suggest that the key issues in most successful innovations could be and often are decided by a small group (perhaps one or two people initially) or the innovation may never get off the ground because it gets bogged down in the consultation process. Nevertheless, this committee (whatever the makeup), according to Mehlinger, should develop a vision, assess the available resources, decide on goals and objectives, decide on an action plan and evaluate the project regularly and objectively.

The above plans are echoed in much of the literature in the discipline. However, Bull, Nonis, and Becker (1997) identify an additional aspect of the change that seems likely to be a key ingredient if the change is to be successful. They emphasize the need for pointed professional development for teachers at the initiation stage in order to create an informed faculty and, perhaps, a more receptive one as well. In addition, it is suggested that "... one of the chief barriers to developing technology [interest] in teachers was lack of sufficient access to computers. . ." (Sheingold & Hadly cited in Bull et al., 1997, p. 30). Since "educational change depends on what teachers do and think . . ." (Fullan, 2001, p. 115), a "reculturing (how teachers come to question and change their beliefs and habits)" (Fullan, 2001, p. 34) will be necessary. Getting the faculty "on-side" both from a philosophical and a practical point of view would be an important step at the initiation phase. This could be addressed, at least in part, by providing teachers with access to, and instruction in, the use of computers.

Finally, Fullan identifies eight factors affecting initiation. Virtually all of the factors can be brought to bear on the decision to initiate a technology-based educational framework. In the interests of brevity, only the factors with the most impact on the process will be identified here. With respect to the existence and quality of innovation, it is clear that a variety of models exist (e.g., West Junior High). It would not be difficult for a school to adopt an existing model or to develop one of its own based on an existing model. Technology, itself, might be seen as an external agent for change; the change in society that precipitates the inclusion of technology in schools definitely is and it leads to the overwhelming community pressure on schools to change in this way.

Implementation

Implementation of a new idea is a complex process. It involves moving beyond the abstraction of the idea itself to operationalizing that idea in concrete terms. In other words, it requires action. No longer can the

stakeholder community stand back and tacitly support an idea in principle - they must become involved and make the idea work. Fullan (2001) supports this notion with observation that "educational change is technically simple and socially complex" (p. 69). Further, he posits "implementation is critical for the simple reason that it is the means of accomplishing desired objectives" (Fullan, 2001, p. 70, emphasis in the original). If the initiation stage defines the objectives and sets the course for change, implementation involves following that course in an attempt to reach those objectives. However, it should be noted that once the implementation of an innovation of any kind begins, it often evolves in ways that were not predicted or foreseen at the outset.

If one is to identify issues critical to the successful implementation of a new technology focus, a perusal of accounts of successful implementation in various school districts may again provide some suggestions. Bull and his colleagues (1997) identify two key factors of technology implementation success - adequate technical support and relevant ongoing instructional support.

ADEQUATE TECHNICAL SUPPORT. If school divisions truly wish technology to become integral in the educational process, they must ensure that the technology is "up and working" at all times and that there is a support person to manage the inevitable technical glitches presented by computers. "[When] teachers cannot rely on a computer or printer being in working condition, the use of technology quickly takes a low priority and rarely becomes an integral part of the educational process" (Bull et al., 1997, p. 31). This probably requires that schools have a full-time computer technician. Yet, "the number of schools that allocate a full-time, non-teaching position to coordinating teachers' use of technology is small" (Becker, 1998, p. 24). Therefore, it seems that a critical factor in determining the success of implementation is having reliable functioning hardware and having someone available to address concerns when they arise. The herder will soon give up on his new herding tools and techniques if they do not function correctly when he needs them.

RELEVANT ON-GOING INSTRUCTIONAL SUPPORT. Too often, teachers are expected to "do more with less." They are often provided with ill-advised and episodic in-service which appears to be "... 'one-shot' or [of] short duration ... [which has] little or no impact [on instruction]" (OTA cited in Bull et al., 1997, p. 31).

In addition, a school must create a culture in which change is seen as a positive and necessary means to a valuable educational end. Lowe and Vespestad (1999) describe the key professional development goal in West Junior High School as achieving instructional change. From that perspective, they say "... we have created opportunities for teachers to engage in

results-based staff development by providing released time for learning, practice with feedback, ongoing coaching, collaboration, mentoring, and planning" (p. 32).

Many of the other accounts of successful implementation also point out the need for relevant and on-going teacher development. In fact, "... this kind of support and encouragement is the most important factor in determining successful [implementation] of educational technology" (Becker in Bull et al., 1997, p. 31).

Institutionalization

The institutionalization or continuation of this or any educational reform will be influenced by the perceived importance of the change relative to other district initiatives as well as the level of active support for the continuation provided by the school or school system. In addition, the provision of mechanisms for on-going data collection and assessment must also be addressed. These issues will be discussed in the following sections.

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE. School systems and individuals within them often suffer from what Fullan calls "innovation overload." He says "the main problem is not the absence of innovation in schools, but rather the presence of too many disconnected, episodic, fragmented, [and] superficially adorned projects" (2001, p. 21). Other authors, notably Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979), in their examination of the reasons that educational planning sometimes fails, state that "any particular policy [reform] decision is susceptible to an erosion of political support as other issues become relatively more important over time" (p. 499). Further, Fullan (2001) points out that "the problem of continuation is endemic to all new programs ... negative school cultures, unstable districts, and uncoordinated state policies all take their toll" (p. 89).

These observations paint a somewhat dismal picture of our attempts to herd the technological elephant in our schools. They imply that the odds of successful integration of educational technology into the schools are quite long indeed. However, in the face of the overwhelming evidence suggesting the need for this change to be successful, this is one innovation that simply should not be ignored or allowed to be eroded over time. Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979) suggest five strategies that tend to maximize the likelihood of successful integration and institutionalization of innovations over time. They include: having a sound theoretical base, an unambiguous policy directive, well-trained leaders, active support from the school board, and an on-going indication of high priority of the innovation (p. 483).

The sound theoretical base supporting the integration of educational technology can certainly be constructed. Of course, it is important for teachers to know why this change has been proposed in the first place and what

impact it will have on them and their students. In this case, well-trained leaders are probably related to the strong theoretical base. It seems that if teachers are going to be asked to implement the use of technology that many of them are not comfortable or, at least, familiar with, they will need some well-trained leaders to provide support and encouragement. In addition, it would seem prudent to add the additional dimension of teacher training in this context. "Teachers are the key to effective and efficient technology utilization" (Jefferson & Edwards, 2000, p. 140). The technology that is being proposed here was not in existence when many current teachers were trained. A constructivist approach to in-service opportunities in which teachers are provided opportunities to begin learning about educational technology from the point at which their personal computer knowledge begins may be the most successful strategy.

The remaining three strategies may be grouped together for ease of discussion. In this case, it may not be necessary to enact a policy directive because of the nature of the innovation. However, support from the school board is often seen at the school level in the form of money. If a school board wants technology to be fully integrated into the instructional delivery of the classroom, it will have to specifically attach a significant amount of money over a long period of time to the acquisition and maintenance of computers and their related software as well as to teacher training. It may be essential, then, to include a budget line indicating the school board's support of this endeavor.

ON-GOING DATA COLLECTION AND EVALUATION. This aspect of managing change needs to be monitored closely both from the point of view of whether the requisite funds and support structures are in place and whether the desired instructional changes have been made. Admittedly, it will be difficult to monitor the implementation of instructional technology in the classroom. However, instructional supervision can shed some light here. Perhaps, it will be possible, over time, to alter the supervisory culture in schools to include teachers' use of technology. It will require the development of a new vocabulary for supervision and, probably, new supervisory structures as well. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the change will ultimately become a part of the fabric of school culture and no longer be viewed as an innovation at all. Again, the goal is to integrate technology so seamlessly into the context of the educational experience of students that computers almost vanish in their use and the decision to use them becomes as commonplace as picking up a pen or a book.

A PLACE AMONG THE FOSSILS

The living form defies evolution at its peril; if it does not adapt, it will be broken. The idea of a completed man is the supreme vanity: the finished image is a sacrilegious myth . . . They are determined still that there is a

final form to defend: soon they will attain the stability they strive for, in the only form it is granted – a place among the fossils. . . . (p. 182)

This rather startling statement is a comment from a woman from New Zealand who comes to save David and the others. She tries to ameliorate David's worries about the fate of his father and the others who live in Waknuk. She quite rightly points out that in creating a rigid structure to eradicate genetic mutations, they also created the pattern for their own destruction. Essentially, they had created a planned obsolescence that would cause Waknuk society to run into a dead end.

The focus for contemporary education should be to help students avoid this planned obsolescence in their own lives. "Most adult teachers and parents will not have experiences on which they can draw to prepare youngsters for a world in which they can expect to change . . . regularly" (Gardiner, 2000, p. 31). Therefore, as many authors suggest, the focus of education today, more than ever, should be to help students become "life-long learners" who have learned the means for coping with the changes they regularly face.

While, to some extent, the focus of education has always been to help students become life-long learners, it must be mentioned here that the term itself seems to have undergone a subtle shift in meaning. Reeves (1998) points out that:

Integrated performance support systems are essential to the levels of workplace performance required of all workers in organizations that hope to compete in a global economy . . . [and] . . . these support systems must be multi-sensory, integrating a variety of media appropriate to the task to be learned or performed. (p. 49)

This requires workers to be life-long learners who are able to cope with the changes in technology and multi-media as well as the sheer volume of those media. However, they will not possess the skills necessary to perform at this level of multi-sensory competency unless schools program learning opportunities through the authentic use of computer technology across the curriculum which allow students to develop these skills.

The co-NECT school, for example, is one of the platforms of school reform advocated by the New American Schools movement. The basic underpinnings of the co-NECT school are built on a foundation which includes ". . . a comprehensive, technology-supported framework for learning . . . [which is] project-based [and] interdisciplinary" (Kearns & Anderson, 1996, p. 14). Further, Becker and his colleagues (1999) observed that "co-NECT schools can be characterized as schools involved in a thoroughgoing program of whole-school reform, one that involves substantial use of computer technology in pursuit of student learning that is project-based, interdisciplinary, and emphasizes authentic, real-world applications of academic content and community service" (p. 4). The co-NECT school platform is not exactly

unique, however, it is illustrative of the kind of change in focus regarding educational technology advocated in this paper. Its focus on project-based and cooperative application of technology is reminiscent of much of the literature regarding the skills students may need for the future. "Projects play an important part in learning . . . students engage in a complex process of inquiry . . . and design. The result is an artifact – a product of student knowledge that can be shared and critiqued" (Guzdial, 1998, p. 47). The project has become central to many work environments as well.

While it is difficult to predict what skills and competencies students will need in the future, one can begin to paint a tentative picture based upon society's expectations as evidenced above. In 1996, Jacquie MacInnes, described an early experiment in the implementation of technology in the classroom. She suggests that the primary focus should be on the *effective* use of technology. For example, students should "use a wide range of processes, techniques, tools and materials to gather information, solve problems, create and evaluate products and communicate results" (MacInnes, p. 15) in the context of safe and ethical use of technology with an eye to the evaluation of the influence of technology in our lives. This parallels the descriptions of the new expectations of lifelong learners outlined above and speaks to the activities one may complete in order to become prepared as expected by contemporary society.

This represents a significant change in thinking from simply seeing technology as a glorified library database as suggested by Howe (1998) or even as an Internet surfer and e-mailer as suggested by many other authors. After all, "computers are really for helping us understand systems that are too complicated to think about in classical ways, such as political systems or the AIDS epidemic" (Kay, 1997, p. 19) and should be used in ways that reflect this reality.

CONCLUSION

Technology must be integrated into our educational systems seamlessly; we need to accept the computer and allow it to be used to its full potential as the tool it is. Schools must, therefore, begin to create a new reality for themselves which embraces technology as a fact of life rather than as an "extra burden." While "technology cannot supplant good instruction" (Thomas, 1998, p. 8), good instruction can utilize technology in more effective ways and can, as a result, prepare students for whatever future reality they may encounter.

While the resultant change in teacher-student relationships may be unsettling for both teachers and students, metaphors derived from familiar sources may ease the transition. *The Chrysalids* is not the only potential source of metaphor. However, it does provide a prophetic and chilling view of the

consequences of resisting change. It points out that we are caught in a difficult position as we try to provide children with appropriate and relevant educational experiences. However, the present structure of the use – or lack of use – of technology in schools cannot be allowed to continue. In view of the importance of technology in our society, educators have a moral and ethical obligation to address the use of technology in our schools.

One cannot advocate change for change's sake - we should not simply grasp at anything. It is difficult to predict just what a future reality could look like. The computational abilities of computers grow exponentially almost every day and this leads to ever more sophisticated software. However, the explosion of virtual schools and provincial on-line consortia shows some promise as does the proliferation of co-NECT and other school platforms. The creativity and imagination of both students and teachers really provide the only bounds for technology in schools but the key is to use technology in ways that are truly different. After all, to this point "... students still spend most of their school day as if these [technologies] and information resources had never been invented" (Becker, 1998, p. 24) and virtually any use of computer technology would represent progress.

It is the school's challenge and responsibility to create a culture that better integrates technology into its organizational framework. Using a familiar fictional text such as *The Chrysalids* as a basis for discussion with teachers and administrators is one approach to an exploration of technological change in their working lives. The novel allows for non-threatening exchanges about new social concepts. It encourages complex dialogic interactions which support, rather than undermine, the developing viewpoints and practices of educators.

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“A PLACE AMONG THE FOSSILS”: USING METAPHORS FROM IMAGINATIVE LITERATURE TO MANAGE CHANGE IN OUR SCHOOLS

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ABSTRACT. There is a significant focus in educational research that explores the nature of change in schools. In particular, researchers appear to be examining ways to minimize the negative aspects of change for both educators and students. One change that schools are currently struggling with is the use of technology – both in terms of the integration of technology into educational delivery systems and whether technology should have a place at all in schools. This paper explores the potential of metaphors derived from familiar imaginative literature as a means of reducing the stress associated with change, and also as a means of effectively conveying the need for change – especially with respect to the use of technology in schools.

«UNE PLACE PARMI LES FOSSILES» : L'UTILISATION DE MÉTAPHORES DANS LA LITTÉRATURE IMAGINAIRE POUR MIEUX GÉRER LES CHANGEMENTS DANS NOS ÉCOLES

RÉSUMÉ. Maintes recherches en science de l'éducation traitent de la nature des changements dans nos écoles. De façon plus précise, les chercheurs semblent vouloir étudier différents moyens de diminuer les effets négatifs du changement pour les éducateurs et les élèves. L'utilisation des nouvelles technologies est un changement auquel les écoles sont actuellement confrontées. Deux aspects sous-tendent ce changement : l'intégration des technologies dans la pédagogie et la pertinence même de la présence des nouvelles technologies dans les écoles. Cet article traite du potentiel des métaphores, puisées dans la littérature imaginaire populaire, comme moyen pour réduire le stress causé par un changement, ainsi que comme moyen pour sensibiliser étudiants et professeurs au besoin de changement; et ce, particulièrement en ce qui concerne l'utilisation des nouvelles technologies dans les écoles.

A common theme in contemporary educational literature holds that education is at a crossroads that has brought us to the brink of significant change. The crossroads image evokes a Frostian “. . . two roads diverged in the yellow wood . . .” situation that not only requires a choice but also suggests that there may be a poor or incorrect choice. The choice may be to make changes or to simply continue to observe the status quo. Nevertheless,

the choice will inevitably have significant consequences for both students and educators.

A prominent educational research focus lies in exploring the nature of change in schools and, particularly, in minimizing the negative aspects of change for educators and students. For example, Fullan (2001), explores a variety of issues worthy of consideration in managing the process of change. However, it is not change itself that causes so many difficulties for people but, rather, it is how individuals think about change. He states "we have become so accustomed to the presence of change that we rarely stop to think what change really means . . . the crux of change is how individuals come to grips with this reality" (p. 29).

Change implies that individuals must give up or, at least, soften their grip on their current views, practices and/or beliefs and accept or integrate new ones in their place. This integration of new ideas rarely takes place without difficulty. Marris (as cited in Fullan, 2001) observes that "*all* real change involves loss, anxiety and struggle" (p. 30, emphasis in the original). One might say that the feelings of loss, anxiety, and struggle will be particularly evident among teachers during the change precipitated by the emergence of information technologies because they have the potential to radically alter the traditional teacher/student relationship to one in which the students "learn to be constructors of knowledge and to think rationally, creatively, and critically . . . [as they] solve authentic problems [and] retrieve and manage information" (Lowe & Vespestad, 1999, p. 35). This shifts the responsibility for learning to the student and changes the role of the teacher from knowledge dispenser to that of a learning facilitator or coach. Means (1994) fleshes this idea out with her observation that this new orientation requires teachers to be

responsible for setting up the inquiry units and for creating the organizational structure within which [students] do their work. But once the work begins, teachers no longer have the total control of the direction of instruction that they exercise in conventional classrooms. (p. 8)

While there are a wide variety of methods to help people come to terms with the reality of change, cognitive tools such as metaphors appear to have a significant impact on individuals' abilities to cope with change. "[Metaphors] enable us to build bridges between the known and the unknown through in-depth comparisons . . . extend[ing] our understanding of the connection of one phenomenon to another" (Brown & Moffett, 1999, pp. 32-33). Metaphors may be effective in reducing the anxiety associated with change by allowing the individual to have one foot in the familiar and yet place the other foot in the new or unfamiliar paradigm. Thus, an individual may use a metaphor as a tool to provide a "safe" platform from which change can be contemplated, considered, and visualized. In short, one can try the

change on for size and walk around in it for a while. As suggested by Brown and Moffett (1999), "the metaphor . . . can serve as a powerful frame or mental model to guide and inform the process of educational transformation" (p. 35).

Primary sources of useful metaphors include visual art, popular culture, films, music, and fictional literature. Porter (1991) agrees by observing ". . . the humanities can play a valuable role in educating people to be effective in organizational life" (p. xv). If Fullan (2001) is correct in his observation that change is a fact of organizational life, then an individual's effectiveness in organizational life might be a function, in part, of his or her effectiveness in coping with change. "Beyond shaping the way we think and act, metaphors also help us to solve problems . . . [by] mak[ing] the strange familiar" (Brown & Moffett, 1999, pp. 35-36). Perhaps, therefore, organizational leaders can reduce the anxiety associated with change and enhance the effectiveness of change by incorporating metaphors and other images from classic or familiar works of imaginative literature into the change process itself.

In the spirit of using the familiar as a bridge to the unfamiliar, I drew on my background as a high school English instructor for this article. I chose one of my favourite novels, *The Chrysalids* by John Wyndham (1955), as a source of metaphors to explore the issue of change in schools and, especially, the changes necessary to foster effective use of technology in schools. The novel's stance on change and society, as well as its status as being a relatively well-known work, made it immediately appealing to me as a frame around which to build this paper. Thus, the focus for this paper is to explore the usefulness of fiction in this context by applying a number of key metaphors and images derived from *The Chrysalids* to the pedagogical changes inherent in the incorporation of technology into contemporary education. In other words, what lessons can Wyndham's novel offer for contemporary educators as they cope with technological change in their schools? I will begin with a brief synopsis of the novel and an explanation of the reasons for the choice of this novel as a source of metaphor. Then I present a series of brief quotations from the novel; through these I structure the discussion of the management of technological change in contemporary education.

THE NOVEL

The Chrysalids is a post-apocalyptic novel that, on the surface, is an anti-technology treatise. The basic assumption of the story is that modern man had developed his technological abilities without adequately developing his communicative abilities. This imbalance resulted in a cataclysmic nuclear war that destroyed nearly everything and everybody on Earth. A key view brought to the surface in the novel is that while humans had evolved physically as far as they could, the human mind had not yet reached its full

potential. In fact, the war actually provided the impetus, both literally and figuratively, for the further evolution of the human mind. The nuclear fallout, over time, actually resulted in the protagonist, as well as a number of other characters, developing the ability to communicate telepathically. While a gift in many ways, this ability caused virtually insurmountable problems for them and their society.

The story takes place in Waknuk, a small agrarian community in Labrador. "This novel looks beyond the pessimistic future shrouded in the 'mushroom cloud' into the time of reconstruction after such an event . . . we are shown a world of the frontier" (Lowensteyn, 2001, p. 2). In *The Chrysalids*, the people have survived the chaos and destruction of a nuclear holocaust and started over. They have reached the stage of organized community life reminiscent of the 1800's and have developed ". . . a strict and stern inflexible morality based on a dark, incomprehensible fear of an unknown past" (Lowensteyn, 2001, p. 3). Over the generations, the community has forgotten the true nature of the destruction and has, instead, developed a religious explanation for the genetic mutations and for the destruction itself. They say that God had sent "Tribulation" on them and that they must continually strive to climb back into God's graces by destroying all that does not fit the "definition of man" or "the true image."

A common view of frontier life depicts the pioneers building and developing towards a vision of a new and exciting future. In contrast, "the people of this frontier do not look towards a new future, but instead have an all consuming passion for stability" (Lowensteyn, 2001, p. 3). This stability was viewed as the foundation in which the technological and societal marvels of the "old people" could be resurrected and preserved and became the vehicle by which the people of Waknuk could regain God's favour.

It is possible to justify their passion for stability by evoking current scientific understandings about the genetic mutations caused by exposure to nuclear radiation. However, "out of their fear of physical change, a severe conformity to the 'true image' has developed, a set of beliefs which stifles the human mind and much worse, the human spirit" (Lowensteyn, 2001, p. 3).

The novel's central thesis is that inflexibility and rigidity leads to stagnation of the human mind and, ultimately, of the human race itself. This paper uses a parallel thesis which suggests that since the human mind is developed, in part, by education, inflexibility in educational pedagogy could also ultimately lead to stagnation of the human race. I recognise that this position is overstated – implying that contemporary educators are doing a poor job of educating students. After all, technology is most certainly not some sort of panacea that will cure all of education's ills. In fact, often against incredible odds, teachers successfully and effectively teach and inspire students to be their best. Technology is merely a tool. However, "as the

Internet takes up residence in our offices, homes, and schools, we no longer have the prerogative to view technology as optional" (Oseas, 2000, p. 3).

If we compare the current role of technology in our society to the role of technology in many classrooms, a significant gap becomes evident. Cuban (2001) argues that in both milieus, technology has achieved a "ubiquitous presence." However, only in the world outside the classroom has technology become fully integrated into day-to-day operations. "School computer use – at least for most of the children in our society – [is] not infused into traditional curriculum subjects nor [are] children exposed to subject-related academic computing in school" (Giacquinta, Bauer, & Levin, 1993, p. 101). Rather, technology use is often used "solely for enrichment and reinforcement" (Cuban, p. 52). Thus, a typical child's experiences with technology in the classroom often evoke the image of a "thousand dollar flash card" (Papert, 1993, p. 41) in that the computer is used primarily as a drill machine or, perhaps, as a typewriter.

Nevertheless, as argued by Means (1994), education is "ripe" for real change in a way that has never existed before. "A new willingness to consider profound changes to the educational system is apparent in the current reform efforts of governors, state legislators, business coalitions, and teachers' associations" (p. 2). With the spectre of the school reform movement hanging over our educational systems:

in many places, serious school reform is being undertaken without any real consideration of the facilitating role that technology might play. Even more common is the introduction of new instructional technologies without any serious consideration of how these technologies might further school reform goals. (p. xi)

In other words, the two movements – school reform and the implementation of educational technology – should, or at least, could complement each other. "I have come to believe that the causal relationship [between school reform and educational technology] flows at least equally strongly in the other direction – that is, that education reform makes a school ripe for technology" (Means, p. xii). This paper does not advocate blind acceptance of technological innovation. However, it does advocate a critical examination and implementation of technological possibilities which are educationally sound in a way that integrates technology into the very fabric of educational practice.

Dolence and Norris (1995), in their examination of post secondary education, suggest that education systems are currently organized to develop in students a skill set which was appropriate in the industrial age, but society has shifted to an information age. Thus, they theorize, the skill set possessed by graduates of contemporary education is somewhat out of date in relation to the societal reality they face upon graduation. The similarities between

education's resistance to pedagogical change and Waknuk society's rigid stance on innovation and change are unmistakable. Thus, *The Chrysalids* seems a good choice as a source of metaphors and images to discuss technological change in education. In recognizing the risks inherent in resisting necessary change in Waknuk, educators may be better able to recognize the need for change in their own contexts.

THE NORM IS THE WILL OF GOD

"The norm is the will of God" is representative of Waknuk's religious precepts. It is connected to a series of "inspirational" wall hangings which decorate David's house. Other statements in the series include "only the image of God is man," "keep pure the stock of the Lord," "blessed is the Norm," and "the Devil is the father of deviation" (Wyndham, 1955, p. 18). These statements illustrate the obsession that Waknuk society has with stability and the status quo and foreshadow the "punishment" of those who are deemed "deviant."

Clearly, innovation and change are viewed by the residents of Waknuk not only with suspicion but also as the work of the devil. The existing order is seen as having been preordained by God. Maintenance of the established order is not only expected but demanded as a condition of continued membership in the society. These precepts are a clear statement of the established customs and moral codes of the society. Those who do not conform either in their appearance to the "norm" or to the established ways of thinking are literally banished to the "Fringes," an area south of Waknuk which was more severely affected by the nuclear fallout.

In contemporary education, just as in Waknuk, the forces controlling change are often part of the very fabric of the organisation. Fullan (2001) observes that "the forces reinforcing the status quo are systemic. The current system is held together in many different crosscutting ways" (p. 7). In a similar vein, Papert (1993) states "there was a time when I believed, as many people do, that teachers would be the most difficult obstacle in the way of transforming School [sic]. [However] this simplistic belief . . . is in reality a far greater obstacle to educational change than the fact that some teachers actually are conservative" (p. 57). In other words, it is not so much the teachers who block change – they are just the most convenient and obvious targets. Instead, it is the educational community as a whole that obstructs change.

Papert describes schools as biological systems ". . . which act like any living organism in defending itself against a foreign body. [Schools] put into motion an immune reaction whose end result would be to digest and assimilate the intruder" (p. 40). In this illustration, the intruder could be understood to be either the teacher who is an innovator or who forwards a new approach to instruction (for example, authentic and appropriate use of

technology). Thus, the innovator is repressed and co-opted to remain the same by the forces of the institution itself. Alternatively, teachers may become prisoners of their own paradigms and would, therefore, be unable to see or realize the true educational potential of information technology.

According to Thornburg (2002), "one of the few institutions that have escaped relatively unscathed by the disruptive technologies of the past 50 years is 'school.' By and large, schools have avoided change by ignoring, banning, or trying to co-opt new technologies" (p. 84). In this way, "School [sic] did not let itself change under the influence of the new device [computer]; it saw the computer through the mental lens of its own ways of thinking and doing" (Papert, p. 41) and force-fit it into an already-existing role. Fullan (2001) suggests that this tendency to see new technologies or ideas in light of old ones is common. Wood (2001) points out that without the necessary training and support, even "techno-enthusiasts" who were among the first to recognise the potential of technology and began using it, "often fall back on the out-dated teaching styles they grew up with, such as behaviour/response, rather than incorporating new constructivist theories about learning by doing" (p. 122). However, in view of the place technology holds in contemporary society, educators are challenged to explore new pedagogical possibilities particularly in the area of technology, and evaluate them for use in classrooms. Even more importantly, school systems are challenged to provide the necessary professional development to ensure appropriate technology use. After all, "when used by knowledgeable teachers in a supportive educational context, these new technologies can significantly enhance teaching and learning" (Wiske, 2001, p. 69).

If the forces reinforcing the status quo are systemic; the forces required to effect change must also be systemic. "[Change] requires intensive action sustained over several years to make it possible both physically and attitudinally for teachers . . . it means changing the cultures of the classrooms, the schools, the districts, the universities, and so on" (Fullan, 2001, p. 7).

Yet the fundamentals of education have changed little throughout human evolution. For example, a modern mathematics teacher teaches concepts that are hundreds or thousands of years old, often supplementing his or her lectures by drawing on a piece of paper under a document camera or writing with a piece of chalk on a blackboard. One could argue that, from the student's point of view, this educational experience differs little from the experience of Pythagoras's students.

On the one hand, it certainly could be argued that Pythagoras's students were likely able to understand and apply his mathematical concepts at least in part due to his tutelage. Thus, the teaching methods he used were appropriate and successful and, perhaps, require no change for contempo-

rary applications. In this view, the concept has not changed so the approach used to teach it need not change either. Conversely, it could be argued that since both the context for the application of the mathematical concepts and the individuals who are learning and applying the concepts have changed, the method for teaching those concepts must change as well. This sentiment is common in much of the literature regarding educational change. For example, Fernstermacher (1990), observes that:

Flying itself has not changed; it is still a matter of moving from one point to another in three-dimensional space. What has changed are the demands that must be met in order to fly well in the air traffic system of today. Neither has teaching changed in fundamental ways; it is still a matter of instructing and assisting students so that they acquire the knowledge, understanding, traits of character, and conduct required for a personally rewarding life, productive employment, and effective citizenship. But teaching under the condition of modern schooling is vastly more complex than it was thirty or forty years ago. (p. 140)

Similarly, Papert (1993) uses the following parable that is illustrative of this point:

Imagine a party of time travelers from an earlier century, among them one group of surgeons and another of school-teachers, each group eager to see how much things have changed in their profession a hundred or more years into the future. Imagine the bewilderment of the surgeons finding themselves in the operating room of a modern hospital. Although they would know that an operation of some sort was being performed, and might even be able to guess at the target organ, they would in almost all cases be unable to figure out what the surgeon was trying to accomplish or what was the purpose of the many strange devices he and the surgical staff were employing. The rituals of antiseptics and anesthesia, the beeping electronics, and even the bright lights, all so familiar to television audiences, would be utterly unfamiliar to them.

The time-traveling teachers would respond very differently to a modern elementary school classroom. They might be puzzled by a few strange objects. They might notice that some standard techniques had changed and would likely disagree among themselves about whether the changes they saw were for the better or the worse-but they would fully see the point of most of what was being attempted and could quite easily take over the class. (pp. 1-2)

Thus, the educational experiences of many students in today's schools could be said to bear more resemblance to Pythagoras's instructional methods than to any modern educational theories.

Cuban (2001) offers the following description of a classroom that "typifies" the classrooms of teachers who used computers regularly:

There were four Macs in her room, two of which did not work. She had two others stored in a closet. [She] lets the students use the two that are

working every day during choice time right after lunch. She calls the software . . . that she has loaded on the machines 'games.'

[She] promotes computer use 30 minutes per day because she believes that the software motivates [her students] and it already ubiquitous in their homes. Although she believes that the applications - some of which are drills - extend concepts the children have already learned in class, she does not require every student to go to the computers. [She] uses computers solely for enrichment and reinforcement, rather than direct instruction. District-provided training has equipped her with sufficient skills to manage these software applications and to do minimal trouble-shooting of hardware problems. (p. 52)

In this example, the computers that do work are used frequently but not in a way that integrates them into the regular work the students are doing. However, Cuban argues that computers "must be integrated seamlessly into daily routines" (p. 49) in order for their true potential to be realised. Oseas (2000) argues that the school system itself must take an active role in fostering the integration of computers into classroom routines by providing high-quality training in the methods for achieving this integration. Otherwise, "educational technologies are likely to have little impact on students' abilities to learn without trained teachers to guide and frame their use" (p. 4). While the teacher in this example has been provided with minimal training to use the computers in her classroom, she has not had the opportunity to receive the level of training necessary to achieve full integration of computers into her daily instructional routines (and she does not have enough computers in her classroom to do it in any case).

Other authors are somewhat less critical of current educational practices but still suggest that today's educators have their focus on the past. Cleveland (1997, p. 13) argues, "to manage future complexities, we certainly can't keep using the concepts that served us so well in the industrial era [as we do now]." Similarly, Kozma and Schank (1998) posit that "currently, the emphasis in U.S. schools is on individual learning and performance - what students can do by themselves without the aid of other students or external supports such as books, notes, calculators, and computers" (p. 3). However, economists such as Reich (as cited in Kozma and Schank, 1998) suggest that there has been a ". . . dramatic shift in jobs away from those engaging individuals in production services, moving workers instead toward the role of 'symbolic analysts' . . . [who] use a variety of tools and resources, including computers and scientific and creative instruments . . . [and who] often have partners and associates and work in small teams" (p. 4). Thus, Gardiner's (2000), observation that "a human being miraculously transported from 1900 to our time would recognize much of what goes on in today's classroom - the prevalent lecturing, the emphasis on drill, the decontextualized materials and activities . . ." (p. 30) illustrates what Dolence and Norris (1995) call a factory model of education in which the practices of education were

designed according to society's (or the teacher's) view of the appropriate preparation for a future life as a factory worker. Since a teacher's instructional methods reflect, in part, his or her conception of what a child needs to know for the future, the conceptions of current teachers must also change. Otherwise, in this light, one may argue that today's schools prepare students for a future that no longer exists.

Kay (1997), accepts that computers have crept into educational delivery. He stresses, however, that educators have not gone far enough. "[The current uses of computers] represent a desire on the part of a future-shocked public to see a new technology only as a better version of an old one" (p. 19). This suggests that some educators have simply adopted the trappings of technological change without really implementing it. For example, an educational institution could require its instructors to use PowerPoint or some other electronic presentation program in their lectures. While this gives the impression that the institution is technologically advanced, the "advancement" is illusory because faculty may use it in an old way – as a "high-tech" over-head projector. "To change school practice, curriculum goals and materials, assessment policies and teacher development must shift. Without these changes, a new technology will merely be used to enact traditional practices" (Wiske, 2000, p. 73).

In addition, just as Waknuk's "deviants" were banished to the "Fringes", so too can educational innovators be ostracized by their colleagues. Greenfield (1986) posits "to choose and to acknowledge responsibility for ones' choice is often a risky way of living. It may require standing with those who are heretics by powerful and possibly vengeful authorities" (p. 63). Innovators are not always welcomed either by their colleagues or by their superiors. The following vignette is an example of the ostracism experienced by an educational innovator at the hands of colleagues:

I was asked by my superintendent to join an on-line cyberschool project that he wished to get off the ground. Some fellow teachers had requested a transfer to the project but had not been chosen – they felt that it was a personal affront that one of their immediate colleagues had been selected. The principal of the school at which I was teaching told me that he was reluctant to permit me to participate because I would be away from school to participate in the project. However, what he really meant was that he was concerned not because I would be out of the classroom but, because I would be doing something out of the norm - it created problems for the principal in terms of scheduling. My use of technology in my "regular" classroom setting was also viewed by my colleagues as threatening. Some were worried that they would be expected to follow my lead and others expressed a certain level of jealousy that they were not able to use the technological tools in their classrooms due to hardware shortages.

While this experience was technology related, it did not need to be. Any innovation in a school can lead to similar reactions among staff. Consequently, the norm is reinforced as being "the will of God."

A RUSTED MIRROR

The phrase "a rusted mirror" comes from a discussion between David (the protagonist) and his uncle Axel. "A word, he said, a rusted mirror, reflecting nothing. It'd do the preachers good to see it for themselves. They'd not understand, but they might begin to think . . . What are we doing?" (p. 79). In part, this statement is another illustration of the education's tendency to stolidly maintain the status quo. However, it also refers to individuals' tendencies to adopt accepted meanings without question as well as the tendency for phrases to lose their meaning if they have been learned by rote and/or become overused. The word referred to in David and Axel's discussion is "Tribulation." Axel observes that when the context for the word has been forgotten or when the word becomes a rote response; then, the word become like a rusted mirror – it reflects no meaning. While educational pedagogy must change to incorporate technology, this change must be considered and thoughtful – not just surface adoption of educational technology because it is the current bandwagon on which to jump. McAdoo (2000) observes that schools and governments have responded to public pressure by placing large numbers of computers in schools. Further, Kleiman argues that "the investment in technology for schools resembles the investments being made in many 'dot-com' Internet companies. In both cases, the investments are based on the *potential* of new technologies, in the hope that this potential will be fulfilled in the coming years" (p. 7, emphasis in the original). However, as pointed out by Wiske (2000), the mere presence of technology does not change school practice – curricular goals and materials, assessment policies, and teacher development must change as well. Consequently, "[while] counting the computers in a school and comparing the total with other schools is straightforward; assessing what and how children are learning is another matter altogether" (p. 145).

The purpose of most educational reform proposals is, and should be, to improve instruction and enhance student achievement. Indeed, a common phrase that has almost become a mantra in current educational circles is "What's good for kids?" However, as stated in the previous section, schools are tending to prepare kids for a future that may no longer exist. Gardiner (2000) suggests that "much of education in the past [and present] was calibrated to make sure that individuals could carry out a regular job, reliably, throughout their productive adult years" (p. 31). It is an admirable and, perhaps, a desirable ambition for schools to provide a school environment that resembles a likely future place of employment for students.

However, one must ask what sort of future employment environment today's students will face. For example, most of the tasks that can be handled algorithmically are or soon will be handled electronically. Also, statistics suggest that fewer people will occupy the same occupational niche for their whole lives than was previously the case (Gardiner, 2000). Thus, today's educational systems resemble an assembly line model commonly referred to as an industrial model of education (Dolence & Norris, 1995) or a factory model (Shaffer, 2000) that was appropriate in the past but may no longer be in the present. While it may be appropriate to view school as a place to enculturate students to the world of work most likely to face them as adults, that environment must be accurate.

Thus, a potential future reality for education must recognize that our society has entered an information age that is, perhaps, unparalleled in human history. In fact, "information . . . has quite suddenly become the world's most important resource" (Cleveland, 1997, p. 13). Therefore, students must be encouraged to use technology to cope with and utilize this vast array of information much as they may be required to do in their adult work lives.

In addition, a potential future for education must take into account society's changing expectations of a high school graduate. "This most recent shift [in expectation] is requesting and even demanding that educational institutions produce graduates with computer and technical skills, strong work habits, effective teamwork skills, problem-solving skills, and literacy and numeracy skills" (Jefferson & Edwards, 2000, p. 138). This is, indeed, a dramatic shift from the traditional expectations of schools and one only a shift in the educational paradigm can serve. Most descriptions of successful integration of educational technology describe an educational experience in which students work cooperatively in authentic projects and assignments which address most if not all of these new societal expectations and will begin to reflect more of the potential of information technology in schools.

"GOD'S LAST WORD"

They weren't God's last word like they thought: God doesn't have any last word. If He did He'd be dead. But He isn't dead; and He changes and grows, like everything else that's alive. So when they were doing their best to get everything fixed and tidy on some kind of eternal lines they'd thought up for themselves, He sent along Tribulation to bust it up and remind 'em that life is change. (Wyndham, 1953, p. 153)

The above quotation, from one of David's captors, is in response to David's shock at the variety of life forms in the Fringes. David looks around him and realizes that the world is not as homogenized as he had previously thought. While he had asked Axel and others questions about life outside of Waknuk, David had never really made the connection between what he knew intel-

lectually to be true and what was actually true. He also began to internalize the ironic realization that he was more a being of the Fringes than of Waknuk due to his telepathic abilities.

In the organizational context, this quotation has particular significance. Many schools, especially good or effective ones, tend to forget that continuous reflection and change is necessary to maintain an effective organization. Much of the school effectiveness and improvement literature suggests that all schools can and should continually strive to improve. Of course, improvement also implies change.

Fullan (2001) identifies "three broad phases to the change process" which he calls "initiation, implementation and institutionalization" (p. 50). The following discussion of the change process will be organized according to these headings.

Initiation

Initiation, according to Fullan (2001), is when "someone or some group for whatever reasons initiates or promotes a certain program or direction of change" (p. 50). It would be hoped that the information presented in this paper along with the vast body of evidence suggesting the change in technology focus would provide schools with the motive to initiate change. However, they may ask "How? Where do we start?" Perhaps, then, it would be valuable to examine the successful initiation procedures of a couple of schools in order to identify a possible strategy in this regard.

Lowe and Vespstad (1999) outline the initiation process of the West Junior High School in Lawrence, Kansas in the following way. The school began with a group of students expressing an interest in computer programming. They convinced a teacher to provide supervision and began a club to learn from each other. Over the course of a few years, the program grew until the school community recognized a need for and created a new mission statement reflective of the growing importance of technology in the lives of their kids and in society in general. The school states this mission as follows: "... student work should incorporate a variety of complex information sources that will motivate a desire to expand the knowledge base. For teachers, professional development goals include achieving an instructional transition from a teacher-centered to a facilitative, learner-centered, constructivist environment that supports [local] exit outcomes" (p. 30). From there, the school went about implementing or operationalising the mission statement and has created a learning community which recognizes the importance of technology in word and deed.

A more general but similar strategy was advocated by Mehlinger (1997). He suggested that schools form broad-based committees made up of teachers,

administrators, and community members (parents) which should lead the planning process and define the mission. Instrumental to the success of this plan, in his view, is that "... a small group ... should not decide key issues without consultation with others" (p. A23). However, many other authors would suggest that the key issues in most successful innovations could be and often are decided by a small group (perhaps one or two people initially) or the innovation may never get off the ground because it gets bogged down in the consultation process. Nevertheless, this committee (whatever the makeup), according to Mehlinger, should develop a vision, assess the available resources, decide on goals and objectives, decide on an action plan and evaluate the project regularly and objectively.

The above plans are echoed in much of the literature in the discipline. However, Bull, Nonis, and Becker (1997) identify an additional aspect of the change that seems likely to be a key ingredient if the change is to be successful. They emphasize the need for pointed professional development for teachers at the initiation stage in order to create an informed faculty and, perhaps, a more receptive one as well. In addition, it is suggested that "... one of the chief barriers to developing technology [interest] in teachers was lack of sufficient access to computers. . ." (Sheingold & Hadly cited in Bull et al., 1997, p. 30). Since "educational change depends on what teachers do and think . . ." (Fullan, 2001, p. 115), a "reculturing (how teachers come to question and change their beliefs and habits)" (Fullan, 2001, p. 34) will be necessary. Getting the faculty "on-side" both from a philosophical and a practical point of view would be an important step at the initiation phase. This could be addressed, at least in part, by providing teachers with access to, and instruction in, the use of computers.

Finally, Fullan identifies eight factors affecting initiation. Virtually all of the factors can be brought to bear on the decision to initiate a technology-based educational framework. In the interests of brevity, only the factors with the most impact on the process will be identified here. With respect to the existence and quality of innovation, it is clear that a variety of models exist (e.g., West Junior High). It would not be difficult for a school to adopt an existing model or to develop one of its own based on an existing model. Technology, itself, might be seen as an external agent for change; the change in society that precipitates the inclusion of technology in schools definitely is and it leads to the overwhelming community pressure on schools to change in this way.

Implementation

Implementation of a new idea is a complex process. It involves moving beyond the abstraction of the idea itself to operationalizing that idea in concrete terms. In other words, it requires action. No longer can the

stakeholder community stand back and tacitly support an idea in principle - they must become involved and make the idea work. Fullan (2001) supports this notion with observation that "educational change is technically simple and socially complex" (p. 69). Further, he posits "implementation is critical for the simple reason that it is the means of accomplishing desired objectives" (Fullan, 2001, p. 70, emphasis in the original). If the initiation stage defines the objectives and sets the course for change, implementation involves following that course in an attempt to reach those objectives. However, it should be noted that once the implementation of an innovation of any kind begins, it often evolves in ways that were not predicted or foreseen at the outset.

If one is to identify issues critical to the successful implementation of a new technology focus, a perusal of accounts of successful implementation in various school districts may again provide some suggestions. Bull and his colleagues (1997) identify two key factors of technology implementation success - adequate technical support and relevant ongoing instructional support.

ADEQUATE TECHNICAL SUPPORT. If school divisions truly wish technology to become integral in the educational process, they must ensure that the technology is "up and working" at all times and that there is a support person to manage the inevitable technical glitches presented by computers. "[When] teachers cannot rely on a computer or printer being in working condition, the use of technology quickly takes a low priority and rarely becomes an integral part of the educational process" (Bull et al., 1997, p. 31). This probably requires that schools have a full-time computer technician. Yet, "the number of schools that allocate a full-time, non-teaching position to coordinating teachers' use of technology is small" (Becker, 1998, p. 24). Therefore, it seems that a critical factor in determining the success of implementation is having reliable functioning hardware and having someone available to address concerns when they arise. The herder will soon give up on his new herding tools and techniques if they do not function correctly when he needs them.

RELEVANT ON-GOING INSTRUCTIONAL SUPPORT. Too often, teachers are expected to "do more with less." They are often provided with ill-advised and episodic in-service which appears to be "... 'one-shot' or [of] short duration ... [which has] little or no impact [on instruction]" (OTA cited in Bull et al., 1997, p. 31).

In addition, a school must create a culture in which change is seen as a positive and necessary means to a valuable educational end. Lowe and Vespestad (1999) describe the key professional development goal in West Junior High School as achieving instructional change. From that perspective, they say "... we have created opportunities for teachers to engage in

SEEKING STRENGTH-BASED APPROACHES IN ABORIGINAL EDUCATION: THE "THREE STARS AND A WISH" PROJECT

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ABSTRACT. In a writing project, Aboriginal parents chose and told stories from their lives to their children, grade five students at an inner city school. The children recorded the stories, which were compiled in a book. At a public book launch, the authors read excerpts from their work. Themes from six stories are analyzed and discussed in relation to criteria that promote a strength-based approach to Aboriginal education.

**À LA RECHERCHE D'APPROCHES FORTES DANS L'ENSEIGNEMENT DES
AUTOCHTONES : LE PROJET "TROIS ÉTOILES ET UN VOEU"**

RÉSUMÉ. Pour un projet de production écrite, des parents autochtones ont choisi des histoires inspirées de leurs expériences. Ils les ont racontées à des enfants de 5^{ème} année d'une école du centre-ville. Les enfants ont enregistré ces histoires et les ont rassemblées pour en constituer un livre. Lors du lancement public de ce livre, les auteurs en ont lu des extraits. Les thèmes de six histoires ont été analysés et sont présentés en fonction des critères favorisant une approche fondée sur les forces des apprenants autochtones.

INTRODUCTION

McCluskey (1988) has demonstrated the potential of Aboriginal students to use writing to deal with issues of importance in their lives. He administered the Verbal segment of the Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking to Aboriginal students on a northern reserve and analysed the responses. One exercise required students to respond in writing to the following question: "Just suppose clouds had strings attached to them that hang down to earth. What would happen?"

Students in the early years (grades 1-4) wrote:

"Robbers would make their hideouts in the clouds (if they could build a foundation)."

"I could cut string to make bows."

"Suicide jumpers would have something aside from buildings to use."

"Of course, the government would tax the strings."

"If there were strings attached to clouds, some good people all over the world would climb up. Then the sky people would evolve. They would have no crime, no cars, no pollution, and no government. It would be a superior race and perfect world. The lower class masses of people would stay on the earth to supply food and water to the people in the sky."

A common thread in these brief "stories" is the everyday challenges that preoccupy Aboriginal children, including violence, suicide, hunting, omnipotent government (The Indian Act), and continuity and change. In addition to demonstrating creativity, these students show that when given the opportunity, they will use writing to explore the meaning of the world around them. In the pages that follow we discuss the ways in which certain kinds of writing activities allow students to celebrate their strengths. These activities have excellent results which contradict the common view of Aboriginal students as performing poorly in mainstream schooling. After discussing the literature on the negative view of Aboriginal student performance, we describe the project, its context and its participants, and discuss the project's positive results for the students and their families, teachers, and community.

Concerns with academic performance.

The sensitivity and insight revealed in these students' writing stands in contrast to what we know about the struggles of Aboriginal children and youth in schools. In many Canadian jurisdictions, large numbers of Aboriginal students do not become successful readers and writers. Aboriginal academic performance is also a widespread concern in the U.S.A. For example, current trends suggest that the scores of Native students on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) and the American College Testing (ACT) Program are significantly lower than those of the general population (Hillabrant, Romano, Stang, & Charleston, 1992).

In one Manitoba school in 1996, although about 10% of the 700 students were Aboriginal, less than 4% finished grade 12. Of the 23 Native youth who had entered that system in kindergarten, only 1 completed high school. In the same year in another district, only 1 of 25 students who had transferred from northern reserves graduated (McCluskey, et al., 2000). Of grade 7 students entering a predominantly Aboriginal city high school in September 1998, 17% were tested as reading at or above grade level. Fifty-five percent were tested as reading three or more years below current grade placement. Twenty-nine percent were found to be four or more instructional reading levels below grade placement, or at grade 3 or lower reading level. Not surprisingly, in Winnipeg, the school dropout rate is far higher for Aboriginal than for non-Aboriginal youth. While 19.5% (10,415) of non-

Aboriginal youth leave school early, 50.3% (3490) of Aboriginals drop out (cf. Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, 1999).

According to Reynolds (1992), poor scores by Aboriginal students on culturally unfair tests have resulted in widespread adoption of a deficit model of education that emphasises weaknesses instead of strengths. Tonemah (1992) asserts that schools typically "cope" with Native children and youth by focusing primarily on remedial efforts, rather than looking at what they are doing and can do. Callahan and McIntire (1994) state that even high-ability Native students often have very little chance to develop their gifts.

Some Aboriginal students suggest that members of the dominant culture often do not understand the subtleties of what they are saying. Aboriginal students often have different interpretations of everyday school occurrences (First Nations Educational Council, 1999). Many Aboriginal people do not embrace the structured, mechanistic Western worldview that emphasizes hypotheses, theories, and laws (Kawagley, 1990). Not surprisingly, while many people see education as an important route to success, some First Nations groups have concluded that no effective working models exist for Aboriginal education in the mainstream system.

Research (for example, Colorado, 1988; Snively, 1995; Sutherland, 1999) suggests that bridging the cultural gap between mainstream schooling and Aboriginal children and youth can be accomplished through programs and activities which pay attention to a combination of factors. These (1) use storytelling or critical incidents to encourage students to express their opinions, reflect on their learning, evaluate alternatives, and justify their choices; (2) are experiential; (3) involve a high degree of student participation, and integrate purposeful listening, reading, speaking, and problem solving; (4) relate to their daily lives and experiences; (5) employ cooperative learning; (6) build on student strengths; and (7) utilize teaching strategies of demonstration, modelling, practice, and feedback.

THREE STARS AND A WISH

Wheeler (2001) describes the modern Canadian Aboriginal experience as a torturous re-emergence from colonization, in which "a lot of work has to be done in front of mirrors." In the *Three Stars and a Wish* writing project, we found that biographical and autobiographical writing were excellent mirrors for helping Aboriginal students and their parents to address in a positive and constructive way these difficult, hurtful experiences that could not, in the normal course of daily family and community life, be addressed directly. Students and parents validated their experiences and, through their writing, achieved success in school in Aboriginal terms.

Biography and autobiography

There is a recognition in the literature of the challenges posed by teaching writing in school, even for experienced teachers. Of equal importance in addressing the needs of Aboriginal students is the challenge of preparing student teachers to teach writing successfully (Grant & Secada, 1990; Gay, 1993; Hermann & Sarracino, 1993; Mavrogenes & Bezruczko, 1993; Bowie, 1996; Cruz, 1997; Artiles & McAffery, 1998; Zeicher, Grant, et al., 1998; Howey, 1999; James-Wilson, 1999; Grossman, et al., 2000; McFalls & Cobb-Roberts, 2001). The approaches that are documented in the literature do not involve grappling with relevance through the combination of elements we adopted: taking the writing process out of the classroom and into the community; involving parents in the process; and focusing on autobiographical writing. The *Three Stars and a Wish* project used an approach to mobilizing these ideas and exploring them in practice that is, as far as we know, unique.

We agreed upon a collaborative biographical writing approach because it allowed us, to differing degrees, and in addition to the factors noted above, to meet several other conditions that have been identified as critical attributes of meaningful learning in high poverty school situations and for Aboriginal students. These include de-emphasizing discrete language mechanics skills and mechanical correctness, teaching the writing process, connecting writing to students' backgrounds, and most notably, changing the social context of the writing task (Needels, 1999).

Researchers, among them Gale (1994), have found that the personal story is a valuable tool in the development of self-knowledge. Biography and autobiography point toward an author's ability to make sense of his or her own experiences and to understand their significance to him or herself and to others. Autobiographical writing is also often employed as a first writing approach when working with marginally literate adults. It is a powerful way to help adult learners begin the job of learning to read and write in a way that helps them to locate themselves in the world, and in the process, make sense of that world. In the context of elementary schooling, this autobiography can start with the recording of parents' stories. "Speaking the experience" offers children and parents the evaluative context that is the starting point for comprehending one's life and the value of writing as a tool of self-understanding.

Davis (1987) states that the personal attitudes of a writing teacher can have a greater impact on student writing than his or her pedagogical approaches. Concern for an individual writer's development, understanding the flexibility of language, and a desire to de-emphasize grades, rules and rigid format facilitate better student attitudes toward writing. These attitudes are closely

allied with a student teacher's confidence in him- or herself as a teacher of writing.

Moffett (1979) urges us to have students working collaboratively with partners and coaches, engaging in a practical, real world activity in a rich physical and social interaction with the things of this world. He viewed these conditions as necessary to the development of the "revision of inner speech". We chose biographical and autobiographical writing as the focus of activity for all of these reasons.

The setting

The neighbourhood in which the project took place is in Winnipeg, but in many ways seems like a refugee camp in an impoverished country. The neighbourhood is pervaded by a sense of isolation. It is in the city, but does not seem a part of it. It is small in area, easily understood as an urban feature but without a clear identity. The people who live in the community live close together yet are wary of each other.

This is a neighbourhood that can at the same time be labelled an inner city area and appear not to be so. The "official" inner city is slightly to the north of it. The community is separated from the inner city by urban borders: on the north and south, two rivers that converge to the east of the community, just beyond a six lane, divided north-south commuter route that is a double bridge where it passes the area. On the west, a curving arterial road that carries traffic from the bridge meets a four-lane road carrying traffic over a bridge from downtown, moving south to the suburbs. The two, parallel east-west streets in the neighbourhood are each one-ways and about 400 metres long. There are no single-family houses in this community. People live in the low-rise walk-ups that line the two streets. These buildings were constructed in the late 1940s and early 50s and most are in disrepair. The neighbourhood is given the greater part of its character by the modern school building and schoolyard, and the public housing project that occupies the rest of the area between the streets.

The people who live in the neighbourhood are almost all poor. Many residents are on welfare, others on immigrant allowances, others are working poor. Some are poor without hope, others poor but expecting better things. In the former group are many of the young, single Aboriginal mothers with infants and pre-school children who are the main occupants of the public housing project. The latter group are recent immigrants, including refugees from Bosnia, Iraq, and The People's Republic of China. The immigrants live in the walk-up apartments.

Transience and isolation are two features of individual life in this area. The young, single mothers who live in the public housing units have to deal with

unpredictable and often violent boyfriends, other mothers with whom they have arguments, and the drug dealers and users who infest the area. A year ago the school, police service, and provincial child and family service department made a concerted effort to rid the area of drug dealers, but the dealers have returned. The young mothers often respond to problems such as these by leaving for another area, or returning to their reserve. For the immigrants, this is usually a first stop in their Canadian experience. When they can afford to, they leave. The experiences of most of the people here regardless of origin seem to leave them isolated and alone. The first author attended two community events sponsored by the school – a naming ceremony, and a spaghetti supper to kick off the *Three Stars and a Wish* Writing project – and was struck by how alone most individuals remained in the midst of the social activity. Young mothers staked out a spot for themselves and their infant, and attended to the baby throughout the activity, never joining in. The immigrants would retreat to silent watching. Few people spoke; most waited. In spite of these efforts, there is no community league, or any organization to recruit parent volunteers and offer sports, crafts, and dance, for the children in the community.

The school has made minor inroads into this learned helplessness. There is a soccer skills program that has been organized through the school and a local university. The school runs a daycare, and the school staff, led by a dedicated, experienced principal provides excellent education. The school sponsored an Aboriginal Naming Ceremony, and a community celebration to welcome the end of the school year. There is little parental involvement in child and youth related activities, and efforts to engage parents have thus far been unsuccessful in most respects, with the exception of the *Three Stars and A Wish* writing project.

It would be inaccurate and unfair to assert that relations in the community are irredeemable. The relations between the Aboriginal and immigrant elements of the community are often pleasant and friendly, particularly between the women, and especially when they are jointly involved in a community project. One such project was the creation of a database of community interests, goals, and resources to be made available to all community members with the aim of broadening the base of community decision-making and speeding up the process of project implementation (Katz & Davies, 2001). Women from Iraq, Kurdistan, Winnipeg, and northern Manitoba reserves collaborated with the authors to create a survey instrument, and, in cross-cultural pairs canvassed 78% of the community for their responses. In the community, both inside and outside of school, the children mingle without distinction as to origin. As more incubators of community organization are implemented, the possibility of community mobilization may grow.

Students, student teachers, and researchers

Often, in inner city schools, student teachers and the children they teach, the students' parents, and those of us who research their experiences live in very different worlds. Hunter (2000), a former inner city school principal, captured the essence of inner city childhood. She wrote:

They spend their childhood in substandard housing where heat, light and water may be absent. They often are not adequately clothed. They are often cold. They face scarcity of food. They lack safe recreation opportunities, sports equipment, music lessons, fun clubs like Brownies and Cubs. There is a dearth of community club facilities, community hockey, soccer, and baseball leagues. They have to learn, as best they can, to adjust to the cyclical life events of having money and not having money, of having food and of having none left, of having a safe place to live and having it turn unsafe. Children and adults are killed by drunken drivers or at drinking parties, youth and adults are charged or imprisoned, apprehended, put in foster care, parents go missing, people don't come home at night, people die in house fires, girls and women are assaulted, brutalized (pp.111-112).

Sometimes, the banality of the problem makes it almost transparent. For example, an inner city soccer skills program to improve self-worth and school achievement fails to attract even one Aboriginal student in the local school. Although some students turn out for the first session, their level of fitness is low and they labour to do the most basic activities. They do not return.

In many Canadian provinces, particularly west of Ontario, educational issues of cross-cultural diversity and poverty focus primarily but not exclusively on Aboriginal students, many of whom, increasingly, live in the city and, in particular, in inner city neighbourhoods. Manitoba's Aboriginal population is growing at a much faster rate than its non-Aboriginal population. By 2016, the Aboriginal population will probably be over 192,000 or about 20% of the population of the province, up by over 60,000 – or 49% – from 1996 numbers. By 2016, one in five employable adults in Manitoba will be Aboriginal, yet, in 1999, 5% of Aboriginal people aged 17 or older had graduated from high school. The birth rate among the Aboriginal population is four times the rate of the general population, and the average age of the First Nations population is low. In the next decade, a growing percentage of Manitoba's student population will be Aboriginal (Native Education Directorate, School Programs Division, 2000). Trends in Saskatchewan and Alberta are similar.

What are the socio-economic conditions and opportunities currently available to these young people and their families? Forty-seven percent of inner city residents earn less than \$20,000.00/year compared with 24% in the rest of the city (Loxley, 2000). Thirty-one percent of all Aboriginal adults

reported reliance on social assistance payments in 1990 compared with 6.3% of the general population of the city (cf. Loxley, 1993). Two-thirds of respondents reported this reliance lasted more than 6 months. In a survey of 144 inner city households (Loxley, 1993), 67% of Aboriginal respondents reported that welfare was their main source of household income, compared with 44% of other inner city residents. The net result is that the incidence of poverty among Aboriginal people in Winnipeg is very high – and much higher than the average for the city (Loxley, 2000).

Our student teachers present a very different profile, one that conforms to what we generally know about those people who choose to become teachers in Canada. They are very different from the students whom they will one day teach. Student teachers tend to be predominantly female, young, raised in lower-middle and middle/middle class suburban homes, and are mainly white, and mainstream in their ethnic and cultural affiliations.

Fifteen student teachers from the university participated in the Writing Project. Within broad limits, they were representative of the population from which they were selected. Twelve were in the third year of a four-year degree program. Two were in their certification year. One student was unregistered. There were fewer males than in the third year population. Thirteen were female two were male (13.3% vs. 19% overall). They were slightly younger than the population of third year students. Fourteen were under 23 years of age (93% vs. 80% overall). For one student, the program represented a second career. Relatively, there were fewer participants who were married and thus involved in demanding relationships outside of schooling. Two were married and mothers (13.3% vs. 17% overall). Although the numbers are very small, they were clearly a more culturally mainstream group than the population of third year B.Ed. students of which they were a part (6.66% vs. 10%): with one exception, all were native speakers of English; all were Canadian citizens; there were no visible minorities or any Aboriginal students among the participants. One student had immigrated to Canada from a Middle Eastern country but had lived from a young age in the US before coming to Canada. In all respects, the group was representative of the majority of teacher candidates in Canadian teacher education programs.

As authors, we came to this project within the context of a larger, federally funded venture that subsumed a number of initiatives. These included a student and university-mentoring program, and a storefront community literacy program to work with young Aboriginal mothers and their infants in the public housing to develop home strategies to support emergent literacy. Both of us had considerable experience working in inner city and Aboriginal settings. We were focused more on pursuing particular issues of social justice in the community than on generalizing from the experience.

In this context, we were able to stimulate, recognize, and seize the opportunity to pursue the writing project opening that emerged in talk with the school principal and the grade 5 teacher, and successfully mobilize parental involvement. This success was in large part because we were spending a lot of time in the community, were known to many people in it, and were open in expressing our purposes and our enthusiasm. That enthusiasm was not for the research – that was of secondary importance to us – but for the parents' stories, community development, and in the case of the student teachers, the help of the families in making them better teachers.

The project

One root of the *Three Stars and a Wish* project was the first author's approach to teacher education. The site-based approach grew out of bringing children to the university during summer semester so that student teachers could develop theory from practice through course work that included one-on-one remedial sessions with struggling readers. This evolved into site-based teaching in inner city schools. In this format, the course work and one-on-one sessions were preserved, and the whole course was taught in an inner city school with the overall aim of engaging student teachers with the significant needs of inner city children learning to read. Thus, the project began as part of an elective senior undergraduate course in Teaching Writing in the Early and Middle Years.

The other root of the project was in the meeting between a grade 5 teacher at the school and the first author. At the suggestion of the school principal, we met to discuss ways in which the university education students could become involved in writing with students in the class. The teacher was determined to midwife a student-written book before he retired, and having tried unsuccessfully twice before, was wary, yet passionately interested.

We asked the grade 5 students and their parents to work together to write about incidents that the parent chose as illustrations of what they felt were important in their lives. The incidents that they chose would be ones that they felt would provide guidance for their children. Additionally, parents were asked to prepare one important wish for their children's future.

Student teachers were assigned to act as dual facilitators. First, they would help the parents develop their stories; for example, guiding them to fill in their stories with greater detail. Second, they would scaffold the children's writing of the story, from handwriting to grammar, spelling, and conventions. Participation in the project was one part of the student teachers' course responsibilities. In addition to their work with parents and children, we met twice each week for 160 minutes as a class at the university. Class time included a focus on curriculum delivery structures and programs such

as Writers' Workshop, journaling, and spelling, and a debriefing and sharing of experiences about their work with individual students and their families.

The role of parents as sources of knowledge and information – as resources – was implicit in the purpose of the writing activity. However, we felt that if the project was to help Aboriginal students be successful in their writing, and the biographies were to have power, it was crucial to ensure that the parent/child relationship was the strongest in the triad. To do this, we felt that it would be necessary to establish that parents were resources, not clients.

In mid-January, all the participants were invited to a spaghetti supper in the gym of the school. Parents and their children were introduced to the student teacher with whom they would work. Eating together can be fertile ground in which to plant friendships and that is what happened that evening. There was much rushing about, as the first author, his wife, his grown son visiting from another city, a teaching assistant, the dean of the faculty, the school secretary, and a parent advisory council member cooked the supper. With the help of grade 5 students, we served it to the attendees. One of the grade 5 students commented that it was the best party he had ever been to. As she was leaving that night, a parent described it as "like a country wedding". In addition to being great fun, the spaghetti supper served to bring together the participants in a non-school, friendly activity in which all were equal. The adult parents, in particular, held a privileged place by virtue of being the parents, and their role demanded that the younger student teachers treat them with respect that is not normally accorded by teachers to parents. It was a fine beginning.

The triads were given a deadline of the end of March to prepare finished drafts of the autobiographies. They were asked to meet at least three times during that period to complete the task. We encouraged groups to meet in the family home to reinforce the integrated, purposeful character of the activity, and to give the parent a strong opportunity to model and demonstrate literacy to the child. Alternate arrangements were made to accommodate these meetings at the school if necessary.

Parents and student teachers reported that a consistent pattern emerged in the process of creating the autobiographical sketches. Most of the meetings took place in the family homes, in part because parents were busy during the day. The early evening, when the school was closed, was often the most convenient time to meet. Possibly, the demands of autobiography also involved surroundings that were more secure and broader than would be suggested by the school and the generally unsatisfactory school experiences of many of the parents. Initially, many of the grade five students showed the same lack of interest in writing at home as they did in writing at school. In

short order, however, their interest was piqued and they became immersed in the stories that their parents were telling.

Events with the power to transform understanding and personality have common characteristics. They are tangible, and reach beyond the confines of one group, preferably to embrace a public validation of individual and group experience in an unambiguous way (Csikszentmihalyi & Hermanson, 1995). In this instance, the stories were put together in a book. The grade 5 students who participated in the project prepared artwork for the cover and a title for the book. They chose the cover design and title that they preferred. In titling the book *Three Stars and a Wish*, the students wanted to highlight the three main participants, parents, student teachers, and themselves. *The Wish* refers to the wish for his or her child's future that every parent included with the story.

In mid-May, all participants gathered in the university's performing arts hall, before an audience of community members, teachers, student teachers, university faculty, politicians, and school board and university administrators, and launched their careers as authors. They read excerpts from what they had written. Thus was born *Three Stars and a Wish* (Katz, 2000), a book in which the family stories were presented, together with illustrations of family mementos that were related to the stories. The University of Winnipeg published the book. Each participant, and their school received copies directly from the university president, at the book launch.

METHOD AND PROCEDURES

Of the sixteen stories in *Three Stars and a Wish*, Aboriginal children and their parents wrote six. We took the stories that were created as the effort of child and parent – mediated by a student teacher – to assign meaning to their lives. Within this broad description, we wanted to know how they accomplished this. We organized, read, notated, coded, and attempted to interpret the stories, providing a detailed descriptive context in which to understand how meaning was created. Constant comparison and negative case analysis were employed to gain insight, discern thematic patterns, and give interpretive shape to the results (Gay & Airasian, 2000).

The project had its impetus in a university course designed to help student teachers learn how to support growth in student writing in schools. We had hoped that the *Three Stars and a Wish* project would encourage the student teachers to begin to see the possibilities of situating purposeful writing in a family, community, and change-oriented context. To what degree and in what ways, if any, did the student teachers feel themselves to have changed as a result of this experience? To gather data to begin answering these questions, the student teachers were interviewed at length, individually and

in small groups. They were asked to recount their involvement in the writing project in terms of what they did and their feelings as they were engaged in the project, what they observed about the relationship between parents and children, and what they learned about the teaching of writing that they might implement in their own classroom.

Because the writing project was more limited in time and scope than a full teacher education program, selected aspects of Melnick and Zeicher's (1998) criteria to assess student teacher progress in an Urban Education Program were used as a guideline in analysing student teacher responses. QSR N5 qualitative analysis software was used to code and analyse the stories and the taped transcripts of interviews with student teachers for patterns, topics, and themes.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

That child and parent would create a commonly acceptable reading of the past is almost a foregone conclusion, given that the project invited this kind of product. But what would be dealt with, and how would parents and children handle the topics that they raised? At the most general level, taken together, the stories reflect a constructive, positive approach to confronting some issues that are particular to and particularly difficult for Aboriginal people to address. Here are the themes that emerged:

THE PARENT IS A STRONG, JUST PERSON. An important and prominent part of the acceptable past that the parents and children created is the presentation of the parent as someone to be looked up to. We believe that this is a significant step for Aboriginal students to take using writing. Aboriginal adults and children are beset by pervasive stereotypes that cast them as helpless and unreliable. To carry an image of a parent as one who does valuable things for others is a powerful antidote to these racist stereotypes. In one story, G writes of his mother as a ballet dancer. She was an outdoors type of person who ice fished in winter and sang and danced with friends in the park in summer. She found an arrowhead that was so valuable that the museum kept it. The circle is seen to be complete when the child finds that she now lives in the same townhouse project where her mom came to visit friends when she was young. In a second story, the mother – as a youngster – breaks her collarbone washing clothes in an old fashioned washing machine. She misses Halloween, but is sure not to miss school. In all the stories, the parent deals with a challenge in a calm and exemplary way.

THE STORIES HAVE CONSTRUCTIVE MESSAGES. Often, we teach our children and ourselves by infusing our stories with a moral. Traditionally, in Judeo-Christian culture, morality plays instructed community members on how to translate values into restrained behaviour, usually by painting a vivid pic-

ture of the hellish consequences of transgressing these values. Today, our newspapers fill this role. However, in the tradition of Aboriginal storytelling, the listener (or reader) must work to create his or her meaning, as if recognizing the mirror-like process alluded to by Wheeler (2001), that is captured in the talmudic insight that what we see is not what is but who we are. These stories offer gentle doses of morality. In one story a mother shows that she is not only compassionate, but also can make “the right choice”:

In grade seven one of my mom's math classmates, J, was spitting in my mom's hair, scribbling in her textbook and on her math papers. J was embarrassing my mom and making her angry. Mom was shocked that J would spit in her hair in class. At the end of the day, my mom's teacher gave mom a choice to go to a different class because J was always bugging her. Mom decided to go to the other class to get away from J.

Five months later J came to the class where mom and her friend M were. J had also bugged M in another class. J had no friends in her new class so she went up to my mom and M and said, “Hi,” hoping that mom and M would be her friends. After school, M and my mom talked about being J's friend and decided to forgive her and give her another chance. J ended up sharing a locker with mom and M, and they all became friends.

The lesson my mom wanted me to learn from this story is that life is full of choices and you don't always have to choose to treat people the way that you were treated. Sometimes it is okay to make a different and better choice.

The values that these stories convey are positive and constructive ones. E's story about a broken collarbone concludes with the observation that she missed Halloween, but not school. A common moral thread in the stories is that the parent made a strong decision, and the word “decision” figures prominently in five of the six stories. In one story the stepfather decides to go home before it gets dark. In a second story, the child decides to give the arrowhead to her teacher. In a third story the mother decides to move to a different class. In another story, the family decides to move so the child can go to school. In a fifth story, the grandmother decides to become a foster parent. The morality expressed in these stories is not one in which teaching is done through showing the consequences of bad behaviour, but through emphasizing the positive.

A characteristic of colonized peoples is a feeling of helplessness, and it is often this sense of helplessness that is viewed as passivity and dysfunction by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. In these stories, however, the parent is one who seizes the day, and solves the problem by making a decision.

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY: REMEMBERING THE PAST AND SHAPING THE FUTURE. Aboriginal individuals and communities are caught between a past that was taken rather than voluntarily given up, and a present and future for which

there seem to be few acceptable choices. A prominent theme in these stories is continuity and change, as focused on three experiences that are widespread among Aboriginal people: Foster Care, the move from the reserve to the city, and white stepparents. This is the story that C told to R, her grandchild, who recorded it:

My grandma was put in a foster home when she was 10. . . Before. . . she lived with her grandparents. My grandma was put in a good foster home so she felt lucky. . . other kids had bad experiences.

When she moved in with her foster parents, she had all kinds of new foods. . . KFC, French fries, sandwich meat, ham and pork chops all for the first time. . . [she] thought that the pork chops were bland [and] weird with apple sauce. Now she is a foster parent because she likes kids. . . she has had six foster kids and five of her own.

An important element in R's grandmother's story is the experience of non-Aboriginal culture and society. In this case, this experience is encircled by another common experience of Aboriginal children, foster care. What R's grandmother offers her here are two elements that are often missing in what we can give Aboriginal children like R. These are hope, an example of strength, and a goal and motivator. The strength, determination, and purposefulness of the grandmother pulses in this story. The project and process animated these possibilities.

MOVING FROM THE RESERVE TO THE CITY. Until the 1970's few Aboriginal people in Manitoba lived in the city; most lived on reserves in the northern or southern parts of the province. Many reserves were inaccessible except by plane, or, at certain times of year by winter road. Now, migration from reserve to city is a common experience for Aboriginal people in the province. A generation of Aboriginal children has grown up with little knowledge of the impact that this move had on their parents. E has had the opportunity to learn this, as he shows here.

Once there was a little girl named R. She went to school in the 60s on the reserve. The reserve is much different from today. There was no electricity. They had to use gas lamps for light and wood stoves for cooking. There were no phones and . . . television. There was no high school. They sent the high school students away for the whole year. Her family moved to [the city] so she didn't have to leave home.

When my mom first got to [the city], she couldn't believe how many stores there were. She lost count. There were too many. . . She found everything different – like the streets lights . . . there were no streets on the reserve. She could not believe how big her school was. My school today is a lot different from hers before.

The difficulties and differences in life that E's mother experienced as a result of this move are strongly hinted at in the story. Many Aboriginal students leave the schools that they are sent away to attend because of the differences and the distance from family. Through their creation of this series of events in his mother's life, E has been able to acknowledge the difference between the traditional and modern life without creating a resentful or unhappy interpretation. In the last line of the story he links his mother's experience to his own.

Aboriginal people must negotiate a non-Aboriginal world in which they often feel resentful and dispossessed. N deals with this relationship at its most intimate, in trying to understand his white stepfather, a Newfoundlander:

It was 28 years ago and J's dad just got home from work. It is a warm August evening. Around six o'clock J's family, [go] to pick berries. J and his mom and dad and his three little brothers get into their little four-door car. J is 11 . . . When they get there they will walk for a mile picking berries, storing them in their ice cream pail.

Sometimes, when J's bucket gets full he will use his t-shirt to hold his berries. J and his three brothers. . . go play on the side of a hill. Berries grow everywhere, even on the side of the hill where J is playing. It is becoming dark so they decide to go home to clean the berries.

J thinks that cleaning the berries is very neat! He will only pick the best ones because they are going to be sold. J will sell them to the buyer who will resell the berries to the grocery stores. His parents will use the money to buy schoolbooks, school clothes and runners for the kids.

Now, 28 years later, when J returns to Newfoundland the area where he picked berries is a housing development. J remembers the berry picking days.

In addition to jointly creating a picture of a very human boy, not a stereotype – one with whom N, an Aboriginal child – can empathise, N also sees, in the last sentence, how J, a non-Aboriginal, deals with transition and continuity as he reflects on the inevitable change that has overtaken his berry picking area and his childhood memories.

Student teacher responses to interview questions were analyzed in terms of consciousness of oneself, attentiveness to others, and understanding of the cultural dimensions of people's lives (Melnick & Zeicher, 1998). Three categories of response to their project experiences were discernible, consistently, across the analytic categories. Some student teachers' responses suggested that they remained classroom and curriculum focused. A second set of responses could be characterized as classroom and curriculum based, but with a strong element of awareness of parents as resources that could be deployed in the classroom. The third set of responses suggested that some of the student teachers had begun to appreciate the relationship between

effective teaching of and learning to write and the possibilities afforded by family and community involvement to make writing socially purposeful. Although untested and unexplored, there appeared to be a relationship between this last category and distance from a mainstream upbringing. Student teachers whose background was not stereotypically Canadian were more apt to be sympathetic to going beyond classroom and curriculum in search of effective writing instruction.

CONCLUSIONS

A major challenge in Aboriginal education is to help Aboriginal students retain their cultural identity, while at the same time preparing them for life in a complex, non-Aboriginal and homogenizing world. Principles adopted by the Indian Nations at Risk Task Force (1991) in the U.S. emphasize that schools must strive to provide enriching curricula and opportunities for Aboriginal young people. The character of the stories in the *Three Stars and A Wish Writing Project* suggests that inviting Aboriginal parents to join in partnership with educators in a purposeful and meaningful activity goes a long way down that road.

A promising response to meeting the needs of Aboriginal students may lie in recruiting and preparing more teacher candidates from among urban Aboriginal people (as Sletter (2000) has suggested in relation to the poor and minority groups in the inner city, in general). The responses of the student teachers to their experiences in the *Three Stars and a Wish* project support this view.

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WHEN CURRICULUM BECOMES A STRANGER

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ABSTRACT. Prompted by a child's question, this reflective paper uses narrative to explore ways in which technical and standardized approaches to curriculum do little to help children and their teachers make sense of the complexity of the life world in which they dwell. These curricular approaches are perhaps symptomatic of a larger problem. This paper examines ways in which curricula mandated by the state have been traditionally used to implement social policies and to control what is taught, how it is taught, and to whom it is taught – that is to say, what conception of children is being promoted. In this context, teachers may often become handmaidens of the state, sometimes, though not always, unwittingly implementing social policies that may undermine the possibility for critical thinking in schools. Becoming an adult in western culture can involve estrangement from one's own childhood, and the curriculum of "traditional" schooling may serve to reinforce this estrangement.

QUAND LE PROGRAMME D'ÉTUDES DEVIENT UN ÉTRANGER

RÉSUMÉ. Cette réflexion, suscitée par la question d'un enfant, porte sur l'aide minimale que les approches techniques et standardisées d'un programme d'études apportent aux élèves et à leurs enseignants pour mieux comprendre la complexité du monde qui les entoure. Ces approches peuvent être les symptômes d'une problématique plus importante. Cet article examine comment les programmes mandatés par l'État ont traditionnellement été utilisés, d'une part, pour mettre en œuvre des politiques sociales et, d'autre part, pour contrôler le contenu enseigné, la méthode d'enseignement et les élèves, en d'autres mots pour promouvoir une certaine conception de l'enfance. Dans un tel contexte, les enseignants peuvent souvent être au service d'un état pour implanter consciemment ou non des politiques sociales risquant de compromettre la possibilité d'une pensée critique dans les écoles. Devenir adulte, dans la culture occidentale, peut impliquer une certaine rupture par rapport à sa propre enfance. Cette rupture peut être renforcée par les programmes d'études "traditionnels."

Childhood In a kit

I begin with a true story

I was walking to campus for an early morning meeting. New flowers punctuated nearly every yard. Rich hues of yellow, orange and red splattered playfully across the soft ground, replacing winter's seemingly impenetrable cover of snow. I felt the soft spring breeze sweep across my face, gently, like a mother's hand brushing sleep from her child's eyes.

The voice of a small child interrupted my thoughts. "What's a stranger?" She was so close to me that I had to wonder just how she got there. And indeed, how had I managed not to mow her down like some weed in the crack of the sidewalk? That look, her question, and the ease with which she slipped her hand in mine as she tried to get me to walk her to school linger still.

This little girl's question is an intriguing one. Perhaps this question resulted from a confusion about either her school experience or her lived experience, or a dissonance between the two. Through speaking further with her, I gathered she might have been confused by the way the concept "stranger" had been presented to her at school. Clearly, she was concerned about the concept of "stranger," not about the issue of her own personal safety. I wondered whether she had been introduced to the concept of "stranger" through a curriculum kit at school. If so, I could perhaps understand her confusion.

As a teacher, I was once obliged to attend a workshop on the use of such a kit. While the concept of "stranger" is a complex one, kits such as the one that was the focus of the workshop did little to address the complexity in any comprehensive way. Like many of my colleagues, I chose not to use it. Instead, I tried to integrate concepts such as the one of stranger into a curriculum built out of the children's experience of their everyday lives. This teacher practice is not always appreciated or endorsed by those who mandate school curricula. Many of us have grown up with the notion that we can reason our way out of the problems of life and devices such as kits offer us the assurance that this is so. Workshops on effective teaching and assertive discipline are examples of the "rational" approach to teaching.

"Kits" are simply pre-packaged curriculum materials that are in common usage across the curriculum in many countries. These kits may deal with a wide variety of topics such as historical events, subject-related genres such as poetry or novel studies, or sensitive issues like sexual abuse or safety concerns regarding not talking to strangers. Every attempt is made to make these products "teacher-proof" by providing step-by-step instructions and, in some cases, even teacher scripts. As such, these kits serve as a convenient method of teaching children efficiently, although not necessarily effectively because the voices of students are seldom present in these conveniently standardized units of instruction. Overworked teachers who may be bereft

of new and creative ideas find these prepackaged curriculum aides a valuable resource. The use of kits is not necessarily a harmful practice. Indeed, often the intentions behind them are good. Kits may help children understand and label their experience. However, the little girl's question made me wonder if such technical and generalized approaches to issues thought to affect children really do help them and their teachers make sense of the complexity of the life world in which they are already embedded.

At best, kits are merely surface outlines of the complex reality we experience, much the way a water beetle appears on the surface of a pond, seemingly unaware of the watery realms beneath its legs. The use of kits may be symptomatic of a larger problem within the "traditional" curriculum of Western schooling, as well as schooling in other parts of the world. Devices such as kits and other 'teacher-proof' curriculum materials exemplify the way curricula mandated by the state have been traditionally used to control what is taught, how it is taught, and to whom it is taught – that is, the oppressive reinforcement of the conceptualization of childhood – and to implement social policies. In this scheme, teachers often become the hand maidens of the state, sometimes though not always, unwittingly implementing social policies that may undermine the possibility for critical thinking in our schools and ultimately provide for the oppression of children in the Western world and beyond. Other scholars in the field of curriculum studies, for example McLaren (1989), suggest that in schools and teacher education programs:

... an undue emphasis is placed on training teachers to be managers and implementers of preordained content, and on methods courses that rarely provide students with opportunity to analyze the ideological assumptions and underlying interests that structure the way teaching is taught. (p. 2)

Other scholars such as Clandinin and Connelly (1995) have shown us, specifically through teacher stories, that many teachers feel repressed, and often oppressed, by policies which come down "the conduit". The work of Clandinin and Connelly focuses, although not exclusively, on oppressive social policies which affect teachers. However, social policies that affect children, specifically as they are implemented through specialized institutions such as schools, are still relatively in uncharted terrain. As Smith (1991) says:

... how is it that in spite of enormous public expenditure on formal educational programs for children and good rhetoric speaking on children's behalf, in actuality children are the most frequently abused and neglected of all the world's citizens, in countries like the United States and Canada as well as in the third World. (p. 188)

The ways in which the state implements constraining social policy through curricula is particularly important if one is interested in how children

everywhere have been oppressed. In the case of the little girl who asked me about strangers, the oppression is covert, not overt. Lessons in fearing strangers subdue her previous inclination to trust everyone, which she shows by the way she slips her hand into mine. The kit, as a quick device, derogates the child's understanding of the world as a friendly place. Curricula are community designs for a social order which the state produces to shape its citizens. Designs are structures which unfortunately can utilize kits – pre-packaged curriculum materials – to that end.

Facing the little girl on the sidewalk that morning, I found myself uncomfortably reliving the dilemma with which I had often struggled as a teacher, that is, the dilemma surrounding the transmission of cultural attitudes and values. While, this dilemma is visited on a more or less continual basis the world over, I pondered how I should behave towards the little girl so that I might not undermine what her teacher and parents had already told her and, at the same time, not betray my own beliefs about the questionable practice of identifying strangers as givers of harm. I knew that it is not usually strangers who harm children but those who are often closest to them: their parents, their extended family, or their family's friends.

Superficially, a kit such as the one about strangers may appear beneficial for children in our schools. Yet what is being transmitted through the use of such a kit and to what purpose? Ostensibly, the purpose of the kit is to prevent harm delivered by strangers. It functions, however, to also deflect attention from the harm done by parents, family, and paid attendants. And it does so because, in mainstream Canadian society, parenthood and parenting are deemed sacrosanct. Honor thy father and mother, the bible says. "This refusal to acknowledge the consequences of former harm and injury to the child permeates our society and is reinforced by religious teachings. For thousands of years, all religious institutions have exhorted the faithful to respect their parents" (Miller, 1990, p. 32).

Hendrick (1994) points out, "First, the history of children and childhood, is inescapably inseparable from the history of social policy" (p. xii). The general effect of social policies has been to create a perception of children as predominantly ignorant, dependent, vulnerable, untutored and very often threatening (p. xii). A closer look at the work of Hendrick (1994) allows us to explore ideas about the social construction of childhood. His deeply caring and compassionate work on the history of children, child welfare, and the social construction of childhood in England has resonance in Canada because many of our ideas and our institutions have been imported from, and modelled on, the British system.

The concept of childhood as a separate state comes late in history. The Industrial Revolution in nineteenth century England as Hendrick (1994) and Aries (1972) point out, indicates that childhood as a distinct stage in

the human life cycle did not exist. With industrialization, the custom of informally educating the young at home and through the local community gave way to the formal education of schools. The state now became an active participant in the education of children. Childhood was socially constructed to meet the needs and demands of industrialization. Hendrick remarks:

. . . the making of childhood into a very specific kind of age-graded and age-related condition went through several stages, involving several different processes. Each new construction, one often overlapping with the other, has been described here in the appropriate chronological order as: the natural child, the Romantic child, the evangelical child, the factory child, the delinquent child, the schooled child and the psycho-medical child . . . the introduction and gradual consolidation of compulsory schooling confirmed the trend towards the creation of the innocence. This understanding of the 'nature' of childhood was then subjected to scientific scrutiny and elaborated upon through further description and explanation by the Child Study movement. (Hendrick, 1994, p. 37)

Like textbooks and readers that came before, contemporary curricular devices such as kits are developed with a certain view of "the child" and childhood. However, many kits go beyond mere literacy and the acquisition of special skills by implementing various social policies which focus on issues affecting children's wellbeing – child welfare, child abuse and health practices. So what is the problem with this?

Nineteenth and twentieth century reformers have campaigned for policies which ensure that children are protected. But, as Hendrick (1994) reminds us, certain features of policies that purport to protect children have also been historically responsible for doing them harm. Hendrick gives examples such as the "Edwardian concern with 'national efficiency,' and the perennial interest in social discipline, the stability of the family, and an appropriately educated labour force" (p. xiii). The concern with social discipline, for example, has sometimes meant that children are censured, ridiculed, or otherwise punished because they are children. Schooling today may not always be so distant from such Edwardian objectives. Barbara, an undergraduate student in a pre-service language learning class I teach, recently wrote this story. Her story is reminiscent of the Victorian or Edwardian notions of childhood we read about in novels such as *David Copperfield*. Barbara entitled her story of schooling, *A Blue Bird*.

Our classroom was a perfect square with one doorway and two windows.

Desks were arranged in straight lines. Five desks across and six down. They were assigned to us on the first day of class. You did not change places! We had rules in our school.

We had dress codes. Girls wore dresses, boys slacks and long sleeved shirts. No T-shirts, shorts or runners were allowed.

The teachers followed code too. They wore only dark colors black, brown, navy blue with no accent and no pretty jewelry.

We followed a schedule. At 8:45 the bell rang and we ran to line up to enter school. At 8:50 we were allowed in if our lines were straight, one for boys and one for girls. By 8:55 we would be seated. At nine o'clock sharp, our door closed.

Once settled, we were instructed to stand for morning prayer, then seated. At 9:10 the morning announcements, made by the principal, would be heard throughout the school on the P. A. system. Classes would soon begin, each one lasting 30 minutes. Subjects taught were Arithmetic, Language Arts, Spelling, Religion, Social Studies, Health, Science, French and Physical Education. At 10:15 we had recess for 15 minutes that included line up time to enter the school.

Expectations in class were easy. Sit up straight, keep your head facing front. Fold your hands together on top of your desk, visible. Feet held apart and square under your desk. If you had a question your arm was raised straight above your head, held high, then you waited, until you were acknowledged and spoken to. You were not to leave your desk for any reasons.

The teacher lectured in front of our class. Sometimes she would walk up and down the aisles to see how work was progressing. We always had lots of exercises to complete. If you were slow, you stayed after school to complete class work.

Any disruption to the class due to talking out of turn, not answering properly or getting out of your desk would find you in trouble. Usually students were sent to the corners to face the wall. Some students became permanent fixtures with their desks moved up against the chalkboard. A student rarely dared to turn their head once seated there.

The occasion when I was bad in class still remains with me. My punishment was innovative. To kneel in a praying position on the heat register located at the back of the class. The register was about 36 inches high and about the same in length. Another boy shared in the punishment. We climbed up, not knowing. We positioned our knees on the grate and prayed. After awhile, we squirmed. Noticing that I had moved slightly off the grill, the teacher made me redo the punishment over recess. I had difficulty not moving so I again tried over part of the lunch hour. I had ample time to reflect.

Of course, not everyone had these types of experiences in class. Red birds were too smart to get into trouble. Blue birds only occasionally. Yellow birds were the real bad ones.

Heywood (1988), another historian, supports Hendrick's view that policies for children were not necessarily made with the children's best interests at heart. For example, when industrialists in the middle of the nineteenth century began paying cash incentives for high production, children could not participate because they lacked the stamina to keep up with production by machines. Because of their lower output, child workers ceased to be considered economically useful. They became superfluous. Industry needed

a place to “park” children until they were old enough to be workers. Public schools were the answer. In Heywood’s analysis, the mandate of the schools was to keep the children off the streets in order to train them to be good workers, but not to think for themselves.

Peikoff and Brickey (1991) state that from the mid nineteenth to the early twentieth century in Canada, it was a time in which social reformers, as in England, devoted more energy to caring for children than in any other period. However, they demonstrate that policy initiatives directed to child labour and compulsory education did not emerge because of enlightened attitudes towards children. Rather, the consequences of the emergence of industrial capitalism was largely responsible for the ideological change that transformed children from little adults into precious creatures in need of special attention and care. Heywood (1988) also argues that economic factors underlie the development of public schools as a better place for working class children. He says, that “from the *instituteurs*, the industrial lobby hoped, they [children] would acquire a basic instruction in the three R’s, and, most importantly, learn the discipline and values that would make them ‘good workers’ ” (p. 322).

The study of the history of childhood is the story of how adults have viewed and treated children. De Mause, a psycho-historian, states that “the history of childhood is a nightmare from which we have just begun to awaken” (1975, p. 85). De Mause claims that the further we look back in history the worse the treatment of children becomes. Aries (1972) and Sommerville (1990) have painted varying pictures of how people in the past have treated children: from under-protection to over-protection; from being little adults to being virtually a different species; from being innately evil to being paragons of innocence.

In North America, as in other parts of the world, humanity seems to hold to a rather innocent, but perhaps erroneous, belief that going forward in time means going forward in social improvement, yet most historians agree that throughout history children have been abused and neglected. As long as we only deal superficially with the way children are treated in our society, the nightmare will continue. Perhaps as the little girl’s question that began this chapter suggests, learning to be made strangers to ourselves and each other is the biggest part of the nightmare.

Reflecting on the little girl’s question and curricular directions available through kits led me to consider what it is really like to be a child living in our Western culture, or in any culture. One is inevitably concerned over the messages children receive about being children and becoming adults, about the way messages presume differences between child and adult which make us forget that identity continuously unfolds throughout our lifetime. Orwell (1953) points out:

... the child lives in a sort of alien under-water world which we can only penetrate by memory or divination. Our chief clue is the fact that we were once children ourselves, and many people appear to forget the atmosphere of their own childhood almost entirely. (p. 59)

Becoming an adult in this culture may mean becoming estranged from one's own childhood, and the curriculum we learn at school often reinforces and perpetuates the estrangement. The little girl I met reveals the essence of this separation.

The child remembered

How wonderful and yet strange it is to be a child. To find oneself as a child in a marvelous world that is without history, a world ripe with potential. One's task as a child is to make sense of a pre-given world to make sense of its established social patterns, culture and traditions. The world gives one no status except as being an infant member of a social group. It gives no power except that which is given to the child by adults. As Schutz suggests:

Any member born or reared within the group accepts the ready-made standardized scheme of the cultural pattern handed down to him by ancestors, teachers, and authorities as an unquestioned and unquestionable guide in all situations which normally occur within the social world. (Schutz, 1971, p. 95)

While I largely agree with Schutz, I wonder whether a new member of a group always accepts without question the pre-given cultural patterns.

A story of an experience from Cara, a graduate student, exemplifies both a child's lack of status and power, her acquiescence to cultural patterns and her need to make sense of situations that unfold about her.

My Grandfather stood before me, his rail-like frame almost grazing the full height of the room. His cool clear eyes turning to ice, focused with laser-like sharpness, no longer on my mother, but on me. "Honestly, Emma, where are her manners?" His question seemed to hover above me, suspended in air on a fragile thread.

My Mother's eyes avoided my gaze. Instantly, I knew that she would not be defending me. And in that moment, she looked awkward, quiet, miniscule; her eyes veiled in a shroud of complacency. Only moments before, I had felt so invincible, so full of life itself, and this vitality had carried me forward as I burst into that room. I, the room-buster, child of five, had forgotten my manners. And with eyes much too wide, and tongue wagging tales to tell, had broken Grandfather's golden rules:

- *Silence is golden.*
- *Children should be seen and not heard.*
- *Do not interrupt adults who are in conversation.*

In enthusiasm over the little creature I had just seen outside, I had forgotten the rules, as sometimes I was wont to do. My grandfather's tongue was like a whip:

Did I know I was a rude child? Rude to interrupt grown-ups when they are speaking? Rude to butt in without being announced? Rude because I should know better?

RUDE, RUDE, RUDE

Well, what did I have to say for myself, my Grandfather bellowed? I stammered. "I" – "I" In a short space of time I had lost my I. Then my anger seemed to reclaim it, and I felt myself becoming real again. With red face and defiant eyes and all the strength in me I returned that ice blue glare. My words tumbled out of me: "Maybe I was rude, but it's still not fair for you to yell at me," I retorted. "Little people have feelings too."

A long silence ensued. Those freshly spoken words sat on me like paste, following me like a snail's trail as I slowly made my way out to the car. I glanced back, hoping, thinking, wishing, that someone would follow me.

I wondered what would happen next, for I knew I had broken yet another golden rule; I had lost my temper. I felt sad, yet somehow big – full of the truth I knew I had spoken only moments before. Finally my mother appeared. I pretended not to notice her as she hurried down the path towards the car. Perhaps she noted my indifference, perhaps not. She framed her words rather carefully, explaining that all would be fine again provided I apologized to my Grandfather immediately. I looked at her briefly and then with my index finger I began to focus on creating different patterns with the little dots that suddenly became noticeable in the upholstered ceiling just above me. (A child remembers)

This story calls into being what it feels like to be little, full of curiosity and wonder, but running amok of what seems to be the inexplicable rules adults have made to govern behavior. What we learn about ourselves, others, and our proper place in the scheme of things is not evidently always good for us. As a small child, not only could Cara not interrupt her grandfather and her mother, but she could not question them in an overt way. And so in school children learn not to question the teacher. Brizman (2000) Fine (1987) and Gardner (1991) are but three who remind us that school is often a place where serious conversation or questions are deemed inappropriate.

That chance meeting with the little girl on the sidewalk brought me back to the story of my own childhood, to its loneliness and pain, and then it made me think how our school curricula embody and promote oppressive developmental ideals (Lyle, 2000).

Children often wrestle with profundity. I remembered that as a young child I struggled with the meaning of, and significance in, Remembrance Day. There seemed to be so much sadness and quiet just before that day and on that day. I really did not know the reason for the veil of silence: it was a mystery. Now, as teacher, teacher-educator, and parent I think about how school reinforces this mystery.

At school we colored poppies. I remember one of my classmates getting into trouble because he colored his poppy yellow and not red. It really was not until much later that the symbolism of the red poppy was made clear to me,

after I finally summoned up the courage to ask my father. He told me a beautiful story about a young man who was a soldier and a poet. Because he was a poet, he could put into words the sadness of war and the great human suffering that everyone feels no matter which country eventually wins the war. My father said that each poppy represents the blood of someone killed in the war, be they father, son, or brother in someone's family, somewhere around the world.

Suddenly I understood the reason for the great silence that blanketed the Legion Hall every year and I also understood why I had been called a disrespectful child because I had drawn a happy face on one of those felt poppies handed out at school. Looking back, I now realize that my father had a different perspective to the dominant sacred story of war. He saw its suffering, not its glory. He also had a different perspective on life, particularly the importance of story as embodied knowledge.

As a child, I often felt like a prop in a play someone else (the teacher) had written. A five year old whom I recently met had a similar experience of school. She was telling her younger sister what school is all about: "Well, you sit on the rug. You color at your desk and then you sit on the rug and sometimes there are stories and you sit on the rug for stories." When her little sister asked, "Why do you sit on the rug?" the older child replied, "Silly, you just sit on the rug." The younger child, perhaps thinking this unusual, said "Is it a magic rug?" "No," replied the other, "It is just a rug for kids to sit on. Big people like teachers and stuff sit on chairs."

The five-year-old girl had to engage in an activity – sitting on the rug – that she made sense of in the best way she could. Sometimes, however, school children are forced to engage in activities that are so beyond their experience that they can make no sense of them at all. The little girl whom I met, in the incident described at the beginning of this paper, had her problems making sense of those in our midst who are our strangers.

When I was teaching grade two, a citizenship ceremony took place in the gymnasium at our school. The whole school was asked to attend on rather short notice. My class did not understand the concept of citizenship. There was not adequate time to discuss such a concept with them or to try to build the concept of citizenship through their experience. Neither was there time for a discussion among staff about whether it would be appropriate for children of this age to attend. Many of the grade two, grade one, and kindergarten pupils had difficulty sitting still through the ceremony. It occurred to me that my role may have been one of simply keeping the children quiet so that our school could announce that such a prestigious ceremony took place at our school. As far as I could tell this incident did little except give the children the message that their role is "to be seen and not heard," a cultural tradition, which, many would argue, is no longer operating in contemporary child-rearing practices. While teachers cannot be expected to explain the reasons for everything they do, it seems to me

that this five year old girl had difficulty making sense of her world for the same reasons my grade two students did: children are sometimes given little say apart from what adults grant them. Yet it would have been helpful to this five-year-old's cognitive development to know – or to be able to ask – the teacher why children sat on the rug and to that of my grade two children to have a discussion about citizenship. If we are open to listening to children's questions and struggling with their tangles and confusions, we acknowledge them as being reasonable beings and beings capable of reason. Indeed we may even learn from them!

Perhaps, as I suggested earlier, in looking into the face of the little girl whom I met on the sidewalk, I also remembered how I felt when, as teacher, I was expected to carry on traditions, or enforce rules that made no sense to me; or, worse, that made me feel as though I had somehow abandoned the child I once was. To become an adult and a teacher, I was trained, and had trained myself, to forget the atmosphere of my own childhood. Learning to be and being an adult in this culture may mean becoming estranged from one's own childhood. It may mean turning from our past as experienced towards a present that is outside our felt experience. We become an adult when we disconnect from the child we were; we arrive at what is named adulthood when we forget the journey we have been on. Perhaps being an adult means no longer asking oneself where one came from, where one is going, or who one is going to be. The "not-yet adult" and "adult" categories of stage development theories may contribute to a polarized and oppositional relationship between adult and child (Sloan-Cannella, 2000). After all, once adulthood is reached we know who we are; was not our childhood the preparation for that goal?

"What Will You Be?"

They never stop asking me,
"What will you be?-"
A doctor, a dancer,
A diver at sea?"

They never stop bugging me:
"What will you be?"
As if they expect me to
Stop being me.

When I grow up I'm going to be a Sneeze,
And sprinkle Germs on all my Enemies.

When I grow up I'm going to be a Toad,
And dump on Silly Questions in the road.

When I grow up, I'm going to be a Child.
I'll Play the whole darn day and drive them Wild.

(Dennis Lee, 1977, p. 41) ¹

Not so very long ago, I was involved in a situation that brought me closer to understanding the little girl's questions. A close friend of mine was overcome with sadness in hearing the following news bulletin in the dead of winter. A dog had been hit by a car and was left to die at the side of the road. A passerby stopped to throw a blanket on the dog but many people passed by both on foot and in automobiles without stopping. Finally, someone stopped to attend to the dog but by that time the dog's paws were frozen to the ground. It is likely that the dog died not because it sustained fatal injuries by being hit by a car, but because it had been left to freeze to death.

My friend relayed this news report to me through tears. I immediately became angry, spouting off about the great inhumanity in our society, about how we treat helpless creatures and children, about the action that must be taken, about the hopelessness of the situation. My friend interrupted my tirade, saying "Just let me cry for the dog."

I have thought about this incident many times because other ugly moments remind me of it and because my reaction of over analysis of life situations appears to be a typical one. Possibly my friend has the right idea: first be aware of one's own immediate feelings (those which speak to us in the moment). It seems to me, based on my own experience as both a student and teacher, that traditional school curricula favours abstract thought, analytic reasoning and linguistic ability over the affective and perceptual domain. I have learned well to do this as I analyzed the solution rather than responded to the immediate feelings of sadness. Turnbull (1983) suggests that, in other cultures such as in the Mbuti tribe, the affective domain is much more widely understood, and given much more prominence in every stage of the life cycle and in the educational system than it is in our own (p. 18). As a result, the actions of the members of the Mbuti tribe are separate from their life experience. In their culture childhood is not regarded as a separate state. Unlike in the West, there is no abstract or oppositional relationship between child and adult because each individual life is part of the endless cycle of life.

Along with teaching children to favor their emotional responses less and to be made accepting of analytic responses, in Western education, and systems of schooling around the world, we teach children to be passive, not to question authority, and, perhaps, eventually not to question much at all. Lindfors (1987) focuses on the mismatch between the curious nature of children and the tendency of traditional classrooms not to sanction curiosity and questions of a more personal nature. She cites examples from both informal exercises and classroom observations regarding the kinds of questions asked by preschool-kindergarten children, primary children, and intermediate-level children. The questions at each level were categorized into the following three groups:

- (1) Curiosity: Does not focus on satisfying any outside source.
- (2) Procedural: Focuses on satisfying an external source; helps one do what one is "supposed" to do.
- (3) Social-interactional: a question form functioning mainly to initiate or maintain or clarify a relationship. (Lindfors, 1987, p. 288)

The results are rather disturbing:

Of the 159 preschool-kindergarten questions analyzed, approximately 45 percent (almost half) were social in nature, approximately 33 percent (one-third) were curiosity questions, and approximately 23 percent (less than one-fourth) were procedural. The situation changed dramatically at primary level. Here, of a total of 253 questions analyzed, the curiosity questions comprised only 19 percent and social only 14 percent, while procedural questions soared to 66 percent (almost two-thirds) of the total. The situation was similar at intermediate level, with 16 percent of the total (116) being curiosity questions, another 16 percent being social, and a staggering 68 percent being procedural. (Lindfors, 1987, p. 288)

The numbers in Lindfor's study figure importantly in a teacher's life.

My feelings of being a stranger on much of the educational terrain I have travelled may be largely attributed to the fact that on the one hand I have been educated to forget as, Lindfor shows 'the atmosphere of my own childhood' and that, on the other hand, childhood is a difficult time to know. As Orwell puts it "In studying childhood – or teaching children – one is up against the very great difficulty of knowing what a child really feels and thinks" (p. 59). But is it not difficult to really know how anyone feels? After all, are we not all, in one way or another, strangers to ourselves and to each other? I wonder if we do not often think that children's feelings are so different than our own because our cultural history has told us that this is so. Perhaps this is why in our modern world culture nothing is less explored and less valued than the child's point of view.

Towards a curriculum of childhood

The disjuncture between curricular materials as represented by the curriculum kit and the child's question about "What is a stranger?" perhaps reveals the connection between teacher disempowerment and child suppression. The child viewed the lesson on school safety from a child's perspective, specifically from the reality of her own lived experience. In this view, standardized pre-packaged curriculum materials point to a sanitation of experience to the extent that reality is reduced to outlines and scripts which may serve to disempower both teacher and learner. Thus, both children and teachers are part of an oppressive system, where teachers in this process are

neither oppressors nor the oppressed, but, along with the children they teach, are confounded by being pulled between external views of societal constructs and their own lived experiences which often run counter to the external reality of school and society. To honour the experiences of childhood is to become aware of the voice of the child, in order to be able to understand and to critically engage such questions as "What is a stranger?"

NOTE

1. From *Garbage Delight* (Macmillan of Canada, 1977). Copyright c1977 Dennis Lee. With permission of the author.

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LE MUSÉE VIRTUEL DE LA NOUVELLE-FRANCE ET LES PROGRAMMES D'HISTOIRE EN ONTARIO ET AU QUÉBEC

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RÉSUMÉ. L'utilisation d'internet connaît une hausse vertigineuse à l'école qui s'en sert de plus en plus à des fins d'apprentissage et d'enseignement des matières scolaires. Quant au musée, il utilise internet notamment à des fins de promotion, d'information et d'éducation, pour mieux rejoindre la clientèle scolaire. Naviguer dans un site web de musée, aussi appelé "musée virtuel", semble même une activité très populaire chez les élèves. Mais comment s'assurer de la pertinence du contenu d'un musée virtuel à des fins d'apprentissage et d'enseignement des matières scolaires? Dans ce contexte, une étude a été réalisée afin d'évaluer la concordance entre les données historiques du Musée virtuel de la Nouvelle-France (<http://www.mvnf.civilisations.ca/>) et les objectifs pédagogiques se rapportant à ce sujet, tels que répertoriés dans les programmes d'études de l'Ontario et du Québec. Les résultats obtenus indiquent une concordance certaine entre le contenu de ce musée virtuel et plusieurs des objectifs pédagogiques portant sur la Nouvelle-France, tant au niveau des sciences humaines et sociales à l'élémentaire, qu'au niveau de l'histoire au secondaire. Ces résultats laissent entrevoir d'intéressantes pistes de recherches concernant une éventuelle utilisation pédagogique du MVNF par le milieu scolaire ontarien et québécois.

THE VIRTUAL MUSEUM OF NEW FRANCE AND HISTORY CURRICULUM IN ONTARIO AND QUEBEC

ABSTRACT. There is a tremendous increase in the use of the internet in schools where it is being used more and more for the teaching and learning of subject matter. In museums, the internet serves mainly to promote, disseminate information and educate, especially its school clientele. It seems that students enjoy navigating the various museum web sites, also known as "virtual museums." But how can we ensure the relevance of virtual museums's content for the teaching and learning of school subjects? This study was conducted to evaluate the concordance between the historical data contained in the *Virtual Museum of New France* (<http://www.mvnf.civilizations.ca/>) with the pedagogical objectives of the study of New France as specified in the curricula of Ontario and Quebec. The results indicate a definite concordance between the content of this virtual museum and several of the pedagogical objectives pertaining to the New France in the social studies program at the elementary level and in the history program at the secondary level, both in Ontario and Quebec. Suggestions for future research on the use of this virtual museum for pedagogical purposes are also presented.

En 1999, selon Statistique Canada (2000), environ 3,4 millions de canadiens utilisaient internet régulièrement, soit environ 42 % de tous les ménages. En 2000, ces chiffres ont connu une hausse de 29 % par rapport à l'année précédente et, si la tendance se maintient, c'est autour de 50% des Canadiens qui accéderont à l'autoroute électronique à partir de la maison d'ici la prochaine enquête, prévue pour 2003, soit un foyer sur deux. Cette croissance fulgurante dépasse de loin toutes celles qui sont reliées à la consommation de services dans le domaine des télécommunications depuis les 10 dernières années car, pour arriver aux mêmes résultats, les Canadiens ont pris six à huit fois plus de temps pour se procurer un téléphone cellulaire ou la télévision par satellite (Statistique Canada, 1999a).

En moins de 30 ans, internet est donc passé d'un intérêt essentiellement militaire à celui d'un marché visant à répondre à des besoins publics et privés. Les plus récentes données confirment qu'il n'y a presque plus d'écart entre son utilisation à la maison et au travail. Actuellement, on estime que l'autoroute électronique est emprunté régulièrement par l'équivalent d'une personne sur trois au Canada et d'une sur deux aux États-Unis. La proportion d'utilisateurs ne cesse d'augmenter, et ce, malgré le fait que 700 000 Canadiens se soient débranchés depuis 2000 (Statistique Canada, 2002). Toutefois, la hausse est particulièrement notable chez les jeunes se situant dans la tranche d'âge des 15-25 ans.

À l'instar de la situation qui prévaut dans les foyers et sur le marché du travail, la majorité des écoles et des musées canadiens sont présentement raccordés à internet (Statistique Canada, 1999b). Pour l'école, l'autoroute électronique se révèle particulièrement utile à des fins d'apprentissage et d'enseignement des matières scolaires, notamment des Sciences humaines et sociales à l'élémentaire, et de l'Histoire au secondaire. Quant au musée, selon Brochu *et al.* (1999, p. 30), "Un site web peut cumuler quatre fonctions, combinées ou non, à des fins de promotion et d'information, de banque de données, d'exposition virtuelle ou de lieu d'échange". À cet effet, naviguer dans un site web de musée pour en apprendre davantage au sujet des expositions, des objets de leurs collections ou des données scientifiques se rapportant à ces objets, semble une activité très prisée par les élèves. Déjà, selon les résultats d'une étude menée par Dyrli et Kinnaman (1996), visiter les sites web des musées et des centres de sciences représentait la troisième activité d'apprentissage la plus populaire chez les élèves d'écoles élémentaires et secondaires dans plus d'une vingtaine d'états américains. Les deux premières consistaient, dans l'ordre, à faire des échanges culturels avec d'autres élèves à travers le monde et à concevoir des pages web qui permettaient de publier des projets scolaires. D'après les plus récents résultats d'une enquête nationale menée par Ipsos Reid (2002), portant sur l'intégration de la technologie en éducation, ce type d'activités est toujours aussi populaire chez les écoliers canadiens.

Internet dans les écoles

Par ailleurs, selon l'enquête sur l'informatique en classe, réalisée par Statistique Canada (1999b), l'engouement des élèves pour internet connaît une croissance sans précédent. Cet engouement se fait sentir non seulement pour l'utilisation de sites web destinés à l'information, soit ceux dédiés aux divertissements et aux loisirs, mais également pour les sites destinés à la formation et à la recherche en lien avec les matières scolaires. Selon Land (1997), les sciences de la nature, l'histoire et la géographie comptent parmi celles qui se prêtent le mieux à l'utilisation d'internet par les élèves. À ce sujet, le web compte bon nombre de sites s'intéressant à la promotion des valeurs environnementales et patrimoniales, dont les données s'avèrent fiables et peuvent être mises à profit lors de la réalisation de travaux scolaires (Hawkey, 1999; Jacobs, 1996).

Sites web de musées et musées virtuels

Selon Lebrun (1999), la puissance des sites web de musées réside dans le fait qu'ils permettent d'établir un premier contact entre l'élève et les *artefacts* ou les œuvres d'art. En plus d'y retrouver des informations factuelles utiles, de tels sites servent à faire la promotion de leurs services et de leurs programmes, notamment de ceux qui s'adressent au milieu scolaire. Les musées, en se raccordant à internet, ont littéralement créé un nouveau phénomène de société mieux connu sous le vocable de "musée virtuel".

Bien qu'il soit une expression relativement récente dans la littérature, le musée virtuel prend différentes formes. La principale concerne les sites web de musées qui ouvrent une fenêtre sur leurs collections existantes. Ces objets sont généralement présentés sous forme d'images numérisées en deux dimensions, ou même en trois, par la technologie nommée *Virtual Reality Modeling Language* (VRML). Loin d'être en compétition avec le véritable lieu muséal, le musée virtuel se révèle même comme étant très complémentaire en incitant le public à venir réellement le visiter. Par exemple, les objets muséaux les plus en demande par le public qui visite le Musée Smithsonian aux États-Unis, se trouvent actuellement exposés sur son site web (Kraus, 1999). À cette exposition virtuelle d'objets réels peut également s'ajouter une visite virtuelle des salles du musée, par une présentation panoramique des lieux. Plus récemment, nous assistons même à une forme inédite d'utilisation de quelques sites web de musées américains, soit une visite personnalisée par la création de son propre itinéraire virtuel (Adams *et al.*, 2001).

Nous retrouvons également une deuxième forme de musées virtuels qui n'existent pas dans la réalité mais qui présentent des données scientifiques se rapportant aux objets réels du musée. Les données présentées dans ces musées virtuels ont l'avantage d'être fiables, tout en se situant à la fine pointe de la recherche. C'est notamment le cas du site web du Musée

canadien des civilisations qui, en complément ou non à une visite de la Salle du Canada, propose d'accéder à son musée virtuel portant sur la Nouvelle-France.

Musée virtuel de la Nouvelle-France (MVNF)

Le *Musée virtuel de la Nouvelle-France* (<http://www.mvnf.civilisations.ca/>) a été élaboré dans le but de faire connaître le territoire et la période historique au cours de laquelle les Français ont exploré le continent nord-américain, y ont fondé la Nouvelle-France et ont travaillé à son développement. Le site web, conçu par une équipe d'historiens du Musée canadien des civilisations (Blanchette, 1996), comprend plus de mille pages dont les données historiques représentent le fruit d'intenses recherches. Il présente notamment plusieurs facettes de la vie en Nouvelle-France, des personnages qui l'ont habitée, des événements qui y sont survenus et des différentes formes d'organisation (sociale, économique, politique, etc.) qui s'y sont succédées pendant près d'un siècle et demi. Sa présentation visuelle est constituée d'une vaste banque d'images, de sons, de textes, de photos, de documents d'archives, de cartes géographiques, de vidéos, etc. Des hyperliens conduisent également à un glossaire ainsi qu'à d'autres sites web portant sur le même sujet.

Le *Musée Virtuel de la Nouvelle-France* vise à rejoindre le grand public, les chercheurs, les enseignants et les élèves, notamment ceux de l'élémentaire et du secondaire, provenant d'un peu partout à travers le monde mais surtout des agglomérations de l'Ontario et du Québec, situées à proximité du Musée canadien des civilisations. Mais comment s'assurer de la pertinence des données qui y sont contenues à des fins d'apprentissage et d'enseignement des matières scolaires? L'une des méthodes utilisées consiste à évaluer la concordance entre le contenu d'un musée virtuel et les objectifs pédagogiques des programmes d'études s'y rapportant.

CONTEXTE DE LA RECHERCHE

Dans ce contexte, une recherche évaluative a été réalisée afin d'établir dans quelle mesure les données historiques contenues dans le Musée virtuel de la Nouvelle-France (<http://www.mvnf.civilisations.ca/>) concordent avec les objectifs pédagogiques portant sur ce sujet, tels que répertoriés dans les programmes d'études de l'Ontario et du Québec, notamment ceux de sciences humaines et sociales à l'élémentaire (MÉO, 1998; MÉQ, 1981), et ceux d'histoire au secondaire (MÉFO, 1987; MEQ, 1982). L'étude de cette concordance s'avère une étape préalable importante permettant d'évaluer dans quelle mesure les données historiques contenues dans ce musée virtuel peuvent contribuer à enrichir et à compléter l'apprentissage et l'enseignement de telles matières scolaires. Toutefois, bien que ce musée virtuel puisse s'avérer en soi une excellente banque de données historiques fiables pouvant

être mise à profit dans ces deux matières, il importe auparavant de bien saisir le contexte scolaire qui est aux prises avec d'importantes contraintes liées à l'utilisation d'internet (Macmillan *et al.*, 1997).

Contraintes liées à l'utilisation d'internet

Au niveau du contexte scolaire, dans lequel s'insère généralement l'utilisation d'internet, Blanton *et al.* (2001) soulignent des lacunes évidentes. Selon eux, le fait que les élèves soient généralement confinés à naviguer dans des sites web qui se présentent sous la forme de banques de données et pour lesquelles les enseignants ne disposent d'aucun matériel didactique, ne constitue pas des conditions favorables à l'apprentissage. La recherche libre est également une activité dont les résultats sont souvent décevants, selon McKenzie (1996). Cette situation fournit même des occasions aux élèves d'accéder à des sites web pouvant contenir un contenu sexiste, raciste, voire même offensant (Starr et Milheim, 1996), et ce, en dépit des nouveaux outils informatiques permettant d'en limiter l'accès. Pour toutes ces raisons, Eisenberg (1996) souligne l'importance de guider la navigation en fournissant aux élèves une liste annotée de sites web. Land (1997) va encore plus loin en ce sens car, selon lui, afin qu'il y ait apprentissage, à chaque tâche assignée aux élèves devrait correspondre des données pertinentes, préalablement sélectionnées par l'enseignant dans un site web. Il s'avère toutefois que la formation des enseignants en exercice doive s'accroître afin d'utiliser adéquatement le web à des fins complémentaires à l'apprentissage et l'enseignement des matières scolaires, et ce, en dépit de l'utilisation de plus en plus conviviale de la technologie. Selon Greenhalgh (1997), afin d'y parvenir, les enseignants devraient se voir offrir davantage de possibilités d'améliorer leurs connaissances et leurs compétences en informatique. Il semble également que les enseignants devraient disposer davantage de temps de préparation afin d'explorer les données contenues dans des sites web (Sasseville, 2002), dont la vaste majorité devraient faire l'objet d'une évaluation afin de déterminer si elles sont adaptées au curriculum (Guertin, 2002).

Au niveau des élèves, nous observons que le nombre insuffisant d'ordinateurs, soit en moyenne un pour sept élèves au secondaire et un pour huit ou neuf à l'élémentaire (Statistique Canada, 1999c), constitue une contrainte majeure à l'apprentissage. De plus, le temps consacré à l'apprentissage de la technologie elle-même se fait souvent au détriment de celui portant sur la matière scolaire (Land, 1997). Toutefois, Anderson et Joerg (1996) ont constaté que les élèves ayant une expérience de conception d'un site et de pages web, ont réalisé davantage d'apprentissages en histoire que ceux qui ont seulement navigué à la recherche de données historiques dans des sites déjà existants. Quoi qu'il en soit, Rivard (1997) observe une perception largement répandue à l'effet que les élèves considèrent les données du web comme étant plus

fiables que celles provenant d'autres sources. Cette perception ne contribue pas, selon Milan (1998), à développer leur esprit critique à l'heure où internet leur permet d'accéder à une mer de données non structurées et parfois redondantes. Paradoxalement, étant donné qu'internet est parsemé de faussetés, il semble encore plus important, aux dires de Collis (1996), de vérifier préalablement la fiabilité des données contenues dans un site web, avant de permettre aux élèves de les utiliser dans le cadre de travaux scolaires. Une fois cette fiabilité établie, selon Wilkinson (1997), le véritable défi que pose l'utilisation d'internet à des fins éducatives repose sur l'intégration de données scientifiques dont la pertinence a été clairement démontrée. Selon Descy (1997), une des façons de s'assurer de cette pertinence à des fins d'apprentissage et d'enseignement est d'établir une concordance entre les données scientifiques contenues dans un site web et les objectifs pédagogiques prescrits dans les programmes d'études.

En marge de toutes ces considérations et après avoir réalisé une exhaustive revue des écrits sur la question, nous observons toutefois qu'aucune étude n'a été recensée à ce jour portant sur la manière d'évaluer la concordance entre les données scientifiques contenues dans un site web et les objectifs pédagogiques des programmes d'études. C'est qu'encore trop peu de recherches ont été menées en relation avec l'analyse des données contenues dans des sites web et, plus particulièrement, de celles des musées virtuels. Afin de parvenir à évaluer la concordance entre les données historiques du Musée Virtuel de la Nouvelle-France et les objectifs pédagogiques se rapportant à ce sujet dans les programmes d'études, trois étapes ont été nécessaires.

ÉTAPES DE LA RECHERCHE

Dans une première étape, quatre programmes d'études (MÉO, 1998; MÉFO, 1987; MEQ, 1982; MÉQ, 1981) ont été consultés. Cette consultation a permis de répertorier 102 objectifs pédagogiques portant sur la Nouvelle-France. Ces objectifs ont ensuite été classifiés en cinq grandes périodes historiques car ils se rapportaient naturellement, et ce, de manière relativement chronologique, aux explorations et aux découvertes, au contact et au métissage, au peuplement du territoire, à la vie en Nouvelle-France et, finalement, à la Conquête et à ses répercussions. Afin de déterminer les objectifs pédagogiques qui étaient communs aux deux provinces (C), ceux qui étaient spécifiques à l'Ontario (O) ou spécifiques au Québec (Q), 32 thèmes ont été identifiés. L'identification de ces thèmes a été rendue nécessaire afin d'établir un fil conducteur permettant de regrouper les objectifs pédagogiques selon ces trois sections. Le tableau 1 présente la liste des 32 thèmes classifiés selon les 5 périodes historiques de la Nouvelle-France ainsi que le nombre d'objectifs pédagogiques regroupés selon (C), (O) et (Q).

TABLEAU 1. Liste des 32 thèmes selon les 5 périodes historiques de la Nouvelle-France et nombre d'objectifs pédagogiques regroupés selon (C), (O) et (Q)

I. EXPLORATION ET DÉCOUVERTES (5 THÈMES)	(C)	(O)	(Q)
• Peuples colonisateurs d'Europe	-	4	-
• Grandes explorations en Amérique	3	-	-
• Découverte de l'Amérique	6	-	-
• Voyages de Jacques Cartier	-	-	2
• Voies maritimes du Canada	4	-	-
II. CONTACT ET MÉTISSAGE (4 THÈMES)	(C)	(O)	(Q)
• Découverte des peuples autochtones par les Blancs	9	-	-
• Premiers contacts entre Blancs et Amérindiens	4	-	-
• Influences mutuelles entre Blancs et Amérindiens	5	-	-
• Conflits et guerres entre les Blancs et Amérindiens	-	1	-
III. PEUPLEMENT DU TERRITOIRE (5 THÈMES)	(C)	(O)	(Q)
• Colonisation française en Amérique	2	-	-
• Territoire de la Nouvelle-France	2	-	-
• Facteurs de peuplement	2	-	-
• Établissement des premières colonies	5	-	-
• Établissements et villages d'autrefois	-	2	-
IV. VIE EN NOUVELLE-FRANCE (9 THÈMES)	(C)	(O)	(Q)
• Développement économique	3	-	-
• Traite et commerce des fourrures	4	-	-
• Mode de vie	5	-	-
• Vie quotidienne	2	-	-
• Église et communautés religieuses	2	-	-
• Système seigneurial, de cantons et concessions	2	-	-
• Personnages célèbres	-	1	-
• Relations entre Canadiens-français, Français et Anglais	-	1	-
• Relations entre coloniaux et métropolitains	-	-	2
V. CONQUÊTE ET RÉPERCUSSIONS (9 THÈMES)	(C)	(O)	(Q)
• Étapes de la Conquête	11	-	-
• Bataille et défaite sur les plaines d'Abraham	2	-	-
• Causes et conséquences de la Conquête (Traité de Paris)	5	-	-
• Instauration du Régime anglais	-	1	-
• Règne des premiers gouverneurs	-	-	1
• Colonies de l'Amérique du Nord Britannique	-	1	-
• Indépendance américaine et Loyalistes	-	-	2
• Fondation du Canada	-	-	4
• Vestiges de la Nouvelle-France dans le Canada actuel	-	-	2
TOTAL : 32 THÈMES 102 OBJECTIFS PÉDAGOGIQUES	78	11	13

ANALYSE DE DONNÉES ET VALIDATION

Une fois le regroupement des trois sections d'objectifs pédagogiques complété, par périodes historiques et par thèmes, une deuxième étape a consisté à analyser les données historiques contenues dans le *Musée virtuel de la Nouvelle-France*. Cette analyse de données a été réalisée en respectant les différences culturelles entre les deux provinces, telles qu'observées dans leurs programmes d'études respectifs. Par exemple, en Ontario, le concept de colonisation signifie l'exploration du territoire, tandis qu'au Québec, il signifie le peuplement du territoire par les premiers habitants. Ainsi, les objectifs ayant trait à la colonisation ont été interprétés en fonction de la définition propre à chaque province. C'est également le cas de certains objectifs pédagogiques relatifs à la Conquête de la Nouvelle-France, qui sont exprimés en terme de bataille en Ontario et de défaite au Québec.

L'analyse a d'abord consisté à identifier et à classifier les données historiques contenues dans chacune des pages web du MVNF. Puis les données ont été réparties dans chacun des 32 thèmes, compilés sous la forme d'une grille. La répartition des données en fonction des thèmes de la grille compilatoire plutôt qu'en fonction de chacun des objectifs pédagogiques s'est avérée nécessaire en raison du très grand volume d'informations à traiter. Cette étape a été réalisée par une seule assistante de recherche afin d'assurer une plus grande cohérence dans la répartition des données. Toutefois, cette répartition a ensuite fait l'objet d'une validation par une équipe d'experts formée d'historiens, d'enseignants et de chercheurs.

La validation a consisté à établir un consensus sur la répartition des données historiques, effectuée en fonction des 32 thèmes de la grille compilatoire sur la Nouvelle-France. Par exemple, les données de la page 14 de la section 19 du site web, qui présentent le mode de vie selon les saisons et les métiers, ont été attribuées au thème portant sur le mode de vie en Nouvelle-France. Toutes les données historiques contenues dans les pages web traitant du mode de vie des habitants en Nouvelle-France, soit celui du coureur de bois, du seigneur, du bûcheron, etc., ont été attribuées à ce même thème. Le thème portant sur le mode de vie en Nouvelle-France se rapportait préalablement à deux objectifs pédagogiques du programme d'études de l'élémentaire en Ontario et à trois objectifs pédagogiques du programme d'études du primaire au Québec. Le tableau 2 présente les objectifs pédagogiques de l'Ontario et du Québec qui ont été regroupés sous le thème du Mode de vie en Nouvelle-France.

Concordance entre les données historiques du MVNF et les objectifs pédagogiques

Dans une troisième étape, après avoir complété la validation de la répartition des données historiques contenues dans les pages web à l'aide de la grille compilatoire, la concordance entre le MVNF et les objectifs pédagogiques

TABLEAU 2. Objectifs pédagogiques communs aux provinces de l'Ontario et du Québec (C) Thème: Le mode de vie en Nouvelle-France

ONTARIO	QUEBEC
Expliquer le rôle et la manière de vivre des diverses personnes au début de la colonie française;	À l'aide de représentations de scènes de la vie quotidienne d'une famille d'habitants, décrire en ses propres mots le mode de vie de l'habitant de la Nouvelle-France (habitation, alimentation, vêtement, travail, loisirs, coutumes);
Expliquer la place des hommes, des femmes et des enfants (Ex.: le gouverneur; le curé; le seigneur; le chef de tribu; la mère de famille; l'écolière; l'organisation du travail; les écoles; l'approvisionnement; l'habitation; l'alimentation; les vêtements; les jouets; les méthodes de production).	À l'aide de représentations de scènes de la vie quotidienne d'un coureur de bois, décrire en ses propres mots le mode de vie du coureur de bois en Nouvelle-France (motif d'expédition, conditions de vie matérielle, relations avec les Amérindiens);
	À l'aide de représentations de scènes de la vie quotidienne d'un missionnaire, décrire en ses propres mots le mode de vie d'un missionnaire en Nouvelle-France (motif de mission, conditions de vie matérielle, relation avec les Amérindiens).

a été étudiée. Cette étape visait à déterminer si le contenu concordait complètement ou partiellement avec les objectifs pédagogiques, ou si aucune concordance n'était observée entre les deux. La concordance a été considérée complète lorsque les données historiques du MVNF illustraient ou traitaient de tous les aspects visés par les objectifs pédagogiques (communs aux deux provinces ou spécifiques à l'une ou l'autre des provinces), selon l'énoncé officiel tiré des programmes d'études, tant à l'élémentaire qu'au secondaire. Un regroupement de données a alors fait l'objet de recommandations qui ont été formulées aux concepteurs du MVNF, afin de rendre éventuellement plus efficace l'utilisation de ce musée virtuel par le milieu scolaire. De même, la concordance a été considérée partielle lorsque les données historiques du MVNF n'illustraient ou ne traitaient pas de tous les aspects visés dans les objectifs pédagogiques. Un complément de données a alors été recommandé dans le but d'obtenir éventuellement une plus grande concordance entre le MVNF et les objectifs pédagogiques des quatre programmes d'études. Puis, une absence de concordance a été établie lorsque les données historiques du MVNF n'illustraient ou ne traitaient aucun des aspects visés dans les objectifs pédagogiques. L'ajout de sections de données a alors été recommandé dans le but d'obtenir une plus grande concordance entre le

MVNF et les programmes d'études. Enfin, la concordance entre le MVNF et les 32 thèmes regroupant les objectifs pédagogiques a été établie afin d'identifier ceux qui concordaient le mieux et le moins bien avec les données historiques contenues dans le MVNF. Des recommandations ont ensuite été formulées pour chaque thème dans le but d'en arriver à une plus grande concordance.

PRÉSENTATION DES RÉSULTATS

Les résultats sont présentés en fonction du degré de concordance (complète, partielle ou absente) entre les données historiques du MVNF et les objectifs pédagogiques, selon qu'ils sont communs aux deux provinces (C), spécifiques à l'Ontario (O) ou spécifiques au Québec (Q). Ils sont également présentés en fonction du degré de concordance entre le MVNF et les thèmes identifiés.

Objectifs pédagogiques communs aux provinces de l'Ontario et du Québec

Dans la section commune aux deux provinces (C), les résultats de l'étude montrent que les données historiques du MVNF concordent complètement avec 36 des 78 objectifs pédagogiques (46%), dont 25 des 47 objectifs à l'élémentaire (53%), et 11 des 31 objectifs au secondaire (35.5%). Une concordance complète est observée entre le MVNF et les dix thèmes suivants: les grandes explorations en Amérique, les voies maritimes du Canada, les influences mutuelles entre les Blancs et les Amérindiens, le territoire de la Nouvelle-France, l'établissement des premières colonies, les facteurs de peuplement, le développement économique, la traite et le commerce des fourrures, le mode de vie ainsi que la vie quotidienne en Nouvelle-France.

Par ailleurs, l'étude montre que les données historiques du MVNF concordent partiellement avec 40 des 78 objectifs pédagogiques (51%) communs aux deux provinces (C), dont 20 des 47 objectifs à l'élémentaire (42.5%), et 20 des 31 objectifs au secondaire (64.5%). L'ajout d'un complément de données a été recommandé afin d'obtenir une meilleure concordance entre le MVNF et les huit thèmes suivants: la découverte de l'Amérique, la découverte des autochtones par les Blancs, les premiers contacts entre les Blancs et les Amérindiens, l'Eglise et les communautés religieuses, le système de cantons et de concessions, les étapes de la Conquête, la défaite des Plaines d'Abraham, les causes et les conséquences de la Conquête de la Nouvelle-France.

Finalement, l'étude montre que les données historiques du MVNF ne concordent pas avec deux des 78 objectifs pédagogiques (3%), soit avec deux des 47 objectifs de l'élémentaire (4.5%). L'ajout d'une section de données a été recommandé afin d'obtenir une meilleure concordance entre le MVNF et le thème de la colonisation française en Amérique. Bref, la concordance partielle ou l'absence de concordance entre le MVNF, les

objectifs pédagogiques et les thèmes semblent attribuables au fait que le site web se concentre sur la situation qui prévalait en Amérique plutôt qu'en Europe au moment de la Nouvelle-France. Elle semble également liée au fait que les données historiques contenues dans le site web traitent davantage de la période pendant laquelle la Nouvelle-France s'est déroulée plutôt que pendant celle qui l'a précédé ou celle qui lui a succédé. Afin d'améliorer le degré de concordance, plusieurs recommandations ont été formulées visant à ajouter un complément de données historiques portant sur le contexte européen au moment où se déroulait la colonisation française en Amérique ainsi que sur le contexte nord-américain après la Conquête de la Nouvelle-France. Le tableau 3 présente le degré de concordance entre le MVNF et les objectifs pédagogiques portant sur la Nouvelle-France qui sont communs aux deux provinces (C), tant à l'élémentaire (É) qu'au secondaire (S). Il présente également le degré de concordance entre le MVNF et les thèmes identifiés.

Objectifs pédagogiques spécifiques à l'Ontario

Dans la section spécifique à l'Ontario (O), les résultats de l'étude montrent que les données historiques du MVNF concordent complètement avec un

TABEAU 3. Concordance entre le contenu historique du MVNF et les objectifs pédagogiques communs (C) aux provinces de l'Ontario et du Québec à l'élémentaire (É) et au secondaire (S)

OBJECTIFS PÉDAGOGIQUES		DONNÉES HISTORIQUES DU MUSÉE VIRTUEL DE LA NOUVELLE-FRANCE			
Degré de concordance		Concordance complète	Concordance partielle	Absence de concordance	Total
Nb. Élémentaire		25	20	2	47
%		53	43	5	100
Nb. Secondaire		11	20	0	31
%		35	65	0	100
Nb. Total		36	40	2	78
%		46	51	3	100
THÈMES		DONNÉES HISTORIQUES DU MUSÉE VIRTUEL DE LA NOUVELLE-FRANCE			
Degré de concordance		Concordance complète	Concordance partielle	Absence de concordance	Total
Nb.		10	8	1	19
%		53	42	5	100

seul des 11 objectifs pédagogiques (9%), soit avec un des huit objectifs à l'élémentaire (12.5%). Une concordance complète est également observée entre le MVNF et le thème des personnages célèbres de la Nouvelle-France.

Par ailleurs, l'étude montre que les données historiques du MVNF concordent partiellement avec neuf des onze objectifs pédagogiques (82%) spécifiques à l'Ontario (O), dont sept des huit objectifs à l'élémentaire (87.5%), et deux des trois objectifs au secondaire (66.7%). L'ajout d'un complément de données historiques a été recommandé afin d'obtenir une meilleure concordance entre le MVNF et les sept thèmes suivants: les peuples colonisateurs d'Europe, les conflits et les guerres entre les Blancs et les Amérindiens, les relations entre les Canadiens-français, les Français et les Anglais, les établissements et les villages d'autrefois, les colonies de l'Amérique du Nord Britannique, la fondation du Canada et les vestiges de la Nouvelle-France dans le Canada actuel.

Finalement, l'étude montre que les données historiques du MVNF ne concordent pas avec un des onze objectifs pédagogiques (9%), soit avec un des trois objectifs au secondaire (33.3%). L'ajout d'une section de données a été recommandé afin d'obtenir une meilleure concordance entre le MVNF et le thème de l'instauration du régime anglais.

Dans la même veine que dans la section précédente, la concordance partielle ou l'absence de concordance entre les données historiques du MVNF, les objectifs pédagogiques et les thèmes semblent attribuables au fait que le site web s'attache à la période de la Nouvelle-France elle-même et très peu à celle l'ayant précédée ou à celle lui ayant succédé. À cet effet, plusieurs recommandations ont été formulées dont la moitié touchent l'ajout d'un complément de données historiques se rapportant à ces deux dernières périodes. Le tableau 4 présente le degré de concordance entre le MVNF et les objectifs pédagogiques portant sur la Nouvelle-France, pour la section spécifique à l'Ontario (O), tant à l'élémentaire (É) qu'au secondaire (S). Il présente également le degré de concordance entre le MVNF et les thèmes identifiés.

Objectifs pédagogiques spécifiques au Québec

Dans la section spécifique au Québec (Q), les résultats de l'étude montrent que les données historiques du MVNF concordent complètement avec deux des treize objectifs pédagogiques (15.5%), dont un des sept objectifs à l'élémentaire (14%), et un des six objectifs au secondaire (17%). Une concordance complète est aussi observée entre le MVNF et le thème des voyages de Jacques Cartier.

De plus, l'étude montre que les données historiques du MVNF concordent partiellement avec dix des treize objectifs pédagogiques (77%) spécifiques au Québec (Q), dont six des sept objectifs à l'élémentaire (86%), et quatre

TABEAU 4. Concordance entre le contenu historique du MVNF et les objectifs pédagogiques spécifiques à la province de l'Ontario (O) à l'élémentaire (É) et au secondaire (S)

OBJECTIFS PÉDAGOGIQUES	DONNÉES HISTORIQUES DU MUSÉE VIRTUEL DE LA NOUVELLE-FRANCE			
Degré de concordance	Concordance complète	Concordance partielle	Absence de concordance	Total
Nb. Élémentaire	1	7	0	8
%	13	87	0	100
Nb. Secondaire	0	2	1	3
%	0	67	33	100
Nb. Total	1	9	1	11
%	9	82	9	100

THÈMES	DONNÉES HISTORIQUES DU MUSÉE VIRTUEL DE LA NOUVELLE-FRANCE			
Degré de concordance	Concordance complète	Concordance partielle	Absence de concordance	Total
Nb.	1	7	1	9
%	11	78	11	100

des six objectifs au secondaire (66%). L'ajout d'un complément de données a été recommandé afin d'obtenir une meilleure concordance entre le MVNF et les thèmes suivants: les relations entre coloniaux et métropolitains ainsi que l'indépendance américaine et les Loyalistes.

Finalement, l'étude montre que les données historiques du MVNF ne concordent pas avec un des 13 objectifs pédagogiques (7.5%), soit avec un des six objectifs au secondaire (17%). L'ajout d'une section de données a été recommandé afin d'obtenir une meilleure concordance entre le MVNF et le thème du règne des premiers gouverneurs.

Comme dans le cas des deux sections précédentes, la concordance partielle ou l'absence de concordance observées entre les données historiques du MVNF, les objectifs pédagogiques et les thèmes semblent attribuables au fait que le site web traite essentiellement de la période de la Nouvelle-France elle-même et très peu de celle lui ayant succédé. À cet effet, plus de la moitié des recommandations formulées consistent en l'ajout d'un complément de données se rapportant à cette dernière période. Le tableau 5 présente le degré de concordance entre le MVNF et les objectifs pédagogiques portant

TABEAU 5. Concordance entre le contenu historique du MVNF et les objectifs pédagogiques spécifiques à la province de Québec (Q) à l'élémentaire (É) et au secondaire (S)

OBJECTIFS PÉDAGOGIQUES	DONNÉES HISTORIQUES DU MUSÉE VIRTUEL DE LA NOUVELLE-FRANCE			
Degré de concordance	Concordance complète	Concordance partielle	Absence de concordance	Total
Nb. Élémentaire	1	6	0	7
%	14	86	0	100
Nb. Secondaire	1	4	1	6
%	17	66	17	100
Nb. Total	2	10	1	13
%	16	77	7	100

THÈMES	DONNÉES HISTORIQUES DU MUSÉE VIRTUEL DE LA NOUVELLE-FRANCE			
Degré de concordance	Concordance complète	Concordance partielle	Absence de concordance	Total
Nb.	1	2	1	4
%	25	50	25	100

sur la Nouvelle-France, pour la section spécifique au Québec (Q), tant à l'élémentaire (É) qu'au secondaire (S). Il présente également le degré de concordance entre le MVNF et les thèmes identifiés.

DISCUSSION ET CONCLUSION

Une concordance certaine est observée entre les données historiques du *Musée virtuel de la Nouvelle-France* et les objectifs pédagogiques des programmes d'études ontarien et québécois. À titre d'exemple, dans la section commune aux deux provinces (C), ces données concordent avec plus de la moitié des objectifs pédagogiques de l'élémentaire, ainsi qu'avec plus du tiers de ceux du secondaire. L'ensemble de ces objectifs pédagogiques se rapportent au territoire de la Nouvelle-France et à la période au cours de laquelle elle s'est déroulée. De même, les données historiques du MVNF concordent complètement avec plus du tiers de l'ensemble des objectifs pédagogiques regroupés par thèmes, soit avec 12 des 32 thèmes identifiés. Par ailleurs, les données historiques du MVNF ne concordent pas avec moins de 4% de l'ensemble des objectifs pédagogiques (4 sur 102) portant sur la Nouvelle-France, ainsi qu'avec moins de 10% des thèmes identifiés,

soit trois sur 32. Ces objectifs pédagogiques et ces thèmes se rapportent essentiellement à la période ayant succédé à la Nouvelle-France. Par ailleurs, lorsqu'une concordance partielle est observée entre les données historiques du MVNF, les objectifs pédagogiques et les thèmes, cette situation ne nécessite parfois que des ajouts mineurs afin d'illustrer ou de traiter de tous les aspects visés dans les énoncés officiels tirés des programmes d'études. La grande majorité de ces objectifs pédagogiques et de ces thèmes concernent la période ayant précédé la Nouvelle-France ou celle lui ayant succédé. Malgré tout, le site web actuel contient des données historiques fiables sur la période elle-même, lesquelles se révèlent pertinentes à des fins d'apprentissage et d'enseignement des matières scolaires, comme les résultats de la présente étude en font foi.

Bien que les données historiques du *Musée virtuel de la Nouvelle-France* affichent une concordance certaine avec les objectifs pédagogiques répertoriés, il demeure toutefois primordial d'y apporter le complément de données nécessaires. Ce complément pourrait éventuellement mieux documenter les contextes et les événements qui ont mené à la création de la Nouvelle-France, de même que ceux ayant marqué son déclin. Le domaine de l'histoire est une continuité et c'est pourquoi le *Musée virtuel de la Nouvelle-France* tirerait avantage à contenir des données historiques portant non seulement sur les événements qui s'y sont déroulés pendant près d'un siècle et demi, mais également sur ceux qui trouvent encore des traces dans le Canada d'aujourd'hui. De plus, le MVNF aurait avantage à ne pas se limiter aux sujets faisant l'unanimité mais à inclure également ceux qui font parfois l'objet de controverses, comme par exemple celui de la Guerre de la Conquête. Afin d'y parvenir, il est d'autant plus important de recourir aux données historiques brutes, plutôt qu'à leurs interprétations. Il faut également faire appel à des moyens technologiques inédits afin de mettre cette période historique en valeur. Par exemple, il peut s'agir d'itinéraires virtuels personnalisés, qui présentent toutes les facettes entourant la Guerre de la Conquête, soit les forces en présence lors de la bataille des Plaines d'Abraham, celles ayant remporté la victoire comme celles ayant subi la défaite, le tout ayant mené la France à céder la Nouvelle-France à l'Angleterre. Des données historiques pourraient également être ajoutées sur les changements importants survenus aux lendemains de la cession, lors de la transition du régime français au régime anglais. Non seulement ces données retraceraient de manière exhaustive la trame historique du contexte et des événements qui s'y sont déroulés avant, pendant et après la période de la Nouvelle-France, mais celles-ci concorderaient davantage avec les objectifs pédagogiques des programmes d'études ontarien et québécois, qui visent ultimement à permettre à l'élève de mieux forger son esprit critique face à ses origines ainsi qu'à son devenir de citoyen canadien dans l'Ontario et le Québec d'aujourd'hui.

PISTES ÉVENTUELLES DE RECHERCHE

Parmi les pistes éventuelles de recherche, il y aurait lieu de vérifier dans quelle mesure la concordance existe toujours entre les données historiques du *Musée virtuel de la Nouvelle-France* et les compétences identifiées dans le nouveau programme d'études du Québec (MEQ, 2000). Bien que le sujet de la Nouvelle-France y occupe toujours une place prépondérante, toutes les investigations menées en relation avec l'approche par projet et les stratégies mises en œuvre avant, pendant et après l'utilisation du site web, ne pourraient que mieux documenter l'utilisation pédagogique de ce musée virtuel en milieu scolaire. De telles recherches tireraient avantage à être conjuguées à l'analyse des perceptions, des croyances et des valeurs que les enseignants entretiennent au sujet du potentiel pédagogique de tels musées, car celles-ci semblent constituer des facteurs intimement liés à l'expérimentation de nouvelles initiatives en relation avec les musées virtuels, tels que les travaux de Bernier (2002) le mettent si bien en lumière.

Quoi qu'il en soit, si nous en sommes encore à l'âge de pierre en terme d'utilisation pédagogique d'internet, et plus précisément des musées virtuels, il y a fort à parier que les prochaines années représenteront un terrain fertile pour la recherche car, à l'image du réseau des réseaux, les possibilités en ce domaine sont aussi nombreuses qu'insoupçonnées.

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READING BEYOND BIAS: USING HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS IN THE SECONDARY CLASSROOM

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ABSTRACT. Social studies and history teachers have, in recent years, taken up with enthusiasm the use of “real” historical documents, (primary sources) in elementary and secondary classrooms across North America. Such documents have an immediacy, and often a personal element, that is more interesting to students than the history found in the average textbook. This paper argues, however, that the pedagogical promise of primary documents is too often limited to a superficial appeal, and the potential of primary documents to stimulate either critical thinking or deeper learning about the past is limited to an analysis of “bias.” Beginning with a quick overview of the remarkable potential of primary documents in history education, the paper goes on to provide some practical examples of how teachers can most effectively use them in the classroom.

LIRE SANS PRÉJUGÉS : L'UTILISATION DE DOCUMENTS HISTORIQUES DANS LES CLASSES AU SECONDAIRE

RÉSUMÉ. Depuis quelques années, dans les écoles primaires et secondaires d'Amérique du Nord, les enseignants d'histoire et de sciences humaines ont adopté, avec enthousiasme, l'utilisation de documents historiques authentiques, appelés aussi documents de premières mains; et ce, dans les écoles d'enseignement primaire et secondaire de toute l'Amérique du Nord. Ce type de documents offre une immédiateté et, fréquemment, une touche de personnalité, qui les rendent plus intéressants que l'histoire telle que présentée dans les livres. Cet article soutient, cependant, que le potentiel pédagogique des documents authentiques est souvent superficiel et que leur utilisation pour stimuler soit l'esprit critique soit un apprentissage en profondeur se limite à une analyse des ‘partis pris’. Débutant par un survol du grand potentiel des documents authentiques, cet article poursuit en donnant des exemples pratiques pour utiliser plus efficacement en classe ce type de documents.

Introduction:

The promise of document-based inquiry in the history classroom

Historians bring together texts and contexts in a meaningful dialogue about the past. Students, on the other hand, tend to see history as an inert set of mostly irrelevant and usually disconnected facts (Alleman & Brophy,

1993; Goodlad, 1984; McNeil, 1986; Pope, 2001; Paxton & Wineburg, 2000; Shaver, Davis, & Helburn, 1980; Stodolsky, Salk, & Glaessner, 1991). In the past few years, history educators have rediscovered primary documents as a classroom resource that can help solve the problems of irrelevance and boredom that too often characterize the teaching of history. Historical documents, they argue, are more engaging for students than textbooks, for they make the study of history more personal, more interactive and therefore more interesting. (Milson & Downey 2001; Grant & VanSledright 2001; Barton, 1997).

Others, however, take their arguments even further. A number of educators are recommending the use of primary documents in the history classroom because they allow students to engage with some of the deeper and broader purposes of history education. Many are taking up the challenge, offered so coherently by Tom Holt, to use history as a way of engaging students in a process of evidence-based critical enquiry. (Holt, 1993, p. 23). Advocates of constructivist learning argue that the study of primary documents can potentially include students in the kind of community of enquiry that makes learning meaningful (Seixas, 1993). The study of primary documents reinforces the idea that history is not, after all, a product to be defined and consumed, but instead a process of critical inquiry to be engaged in. Like the revolutionary science educators of an earlier era, these history educators are suggesting that knowledge is not about facts so much as it is about understanding processes. For teachers who see science as a kind of knowledge or process of knowing, Bunsen burners and the techniques of scientific observation are to overshadow the memorization of complicated nomenclatures. For teachers who see history as a kind of knowledge or process of knowing, primary documents and the techniques of inquiry-based interpretation are to overshadow the memorization of events, names and dates (Barton & Levstik, 2001; Zeller, 1987).

Students use historical documents, in other words, as science students use hands-on experiments: so that they can act like practitioners in the field by entering into a process of critical enquiry. Because of history's dual emphasis – on evidence-based enquiry on the one hand, and on the great human experiment on the other – history has been identified by some educators as being at the heart of citizenship education. Because citizenship education is a foundational principle of the entire project of public education, history education is being heralded in some quarters as one of the most important components of the public education system (Barton, 2001).¹ The study of history is, they argue, particularly well suited to helping students learn how to make the responsible and informed decisions required of citizens in a pluralistic, participatory democracy.

The problems of document-based enquiry in the history classroom

Unfortunately, the use of primary documents in the classroom has not really worked out in practice. In his well-known 1991 study, Wineburg asked students and historians to think aloud as they read historical texts, both primary and secondary (Wineburg, 1991). He noted that whereas historians entered into a complex dialogue with the multiple meanings of the text, students were usually able to marshal only one kind of question about what they were reading: is it true? With little familiarity with primary documents, without the appropriate background information, and without an understanding of the processes of critical enquiry, students were simply not able to engage in discussions of how to construct historical knowledge from the documents.

Wineburg's research helped to promote the use of primary documents in history classrooms, but recent research suggests that they are seldom used to promote any real critical enquiry. But this is not, more recent research suggests, simply because students are unfamiliar with the tasks involved in critical thinking, or unable to apply them to historical materials. The work of Barton (1997), Van Sledright (2001) and Weinert (2001) has clearly demonstrated that, with proper instruction, children as young as seven are indeed able to understand some of the foundational aspects of critical enquiry, and engage in sophisticated evaluations of historical events. The problem of using primary sources to teach students the process of critical enquiry is not to be found in students' *ability* to engage critically with the materials, these researchers argue. Instead, it is students' *reluctance* to do so that is creating problems with evidence-based enquiry. Milson (2002) argues that students using web-based materials regularly sought out the "path of least resistance" when looking for ways of constructing historical knowledge, rather than searching for a more complex understanding. As Barton summarizes, "rather than evaluating information from multiple sources, [students] moved directly to search engines to find sites they thought would give them all necessary information to accomplish their task." (Barton 2002).

Barton's study of fourth and fifth grade American students documented their remarkable ability to engage critically with such issues as the contingency of historical narratives and the constructed nature of historical documents (Barton 1997). After critically examining historical documents, however, he discovered

one remarkable and unexpected problem. After three days of this [critical enquiry] activity, the teacher pulled students together to discuss their conclusions. . . . Each student had an opinion, and they were eager to share. *But none of the opinions had any relationship to the evidence that they had just spent three days evaluating.* Students did not use the evidence to

reach conclusions; they were just making up what they thought must have happened. (Barton, 1997, 2002,8)

Even when they have become acquainted with the skills and the resources that would allow them to participate in the process of history, in other words, students continue to understand history as a series of dead, inert and generally inaccessible set of facts about about what “really” happened. European educators have noted a similar reluctance in their students, and new research into “levels” of historical consciousness, and differences between historical knowledge and historical belief are now underway to account for the phenomenon whereby students know about history as critical inquiry, but refuse to take it seriously (Wertch, 2001; Lee and Ashby, 2001; Barton, 2002).

Document-based enquiry and the problem of absolute knowledge

Barton has traced this disjuncture – between the ability to think critically about history, and the inclination to do so – to the absence of meaningful questions characteristic of so much history education (Barton, 2002). Arguably, however, the problem may be even deeper than this. For the research of history educators clearly documents that students remain deeply attached to the belief that history is simply not *about* processes and interpretation, but is *about* absolute knowledge (Barton, 1997; Van Sledright, 2001; Seixas, 1998; Wineburg, 1991, 2001). While some secondary school students achieve, as Lee and Ashby have demonstrated, a sophisticated understanding of “the past as (re-) constructed in answer to questions in accordance with criteria,” the great majority either “accept the past as given” or “the past as inaccessible,” the two most elementary stages of historical understanding (Lee and Ashby, 2001, 212). Students’ understanding, in other words, is that history is not a process of inquiry, but absolute knowledge that they may or may not have access to.

In one sense, students’ reluctance to see history as a form of critical enquiry, at least in North America, is not surprising (Barton, 2001b; Lee and Ashby, 2001). It is not clear, after all, where either students or teachers in most North American schools would have encountered the idea – the definition – of history as an open dialogue about, or critical engagement with, evidence from the past. Most teachers would not have encountered this idea in their university history courses, where the authoritarian and closed pedagogical structures of the university classroom continue to characterize history education (Sandwell, 2002). Students at secondary schools throughout North America may be encouraged to use primary documents as an interesting add-on to their curriculum, but what they are being tested on, and what students reasonably conclude “really matters,” continues to be fact-based questions. This trend may be increasing, not decreasing, with the

ever-increasing emphasis on high stakes testing (Wilson, 2001). Even though television and movies present history in a format that is more engaging for students than most university lectures or high school classes, history is commonly represented here, too, as a set of facts or absolute knowledge, rather than a set of reasonable interpretations of available evidence. Museums occasionally do a better job of representing history as a process of critical enquiry than a set of true facts to be uncovered, but they, too, are dominated by the belief that history is a product to be consumed, rather than a process to be explored.

Whatever the content, the form of history presented to school children remains surprisingly similar: history is a closed system of information imposed through authoritarian structures that students find generally irrelevant to anything in their material or intellectual lives (Barton 2002). By failing to engage in a dialogue with either primary sources or with other historians writing about any particular topic, students are, as Peter Seixas argues, exiled from crucially important contexts within which any human learning takes place: a community.

What started as contributions to an active, translucent dialogue among historians as an opaque, authoritative voice, giving facts and explanations about the past. Even where alternative interpretations of the past are presented, they are conveyed with an authority of a community of which the students are not a part. . . . Students are not invited into a community; rather, the voice of the historical text systematically excludes them. If the constructivist theorists are right, there is not much room for real learning here. If the philosophers of history are right, there is not much real history either. (Seixas, 1993)

In spite of the potential for primary documents to engage students in a dynamic or dialogical process within a community of enquiry, therefore, it is not surprising that students cannot recognize this invitation.

*The problematic role of "Bias" as an analytical tool
in document-based enquiry*

Unfortunately for them, while students have the deeply held belief that history is about absolute knowledge conveyed through authoritarian forms, in an important sense, they no longer confidently believe in absolute truth either. These two belief systems – modernism's belief in absolute truth, and post-modernism's rejection of it – are in conflict, and it is causing problems.

These problems are clearly manifested in students' responses to primary documents. While they are capable of deep critical analysis, most students tend to revert to one question as they contemplate an historical document: is it true? (Wineburg, 1991; Grant & VanSledright 2001). As no account ever could be unequivocally true, students' attempts to analyze primary

documents as truth collapse almost immediately. What they collapse into, most commonly, is the attempt to discover the primary document's bias (Seixas, 1998; Barton, 1997). Bias has the advantage for students and many teachers of looking like both a foundational truth ("every point of view is biased") and a tool for critical enquiry ("by uncovering the bias, we can critically examine the truth behind the document"). The concept of bias seems to nicely erase the conflict between the two opposing philosophies – there is absolute knowledge and no absolute knowledge – in a kind of contingent relativism that both *assumes* an absolute reality (bias is after all an incorrect view of absolute reality), and rejects it.

Discussions of bias, though certainly valuable in some areas of historical study, as applied to the study of primary documents serve in most cases only to reduce students' potential for understanding history. For bias is used to describe the very things that need to be explained in critical historical enquiry: what are the factors that can explain why the author of the primary document represented the world the way he or she did? What were the economic forces, social influences, historical chronology, family situations, ethnic origin, or gender and age factors that made the world look the way it did for the person creating that document? Examined through the lens of 'bias,' the complexities of historical interpretation and analysis instead get reduced to rigid, simplistic and stereotyped impressions that students might have about the self-interest (itself a profoundly historical concept) of the person who created the document.

Once the students have successfully identified the bias of the creator of the document, furthermore, they believe that they have satisfied their best attempt at critical analysis. Students routinely declare the document biased and conclude that it is therefore unworthy of consideration (Wineburg 1991). Discussion then moves on to another topic. When students are challenged about the usefulness of the term "bias," they typically declare, with some frustration, that it is, after all, impossible to find a single truth about what happened, and so every interpretation only can be "just his or her own opinion" (Barton, 1997; 2002).

For these students, then, at an important level, historical knowledge is not so much irrelevant as impossible to obtain. Their encounters with primary documents is a process of swinging wildly between two opposite and mutually contradictory beliefs: the complete belief in the single coherent truth tantalizingly implied by the word "bias," and a belief in the impossibility of any knowledge, underwritten by a kind of relativism (Grant & Van Sledright, 2001).

These students need help in clarifying the terms upon which human beings can, and indeed do, on a daily basis, build up meaningful (though always contingent) knowledge about the world. They need this knowledge not only

in the history classroom, when they are asked to make sense out of evidence from the past, but everywhere in their lives that requires critical evaluation and judgement in order to make sense out of the world in the present. And they need it now – now that traditional structures of knowledge and belief are being undermined. They need to learn alternative ways of creating legitimate, meaningful knowledge about the world and their place in it. And, as the proponents of citizenship education through history have argued, the help they need can be found, and perhaps best found, in the active and dialogical processes of historical investigation, of creating historical knowledge. For it is historians, I would argue, who spend their days contemplating how we negotiate that middle ground between complete relativism and absolute truth. How to do this is the central activity of the discipline of history.

Strategies for reading primary documents

I have argued here that a basic misunderstanding about the nature of history is responsible, at least in part, for the problems students are encountering as they try to work with primary documents. Because they have mistakenly understood history as a series of facts about the past, they are not able to take seriously the invitation to apply methods of critical enquiry to the documents they are asked to investigate. Instead, they are confused. Rather than trying to uncover the complex meanings of the texts they are examining, they more commonly try to use the tools they have available to answer the one question that they think is relevant to historical investigation: is it true?

What follows here are three sequential lessons that I have used to introduce students in secondary social studies, in junior college history, and in social science pre-service education to historical documents. I have found these lessons particularly valuable at providing students (and their teachers) with a starting point for dealing directly with the particular and profound problems that they encounter as they attempt to deal with historical evidence-based enquiry and the problems of legitimate knowledge. The first of these techniques teaches students the differences between history and the past. The second simply draws attention to a question that allows students to get beyond “is it true?” to the more useful – and realistic — question more familiar to historians: “what does it mean?” The final lesson described here explores one specific technique that allows students to closely examine history as a form of critical enquiry based on evidence from the past. In this lesson, students will use a series of guided questions to focus on the circumstances of the document’s production. This lesson has the advantage of showing, rather than simply telling, students about the contingency and constructed nature of historical “facts,” while providing a point of entry into understanding the historical contexts of life in the time the document was created.

Introducing primary documents I:

Taking seriously the difference between history and the past

Primary documents may be the building blocks of history, but students need time and practice to get used to the two ideas being discussed here: that history is a contextualized dialogue about evidence (usually documents) from the past, and that students are able to participate in that dialogue, if only as “beginners.” Students need to learn, in other words, not only how to critically engage with the evidence contained in primary documents, but to recognize that this activity is doing history.

The first exercise that I do with my students before embarking on a study of historical documents is a deceptively simple one. Dividing students into groups of two or three, I ask them to discuss the following question: What are the differences between history and the past? Students are asked to list at least two differences. As students respond, their answers are listed on the board. Early in the discussion, students are asked to consider that while the past is every single thing that happened or thought about or dreamt of – every event, thought, belief, atom moving, tree falling in the forest while no one was there – that history is, alternatively, someone’s attempt to bring order and meaning to that chaos of everything-ness. The first and most important difference between history and the past, as I tell my students if they do not come up with it, is that evidence is the key difference. And in my experience, students do not usually suggest this crucial difference between the past and history, confirming my supposition time and again that most students really do not understand the fundamental foundation of history – that it is based on evidence left to us from the past. Little wonder, then, that they do not “get” the process of critical inquiry, or their role in it!

Because students commonly resist the idea that history is not everything that ever happened, or everything that historians have already written about, and because it is almost impossible to for them to understand history as a process of critical enquiry without this understanding, it is worth spending some time on the importance of evidence from the past. I explain, as an aside, that while historians tend to use written documents to understand the past, they are not limited to those kinds of records. Increasingly historians are branching out and using people’s oral reminiscences about the past, or photographs, and even home movies. While debates rage about the limits of interpretation for any particular source, it is nevertheless true that no statement can be made about the past without evidence that has lasted through time, whether that evidence is written, pictorial, archeological or spoken. We simply cannot know about it if there is no trace left over. If students are still in doubt, I ask them to give an example of any exceptions to this rule.

Not only does a record of an event, or thought, or belief have to be created, but it has to be preserved if people are going to know about it later. To emphasize this second point that distinguishes history from the past, I ask students to consider what records they have already left behind that a historian, a hundred years from now, might use to understand them in his or her history of high school students in the twenty-first century. Students should note not only the *narrowness* of the records they are leaving behind, compared to the total of their lives, but also the fact that many of the records they are leaving – like their school notes, and perhaps family photographs, or emails – probably will not survive for a hundred years, or be in a place where a historian might find them. What view might a historian have of high schools if the only records that survive are the teachers' assessments of them?

This leads into a third difference between history and the past: significance. At this point, I tend to take students back to the example of the records that have been created to document their own lives. I point out to them that a record usually only exists because of a decision, conscious or not, that someone has made about what is important. Who determines what records are created, and what records are preserved? And then who determines, and on what basis, what historians might be interested in? The reasons why different kinds of records or evidence, like late slips, or counselors' files documenting aberrant behaviour, or student emails, or students' notes, or personal diaries, are created and preserved (or not preserved) speak to very different ideas about what is significant about high school life. Not only do the people (like students and principals) creating documents disagree about what is important about any experience at the time it is occurring, but historians differ among themselves about what is important when they come to write their histories. If a historian in the twenty-second century wanted to document a time of particular violence in society, for example, then he or she might be looking to the schools to find evidence that could provide examples of conflict. A historian interested in high schools as a community that prepared students for life might look instead for evidence that would document co-operation, or academic success as a precursor to a successful career.

As Barton has suggested, this point might be worth discussing in some detail precisely because the work that so many students are asked to do, with primary documents as well as in school generally, has so little meaning or relevance to anything else. Many students might be surprised to learn that historians actually decide just what, exactly, they think is worth writing about, using criteria drawn from present day questions as well as received wisdom about what historians should be writing about (Barton, 2002). Changing beliefs about the importance of racial and gender inequality, for

example, have prompted historians to write about women and racial minorities in the past, subjects that earlier historians cared little about. While talking about the question of significance, I often find it useful to ask the students to tell me what it would take, exactly, to turn today's lesson into history, and to explain why. This exercise can be instructive in clarifying the previous three points: history, unlike the past, relies on the creation of evidence, the preservation of evidence, and human decisions about the significance of what the records contain.

This exercise also provides a good introduction to the fourth difference between the past and history: interpretation. I urge the students to consider the possibility that the truth really is *NOT* out there. Because the past really is gone, because it simply does not exist any more, the best that human beings can do is to make reasonable evaluations of the available evidence, examined in the context of what other people have thought about the event, or behaviour or belief. Even the first act of critical inquiry that defines historical research – the decision about what to write about – is an act of interpretation. Why write about high schools? Why not office workers, or presidents? The second act, that of selecting evidence about the topic is also interpretive: why use principals' records to try to understand high school life in the twenty-first century? Why not student diaries? Or census records discussing average family size of the student population? Or the gender and marital status of teachers? Each of those will give the historians of the future a slightly different interpretation of "what happened" in high schools in the twenty-first century. For every decision about what to look at, and why, reflects a decision on the part of the historian about what matters in society, past and present.

This leads to the final point: in order to make a useful interpretive statement about the evidence from the past, historians need to incorporate their interpretations in a meaningful narrative, one that makes sense of the evidence they have examined in a number of contexts. Historians need to address the kinds of questions that other historians have asked of the past – it would be difficult to write about the American Civil War, for example, without talking about slavery. It needs to make sense, in other words, not only in terms of other evidence from the past, but in terms of what other historians have said about that evidence. But they also often address (if only implicitly) the kinds of issues, and questions that people are interested in in the present as well. The narrative, then, must demonstrate not only the reasonable-ness of the interpretation, but also its significance, past and present.

To summarize, here are the five points that, by highlighting the contingent and constructed nature of history-as-process, can provide students with a useful introduction to the examination of primary documents.

1. there has to have been a record created (if only a memory);
2. the record has to be preserved over time;
3. the record has to be found by someone, and considered significant (i.e. at the time that it is found);
4. what is documented has to be interpreted,
5. it has to be incorporated into a meaningful historical narrative.

Introducing primary documents II:

Taking seriously the difference between truth and meaning

I begin the second lesson (and indeed, in almost every class relating to primary documents), by re-iterating the point that history is a commentary on, or discussion about, evidence left from the past. No commentary can portray exactly “what happened” because no one could possibly see everything. Even if someone could, however, how would they convey this “everything” to us in the present? Where would all the records be stored? As the past no longer exists, and as there is no omniscient narrator telling us all what really happened, all we are left with as we try to understand the past and its ever-changing significance are the traces and accounts that have been left in the present (Seixas, 1996). These records effectively allow us to see some things, from someone’s perspective, through time. Unfortunately, they do not provide, and cannot provide, a true and complete view of what really happened.

After students have been introduced to the idea that historical truth is not absolute, but instead is constructed by historians, they usually feel uneasy. If there is no absolute truth, if we can never know what “really happened,” they ask, is not any interpretation as good as any other? Is not everything just someone’s opinion, then, or just an interpretation? Why should we believe them?

I begin the second lesson with a discussion of how they know the world they live in. Drawing on examples of hallucinations and multiple view points about the same event (the example of a car accident is one usually drawn on by students here), students are obliged to acknowledge that they cannot always be sure that what they are experiencing is real. We have no way of corroborating the correspondence of our senses to the outside world, except for the evidence of our senses. So while we act as if we have absolute knowledge – we put one foot in front of the other, after all, in the belief that we will get where we are trying to go – nevertheless we know that philosophically we cannot prove that the world we are sensing corresponds to an external reality. But even though we know, at some level, that we might be wrong, we nevertheless continue to act as though we are certain.

Historians work in the same way. Even though they have much less information to work with in their study of the past than people do in their interactions with the world in the present, historians generally accept — have faith — that major events that are described in the documents they are studying “really happened,” in just the same way (and with the same provisos) that we “really know” the world we are experiencing in the present. Occasionally people writing the documents that historians are reading have been mistaken about something, or have lied. In those cases, historians have discovered the fraud generally by comparing notes with other historians, or by checking different kinds of sources from the past. In the same way, if we were told that enemy aliens had just landed from the moon, we might ask around to our friends and acquaintances if they had heard about it. Or we might ask to see more of the evidence that the landing had, indeed, been made.

Many students find it strange, however, when I tell them that most of the time historians are simply not as concerned as students with the question: Is it true? What the work of historians involves, and what their evidence-based critical enquiry is really directed at, is a different question. While students are usually most concerned with the question, “is it true,” to which it is generally difficult to give the kind of firm and absolute answer that the questions seems to demand, the work of most historians, most of the time, is involved in asking of the evidence, “What does it mean?”

While the dichotomy between these two questions collapses philosophically at a certain point in the process of historical inquiry, the distinction is an important one for students as well as historians. For, pedagogically, it can help students to understand that there is more than one “really big question” that can be asked about the past. For as Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg have argued (Seixas 1996, 1998; Wineburg 1991), primary documents, and the representations of the past that they contain, in a certain sense *are* history as much as they are a report *about* history.

As part of this second exercise, students are asked to examine the following primary document. It is an excerpt from the diary of Ebenezer Robson (students can be informed beforehand). He was a Methodist preacher living, in 1861, in the British colony of Victoria, British Columbia. Most of the population of the colony at this time was Native. The non-Native population on Saltspring Island, that he is describing specifically in the letter below, was comprised of a mixture of British, European and African American families and individuals, who were mainly involved in clearing their lands under frontier conditions.

Monday March 25, 1861 :

Arrived at the north settlement [of Salt Spring Island] about 6 p.m. I visited the different houses to inform the neighbours of my intention of

holding service in the evening. This involved a walk of nearly 4 miles. . . . The hour fixed arrived It was pouring rain and very dark so that we had no service, only one man coming. The great sins of this place as at Nanaimo are adultery [sic], drunkenness and sabbath breaking. There are 9 men now in this settlement. Quite a number of the settlers are gone to the mines and elsewhere for the summer. Of these 9 men, 5 are living with Indian women in a state of adultery. Some have families from such connexion. One man has commenced this [degrading?] course since I was here last. He is a young man who was educated in Massey [?] College, England, for the bar and passed his examination for this profession. His father is an old and wealthy Methodist. his son, poor man, is far gone in the way to Hell. I took supper at Mr Begg's and lodged with Mr. Lawless.

Robson, Ebenezer, Diaries, 16 September 1861 to 27 March 1862, H/D/R57, R57.3, British Columbia Archives, Victoria, British Columbia

I begin by asking someone to read the document out loud. I then give them a piece of paper that contains two columns. One column is headed with the words, "Facts/ Information: Is it true?" and the second is headed by the words, "Testimony/Evidence: What does it mean?" Students are then asked to decide what the document contains that would fit into each column. I help them to get started by providing one piece of factual information, such as the date and time of the minister's arrival, and one example for the second column, like the Christian values that the minister espouses. Students work in pairs with this document for a few minutes, and present their list to the class. I work with them to uncover the different kinds of truths that the document contains: those that purport to document the world as the minister sees it, and those that tell us about the minister and the social and cultural world that he lives within. I also ask the students to comment on why this document might be of interest to people in the present. Why might historians in the present be interested in the kind of sexist and racist interpretations that were made by Robson, in colonial British Columbia?

After discussing the differences between the questions "Is it true?" and "What does it mean?" I point out to the students that historians take for granted that every primary document will reveal a different interpretation of events. What they are looking for is an understanding of the range of interpretations, and what that might tell us about society, past and present, that is important. The critical enquiry that comprises history is the attempt to understand not just whether something happened, in other words, but what it meant to those who experienced and wrote (or photographed, or sang about, or drew) it. Each of these kinds of documents provides historians (and students who are engaged in critical enquiry) with a text in which they can read the ways in which meaning was inscribed onto particular events, or customs, or beliefs.

It is important to point out that Ebenezer Robson wrote this letter for his own purposes, presumably to keep track of his movements in order to be reimbursed by the church, for example, and to keep a record of sinful behaviour of his potential parishoners. People who read this text are not limited (fortunately), to this frame of reference as they try to exploit to the fullest what this document can provide. In my own work writing a history of Saltspring Island, for example, I used this document (along with many other of his letters, and the writings of other preachers and journalists) as evidence about the rate of population growth, and to document the kinds of inter-racial relationships on the island.

Distinguishing between the questions “is it true?” (which most primary documents are not very good at determining in isolation), and “what does it mean?” (which primary documents are particularly good at providing) has the practical advantage of moving students’ attention away from the impossible question of “what happened?” to an answerable and much more open and fertile question: what sense did people at the time make of the events described?

Introducing primary documents III:

Finding and exploring the worlds in which the document was created

The third lesson is intended to provide students with some preliminary, but focused questions that they can actively use in their critical analysis of primary documents. The first lesson demonstrated that primary documents are not a transparent representation of reality, but someone’s representation of reality. The second lesson suggested that one of the most fruitful questions raised by the document may not be “is it true?” but is instead “what does it mean?” The third and final lesson provides students with questions that allow them to explore the various meanings of the text by focusing on the circumstances of the document’s production. Just what was going on when that particular document was being created? This process has two advantages. First, such an exploration shows students, rather than tells them about, the contingency and constructed nature of historical documents. Secondly, the attention to the circumstances of the document’s production provides an excellent point of entry into the historical world (as well as the historiographical world) to which the document belongs. This third lesson seeks, therefore, to expand students’ understanding of history as a form of evidence-based enquiry, and of the particular historical time/events under study.

In this lesson, I ask the students to turn once again to the diary excerpt previously discussed. In this exercise, instead of deciding whether the information in the document is true or false, I invite the students to explore the question “what does it mean?” in greater detail by answering some specific questions. By answering questions that relate to how, and by whom,

the document was produced, students critically engage with the document by finding and exploring the different “voices” that the document contains. For each of these voices, once they are identified by the students, can open up a window on the world in which this evidence was created. Students are divided into groups, and asked to answer some or all of the following questions, depending on the time available.

*Listening for the voice of the institution:
The document’s creators and preservers*

Every primary document was created and preserved by a person or people, and an examination of the contexts within which this generation and preservation occurred can be helpful in understanding its multiple meanings.

- Do you know who was responsible for creating this document? How do you know? Why was the document created? How do you know?
- Who was the intended audience for this document – who was meant to read it?
- Who preserved this document? Do you think that their goals influenced the information the document contains?
- What can we learn about the people who created and preserved this document, their attitudes, and the society they lived in, from its contents?
- Can you think of other ways, perhaps unintended by the document’s creators, that this document has been, or could be used?
- What else does the historian need to know about the creation and preservation of this document that could increase its usefulness as a source for interracial relations?

Listening for other voices

The agendas that directed the creation and preservation of this document – its particular discursive structure – can be important to assessments of its meaning. This document also, however, describes events, behaviours and beliefs that refer to people, places and structures of meaning that may lie outside of its purview. Questions in this section refer to the ways that historians can “read through” this document, beyond the intentions of the document’s creators, and out to alternative ways that meaning was constructed.

- Can you reconstruct the physical setting in which the document was created? What value could such a reconstruction hold for someone interested in learning about the past?
- Whose voices are being represented in this document? Do they all have names? How would you characterize these voices? Happy? Sad? Impartial?

Frightened? Authoritative? Can you tell what and who is determining/directing what these voices say?

- Can you tell if anything has been taken out of the written text of the accounts contained in the document? Can you speculate on what it might be?
- What can you infer about the people represented in this document? Gender? Race? Place of Birth? Occupation? On what bases do you make infer these?
- What can you tell about the relations between the people represented in this document from the voices that we hear? Are they equal or unequal? Are they related, or friends? What gives you these impressions?
- Whose voices have been left out of, or marginalized within, this document?

Students and teacher then work through these questions together as a way of entering into a critical enquiry about the document. Most students will not know the answers to many of these questions, particularly if this document is used at the beginning of a unit on, say, colonial Canada. Students can, however, use this document to frame new questions about the social, economic and political world that Robson found himself in. Why was he so appalled about mixed race liaisons? Why was he so concerned about drinking and swearing? What were those people doing on the island, so far from their homes in Britain? Whose voices are represented, and whose left out, in this letter? Why would this be so?

By approaching the document in this way, students can begin a dialogue with evidence left from the past. If they are provided with the opportunity to actively explore these questions through research into what other historians have written, then they will become part of a dialogue with other people about records from the past. In both these senses, students will become historians searching, and trying to make sense of, the past in a meaningful and thoughtful way. Primary sources will become a way to open up their knowledge of the past, and their understanding of history. This lesson can be usefully integrated into other documents from the past, and used as a point of contrast or comparison. The point will not be to discover the bias of the document, but to find a way to use these documents as windows that might provide us glimpses of a complex and varied world of the past.

Conclusion

While historians bring together text and context in a meaningful dialogue about the past, students in elementary and secondary school tend to learn about history as an inert set of mostly irrelevant facts: history is a “finished product” rather than an “active process.” A number of educators and educational theorists have recognized this as a problem, one that effects both

the teaching and the learning of history. Primary documents have been offered as an important solution to both the boredom and the irrelevance that tend to characterize students' response to history. Primary documents like personal letters, diaries, and photographs are usually much more engaging for students than the condensed overviews provided in textbooks. The study of primary documents offers more than informed entertainment, however. Just as the model of science teaching through experimentation emphasizes scientific thinking rather than any particular body of facts, so the teaching of history through the analysis of primary documents emphasizes history as a type of knowledge, as a kind of enquiry, a way of thinking about the world. The study of historical evidence becomes the raw material upon which students can practice the types of critical thinking needed by citizens in a pluralistic egalitarian democracy.

Although the study of primary documents has been enthusiastically embraced by some social studies teachers throughout North America, this paper has suggested that its promise is seldom realized. Many teachers have little experience in the analysis of historical documents, and students are reluctant to engage in the kinds of critical enquiry that they are capable of employing. Even when students understand the process of evidence-based critical enquiry, their attempts to apply critical analysis to history are thwarted by deeply held and often contradictory philosophical beliefs about the nature of historical knowledge. Students tend to seesaw back and forth between believing in absolute truth, with its suggestion that students are simply required to find the "right" answer provided by some authority, and complete relativism, in which any interpretation is as good as any other, and all are equally meaningless. The term "bias" often shrouds both these problems.

In this paper, I have provided exercises intended to encourage students to recognize both the contingent nature of historical truth, and their ability (and their right) to participate in its construction. Students are first taught to distinguish between the past and history, focusing on history as something that is created by people who contemplate documents surviving from the past, who evaluate their significance, and who interpret this evidence in narratives that are constantly being revised. Secondly, students are invited to distinguish between two questions, "Is it true" and "What does it mean." In this way, they are encouraged to consider how historians do more than simply establish "truth;" they talk about the meaning of a document, both in its own historical context, and to those in the present. Thirdly, students are provided with practical methods of reading *through* historical texts to find and explore the multiple voices and contexts that every document contains. By distinguishing between the truth and the meaning of the text on the one hand, and by exploring the contexts of the documents production on the other, students and teachers alike can be drawn into a evidence-based critical enquiry that is a meaningful and situated history-as-process.

NOTE

1. This is particularly relevant in the province of Quebec, where historically derived political divisions between Quebec and the rest of Canada have prompted the provincial government to place the teaching of history at the forefront of citizenship education.

2. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Annual Meeting of the College and University Faculty Assembly, National Council for the Social Studies, Phoenix, Arizona November 2002

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BOOK REVIEWS

KATHLEEN WEILER (Editor). *Feminist Engagements: Reading, resisting and revisioning male theorists in education and cultural studies*. New York, NY & London, England: Routledge Falmer (2001). 207 pp. C\$32.95. (ISBN 0 415 92576 2). HB C\$128.00. (ISBN 0 415 92575 4).

"Education feminists, like other feminist theorists," writes Weiler in the Introduction to *Feminist Engagements* "have been profoundly influenced by classic male theorists. Despite the claims of some feminists that women must create a new language and a new imaginary, it seems self-defeating to ignore the work of male thinkers who have addressed questions of knowledge, culture and power. Education feminists have shared both a language and political goals with these democratic and liberatory writers" (p. 1). What these goals have been, how they have been 'gendered', and how there have been particular gendered 'points of departure' for the project overall is the focus of this book. It is divided into an Introduction and nine chapters, each one addressing a different male theorists or 'set' of theorists ranging from Dewey (Maher), Dubois (Waite), Gramsci (Kenway), Freire (Weiler), Felman, Freud and Lacan (Pitt), Bernstein (Arnot), Foucault and Deleuze (St. Pierre), Hall (Henry), along with a more general chapter on critical theory by Lather. The book includes a section on Contributors' Notes and a full index.

Although it is difficult to do justice to the expanse of the overall project in this review, or to the high quality of writing throughout, what I do here is draw attention to what I think are just a few of the "gems" of the book, and to why I think this book should be required reading in the programme of any doctoral student (male or female) in education. In a section early on in her essay on the work of Gilles Deleuze and Michel Foucault, Elizabeth Adams St. Pierre puts it like this:

I am currently teaching a new 'high-level' theory course to doctoral students, and I tell them my story about how I came to theory since I believe it is important to demystify our supposed expertise by hearing not

only what we know but how we've come to know. The students in this class seem to want theory, but others I teach, particularly in qualitative research courses, are not at all convinced that Judith Butler, Michel Foucault, Patricia Hill Collins, Walter Benjamin, Elizabeth Grosz, Frantz Fanon or Karl Marx might help them, with their dissertation studies. . . . So when a student asks me, "Why do I need to read theory/philosophy to write my dissertation on student teacher beliefs?" I find myself making the feminist move of relating my own lived experiences with theory. And when some of the feminists in the classes ask me why I use male theorists, I tell them I'm not very fond of those, feminist or otherwise, who would police my reading and thinking. . . (p. 143)

She then goes on, in the essay, to relate the story of 'coming to theory' as a librarian, graduate student in the area of reading/writing theory, and finally as a professor at the University of Georgia.

Or, consider Kathleen Weiler's 'Rereading Paulo Freire.' In this essay, which comes out of other writing she has done on Freire's work, including a presentation at the American Educational Research Association conference in 1999, she draws attention to some of the tensions in how Freire writes about the public and the private, and how, even though his masculinist language of the 1960s was the accepted norm at the time, it nonetheless speaks to both inclusion and exclusion if one subscribes to the notion of how thought and language are shaped. What is fascinating in this essay is Weiler's own "take" on the various attacks she has received publicly for speaking and writing about Freire. One critic for example argues that it should be a Latina who speaks about such a prominent Latin American scholar as Freire in this way.

Frances Maher's essay "John Dewey, progressive education, and feminist pedagogies: Issues in gender and authority" is a fascinating one for anyone who began teaching in the sixties and seventies. Maher describes the constructions of 'facilitative' and 'democratic' that are central to Dewey's work in the context of what it meant to be a female teacher in apparently learner-centred progressive classrooms in the sixties. Her essay is particularly interesting for how she brings in other feminist scholars such as Valerie Walkerdine and Jane Miller who have similarly reflected on the problematics of the progressive movements in education. Walkerdine's essay in *Schoolgirl Fictions* on the pathological nurturance of women teachers, as Maher points out, is particularly insightful. Speaking of the Dewey-ite "triumvirate" of Herbert Kohl, Jonathan Kozol, and James Herndon, she writes,

I learned subliminally that all truly great teachers inspire their urban, disruptive students with a love of learning through their own deep sensitivity, respect for the students, and antiestablishment values (see Kozol 1967; Kohl 1967; and Herndon 1968). Their authority is a kind of magic; early failures are overcome through the teachers' idealistic commitments to the students. Meanwhile, the villains of their stories are all those authoritarian racist female teachers, archtypical spinsters who presumably

remained behind while these three left the classroom, wrote their books, and became new (male) authorities themselves for the education of (female) neophytes. (14-15)

I could not help smiling, having recently revisited a personal journal that I kept through my first seven years of teaching in the early seventies, in which I write, at length, about another male theorist who surely belongs in this grouping, Paul Goodman (Mitchell, forthcoming). It is only 6 weeks into my first year of teaching junior high students in a small fishing village and, like Michelle Pfeiffer in the movie *Dangerous Minds*, and Glen Ford in the movie *Blackboard Jungle*, I am in search of theory. Somewhere I must have managed to get my hands on *Growing Up Absurd*: "He (Paul Goodman) writes about how incidental learning is the only real learning, and that teachers are only wasting the time of the children. I can't help but agreeing with him. Today was a totally frustrating one with the grade eights. They bitch and grumble about everything they have to do, and so it gets to the point where I might as well go in and dictate notes for 40 minutes and walk out" (journal notes, October 16, 1970). Clearly this wonderful collection of essays by my feminist colleagues has the desired effect of invoking further narratives on male theorists!

In essence, then, *Feminist Engagements* is precisely the kind of book that should find its way into as many of our graduate classrooms as possible. Over and above what is in the book, it has all the potential for a further "curriculum-in-the-making" in that one can easily imagine students using it as both an entry point to reading many of the theorists cited, and as a point of departure for engaging with other male theorists not covered in the book – from Habermas to Chomsky. But it should also inspire other scholars – male and female – to address the contributions to scholarship and teaching of feminist theorists like Kathleen Weiler, Frances Maher, Cally L. Waite, Jane Kenway, Alice Pitt, Madeleine Arnot, Elizabeth Adams St. Pierre, Annette Henry and Patti Lather.

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ANGELA NAIRNE GRIGOR. *Arthur Lismer: Visionary art educator*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press (2002). 447 pp. C\$65.00. (ISBN 0-7735-2295-6).

While teaching a course in Canadian art history last winter, I had a chance to revisit the legacy of the Group of Seven. Alongside their majestic painterly investigations of untamed Canadian wilderness driven by patriotic aspirations, many members of this group were also known as teachers of art. Written by Angela Nairne Grigor, this book examines the life and educational work of Arthur Lismer (1885-1969), an artist-teacher whose vision and social responsibility influenced many generations of artists and educators in this country. It presents to us not only a comprehensive analysis of Lismer's life and ideas embedded in his work of a museum educator, but also some important insights into the development of Canadian modern art education.

Grigor developed an interest in Lismer while pursuing her graduate work in art education. Interestingly enough, while researching the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, she discovered that one of her teachers in Britain, Marjorie Tozer Leefe, who encouraged her to become an art educator, was one of the most promising students of Lismer at the Victoria School of Art and Design in Halifax. Grigor's analysis draws not only upon Lismer's unpublished papers and notes secured in the archives of Quebec, Nova Scotia and Ontario (the provinces in which he lived and worked after his arrival in Canada from Sheffield, England in 1911), but also upon interviews of his colleagues, friends and former students. In spite of the vast volume of data that span over the fifty-year period and that must have been a great challenge to organize chronologically, Grigor states that, "... the energy inherent in Lismer's written material made his work constantly fresh and interesting" (p. xiii).

The book is divided into two major sections, each consisting of seven chapters, each including also some exceptionally charming photographs and reproductions of Lismer's drawings. I particularly enjoyed the delicacy of his pen and ink sketches of South African native costumes and Basutoland villages (p. 138-139). The first part of the book, *Life in Art*, focuses on Lismer's life (his upbringing and education) uncovering also various challenges that he encountered as an artist and educator in Canada. Moreover, it is in this part of the book that one begins to realize Lismer's struggle to balance his dedication to painting with his commitment to the teaching of art. In 1915, while living in Toronto, Lismer was offered a teaching job at the Ontario Department of Education Teachers Summer Courses in Art. While living in Toronto from 1911 to 1916, he became also associated with

the Graphic Arts Club, and Arts and Letters Club. These activities helped him establish his voice as an art educator as well.

According to Grigor, Lismer saw teaching also as a possibility that would allow him to carry on with his painting. Further, "he idealized art and artists, seeing them as sensitive to physical as well as spiritual experience, and had a strong desire to pass on something of his vision to others" (p. 31). Georgian Bay was Lismer's favorite spot for painting – a magical country for a painter. Some of this magic was etherealized in his paintings *Georgian Bay* (1913), *Pine Wreckage* (1929) and *Sunlight in a Wood* (1930), which Grigor does not forget to mention. Moreover, Grigor states that it was a painting trip to Algonquin Park in March 1914, with legendary artist Tom Thomson, that greatly influenced Lismer as a painter, and reaffirmed his fascination with nature and spirituality.

Grigor speculates why, with very little experience as an artist and administrator, Lismer was chosen to be head of the Victoria School of Art in Halifax, the position that he occupied from 1916-1919. Something has to be said about Lismer's luck, when on December 6, 1917, he missed the morning train from Bedford to Halifax, avoiding the catastrophic explosion in the Halifax harbour, which obliterated the city and left over 1500 dead. In 1919 Lismer moved back to Toronto, taking on the position of Vice-principal at the Ontario College of Art. This was, according to Grigor, one of the busiest times of his career. Alongside his administrative duties, Lismer had a full teaching schedule. "He was in charge of elementary course work, the junior class for school-age children, and the Department of Education Teachers Summer Courses in Art, of which he became principal in 1920" (p. 68). Grigor's descriptions of Lismer's appearance and his enigmatic personality are simply delightful to read. He was not only a tall, slim and somewhat bohemian looking Yorkshire man as I imagined, but also a charismatic lecturer whose wittiness was capable of energizing many audiences across the world. "But inwardly he was an intensely private person who never discussed personal or family affairs and avoided talking about his painting" (p. 348). It is interesting that Grigor often compared Lismer to a slower paced and more traditional George Reid who was a principal of the Ontario College of Art at the time. Although Reid was initially very fond of Lismer and might have helped him to get positions in Toronto and Halifax, there were many conflicts between Lismer and Reid. These led ultimately in Lismer's resignation from his position at OCA in 1927. This controversy was followed by the petition which included signatures of 135 of his students. Lismer's sensitivity and dedication to students are well remembered. Grigor writes that while presiding at the Student Club, established in 1922, Lismer organized Friday night suppers that brought day and evening students together, promoting the sense of an artistic community at OCA. He was also one of the instigators of a masquerade ball. "For him, the

balls, were an extension of his theatrical interests, and in keeping with his imaginative, playful personality, he enjoyed assuming disguises and wearing costumes" (p. 70).

The first part of the book also introduces Lismer's seminal work at the Art Gallery of Toronto, where he occupied the position of the supervisor of education from 1929 to 1938. It is remarkable how, during the years of the great depression he was able to establish and ran Saturday art classes for children. Grigor suggests that, "his first objective was not to train artists but to encourage children to enjoy art through their own 'creative experiences'" (p. 92). While working at the gallery, Lismer was also able to engage in numerous educational activities outside of Canada. For instance, in 1934 he attended the National Education Fellowship conference in South Africa, which also attracted influential thinkers such as John Dewey, Bertrand Russell, Bronislaw Malinovsky, Helen Parkhurst, Harold Rugg, and Wilhelm Viola. Two years later at the invitation of the government he was invited to teach and lecture again in South Africa. In 1937 he attended the NEF conferences in New Zealand and Australia as well as the subsequent conference in Honolulu in 1938. In the same year he was also appointed visiting professor at Teachers College, Columbia University.

The second part of the book, *Arthur Lismer's Ideas in Education*, provides a great deal of insight into Lismer's pedagogy – its underlying philosophical foundations, methods and objectives. Lismer's interest in the democratization of art and museum education finds its roots in the work of Victorian thinker John Ruskin, whose contextualist theories about art and society were further developed by William Morris and John Dewey. Ruskin's ideas helped Lismer to envision a holistic approach to art teaching, an approach that was open to naturalistic and pictorial aspects of art as much as to social awareness. During his appointment at the Victoria School of Art and Design, he stressed the importance of drawing, which he saw as a basis for all art. He believed that through drawing students can learn how to see while also being engaged in expression and self-discovery. Grigor also examines the relationship between Lismer's pedagogy and the work of the American painter and a formalist teacher of art, Arthur Wesley Dow. He was also known for his influential texts, *Composition* (1899) and *Theory and Practice of Teaching Art* (1912). Lismer's teaching stressed the principles of compositional design and drawing, leaving me with an impression that his teaching philosophy accommodated both notions of the *innocent* (Ruskin) and *trained* (Dow) eye – the concepts which were foundational to modernist teaching of art.

Lismer's sense for social responsibility is exemplified in great detail in the second half of the book. Grigor introduces Lismer as a teacher who was also critical of modern society. She reminds us that "industry as a subject for art

was a twentieth-century idea based on the concept that art was more concerned with life than conventional beauty,” as exemplified in the work of Fernand Leger and Antoine Pevsner (p. 261). However, although concerned about the meaning of art and human life in the industrialized world, Lismer’s drawing classes often involved field trips to industrial areas, factories and docklands. Grigor also writes that Lismer believed that expression is what comes first and that skill should be acquired in process. Thus, during the 1920s, while teaching at OCA, he was seeking a fine balance between encouraging self-expression and providing students with technical skills. While teaching at the Children’s Art Centre at the Art Gallery of Toronto, Lismer’s pedagogy was informed by the ideas of Austrian artist Franz Cizek, who was a contemporary of the painter Gustav Klimt and influential Vienna Secession group. Grigor provides a great insight into the work of Cizek’s which privileged children’s expression over all other technical and skill oriented concerns. One may also assume that it was Cizek’s work that influenced Lismer to believe that artistic ability was innate and that ultimately, art could not be taught – an issue that has been revisited recently by James Elkins (2001), in his book *Why Art Cannot be Taught: A handbook for art students*.

Further, Lismer’s practice of a museum educator was also influenced by the works of John Dewey and Lewis Mumford. In fact, Grigor draws important parallels between Lismer’s teaching philosophy and Dewey’s philosophy of education. On one side, she suggests that Lismer accepted Dewey’s criticism of traditional teaching methods, insisting on experimentation and the idea of all encompassing aesthetic experience that is inseparable from life. On the other, by focusing on inner self and spirituality, he might have been opposed to Dewey who saw these as rather trivial and also capable of perpetuating the further alienation of self from society. By embracing both his theosophical beliefs in spirituality and his awareness of society, Lismer’s teaching somehow compromised conflicting theories of individualism and collectivism. As Grigor says, “for Lismer, who worked with both individualist and collectivist notions in his teaching practice, there appeared to be no conflict in the way he applied opposing theories” (p. 292-293).

Grigor also writes that Lismer was regularly assigning readings for his teaching staff. Some of those included Lewis Mumford’s books *Technics and Civilizations* (1934) and *The Culture of Cities* (1938). This suggests that Lismer wanted his staff also to be critical of modern society and aware of its underlying moral values. Further, Lismer was also aware of Bauhaus teaching. According to Grigor, he became a friend with Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, who was a leader of New Bauhaus in Chicago, established in 1937. Lismer’s openness to innovation was also reflected in his teaching at Teachers College, Columbia University. Grigor indicates that while teaching his “Teachers’ Course” at Columbia he developed a unique approach in dealing

with students. He encouraged students to reflect on their backgrounds, teaching interests, and their social life, fostering the inseparability of art and life. "His approach, which encouraged non-linear thinking, included an exploration of diverse topics ranging from concepts and ideas to symbolism, design structures, and interrelationship in art and life" (p. 317).

In spite of being socially aware, Lismer continued to see art as expressive and emotional rather than as intellectual pursuit. "The inventive self is the creator – exhilaration and joy. The intellect is the watchdog – critical, suspicious" (p. 324). As opposed to the growing intellectualization of art education in 1940s and 1950s, Lismer stated once that "art education has been distorted by intellect for century" (p. 324). Grigor also discusses various influences of child-centered theories of art education on Lismer. I found her insights into Herbert Read's *Education Through Art* (1943), Victor Lowenfeld's *Creative and Mental Growth* (1947), Wilhelm Viola's *Child Art* (1944) and Marian Richardson's *Art and the Child* (1948), very nicely developed. These works, according to Grigor, strengthened Lismer's commitment to child-centered education and expressive experimentation in art. Even though he initially distanced himself from the Jungian psychoanalytic legacy, during the 1940s, Lismer started to be more analytical and looked at children's drawings as expressions tied to their dreams and childhood experiences, perhaps trying to grapple with their inner selves. Grigor seems critical of this tendency towards psychoanalytic approaches in art education, which according to her turned many art educators at the time into "amateur psychologists." Lismer's opposition to the intellectualization of art education grew even stronger in the 1940s and 1950s – the decades that were marked by the emergence of university art education departments. Grigor reminds us of the problematic segregation between art teachers trained in art schools and those trained in universities.

Those trained as artists, with a minimum of educational theory, focused on art, rather than on education, and were first recognized during this period as artist-teachers. For those trained in universities, a teaching degree in art education generally included a liberal arts background with courses in studio work, art history and education. (p. 332)

Grigor's writing leaves us with an impression that Lismer's pedagogy as well as his professional attitude matured during his teaching and educational supervision at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. While in Montreal, he also taught at McGill University (1941-1955) and served as the principal of the Montreal School of Art and Design (1942-1967). Grigor points out that while teaching at the MMFA, Lismer pedagogy demonstrated a great deal of sensitivity to students' age and maturity, and that he understood very well the distinction between teaching art to children and teaching art to adults. Moreover, he would encourage his staff (mainly third-year art students) to question their teaching procedures, methods and materials used, in order to

respond better to the needs of students. "Constantly challenging, he would ask, "How could you have done that better?" or "How could the project be developed further?" " (p. 339).

Regardless of its length, and the extent of Grigor's research, which I have found difficult to accommodate within the book review format, this book will both inform and inspire its reader, offering an invaluable background to all teachers of art. However, one may wonder of what practical significance Lismer's ideas might be today, since his teaching belongs to the first half of the twentieth century and owes much to his spirited personality. In conclusion, Grigor states that Lismer's ". . . approach emphasizes values that, with the growth of dehumanizing technology, will be sorely needed in the future" (p. 349).

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