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Version visionnée sur le site Internet d'origine le 12 août 2013

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**McGILL
JOURNAL
OF
EDUCATION
•
REVUE
DES SCIENCES
DE
L'ÉDUCATION
DE MCGILL**

**The Inclusion Movement and Teacher Change:
Where are the limits?**

MARGRET A. WINZER

**Participant Observation:
A research and assessment approach
for multiply disabled populations**

RASTISLAV KOLESAR

**L'Identité culturelle d'étudiants
de la formation à l'enseignement:
Sentiments et référents identitaires**

MARIETTE THÉBERGE

FALL / AUTOMNE 1998 VOL 33 N° 3

McGill Journal of Education is published three times a year: Winter, Spring, Fall. 1 year subscription rates, post paid: **CANADA:** \$30 (+ taxes: Quebec 7% + 7.5% = \$34.50; Other provinces: 7% = \$32.10). Single copies \$12 (+ taxes). **FOREIGN:** C\$40; by Air Mail C\$50. Single copies C\$15. Subscriptions are payable to the McGill Journal of Education, 3700 McTavish Street, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3A 1Y2. Phone: (514) 398-4246. FAX: (514) 398-6968. E-mail: keenana@education.mcgill.ca.

MJE is indexed by the *Canadian Education Index* and selectively indexed by Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC). It is listed in Ulrich's *International Periodicals Directory*, abstracted by *Sociology of Education Abstracts* and *Canadian Social Science Abstracts*, and is available on microfilm from Micromedia Ltd., 20 Victoria Street, Toronto, ON, Canada M5C 2N8, and University Microfilms, Inc. Ann Arbor, MI, USA. International Standard Serial No. CN ISSN 0024-9033.

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Revue des sciences de l'éducation de McGill paraît trois fois par an, en hiver, au printemps et à l'automne. Tarif d'abonnement pour une année, post payé: **CANADA:** 30\$ + les taxes (Québec +7% + 7.5% = 34.50\$; les autres provinces: +7% = 32.10\$). Prix du numéro: 12\$ (+ les taxes). **PAYS ÉTRANGERS:** 40C\$; par la post aérien: 50C\$. Prix du numéro: 15C\$. L'abonnement est payable au *McGill Journal of Education* et toute demande doit être adressée au 3700, rue McTavish, Montréal (Québec) Canada H3A 1Y2. Téléphone: (514) 398-4246; télécopieur: (514) 398-6968. Adresse électronique: keenana@education.mcgill.ca.

Revue des sciences de l'éducation de McGill est indexé par le *Canadian Education Index* et par le Centre d'information sur les ressources pédagogiques (CIRP). Il figure dans l'*International Periodicals Directory* d'Ulrich, il est résumé dans *Sociology of Education Abstracts* et dans *Canadian Social Science Abstracts* et il existe en microfilms chez University Microfilms, Inc., à Ann Arbor dans le Michigan. Les anciens numéros sont disponibles sous microforme auprès du Micromedia Ltd., 20 rue Victoria, Toronto (Ontario) Canada M5C 2N8. Numéro de série international: CN ISSN 0024-9033.

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Publications Mail Registration Number: 08234

Envoi de Poste-publications – Enregistrement Numéro: 08234

EDITORIAL

SOME THOUGHTS ON SPECIAL EDUCATION AND CULTURAL IDENTITY OF TEACHERS

The first two articles in this edition of the Journal will be of interest to those persons teaching in the field of special education and disabled populations. The first, written by Prof. Margret Winzer, of the University of Lethbridge, discusses the current reform movement that promotes the inclusion of students with disabilities into regular classrooms. The heart of this article is her discussion about the problem of making a transition from the ideology of this movement to classroom implementation of the practice. Teacher attitudes, skills, and competencies, and their supports, are examined in considering how well the transition can be made. Rastislav Kolesar, of Brock University, looks at some existing assessment approaches for multiply disabled students, especially those with visual impairments. He points out the problem with current assessment measures and advocates the use of participant observation as an assessment approach as well as a research methodology for teachers working with this population.

Prof. Angela Ward, University of Saskatchewan, and Prof. Mariette Th  berge, University of Ottawa, present us with issues related to the cultural variable in teacher training and mentoring. Prof. Ward's study, conducted by a teacher team in Saskatchewan, relates her findings relative to a teacher team which mentored upper-level education students in multicultural classrooms. Prof. Th  berge, in a different context, examines the manner in which teacher trainees manage the maintenance of their own cultural identity while participating in teaching environments of a different linguistic nature. In this particular instance, the research involves Franco-Ontarians who are teaching in a province with an English-speaking majority.

We conclude this issue with some "random thoughts" of Prof. Jon G. Bradley, of McGill University, who raises a number of complex ques-

tions related to ethical standards in the teaching profession. This article touches upon some difficult questions that have been asked for a long time – one of them being: How will the teaching profession discipline its members by means of ethical standards, and how will teachers-in-training come to learn and practice ethical standards unless they are given formal training in that area?

WMT

THE INCLUSION MOVEMENT AND TEACHER CHANGE: WHERE ARE THE LIMITS?

MARGRET A. WINZER *University of Lethbridge*

ABSTRACT. The current reform movement in special education promotes the inclusion of students with disabilities into regular classrooms as the total responsibility of regular classroom teachers. While many assume that ideology will enjoy an easy transition to classroom implementation, this assumption is problematic and not based on current research.

This paper discusses whether regular classroom teachers can actually meet the demands of the inclusionary movement. At issue are teacher attitudes, teacher skills, and competencies, and the supports required for successful inclusionary practices.

RÉSUMÉ. Le mouvement de réforme actuel en intégration scolaire soutient que l'intégration des élèves handicapés dans les classes dites régulières doit être entièrement du ressort des enseignants qui en ont la charge. Même si beaucoup croient que cette idéologie peut facilement se transposer en classe, ce postulat est douteux et ne s'appuie sur aucune recherche actuelle.

L'auteur de cet article se demande si les enseignants des classes régulières peuvent relever le défi du mouvement intégrationniste. Le problème tient aux attitudes, aptitudes et compétences des enseignants et à l'appui dont ils ont besoin pour mettre en oeuvre avec succès les mesures d'intégration.

The ongoing educational reform movement in Canada has brought numerous educational issues into sharp focus. Few have received the attention and generated the controversy and polarization of perspectives as has the movement to include all children with disabilities into regular classrooms.

In the late 1980s, the term *inclusion* first emerged in the special education literature when researchers called for "the joining of demonstrably effective practices from special, compensatory, and general education

to establish a general educational system that is more *inclusive*, and better serves all students, particularly those who require greater-than-usual educational support" (Reynolds, Wang, & Walberg, 1987, p. 394, *italics author's*). Three years later, one could not pick up a special education journal without coming upon at least one paper on inclusive schooling.

Although inclusion is an ongoing movement and the term is widely used, both in concept and in implementation it defies easy interpretation. Today's movement hosts a range of theoretical positions concerning the precise meaning of the term, who should be targeted for inclusion, and the nature and extent of regular classroom provision. The spectrum runs from radical or full inclusionists to those who would retain much of the status quo.

Different views lie along a continuum. At one end are full inclusionists, those who contend that inclusion should apply to all students with disabilities and believe that all students belong in regular classrooms all the time. Fully inclusive means that children are taught in the general education classroom for the full day; support services are brought to the child rather than the child removed to a segregated setting. The basic goal is to not leave anyone out of school and classroom communities from the very beginning, and the focus is on the support needs of all students and personnel (Stainback, Stainback, & Jackson, 1992).

Further along the location spectrum are those who support partial inclusion and hold that only students who meet certain standards should be integrated into regular classrooms full time. General classrooms, they say, may be the most appropriate placements for many students with disabilities to receive their education, but research clearly does not support the assertion that all students can be managed and taught effectively in general classes (e.g., Braaten, Kauffman, Braaten, Polsgrove, & Nelson, 1988; Lundrum, 1992; Walker & Bullis, 1991).

Implicit in inclusive settings is the assumption that learners who are exceptional can be served equally as well in diverse mainstream learning settings as in segregated or pull-out programs. Those promoting fully inclusive practices declare that it is no more than good general education and that all teachers must be prepared to teach all children effectively (Kauffman, 1996).

The most important person in the school environment is the general education teacher and any change that intends to alter the quality of education for children who are exceptional depends primarily on the

teacher (Rogers, 1987). When schools reform to accommodate the diverse needs of students, teacher roles change and the circumstances of regular education personnel take on substantial significance. By placing students with exceptionalities into regular classrooms where general classroom teachers are expected to duplicate the results of special education and the treatments associated with them, inclusion represents a basic change in who does what, to whom it is done, where it is done, and how resources support what is done.

While enthusiasts have advocated radical changes in teacher responsibility and many hold that all general education teachers can and should accommodate students with disabilities, other observers are more cautious within the current reality of teacher responsibilities and accountability. They question whether regular educators can actually support these changes, whether general education can transform itself into a more responsive, resourceful, and humane system to deal with children it has avoided in the past (see Fuchs & Fuchs, 1994), and whether regular education teachers will accept the loss of the safety valve called special education. More pointedly, can special educators teach teachers to teach children they have failed in the past? Can we expect classroom teachers to welcome and successfully teach and manage students who are disruptive or those with severe and profound disabilities? How likely is it that teachers can change their techniques to accommodate children with special needs? Will teachers be able to take on additional work loads and anxieties, devote extra time to assessment and referral, and find time to work on teams to develop, implement, and evaluate programs? Will the needs of special children completely eclipse the needs of teachers? What consideration should be given to other students whose educational programs may be disrupted by the presence of children with serious behavioural disorders?

This paper addresses the supposition that ideology will enjoy an easy transition to educational practice, that is, that we can proceed from an ideological and value-laden stance – inclusion in the regular classroom is the most appropriate form of schooling for all children – to classroom practice; that we can reduce theorizing to the technical problems of resources, management, social groupings, and instructional design; and that teachers will automatically change to accommodate an even greater diversity of learners. It discusses the overarching questions of whether fundamental changes are possible in the majority of today's public schools and whether all teachers can or should be expected to accommodate all children with special needs.

The debate here is not on the merits of inclusion as a basic philosophy but on the capacity of the educational system to accommodate such a restructuring. The paper examines the relationship between regular classroom interactions, children with disabilities, and important facets of the inclusion movement. Issues include teachers' attitudes and expectations, tolerances, and limitations; the characteristics of regular classrooms; teacher time and skills; the availability of resources and supports; and issues of teacher collaboration.

Teacher roles

Regular classrooms are characterized by myriad instructional variables. Every day, teachers orchestrate a wide diversity of skills, activities, groups, and materials as they instruct, motivate, evaluate, and manage large numbers of children. Teachers may find as many as five grades of instructional levels per classroom (Fuchs, Fuchs, Hamlett, Phillips, & Bentz, 1994). Elementary level teachers will lead these 20 or 30 children of varying abilities, interests, and backgrounds through an array of instructional activities in a variety of subject areas daily. Secondary level teachers will prepare for and teach a number of classes, often at different levels (see Slavin, 1988).

Today's schools have become intervention sites for numerous learning and social problems affecting students. The current trend is for ever increasing demands on teachers who are faced with increased student variability, increased student diversity, and new management problems. Add to these declining resources, time restraints, larger class sizes, additional responsibilities, more diffuse obligations, and an explosion of knowledge that must somehow be addressed in the curriculum (see Malouf & Schiller, 1995).

Teachers similarly confront external organizational constraints. The expanding range of educational goals in an era of declining resources has reinforced the demand for higher accountability practices; politicians, policy makers, and parents are asking for more clarity and certainty in educators' claims of knowledge and competence. One potent manifestation is a formalization and standardization of curriculum and testing. Teachers feel obligated to teach the standard curriculum and to hold students accountable for learning it. Within this framework, innovation is difficult, teachers' reflection and discretion is reduced, and their ability to meet individual students' needs may be jeopardized.

Of the changes brought about by the recent inclusive efforts in special education, the most extreme would alter the fundamental responsibili-

ties of regular classroom teachers. As inclusion implicitly acknowledges and accepts the value of regular school provisions, all teachers must be prepared to teach all children. Teachers will see an expansion of their traditional roles, with greater emphasis given to serving the educational, social, and behavioural aspects of student development.

With a more varied student population, mounting responsibilities, and increased accountability, to what extent is it realistic to expect regular classroom teachers with classes of 30 or more children to accommodate and adapt programs or students with special needs? Can the connotations of reform meld with the realities of contemporary classroom life?

For the process of inclusion to be successful, both common sense and research suggest that reduced class size is essential. Teachers agree class sizes should be reduced to fewer than 20 students if those with disabilities are to be included (Scruggs & Mastropieri, 1996); however, in Alberta, for example, a huge 87 % of teachers reported no reduction in class size (Buski, 1997).

Discussions of inclusion have highlighted some of the requirements for success. Together with class size these include, to wit, restructuring to merge special education and regular education to create a unified educational system; appropriate teacher training; positive teacher attitudes with realistic expectations and widened tolerances; resources and supports for teachers; individual supports for students with disabilities, including materials and personnel; developing shared responsibility for students through regular and special education teachers working side by side with heterogeneous groups of students; and teachers sharing their specialities via collaborative teaming.

Teacher attitudes

The possibility and pace of change are dependent on educators' wills and ideological dispositions. Implementation of change involves interactions between teachers' perceived competence in making the change, the values they hold with respect to the task, and the concerns they hold about the interpretation of the change (see Buysse, Wesley, Keyes, & Bailey, 1996). Of these interactions, teachers' values and attitudes play a central role in the success of inclusive programs (Heron & Harris, 1993; Stein & Wang, 1988; Wilson & Silverman, 1991).

Because teacher beliefs about the value of the disabled and their professional responsibilities toward them correlate with teaching practices in serving children who are exceptional, complete inclusion and

acceptance of students with disabilities will only happen if there are long-term changes in the attitudes of educational professionals. In order to become effective with students who are disabled, teachers need more than high levels of personal, interpersonal, and creative abilities; they must also be receptive to the principles and demands of inclusion.

Many teachers support the philosophy of inclusion but many also identify critical problems in its implementation. A recent national study of 1,492 Canadian teachers found that more than two-thirds of teachers believe that inclusion is academically beneficial to children with special needs and their peers in regular classrooms, and 90 % of teachers cite social benefits (Galt, 1997; Alberta Teachers Assoc., 1997).

Philosophical acceptance, however, far outstrips commitment to implementation. For example, submissions from the Alberta Teachers' Association (Alberta Teachers Assoc., 1993, 1997; Buski, 1997) showed that, in general, many teachers supported the philosophical underpinnings of inclusion, but overwhelmingly expressed a deep concern that in too many cases the inclusive process is not working and was, in fact, creating educationally unsound situations. Some feel that there is a failure to meet the needs of either regular or special education students.

When Scruggs and Mastropieri (1996) used 28 survey reports of 10,560 teachers from the United States, Canada, and Australia from 1958 to 1995, they found that a majority supported mainstreaming and a slight majority were willing to implement it in their own classes. A substantial minority, however, believed that students with disabilities would be disruptive to their classes or demand too much attention. Only a minority of teachers agreed that the general classroom is the best environment for students with special needs, or that full time mainstreaming or inclusion would produce social or academic benefits relative to resource or special class placement.

A questionnaire given to a school district in Colorado in which inclusion was practised revealed that 70% of respondents agreed or agreed strongly that inclusion worked well, but 49% doubted that inclusion was the best way to meet the needs of exceptional students, and 28% thought it was detrimental to their education (Pearman, Barnhart, Huang, & Mellblom, 1992). Fulk and Hirth (1994) found that among 517 regular education teachers, about one-half were personally supportive of inclusion, but a majority felt that inclusion was being forced on them.

Even teachers who are generally supportive of inclusive principles agree that placements may influence their teaching effectiveness (Simpson & Myles, 1989). It is not surprising, then, that although many teachers support the concept of inclusion as an abstract principle, many prefer the current system (e.g., Coates, 1989; Semmel, Abernathy, Butera, & Lesar, 1991). While pull-out programs are sometimes perceived as nonpreferred, stigmatizing, disruptive, and not leading to long-term academic gains for students, studies indicate that both regular and special education teachers are not dissatisfied with the pull-out model. In fact, the majority of teachers in one study (Semmel et al., 1991) perceived special education classrooms as more effective and more preferred than regular classrooms for students with mild disabilities.

The attitudes of teachers toward particular students seems to be more important than the general attitude toward inclusion which makes the nature and degree of a child's disability germane to issues of placement and curriculum. Teachers regard students with disabilities in the context of procedural classroom concerns and have definite opinions about the types of disabilities they are most willing to accept. Overall, teacher willingness to teach students with disabilities, consistent with their support for inclusion, appears to covary with the severity of the disability and the amount of additional teacher responsibility required (Scruggs & Mastropieri, 1996). Generally, the more severe the disability, the more negative the attitudes teachers have toward inclusion (Wisniewski & Alper, 1994).

Both prospective and experienced teachers report more positive attitudes toward students who can learn and who do not inhibit the learning of their peers (Wilczenski, 1993). Many general education teachers specifically disagree with the placement of students with intellectual disabilities and behavioural or emotional difficulties in the general classroom (Taylor, Richards, Goldstein, & Schilit, 1997); sensory and physical disabilities are preferred to behavioural disorders and cognitive difficulties (Johnson, 1987).

Research points out that elementary and secondary teachers tend to differ on their views of integration and the kinds and numbers of accommodations they make (Olson, Chalmer, & Hoover, 1997). Findings show a tendency of secondary level teachers to be less accepting than others of students with special needs in regular classrooms (Savage & Wienke, 1989).

Difficult-to-teach students

Many researchers (e.g., Lilly, 1988; Little, 1988; Pugach, 1988; Wang, Reynolds, & Walberg, 1988) hold that special education is really nothing more than a thoroughly good ordinary education and assume that the same sort of generic teaching skills, attitudes, and beliefs will be effective regardless of students' characteristics. However, research does not support the contention that all students can be taught successfully in general classes and many disagree that regular educators can assume responsibility for education and programming for all students with disabilities (e.g., Algozzine, Maheady, Sacca, O'Shea, & O'Shea, 1990; Braaten et al., 1988; Lieberman, 1991; Walker & Bullis, 1991). They note that a careful analysis of what would be required of general educators if they were to take responsibility for teaching most or all children with disabilities suggests that very substantial changes would have to occur. Most teachers would need to alter their instructional and behaviour management strategies dramatically (Carnine & Kameenui, 1990; Lloyd, Keller, Kauffman, & Hallahan, 1988).

Of the three groups who present the greatest challenges to inclusion – those with significant disabilities, adolescents at the end of their school careers, and those with serious behavioural disorders – the latter group equates with significant fear on the part of teachers. Indeed, there is considerable resistance among teachers to including students with behavioural disorders. A 1993 report from the Alberta Teachers' Association (ATA), for example, contained disturbing testimonials from teachers who said that students with special needs were often highly disruptive in their classes and failed to learn in any meaningful way. A 1994 follow-up study still found that teachers broadly supported integration but that the fear of regular educators had grown even more acute (ATA, 1993, 1994).

Some hold that if regular classroom teachers would work diligently toward altering behaviour they find intolerable, inclusive decisions would become a simple matter (see Lundrum, 1992). Many others question the premise that regular classroom teachers will increasingly welcome more difficult-to-teach children as they become proficient in the use of effective instructional skills unless accompanied by a change of attitude (Kauffman, Gerber, & Semmel, 1988). Still others argue that expecting general education teachers to welcome, successfully teach and manage, and tolerate the most disruptive students is extremely naive and illogical, both from the viewpoint of common sense and from the perspective of available research (Fuchs, Fuchs, Fernstrom, & Hohn, 1991).

Students with behavioural disorders are viewed by many teachers as the most difficult to teach and the least likeable (Kauffman & Wong, 1991). Moreover, students are not included in a vacuum. They are in real classrooms in which the characteristics of teachers, children, and programs differ markedly. Teachers vary greatly in their attitudes, standards, tolerances, and expectations. Teachers' belief systems determine the standards they maintain for students, what behaviour they will tolerate, how they expect individual students to behave, and the way they approach the tasks of instruction and management (Kauffman & Wong, 1991).

It would be assumed that more effective teachers would more readily accept and more competently handle students with behavioural disorders. However, while more effective teachers are distinguished by different ways of instructing and managing students and tend to be characterized by higher standards for students and lower tolerance for behavioural excesses, even effective teachers may find themselves unable to accommodate the varied needs of some of these children (Kauffman, Gerber, & Semmel, 1988).

For one thing, effective teachers are often resistant toward accepting students with disabilities into their classes (Lundrum, 1992). Research finds that teachers who use very effective teaching techniques are often those who are least accepting of the behavioural and cognitive difficulties that often characterize students with disabilities (Gersten, Walker, & Darch, 1988; Walker & Rankin, 1983). Regular classroom teachers hold fairly narrow perceptions of the types of behaviours they consider critical for success in classrooms (standards) and the types of behaviours they find least acceptable (tolerance).

Second, traditional approaches to managing problem behaviours have not been responsive to the behavioural and learning characteristics of students with chronic behavioural problems (Carpenter & McKee-Higgins, 1996) while many of the practices known to be effective with children who are difficult to teach are not accepted by general educators (Lloyd et al., 1988). In fact, many proposals for educational reform advance adoption of instructional strategies known to fail with many difficult-to-teach students (Carnine & Kameenui, 1990).

The great disparity between teachers' perceptions and expectations and their experiences with difficult-to-teach students paints a murky picture of inclusion for such children. Negative patterns of student-teacher interactions do not make regular classrooms safe havens for either teacher or child. The energy and resources needed for success in the

regular classroom may not be commensurate with the questionable gains achieved (see MacMillan, Forness, & Gresham, 1996).

A second major placement issue is whether students with severe intellectual disabilities should be based in regular or special education classrooms in home schools. When asked to include students with severe or profound disabilities, teachers feel they have limited resources, are not properly trained, and may not believe that these students really belong in regular classrooms (see ATA, 1993; Dahl, 1986). They cite the inordinate amount of time these learners take away from their peers without disabilities and the traditionally required high ratios of learners to teachers (Schaffner & Buswell, 1991).

Whether inclusion into regular secondary classrooms meets the needs of adolescents with disabilities is a third critical issue. Many argue that the regular curriculum does not match the needs or provide older students with the skills and competencies they require to negotiate a transition to the adult world and to be successful in occupation and living (see Fox & Ysseldyke, 1996; Nesbit, 1990).

Curricula and instruction

The practical expression of inclusion is found in curriculum and instruction. Advocates of inclusion hold that good teachers can teach all students because only minor adjustments need to be made to accommodate special learners. Teachers will find that the strategies, techniques, modifications, and inspirations that have always produced effective instruction and management in their classrooms work equally well in integrated settings (Weber, 1994). Skeptics counter that inclusion requires extensive retraining of both regular and special education teachers in personal communication, team teaching, teacher problem solving, and curricula frameworks (Hueffner, 1988).

Observational studies have confirmed that the parallels between regular education and special education are multiple; the two fields are far more similar than different. Still, differences are seen in programming and implementation. The focus of general and special education teachers tend to be dissimilar in terms of instruction, curriculum, materials, teaching styles, and expectations (see Ryan & Paterna, 1997).

The backbone of special education is providing intensive, goal-directed individualized instruction. As Kauffman (1996) observes: "Compared to the general practice of education, special education is instruction that is more urgent, more intensive, more relentless, more precisely

delivered, more highly structured and direct, and more carefully monitored for procedural fidelity and effects" (p. 206). The techniques are different because, if not treated differently, these children will not succeed (Lieberman, 1991).

Within the regular classroom, special education students "are educationally starved by the standard instructional diet" (Kauffman, 1996, p. 205). Many students, particularly those with mild disabilities or those at risk, do not respond to traditional teaching techniques used in general education such as recitation, lecturing, rote learning, and so on (Boyle & Yeagle, 1997).

Students can experience success only when the teacher is able to meet their individual learning needs through appropriate curriculum modifications (Haman, Issacson, & Powell, 1985). Different adaptations and modifications are needed depending on the child's type and severity of disability.

Individualization of this intensity rarely occurs in general education classrooms. The planning frame of regular classroom teachers is the whole class; curriculum adaptations are not a part of classroom life. In general, regular educators teach to single large groups and incorporate little or no differentiation based on student need (Baker & Zigmond, 1990; Fuchs & Fuchs, 1995b).

Evidence documents the inability or unwillingness of regular educators to incorporate strategies into general education approaches (Fuchs & Fuchs, 1995a). Teachers make few modifications in general classrooms for learners who are gifted (Archambault, Westberg, Brown, Hallmark, Zhang, & Emmons, 1993) and those who qualify for special education (Bateman, 1993).

In a survey of adapted instruction (Ysseldyke, Thurlow, Wotruba, & Nania, 1990) teachers did not specify classroom adaptations made for students with disabilities; they considered adaptations desirable, but often not feasible. Later, Gottlieb and colleagues (1994) found that regular classroom teachers were unclear about the forms of support that would be required to retain children in general education classes. Only 10% of the teachers presented activities that could reasonably be described as curriculum adaptations. Teachers will make physical accommodations but are less favourable to behavioural and academic accommodations (Wilczenski, 1992). In the Ysseldyke study, adaptations related to social well being or motivation such as positive reinforcement and encouragement were seen as more feasible; least feasible

adaptions included adapting regular materials, using alternate materials, and providing individual instruction.

Schumm and Vaughn (1991) investigated teacher planning practices. Of the kindergarten to grade 12 teachers, 98% rated their knowledge and skills for planning in general education as either excellent or good. Only 39% rated their planning for mainstreamed students as excellent or good. Further, on teacher planning, Jenkins and Leicester (1992) found that many of the teachers in their sample developed the ability to develop instructional plans that would help special students but in reality they rarely implemented the plans.

Many veteran teachers broadly resist mandates to differentiate curriculum and instruction for a wide range of learners (Behar & George, 1994) and may lack the skills required (Tomlinson, 1995). A review of five case studies of inclusive classrooms (Baker & Zigmond, 1995) commented that some elements of effective instruction were missing or infrequent, including adaptations, progress monitoring, and individualized attention.

Many classroom teachers are minimally equipped to provide for the needs of those not responding to group instruction. Few teachers in general education classes, for example, at present possess the breadth of knowledge or the competencies to meet the individual needs of students with learning disabilities (Wagner, Newman, D'Amico, Jay, Butler-Nalin, Marder, & Cox, 1991). While teachers recognize the low achievement of such students, they do very little that is different instructionally when these students are assigned to regular-content classes. A study of sixty social studies and science teachers who were seen as effective with students with learning disabilities by peers, principals, and self found that the teachers made few adaptations to meet special learning needs (McIntosh, Vaughn, Schumm, Haager, & Lee, 1994). Another found that 60 percent of students with learning disabilities are not offered accommodations or modifications and yet are expected to meet the same academic standards as other students (Wagner et al., 1991). The one adjustment that is commonly made is to lower grading standards so that students who are learning disabled have a good chance of passing the course (Zigmond, Levine, & Laurie, 1985). It is perhaps not surprising that a recent study of settings where students with learning disabilities were included (Zigmond, Jenkins, Fuchs, Deno, Fuchs, Baker, Jenkins, & Couthino, 1995) failed to find academic benefits for students. Rather, they found that the achievement outcomes were "neither desirable nor acceptable" (p. 539).

Evidence further suggests that the extent to which accommodations and interventions are provided can determine success or failure for students with behavioural disorders (Lewis, Chard, & Scott, 1994; Meadows, Neel, Scott, & Parker, 1994). Nevertheless, when students with behavioural disorders are integrated into regular classrooms, teachers provide little academic support or modifications and almost no behavioural support and adaptations (Meadows et al., 1994).

General educators lack the necessary skills to adapt instruction, to meet the needs of students with disabilities, or to integrate specific strategies (Scanlon, Deshler, & Schumaker, 1996). Such negative findings about classroom adaptations should cause alarm. If teachers are reluctant, resistant, or unable to provide adaptations for students with special needs, then a child's academic career is seriously at risk. Lacking adaptations, inclusion becomes only a matter of where students sit, not where they are provided optimal opportunities to learn.

Resources and supports

Just as the target of equal education cannot be met without appropriate adaptations, placement of students with disabilities in the regular system without the supports needed to accommodate their particular needs is futile. Resources and supports include access to specialists, collaborative planning and decision making, appropriate environments and equipment, and the availability of paraprofessionals (see Miller, 1990).

Most regular classroom teachers do not feel that inclusion is possible without a strong support system in place (Lamond, 1995). In the recent national study, one respondent wrote that "All students have a right to a regular classroom as long as there is support (personnel and materials), [and] daily time to plan and conference" (Galt, 1997, p. A1).

Together with the issue of who should be targeted for inclusion, concerns over practical implications on a wide scale have resulted in much divisiveness among parents and educators over the merits of the inclusionary ideal (Palmer, Borthwick-Duffy, & Widaman, 1998). At issue – can the ambitiousness of the proposed reforms be accompanied by resources adequate to implement them, and what kinds of resources for inclusion can teachers reasonably expect? Apart from class size, identified concerns include (but are not restricted to) preservice and inservice teacher training, and collaboration and consultation.

Teacher training

Changed delivery models necessitate training personnel to adapt to new roles. As most general educators do not have a thorough understanding of special education students and of their skills and needs (Janney, Snell, Beers, & Raynes, 1995), inclusion requires extensive retraining of both regular and special education teachers in personal communication, team teaching, teacher problem solving, and curricula frameworks (Hueffner, 1988).

There is little evidence that general educators are receiving the kind of training they need to support students with disabilities comfortably (Heumann, 1994; Reiff, Evans, & Cass, 1991). Efficient training is absent at both preservice and inservice levels. In the United States, less than 5% of all general education teachers have been formally prepared to work with students with special needs in inclusive settings (Smith & Luckasson, 1995). Currently few teacher training programs at Canadian colleges or universities focus on the educational practices required for inclusive education (Action for integration, 1993).

While good general education programs should prepare teachers to work with all students effectively, explicit efforts to prepare teachers in training to work with students with exceptionalities is a relatively recent phenomenon and teacher education programs are not providing adequate preparation (Kearney & Durant, 1992; Maheady, Mallette, & Harper, 1996). In one study (George, George, Gersten, & Grasenick, 1995), two-thirds of teachers of children with behavioural disorders reported that their college course work was poor preparation for their teaching environments. Jack and colleagues (1996) found that only 5% of the teachers in their study indicated that they learned about the management strategies they used in their classrooms from course work; most learned them from other teachers. Nor do the traditional special education courses work very well. Goodlad and Field (1993) found in a national US study that preservice teachers rated their own abilities to teach children with disabilities as the lowest of twelve domains of perceived instructional competence.

Very few, if any, general education teachers have received the ongoing professional development needed to include successfully (Schumm & Vaughn, 1995). In the field, teachers are too often given a one-day workshop or shown a video and expected to know how to teach in inclusive environments successfully. An Alberta study showed that

only 26% of Alberta teachers including students with disabilities had available inservice training dealing with integration. (Buski, 1997).

Inclusion requires extensive retraining of both regular and special education teachers, but often adequate training is not available. Even when it is and teachers are offered specialized training and ongoing support, substantial variability exists in the extent to which regular educators are able to implement inclusive programs and in the progress that students with disabilities achieve as a result (see MacMillan, Gresham, & Forness, 1996).

Consultation and collaboration

Inclusive practices do not presume that all teachers possess all the expertise needed to include all children. In inclusive programs, assistance is provided in the areas of curriculum modification, participation, and social integration by special education teachers, para-professionals, and nondisabled peers.

Ideally, when children with disabilities are in regular classrooms, teachers receive support in the form of training, help, and consultation from special education teachers and other personnel, instructional aides, and so on. Supports are brought to the classroom to the child; the child is not removed to access the supports. However, in an Alberta study (Buski, 1997), 33% of teachers integrating students with special needs reported the unavailability of professional support such as speech therapists and psychologists; 31% lack paraprofessional support. There were no special materials or supplies in 64% of cases.

Support modes similarly demand collaboration, a process that involves an interdependent relationship among two or more people to achieve a common goal (Salisbury, Evans, & Palombaro, 1997). Collaborative problem solving forges a different relationship between special education and regular class teachers. By working with special education teachers, general educators learn about special education skills such as assessing learning styles and abilities, modifying curriculum, using various teaching strategies to meet student needs, and providing emotional support for students (Hanson, 1996).

There is little research on the use of teams to facilitate inclusion and the picture is murky. The extant literature does suggest, however, that often general and special education personnel are not motivated or prepared to participate in collaborative planning and instruction (Gersten, 1990; Gersten, Walker, & Darch, 1988).

Teachers tend to be autonomous. Most teachers are accustomed to working alone, making decisions alone, and planning and teaching by themselves, not well linked to other teachers. It is not surprising that many teachers feel that the hardest part of inclusion is planning with another person (Roach, 1995).

The transition to collaborative planning may confound many special education teachers who formerly taught in separate programs or schools and who are now acting in consultant, co-teaching, or teaming roles, sometimes in addition to their direct service delivery responsibilities. Special educators may resist inclusion when they find themselves forced to work in ways that are new, such as collaboration and in-class support. Hanson (1996) reports that in some inclusive classrooms, a co-teaching relationship has served to lower the status of the special educator. Rather than working as equals, the regular teacher treats the special educator as an aide.

Finally, collaboration requires considerable release time. Teachers report that they need one hour or more a day to plan for students with disabilities (Scruggs & Mastropieri, 1996). An investigation into the workload of 17,000 Canadian teachers (King & Peart, 1992) found that 77% of teachers felt that they had insufficient time to provide adequate help to students having difficulties and those with special needs. In Alberta, Buski (1997) reported that 87% of teachers including students with special needs did not have extra preparation time. In a Colorado study, an enormous 91% of teachers did not believe that adequate time was provided for cooperative planning between regular and special educators (Pearman et al., 1992).

Maintaining needed support is an enormous task that requires high degrees of commitment, communication, cooperation, collaboration, and funding. But the support picture is, in many ways, bleak. Today's schools are at the intersection of political and social ideals and economic realities and, as public education policies attempt to reconcile more expectations with fewer resources, special education represents a problem of resource management. A common complaint is that human and financial resources once directed toward educating special students in special schools and classes has not followed the students into regular classrooms (Butler, Copland, & Enns, 1996). Provinces such as Alberta that are either unwilling or unable financially to support the integration of exceptional students have left teachers ill-equipped to fulfill their obligations to all of their students (Butler, Copeland, & Enns, 1996).

Conclusion

As the prevailing philosophical assumptions, theories, and visions that surround the current inclusion movement find their way into real-life educational situations, they are, of necessity, applied in the context of attendant political pressures, sociocultural differences, community expectations, and parental influences. Especially, theories and ideas in schools and classrooms meld with professional problems, teacher attitudes and expectations, and teacher responsibilities and accountability.

As educators grapple with equitable treatment for all students, the question of how the integration of students with disabilities is to be accomplished remains a hotly debated issue. Discussions on the merits of inclusion as a philosophy are not as prominent as apprehension about its implementation. Few dispute the contention that every child, regardless of type and severity of disability, has the right to a free and appropriate education in a setting as normal as possible. However, the question of how the integration of students with disabilities is to be accomplished remains a hotly debated issue among educators, parents, and child advocates. Most of the argument centres on how integration strategies can be implemented without deleteriously affecting the lives and educational programs of other students or impacting negatively on the professional lives of teachers.

In addressing this issue, this paper looked at the reality of classrooms within the connotations of reform. It asked whether all general education teachers could or should include all children all the time and looked specifically at teacher attitudes, teachers' willingness and ability to provide adaptations and modifications for learners with special needs, the skills and supports to accommodate difficult-to-teach students; other supports in the form of personnel and resources, and cooperation and collaboration.

A general conclusion is that neither research nor common sense espouses a radical restructuring of special education as represented by full inclusion. While acceptance is the responsibility of every teacher, not all have the skills needed for successful inclusion, nor are all receptive to the principles and demands of inclusion. Canadian teachers philosophically support the ideology, but deep concerns have emerged within the context of regular education, the issue often expressed as a concern about the boundaries of teacher responsibilities.

Teachers' concerns revolve around a number of areas that are prompted as much by the objectives of special education as they are by the

pressures of the school system. Not only are teachers being asked to cater to students displaying a range of social and academic problems, but classes are more heterogeneous than ever before with varying rates of skills and learning rates. Add to this time restraints, larger class sizes, widespread debate about standardized achievement testing and teacher accountability, an explosion of knowledge that must somehow be addressed in the curriculum, limited resources and insecure funding from external sources, and lessening job security. As these factors combine with concerns over lack of training and expertise in special education and declining support services, it is little wonder that teachers may look askance at the prospect of including students with very special needs.

The two groups who present the greatest challenges are those with significant disabilities and those with serious behavioural disorders. Severely disabled, however defined, has always been a boundary condition that determines the success of any reform. Even if schools become relatively comfortable, or at least resigned, to children functioning below the norm in intellectual, physical, or social domains, they remain resistant to accepting students with severe behavioural or intellectual disabilities.

Full inclusion is a radical reform to be approached cautiously. Barriers remain complex, diverse, and numerous. Implementation is dogged by ambivalent teacher attitudes, large class sizes, inadequate teacher training, lack of outside supports, and concern about the inclusion of certain groups of students. Although full inclusion for all students with disabilities may be a laudable goal, such a dramatic shift must be referenced to the needs of children with special needs, the requirements of the regular classroom, and the circumstances of regular classroom teachers.

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PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION: A RESEARCH AND ASSESSMENT APPROACH FOR MULTIPLY DISABLED POPULATIONS

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ABSTRACT. This is an exploration into "re-inventing the wheel" in special education. The author discusses the education of multiply handicapped children, especially those with visual impairments. The article reviews some of the literature relative to previous studies in this area, but is devoted mostly to the use of participant observation (PO) as a suitable and useful means of assessing multiply disabled populations. The author provides a good basis for advocating qualitative measures instead of quantitative measures in research with the multiply disabled.

RÉSUMÉ. Cette étude vise en quelque sorte à «réinventer la roue» en éducation spécialisée. L'auteur y traite de l'éducation des enfants polyhandicapés, et particulièrement de ceux atteints de déficience visuelle. Il passe en revue certaines publications relatives à des études réalisées antérieurement dans ce domaine, mais traite avant tout de l'utilité de la technique d'observation participative pour évaluer les populations de polyhandicapés. En s'appuyant sur de solides arguments, il préconise l'utilisation de méthodes qualitatives plutôt que quantitatives pour la recherche sur les polyhandicapés.

Re-inventing the wheel does not mean ignoring existing relevant or other pertinent evidence but instead it allows teachers to construct for themselves applications to practice . . . through re-invention teachers development and in-depth understanding are enhanced; they are able to fine tune and use what they learn; they are able to adapt it to new situations and then teaching practices improve because a big part of teaching is making.
(Sergiovani, 1992, p.115)

A disability is defined as "any restriction or lack of ability to perform an activity in the manner or within the range considered normal for a human being, generally taken to be at the level of the individual" (Ashman & Elkins, 1994, p. 5). Visual impairments are considered to

be one specific type of disability. Visual impairments can be defined on a continuum and includes three categories: (1) educationally blind (total lack of functional use of vision for learning), (2) partially sighted (after correction some functional vision is available for learning), and (3) visually limited (after correction normal functional vision exists for learning). According to Erin, Daugherty, Dignan, and Pearson (1990), the term multiply disabled includes "those children who are so limited that they cannot develop a normal language system, nor can they provide adequately for their own survival needs" (p.16). In this article, the term "multiply disabled" incorporates the three categories involved in a visual impairment, the definition provided, and could also include other accompanying disabilities, these being recognized disabilities which affect physical, affective, social, or cognitive functioning.

The impetus for this article stems from professional experience in the field of disabled education, specifically with multiply disabled students. Personal experience has convinced this author that quantitative research methodologies often do not provide practical suggestions for the educator of multiply disabled. In addition, students' individual processes and information on curriculum programming are not adequately addressed. Lastly, the literature on the issue of implementing qualitative research methodologies for this population is dated and scarce.

Hence, the purpose of this article is to illustrate to researchers, educators, parents, and administrators of multiply disabled individuals that qualitative research methodologies, specifically participant observation (PO), can make a significant contribution to a dated and limited literature base. Also, the "teacher-as-researcher" in PO is a viable alternative which should be explored. Finally, the use of PO as a supplementary assessment tool in the classroom (disabled students) may further contribute to our understanding of the needs and learning processes of this special population. It begins by analyzing methodological practices in qualitative research strategies, focusing on PO. This article will justify the need to implement PO as an alternative research perspective and as a supplemental assessment approach for multiply disabled populations. The objective is to illustrate that information gathered on multiply disabled students using PO could not have been effectively achieved with existing assessment tools and that supplemental approaches are required.

Historically, trends in educational research for disabled populations have indicated a broadening of perspective. This trend continues to emerge and can be summarized as follows:

Educational research is changing. Recent trends indicate a 'softening' towards strict adherence to quantitative methodology. Attention has begun to focus on the potential contributions that qualitative methodology can provide to educational inquiry. Special education will likely attempt to make more use of qualitative research methodology in the future in order to reap the potential benefits. Drawing qualitative research procedures into the current repertoire of procedures and the incorporation of qualitative research into special education most likely will be welcomed by teachers and researchers who have wished to explore more qualitative dimensions. (Stainback & Stainback, 1984, p. 406)

Stainback & Stainback (1984) suggest that for most of the twentieth century quantitative research has been the predominant methodology used to expand this knowledge base. There appears to be a growing recognition of the limitations of quantitative research. Thus, many researchers have begun to advocate qualitative research methodologies in an attempt to broaden the research perspective in special education. For example, these same researchers indicate that "it may be beneficial to give more attention to qualitative research methodologies. Incorporating qualitative methodology into special education research could enhance our research capabilities and the future progress of special education" (p. 403). Qualitative research has traditionally been viewed as a method of providing theory that can then be approved or disclaimed by more quantitative research methodologies. In contrast, this author proposes that qualitative research not only provides philosophical questions but it can be the "vehicle" used to attempt to answer them.

This state of change continues with regards to currently used assessment approaches. Educational assessment is in a constant evolution. Educational practitioners and academic researchers are examining various assessment approaches for the disabled because they are dissatisfied with the current structure or tools of assessment. There is the trend towards more humanistic assessment approaches which are individual oriented (Bolduc, Gresset, Sanschagrin, & Thibodeau, 1993; Edgerton, 1984; Erin et al., 1990; Fine & Sandstrom, 1988; Haywood & Tzuriel, 1992; Ontario Ministry of Education, 1997; Stainback & Stainback, 1984, 1985).

What is needed in the education of visually disabled is the addition of supplemental assessment approaches. Erin and Koenig (1997) and Haywood and Tzuriel (1992) advocate the use of supplemental assess-

ment approaches for individuals with severe visual disabilities. They state that there are difficulties with standardized assessment approaches when they are used with students with visual disabilities, and alternative strategies should constitute the major approach to assessment. Haywood and Tzuriel (1992) indicate that the use of criterion- and curriculum-based instruments have a distinct advantage of providing information on a student achievement within a given curriculum. Perhaps one of the most overlooked approaches to assessment is diagnostic teaching. This technique allows the teacher to interweave the process of assessment and instruction. Each instructional session is used as an opportunity to collect quality assessment information in real-life contexts. Observations and interviews offer this type of meaningful assessment information. Observational techniques are becoming more popular as an assessment approach in special education. Recently observational assessment approaches have been attempted or discussed for disabled and non-disabled populations with some success (Bersani & Mesaros, 1986; Bolduc et al., 1993; Ontario Ministry of Education, 1997; Haywood & Tzuriel, 1992; Salvia & Ysseldyke, 1988).

For the purposes of clarity, the discussion of PO in this article is divided into the following sub-categories: (1) PO as a qualitative methodology; (2) adaptation of PO for visually disabled populations; (3) use of PO as a supplemental assessment approach in the visually disabled classroom; (4) limitations of PO as a methodology and as an assessment approach; and (5) implications for future research.

Participant observation as a qualitative research methodology

PO has long served as the basic data-collection strategy for anthropologists concerned with understanding cultures around the world. Later, "participant observation was adopted by other social sciences, particularly sociology, and is now a standard method of study in many of the behavioral sciences" (Edgerton, 1984, pp. 498-9). PO as a qualitative research methodology has been defined by Edgerton (1984), as the following:

Participant Observation calls for "an investigator to enter the lives of the persons being studied as fully and naturally as possible. It requires long-term involvement with these people so that the investigator's presence becomes more or less natural. The participant observer listens to what people say, observes what they do, asks questions when it is appropriate to do so, and participates in activities when that is acceptable. In time – usually at least a year and at times much longer – the Participant Observer is usually able to

describe most aspects of people's life activities, including some that occur rarely or are ordinarily hidden from view, and will be able to provide some sense of how these people think and feel about their lives. (p.498)

In simple terms, "participant observation means what it says. It is distinguished by active participation as a means of observing the setting or individuals under study. The observer's personal involvement in the research setting is always a central means to understanding it. Rather than using a research instrument the participant observer becomes one" (Fry, 1986, p. 2). There are primarily three prerequisite conditions which are necessary for the appropriate use of PO. Once these prerequisite conditions are satisfied then the foundation for beginning research is justifiably present. The conditions are summarized as follows:

1. First, the settings or topics about which little or nothing is already known require preliminary PO for definition of appropriate measures for existing concepts as well as discovery of new questions.
2. The second issue is related to the sensitivity of topics or respondents. Some topics may be seen as inappropriate when raised through direct questions, either because of their substance or because of attributes of the person doing the asking. In addition, some respondents may be unable or unwilling to cooperate with the researchers using more explicit techniques.
3. Informants' inability or unwillingness to report accurately.

There are also three stages to PO. It is important to understand that these three stages are not mutually exclusive. The structure, research, and concepts derived from the previous stage play an integral role in the development and success of the ensuing stages. These stages are summarized and generalized from the anthropological approach to PO. The three stages for PO are summarized as follows:

STAGE 1: INTRODUCTION. This stage generally involves integration in all domains, physical and social, into a suitable community or population of interest in which PO is to occur. The initial procedures involve detailed general field notes on the individuals under investigation, and categories of activities, routines, and anything else the researcher finds important or of interest. In a sense the researcher is the instrument for data collection. The second major goal is to establish an appropriate and consistent role that facilitates a relationship between the researcher and the community members under observation.

STAGE 2: FOCUSED RESEARCH. The transition between the first stage and the second stage is a difficult one because the researcher is never satisfied that enough initial information has been collected. At this point the onus shifts from general mapping procedures to investigation of specific issues. The activities of this stage are more focused, directed to collection of information to measure specific concepts and to refine the hypotheses.

STAGE 3: EVALUATION OF HYPOTHESES. In this stage the major focus is on hypotheses testing. The hypotheses must be clearly identified in order to collect appropriate data for evaluation. With hypotheses stated and with an inventory of measures appropriate to the setting, it is possible to construct various research instruments. Either natural or constructed experiments may be carried out in the field. That is why multiple measures are always the preferred strategy. This stage also involves formal presentation of the results and analysis of the results in connection with the hypotheses. (Adapted and modified from Fry, 1986, pp. 2-7)

Adaptation of participant observation for multiply disabled populations

PO is an extremely flexible research methodology. This flexibility is essential when attempting to administer PO to multiply disabled populations. Biklen and Moseley (1988) conducted a study of severely disabled individuals using PO. They confirm that if the "researchers plan to study the world of the disabled informant then traditional participant observation guidelines are useful. But when the researcher wants to communicate with the severely disabled informant, then some modifications and adaptations need to be made" (p.155). Once these changes and adaptations are made, data can be gathered more efficiently and effectively.

The six modifications which must be considered when using PO for the multiply disabled include: need to build trust and rapport; absence of effective communication skills; problems with open-ended questioning; the same-answer problem; pleasing the interviewer; and the use of significant others to gather information (Biklen & Moseley, 1988).

It is suggested that building a "trusting relationship" may be increasingly difficult with individuals who possess severe disabilities (Edgerton, 1984), specifically when outside researchers attempt to integrate themselves into a disabled population. It is recommended that the teacher become the researcher. Teacher-as-researcher for PO would help alle-

viate difficulties associated with building this required rapport and trust in multiply disabled populations. Bailey and Hess (1997) state that "the culture of schools is such that teachers are expected to teach, not to research their own or others' practice. While this has been deplored as shortsighted for some time, it is still the case that teachers who are actively involved in research are more the exception than the rule" (p. 83). The authors ask the question, "is it just too hard to be a teacher-researcher?" Their experiences suggest that several factors such as workload, time constraints, lack of systemic cooperation from administration and colleagues, and opposing views by educational organizations are significant obstacles. They explained, that despite these difficulties, the teacher-as-researcher offers valuable insight when these obstacles are minimized.

Communication with multiply disabled populations may be difficult when PO is the research methodology. PO usually involves interviews as one method of data collection and there are inherent difficulties with this method. Biklen and Moseley (1988) offer the possibility that interviews are very dependent on language and effective articulation of thoughts and ideas, and disabled individuals often have difficulty in this capacity. Educators of the disabled individual generally have a better capacity to understand the utterances and gestures because of experience and exposure. "Interviewers' difficulties tend to center on their inability to understand the actual language of the informant, while the interviewee may have a difficult time with the concepts of the interviewer" (Biklen & Moseley, 1988, p.157). Teachers often possess the skills necessary to get around these communication deficiencies. The researcher must understand that a visual impairment will further decrease the ability to communicate effectively. Possible solutions could utilize students' other senses for effectively communicating questions and understanding responses. These include kinesthetic approaches (e.g., Braille), auditory, olfactory, or taste abilities as effective means of communicating with the visually disabled. Technological advancements such as computer software programs may further enhance communication capabilities. Communication deficits may be present as a result of researchers asking open-ended questions. "Most qualitative researchers are trained to ask open-ended questions in order to allow respondents to frame answers from their own perspectives. When interviewing persons with severe disabilities, these questions can be more confusing than clarifying. Again the suggestion is to break the requests for information into parts and ask questions separately" (Biklen & Moseley, 1988, p.158). Teachers are generally very good at doing this

because it is required daily for functional communication in the disabled classroom.

The "same answer" problem refers to the informant repeating the same response to different questions. "As an interviewer you can use these repetitions as signals that respondents may not know the answer to your question, that you may not be asking the question they find important, or that they may not understand the question" (Biklen & Moseley, 1988, p.159). These cues can be used by the researcher to restructure or simplify the question to attain a meaningful response.

Pleasing the interviewer is another methodological problem. It is suggested that "when interviewing persons with severe disabilities, this typical methodological problem may be heightened by the informant's institutional experiences" (Biklen & Moseley, 1988, p.159). For example, continued institutionalization often causes the multiply disabled individual to acquire acceptance by repeating answers and responding to please others. Through exposure, the disabled individual will eventually become desensitized and offer sincere responses and reactions to various situations and questions. Teachers are exposed to these students on a regular basis and do not require habituation to elicit sincere responses to questions and situations. Repeating responses and answering to please is often helpful in addressing reliability issues in qualitative research studies, and could be an effective cue for the researcher.

The use of significant others such as parents, friends, and the proposed teacher-as-researcher has advantages to overcoming language and communication barriers. The use of a significant other usually implies that an individual has spent considerable time with the disabled subject, and therefore has a better understanding of his or her individual communication styles. These significant others can also provide another source of information for verification of thoughts or ideas given by the severely disabled subject (Biklen & Moseley, 1988).

Use of participant observation as a supplemental assessment tool

Standardized testing procedures are not effective for accurately assessing ability levels, progress, or outcomes in multiply disabled populations. Erin and Koenig (1997) state that "the use of standardized tests with students who have visual disabilities is fraught with complex problems. Even with adaptation, such tests alone rarely provide sufficient information for making important decisions about students with visual impairments" (p. 311). Traditional assessment measures include checklists and testing procedures offer little in the way of meaningful feed-

back for the visually disabled student, educator, parent, or guardian. What is needed is the addition of supplemental assessment approaches which address the processes of learning and not exclusively the product. Erin et al. (1997) also advocate the use of alternative strategies of assessment for individuals with visual disabilities by stating that:

Given the inherent difficulties of using standardized tests with students with visual disabilities, alternative strategies should constitute the major approach to assessment. Most questions that teachers and parents have about children can be answered through non-standardized, and more often meaningful assessment tools. Criterion and curriculum based instruments have the distinct advantage of providing information on a student's achievement within a given curriculum. Perhaps one of the most overlooked approaches to assessment is diagnostic teaching. This technique allows the teacher to interweave the process of assessment and instruction. Each instructional session is used as an opportunity to collect quality assessment information in real life-contexts. Observations and interviews offer this type of meaningful assessment information. (Erin & Koenig, 1997, pp. 313-4)

The need for PO as a supplemental assessment approach in multiply disabled classrooms is based on three theories: grounded theory development, social validation theory, and the holistic view of educational concerns. These can be summarized as follows:

Grounded theory development is built on the premise that 'theory provides guidance and direction for much educational inquiry. When theory is built on a wide variety of data gathered in natural settings, the probability of it being relevant and functional to educational practice is enhanced. Unfortunately, to date, many theories generated in special education have not been grounded in field data'. Social validation refers to the idea that 'in recent years a growing number of educational researchers have become concerned with the study of subjective values; that is, how people such as teachers and students think and feel about educational matters. This concern has resulted from the recognition that it is the subjective values of people regarding educational matters that often influence what occurs in educational settings'. Finally, there is a holistic concern for educating the disabled. 'Sometimes it is necessary for researchers and educators to determine how a program or procedure operates or is perceived as a whole in natural settings. A total or holistic view is desired'. (Adapted from Stainback & Stainback, 1984, pp. 403-405)

Outcome based assessment fails to describe the learning processes and daily activities or routines of the classroom which may be significant but are not captured by traditional forms of assessment. Educators should incorporate technology for PO data collection in the classroom.

These include individual weekly video and audio reports, and photographs as well as detailed anecdotal incidents to supplement traditional strategies. Incorporating PO as a curriculum based assessment approach would also offer valuable feedback. This approach would illustrate the learning processes involved when acquiring concepts and skills, development of curriculum, and would highlight teaching techniques and procedures that can be incorporated in continued educational programs whether in the home or formal educational setting. This could have long-term benefits including reducing skill and ability regression.

Limitations of participant observation as a research methodology and supplementary assessment tool

The major criticisms of PO as either a research methodology or supplementary assessment approach are related to classroom implementation. The difficulties were explained above. Edgerton (1984) summarizes some of the other major difficulties and limitations of PO in severely disabled populations by stating that:

Participant Observation has problems. Because it requires such long periods of contact between field researcher personnel and the persons being studied, it is quite costly. The data that result are massive, complex, and sometimes contradictory; the process of sorting through this material for meaningful analysis is painstaking and difficult. There are problems as well, such as needing to avoid bias and subjectivity in a research process during which the investigator and investigated interact. But, there is no perfect technique for the study of human beings. (p. 503)

In regard to quantitative research the question that is addressed here is not whether the research methodologies administered are inappropriate and thus cause the findings to be generalized and extrapolated unjustifiably, but that the results of this type of research would not be **directly** generalizable to the non-disabled classrooms. Yet, this validity issue should not be a concern because the emphasis is on the appropriateness for multiply disabled populations with visually impaired students only.

Implications for future research

There is the need for longitudinal qualitative research to address the feasibility and effectiveness of PO as a supplementary assessment approach in multiply disabled classrooms. Longitudinal studies, such as action-based methodologies, which assess the effects of this type of assessment approach on students could offer insight into the processes of learning and the most effective feedback methods. The information gathered from this research would provide baseline information on problems related to classroom application.

Also, it would be beneficial to conduct research on the reactions of stakeholders to implementing PO as a supplemental assessment approach. These stakeholders include parents, educators, specialists, administrators, and students.

If PO is an effective assessment option for multiply disabled populations then the possibility of using this approach to non-disabled classrooms could be examined further as attempted in the past by Amidon and Flanders (1969) and Flanders (1970).

Research conducted on the effectiveness of PO as a supplemental assessment approach could be further explored by combining qualitative and quantitative research perspectives. Combining research perspectives includes triangulation of research which involves using other PO recording methods such as video and checklists to support or not support concepts and hypotheses.

Conclusion

The education of the multiply disabled is constantly evolving because of research, social conditions, and individual insight. It is an educator's responsibility to critically analyze current and prospective teaching practices, educational materials, curriculum, and assessment strategies.

The concept of broadening the research perspective for multiply disabled populations was introduced, specifically, incorporating qualitative methodologies such as PO; also, that teacher-as-researcher for PO is an option that has not been addressed in research but may be a viable solution to overcome possible methodological and implementation issues. In addition, this author proposes that PO be introduced as a supplemental assessment approach to complement existing methods for multiply disabled populations. Clearly, this article has provided support for further inquiry into implementing PO as research methodology and as a supplemental assessment approach for multiply disabled populations.

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L'IDENTITÉ CULTURELLE D'ÉTUDIANTS DE LA FORMATION À L'ENSEIGNEMENT: SENTIMENTS ET RÉFÉRENTS IDENTITAIRES

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RÉSUMÉ. Cette recherche vise à retracer les sentiments et les référents identitaires présents dans les définitions d'identité culturelle rédigées par des étudiants francophones inscrits dans le programme de formation à l'enseignement de la Faculté d'éducation de l'Université d'Ottawa. Le cadre conceptuel esquisse le parcours du singulier au pluriel de l'identité culturelle tout en faisant référence au phénomène de la mondialisation. L'analyse des définitions permet de remarquer que pour développer un sentiment d'appartenance comme une résultante de la construction de l'identité culturelle, il faut que la personne vive des occasions qui lui permettent de s'identifier à la culture et au groupe. Il est aussi d'autant plus important de traiter de la question de l'identité culturelle à la formation à l'enseignement que l'école de langue française de l'Ontario joue un rôle particulier d'animation culturelle et que tôt ou tard l'enseignant a, dans l'exercice de sa profession, à transiger avec plusieurs cultures et à aider l'élève dans sa quête d'identité quelle qu'elle soit.

ABSTRACT. This study explores the identificatory feelings and referents contained in the cultural identity definitions written by students in the teacher training program of the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa. The conceptual framework outlines the path from singular to plural as regards cultural identity, while making reference to the phenomenon of globalization. Analyses of the definitions reveals that to develop a sense of belonging consequent to building a cultural identity, it also seems essential for the individual to experience opportunities to identify with the culture and the group. It is particularly important to address the cultural identity issue as part of teacher training because French-language schools in Ontario play a special rôle of cultural animation and teachers sooner or later must deal with many cultures and help students in their search for identity, whatever it may be.

De nos jours, toute notion d'identité culturelle s'associe presque avec la réalité sociale de la mondialisation et de la diversité culturelle qui prévaut de plus en plus. "Les nations modernes sont toutes hybrides"

affirme même Hall (1992, p. 297 traduction libre). Dès lors, il n'est plus uniquement question de retracer les traditions et d'observer comment les symboles perpétuent les expériences d'une génération à une autre pour définir une identité culturelle, mais aussi de comprendre comment les changements rapides de la modernité ont des répercussions sur le quotidien des gens. Un processus de ruptures internes (Harvey, 1989) que Laclau (1990) qualifie même de "dislocation" amène la personne à remettre en question sa façon de penser et à s'adapter à des nouveautés qu'elle n'aurait pas envisagées. Le choc des cultures produit son effet à court, moyen et long terme et exerce une telle pression qu'il devient difficile sinon impensable de rester cantonné dans des positions figées.

Le milieu éducationnel n'échappe pas à la vague de changements et est même souvent au cœur de ses répercussions. Face à ces changements, l'enseignant interagit comme il le peut en essayant de "gérer" l'urgence à l'amiable. Tout va tellement vite que le mode de fonctionnement de la salle de classe, la cour d'école, la salle des enseignants ou celui de la maison ne lui donne pas toujours suffisamment de temps pour réfléchir et réaliser les implications que l'exercice de sa profession et les différentes confrontations quotidiennes ont sur sa propre identité culturelle. Il s'avère donc d'autant plus pertinent de traiter de ce concept d'identité culturelle dans le contexte de la formation à l'enseignement que cette fin de siècle accentue la tendance à croire à la nécessité de la fragmentation. Que cette tendance laisse entendre qu'il s'agit simplement d'accorder la marque du pluriel au sens d'identité, ne certifie pas pour autant, par exemple, que l'étudiant inscrit à un programme de formation à l'enseignement soit, d'une part, informé et conscient de cette conception identitaire et, d'autre part, qu'il l'ait intégrée à sa vision de lui-même et du monde qui l'entoure. C'est pourquoi, nous nous posons la question suivante: Lorsque l'étudiant inscrit à un programme de formation à l'enseignement dans un contexte francophone minoritaire définit son identité culturelle, quels sentiments et référents identitaires utilisent-ils?

Pour aborder cette question de recherche qui tient compte du paradigme du "praticien réflexif" (Paquay et al., 1996; Perrenoud, 1994; Schön, 1994; Théberge et al., 1997; Zeichner & Liston, 1987), nous esquisserons tout d'abord le parcours du singulier au pluriel de l'identité culturelle avant de traiter du phénomène de la mondialisation. La spécification de noyaux, sentiments et référents identitaires servira par la suite à poursuivre la délimitation du cadre conceptuel. S'inspirant de ces assises théoriques, nous en viendrons à préciser la méthodologie avant de faire

part des sentiments et référents identitaires contenus dans les définitions d'identité culturelle rédigées par des étudiants inscrits au programme de formation à l'enseignement de la Faculté d'éducation de l'Université d'Ottawa. Cette analyse contribuera à faire ressortir l'importance de l'étude du concept d'identité culturelle à la formation à l'enseignement dans le contexte de la minorité linguistique où se déroule la présente étude.

IDENTITÉ CULTURELLE: DU SINGULIER AU PLURIEL

Système de représentation de soi complexe lié à la conscience que la personne a d'elle-même, l'identité culturelle n'a pas toujours pris le sens de la pluralité. Définie tout d'abord en relation étroite et unidimensionnelle au groupe d'appartenance, l'identité de la personne se confond dans la toile de fond des traditions et des attentes ancestrales. Le groupe circonscrit et délimite le parcours, la personne s'y inscrit, répondant ainsi "aux caractéristiques psychologiques fondamentales de la culture. . . Comme si les individus reflétaient le tout de la culture" (Linton, 1977, p. XIX).

Cette conception isomorphe de l'identité qui s'appuie sur un modèle culturel unique relève cependant de la nécessité de filtrer les échanges, ce qui est à proprement parler très difficilement réalisable aujourd'hui avec les moyens de communication mis à notre disposition. C'est pourquoi le concept d'identité prend diverses significations en s'actualisant. Ainsi, Hall (1992) distingue trois différentes conceptions de l'identité: un modèle où l'identité de la personne émerge dès la naissance et évolue de manière unifiée et continue, un modèle où l'identité prend forme grâce à l'interaction entre la personne et la société et un modèle postmoderne où l'identité est en constante mouvance. Selon la première conception, la personne humaine constitue une entité unifiée, elle est indivisible et reconnue comme unique. Plusieurs mouvements de la société et de la culture occidentale ont contribué à cette définition d'identité, entre autres, l'humanisme de la Renaissance qui place l'homme au centre de l'univers, les révolutions scientifiques qui reconnaissent des capacités de recherche et de compréhension du fonctionnement de la nature, le protestantisme et le réformisme qui libèrent d'une certaine façon la conscience individuelle des institutions religieuses et met l'homme directement en contact avec le jugement de Dieu. Par ailleurs, avec la complexité des sociétés modernes, apparaît une conception de l'identité qui se construit en interaction entre la personne et la société. Cette conception fait la jonction entre ce qui est issu de l'intérieur et ce qui vient de l'extérieur.

S'appuyant sur un noyau identitaire central, elle est conçue de manière à ce qu'un dialogue permette l'intégration de diverses identités présentes dans le monde externe. La personne qui les intègre se trouve à avoir plusieurs identités qui peuvent être compatibles ou contradictoires. De cette conception fragmentée de l'identité émerge la définition postmoderne où la personne vit des transformations continues selon la façon dont elle se représente les différents systèmes culturels. A mesure que ces systèmes se multiplient, la personne est confrontée à redéfinir son identité et à créer un sens d'unité qu'elle traduit dans une "histoire personnelle" ou un "récit du moi" (Bruner, 1991). L'identité culturelle passe donc par de constantes redéfinitions, ce qui signifie qu'elle peut être fréquemment sujette à révision.

Dans un autre ordre d'influences, le phénomène de mondialisation opérant comme un processus qui va au-delà des frontières intègre et unit les communautés dans de nouvelles dimensions de temps et d'espace. Comme le monde est plus en interaction, la mondialisation instaure un mouvement qui va à l'encontre de la prédominance d'une société comme système unifié. La compression du temps et de l'espace contribue à la vie sociale et affecte l'identité culturelle de la personne (Giddens, 1990). Il en résulte donc soit un désir d'homogénéisation culturelle du monde postmoderne, soit une résistance à cette homogénéisation par l'affirmation d'identités particulières, locales ou nationales, soit l'émergence d'identités hybrides qui profitent du déclin des identités nationales.

Le phénomène de mondialisation contribue également à mettre en perspective la conception du nationalisme. Comme le souligne Hall (1992), une culture nationale cherche à unifier les différences dans une identité culturelle et à les représenter comme appartenant à une même grande famille. C'est ainsi que le racisme, non reconnu en tant que racisme, se distancie de l'idée biologique d'infériorité ou de supériorité et s'intègre à "l'imaginaire de la nation comme communauté culturelle unifiée" (Gilroy, 1992, p. 87 traduction libre). Dans cette perspective, une culture nationale est un discours, une manière de construire des significations qui influencent et organisent nos actions et notre conception de nous-mêmes (Hall, 1992). De la même manière que le récit personnel sert de fil conducteur qui tisse l'identité personnelle, l'histoire de la nation participe à la crédibilité de son existence.

À l'instar des communautés d'ailleurs, l'identité culturelle des Franco-Ontariens est aussi de plus en plus plurielle et éclatée (Bernard, 1996). L'apport d'événements historiques (Gervais, 1996) a suscité un passage

de l'identité canadienne-française à franco-ontarienne. Il ne faut donc pas se surprendre de noter des dénominations différentes selon que la personne se considère canadienne-française, franco-ontarienne ou membre de la francophonie (Boissonneault, 1996). Il s'agit donc dans un sens d'une idéologie nationaliste qui a son "folklore psychologique" (Bruner, 1991), ce qui sert à l'émergence de représentations pouvant être incluses dans une narration individuelle.

La rupture des codes culturels que produit le phénomène de mondialisation concourt très clairement à ce passage du singulier au pluriel de l'identité. C'est pourquoi il devient important que la personne prenne conscience de ce phénomène et articule de manière cohérente la représentation qu'elle a de son identité culturelle. C'est ainsi que se développe un sentiment de confiance qui contribue à cette "assurance intérieure" de se sentir "chez soi dans son corps" (Mucchielli, 1986, p. 63). Même si cette représentation est elle-même en mouvance et sujette à changer, elle n'en reste pas moins un témoignage pouvant servir ultérieurement de référence. Encore faut-il que la personne sache identifier et définir son noyau identitaire tout en utilisant des référents à cette fin et en développant un sentiment d'identité.

NOYAUX, SENTIMENTS ET RÉFÉRENTS IDENTITAIRES

Comme l'exprime Mucchielli (1986, p. 14), les "noyaux identitaires" sont "des systèmes de perception, d'évaluation, de résonance affective et d'expression comportementale. Ces systèmes sont des structures psychoculturelles construites dont on peut inférer l'existence aussi bien chez l'individu que dans les groupes et sociétés." Cette façon de concevoir les noyaux identitaires relève de la possibilité d'identification que la personne a dans la société où elle vit, dans le contexte de groupes qu'elle côtoie et sur le plan de l'expérience individuelle. Il va donc sans dire qu'au cours de son évolution, la personne est confrontée à une série de situations qui, d'une part, sont résolues d'une certaine manière par la société qui l'entoure. D'autre part, cette même personne rencontre dans les groupes auxquels elle s'affilie ou desquels elle se distancie des manières d'être et de réagir susceptibles de l'influencer. Enfin, les événements qui surviennent dans sa vie donnent également une connotation particulière à l'ensemble de son histoire personnelle. L'existence de ces trois noyaux identitaires qualifiés de "culturel, groupal et individuel" (Mucchielli, 1986, p. 29-31) laissent des "traces psychiques" conçues "comme un ensemble de principes psychologiques, de modèles de référence et de représentations imaginaires".

Par ailleurs, l'identit   ne peut exister que s'il y a sentiment d'identit   (Erikson, 1978) qui repose sur un ensemble de sentiments: sentiment de son   tre mat  riel, d'unit   et de coh  rence, de continuit   temporelle, d'appartenance, de diff  rence, de valeur, d'autonomie, de confiance, d'existence.

Pour la personne, le sentiment de son   tre mat  riel provient de sensations corporelles ainsi que de cette reconnaissance que lui attribue la soci  t   (nom, statut social, possessions. . .). "Pour un groupe ou une culture, le sentiment de son   tre mat  riel c'est la conscience, partag  e par tous les membres des   l  ments mat  riels qui constituent l'ancrage de l'existence objective du groupe ou de la culture" (Mucchielli, 1986, p. 48).

Le sentiment d'unit   et de coh  rence est constitu   de la somme des exp  riences de la personne. Il s'appuie sur ce fil conducteur ou sur ce sens d'unit   que la personne donne    ce qui lui arrive lorsqu'elle fait son r  cit individuel. Cette unit   et cette coh  rence doivent aussi trouver un sens dans le temps pour que la personne   prouve un sentiment de continuit   temporelle qui lui permette de consid  rer les diff  rents   l  ments constitutifs de son histoire personnelle dans un continuum et de se le repr  senter comme des   tapes de vie. Ce sentiment demeure aussi longtemps que la personne arrive    donner un sens aux changements qui surviennent, sinon elle peut faire face    des difficult  s    d  finir son identit  .

Le sentiment d'appartenance r  sulte d'un processus d'int  gration des valeurs sociales et correspond    cette possibilit   de communication pour ne pas dire de communion que l'  tre humain ressent avec des pairs. Dans l'optique o   la personne participe au processus de construction du sens de son identit   (Barth, 1995; Basch, 1995), le sentiment d'appartenance est per  u davantage comme la r  sultante de ce processus (Cazabon, 1996). Par ailleurs, le sentiment de diff  rence accompagne l'appartenance et contribue    cette prise de conscience identitaire. Lorsque la personne exprime ou est confront  e    "ce qu'elle n'est pas" ou lorsqu'elle se voit plong  e dans un monde qui ne lui est pas du tout familier, elle apprend    reconnaître ses r  f  rents identitaires. Cela lui donne aussi l'occasion de d  velopper son sentiment de valeur, li      la capacit   d'emprunter divers points de vue de mani  re    en saisir la perception. Cette superposition consciente du regard de l'autre sur soi permet non seulement de porter un jugement sur sa propre valeur, mais aussi de remettre en question celle qui pr  vaut. Quant au sentiment d'autonomie, il constitue le versant oppos   du sentiment d'appartenance puisqu'il correspond    ce besoin que l'  tre humain a d'affirmer son identit   par rapport au groupe auquel il s'identifie.

Au cœur de ces différents sentiments, se retrouve le sentiment de confiance et d'existence. Si le premier rejoint la capacité de confiance en autrui, il n'en est pas moins la base essentielle sur laquelle se fonde "l'effort central du sentiment d'existence" (Mucchielli, 1986, p. 62), ce qui permet à la personne de donner un sens à ses actions. Comme le décrit si justement Allport (1970), l'être humain a besoin d'avoir un but, que ce dernier soit sujet à révision importe peu puisqu'il donne une direction et alimente l'effort central en sous-tendant les actions. Conditionnés les uns aux autres, les différents sentiments forment un système et peuvent engendrer un "sentiment optimal de l'identité" (Mucchielli, 1986, p. 63) caractérisé par un bien-être psychosocial.

Si l'identité fait référence à des sentiments, il n'en demeure cependant pas moins que ce concept a des points d'ancrage identifiables qui servent autant de balises que de liens pour assurer une cohérence entre les différentes représentations que la personne a d'elle-même et celles que la société projette sur elle. Ces référents se subdivisent en diverses catégories: les référents matériels et physiques comprennent les possessions, les potentialités, l'organisation matérielle et les apparences physiques; les référents historiques incluent les origines, les événements marquants et les traces historiques; les référents psychoculturels concernent le système culturel, la mentalité et le système cognitif; les référents psychosociaux comportent les références sociales, les attributs de la valeur sociale et les potentialités de devenir (Mucchielli, 1986, p. 8-9). Ces référents qui correspondent à diverses catégories servent à traduire les caractéristiques internes et externes de la personne. Ils peuvent s'articuler aussi bien sous forme de ressemblance que de dissemblance, la personne définissant son identité tantôt en se référant à ce qui lui est semblable et tantôt en se dissociant pour mieux délimiter ce qui la distingue. Ces divers référents identitaires sont des points de repère qui nous seront très utiles dans la présente étude lorsque nous en viendrons à faire l'analyse de contenu des définitions énoncées par des étudiants de la formation à l'enseignement.

MÉTHODE

Sujets

A la session d'automne 1996, 137 (16 hommes et 121 femmes) étudiants sur un total de 147 (17 hommes et 130 femmes) ont participé à la recherche en rédigeant une définition de leur identité culturelle et en acceptant qu'elle fasse l'objet d'une analyse de contenu. Ces étudiants

  taient inscrits au programme de formation    l'enseignement de la Facult   d'  ducation de l'Universit   d'Ottawa en vue de l'obtention d'un brevet qui leur permet d'enseigner    des   l  ves   g  s de quatre    douze ans, soit de maternelle    la sixi  me ann  e selon le syst  me scolaire ontarien.

Proc  dure

C'est dans le cadre d'un cours en didactique des arts que la question de l'identit   culturelle a   t   abord  e. Cette question a   t   pr  sent  e sous le biais d'une r  flexion personnelle    amorcer et    poursuivre. C'est pourquoi nous avons invit   les   tudiants    1) d  finir leur identit   culturelle et 2) expliciter comment ils pr  voient assumer leur r  le en animation culturelle dans le contexte d'enseignement des   coles de langue fran  aise de l'Ontario. La richesse du contenu de ce qu'ils nous ont remis nous incite    nous en tenir dans le pr  sent article    l'analyse de contenu des d  finitions afin d'identifier les sentiments et r  f  rents identitaires qu'ils y utilisent.

Un laps de temps de trois semaines a   t   accord      la remise des r  ponses et la tenue d'une discussion en classe. Il importe de pr  ciser qu'il ne s'agissait pas de recueillir l'  nonc   d'une r  ponse qui soit faite spontan  ment, mais de recevoir un texte auquel l'  tudiant avait eu le temps de penser et qu'il avait pris soin de relire. D  s le d  part, il a   t   clairement   tabli qu'il s'agissait d'une r  ponse personnelle. C'est pourquoi nous n'avons pas   nonc   de terminologie pr  f  rentielle avant de recevoir les d  finitions. Les   tudiants avaient donc toute libert   de d  finir leur identit   culturelle en utilisant les termes qui leur semblaient les plus appropri  s.

Par ailleurs, pour faciliter leur qu  te d'information en ce qui a trait au contexte des   coles de langue fran  aise, les   tudiants ont re  u en r  f  rence le titre de deux documents de consultation: *Investir dans l'animation culturelle* et *Valeurs, influences et relations avec les pairs* (minist  re de l'  ducation et de la Formation de l'Ontario, 1994, 1985). Ces textes sont largement distribu  s. Ils font partie des r  f  rences incluses dans les plans de plus d'un cours    la formation    l'enseignement. Il   tait donc inutile d'essayer d'en camoufler l'existence. Ils risquaient peu d'affecter la d  finition d'identit   culturelle des   tudiants, puisqu'il s'agissait dans ce cas de donner une r  ponse personnelle. Ils pouvaient cependant exercer une influence dans l'  laboration de leur conception de leur r  le en animation culturelle et constituent en ce sens une limite

à la recherche en ce qui a trait à cette question que nous ne traitons pas dans la présent article.

Pendant le laps de temps alloué, les étudiants avaient le loisir d'échanger leurs opinions entre eux à l'extérieur du cours, ce qui était loin de constituer une contrainte, mais qui, bien au contraire, pouvait favoriser l'approfondissement de la réflexion. Le premier échange formel ou première discussion a eu lieu le jour de la remise des définitions. Les étudiants ont alors été invités à faire part de leur démarche de réflexion, de la facilité ou de la difficulté qu'ils avaient éprouvée en traitant de cette question. Ceux qui le désiraient pouvaient faire part de leur définition. Dans cette étape, la réceptivité était de mise ainsi que l'esprit d'ouverture vis-à-vis de ce qui était dit.

Une semaine plus tard, a eu lieu une deuxième discussion et une séance d'information au sujet du contexte d'enseignement des écoles de langue française de l'Ontario. S'étant distancés de leur définition d'identité culturelle, les étudiants ont d'abord précisé leurs connaissances de ce contexte en sous-groupes, puis formulé des questions. Une plénière a servi à alimenter de nouveau les échanges et à traiter de l'apport des différentes cultures dans un contexte linguistique minoritaire.

Choix des unités d'analyse

Pour faire l'analyse de contenu, nous avons tout d'abord déterminé les unités d'analyse servant aux définitions d'identité culturelle. C'est ainsi que nous avons retenu comme unités d'analyse les sentiments sous-jacents au sentiment d'identité soit: le sentiment de son être matériel, d'unité et de cohérence, de continuité temporelle, d'appartenance, de différence, de valeur, d'autonomie, de confiance, d'existence. Par ailleurs, les sentiments identitaires et les référents historiques sont étroitement liés dans les définitions, par exemple pour parler d'un sentiment d'unité et de cohérence interne ou de continuité temporelle, il est naturel de traiter de ses origines. C'est pourquoi nous faisons aussi ressortir la présence des référents historiques dans les définitions. Ces référents traitent essentiellement des origines, des événements marquants et des traces historiques. Les origines se définissent soit par la filiation, la parenté, l'alliance, les mythes de création, les héros fondateurs. Les événements marquants considèrent les "phases importantes de l'évolution, des transformations, influences reçues, acculturation ou éducation, traumatismes culturels ou psychologiques, les modèles du passé" (Mucchielli, 1986, p. 8). Les traces historiques reflètent les croyances, habitudes et coutumes issues de normes ou de lois, vestiges du passé.

Quant aux r  f  rents mat  riels et physiques qui traitent des apparences physiques, des possessions (nom, argent, objets, sexe,   ge. . .), des potentialit  s et de l'organisation mat  rielle, ils n'ont pas fait l'objet d'unit  s d'analyse comme les r  f  rents psychoculturels. Ces r  f  rents demeurent cependant int  ressants et pourraient faire l'objet de recherches ult  rieures   tant donn   qu'ils concernent le sexe et l'  ge de la personne, le syst  me culturel, la mentalit   et le syst  me cognitif et peuvent donner les pr  misses, codes, id  ologie et valeurs pr  dominantes ainsi que la vision du monde et les normes groupales.

L'axe principal de l'analyse de contenu s'est donc trac      partir des sentiments sous-jacents au sentiment d'identit   (sentiment de confiance, d'existence, de son   tre mat  riel, d'appartenance, de diff  rence, de valeur, d'autonomie, d'unit   et de coh  rence, de continuit   temporelle) tout en soulignant les r  f  rents historiques. Dans la pr  sentation du contenu des d  finitions, il est cependant apparu important de regrouper ces sentiments: premi  rement en regard de la base m  me de l'existence du sentiment d'identit   en retra  ant le sentiment de confiance et le sentiment d'existence; deuxi  mement en ce qui a trait    un groupe de r  f  rence: sentiment de son   tre mat  riel, sentiment d'appartenance, de diff  rence, de valeur, d'autonomie; troisi  mement, en ce qui a trait    l'histoire personnelle: sentiment d'unit   et de coh  rence et sentiment de continuit   temporelle.

SENTIMENT DE CONFIANCE ET SENTIMENT D'EXISTENCE

L'analyse des d  finitions permet de remarquer qu'il ne faut pas tenir pour acquis qu'il est facile de d  velopper des sentiments identitaires de confiance et d'existence. En fait, les choses ne vont pas n  cessairement de soi et il est m  me possible de voir que si certains   tudiants affirment clairement ressentir ces sentiments, d'autres expriment ouvertement leurs difficult  s. A cet effet, on peut m  me scinder le groupe de sujets en deux: ceux qui d'embl  e font part d'un enthousiasme dans la d  termination de leur identit   et dans leur volont   de la promouvoir et de la maintenir et ceux qui expriment de la difficult      d  finir leur identit   culturelle et font part d'un malaise.

Les deux exemples suivants illustrent le premier de ces groupes. La lecture de ces d  finitions permet de constater la pr  sence de r  f  rents historiques tels que les origines et les   v  nements marquants:

Je m'identifie comme franco-ontarienne culturellement et linguistiquement. D'une part parce que mon cheminement scolaire

m'a valu une participation significative à la vie de l'école française, autant sur le plan académique que sur le plan social où je me suis impliquée au sein de ma communauté dans des activités artistiques et sportives et où j'ai œuvré uniquement en français. D'autre part puisque mes parents étaient fiers d'être francophone (sic) en Ontario, ils m'ont transmis cette fierté. . . De plus, je ressens le besoin d'assumer mes responsabilités vis-à-vis la francophonie. . . (Sujet 1)

Parce que je suis né à Hawkesbury. . . et que ma famille est francophone, c'est certain que je me considère comme un franco-ontarien (sic). . . (Sujet 53)

Que la dénomination soit franco-ontarienne, canadienne française, québécoise, acadienne, anglophone ou autre, ces mêmes référents historiques reviennent avec constance et sont exprimés clairement dans le cheminement identitaire des personnes qui d'emblée affirment: "Je suis . . ." Chez ces sujets, les sentiments d'existence et de confiance se manifestent avec fierté et enthousiasme. La communauté, la famille et l'école sont des points d'ancrage importants qui contribuent à déterminer leur identité culturelle. Les traces historiques font aussi leur marque, comme l'indique les deux exemples suivants:

. . . parce que je sais à quel point mes parents se sont battus pour que je puisse vivre en français, je peux affirmer que je suis franco-ontarienne. . . (Sujet 46)

. . . Lorsque je pense à la vie terre-neuvienne il me semble qu'il y a eu, et il y a toujours des défis à surmonter. Il y a toujours des familles qui ont traverser (sic) des épreuves. Ces malheurs sont reflétés dans l'histoire terre-neuvienne. . . C'est la fierté de mon peuple qui m'aide à m'identifier comme terre-neuvienne. (Sujet 105)

Par contre, la prise de conscience identitaire amène aussi la résurgence de conflits ou de problèmes irrésolus, comme c'est le cas dans l'exemple suivant:

. . . ayant vécu seize ans au Québec et sept ans en Ontario, je me retrouve coincée entre ces deux cultures qui se ressemblent tant et qui s'opposent à la fois. . . D'un côté, j'entends les Franco-ontariens (sic) se plaindre de l'ardeur des Québécois qui se battent pour obtenir la pleine reconnaissance de leurs droits et la pleine juridiction de leur territoire alors qu'ils ont "tout", contrairement aux francophones de l'Ontario. Je sens poindre toutefois à l'ombre de ces commentaires, un sentiment d'infériorité. De l'autre, cependant, je perçois à travers ces luttes québécoises un peu de nombrilisme. . . (Sujet 80)

Elle met aussi en évidence les contradictions identitaires auxquelles peut faire face la personne et qui peuvent l'affecter au point d'entraîner

une diminution sinon une perte des sentiments d'existence et de confiance, en voici un exemple tangible:

... qu'importe où je me retrouve, que cela soit dans un contexte francophone ou anglophone, la première question que l'on me pose est d'où viens-tu? Lorsque je répond (sic) avec sincérité que je suis Canadienne française (sic), je reçois des regards d'incrédulité, suivis de quel est ton héritage culturel. Tous s'attendent à ce que simplement parce que je suis de race noire, que je ne puisse pas appartenir à la culture anglophone, québécoise ou francophone. ... La fierté, je l'ai perdu (sic) petit à petit, à cause de l'ignorance de plusieurs ami(e)s, parents, éducateurs et même inconnus que j'ai rencontrés tout au long de ma vie. ... A l'heure qu'il est, dans ce pays soi-disant conscientisé, lorsque l'on me parle à moi de culture, personne ne pense à autre chose que mon ethnicité (sic). (Sujet 120)

Le témoignage de ce dernier sujet en dit long sur l'influence que peut avoir des réactions de pairs, d'enseignants ou d'autres membres de la communauté sur la capacité de déterminer la présence ou l'absence de sentiments de confiance ou d'existence chez une personne. Il porte aussi d'autant plus à réflexion qu'en contexte de formation à l'enseignement, il peut très bien arriver que l'enseignant ait affaire à un élève qui vit une remise en question identitaire. Il est donc essentiel d'être sensibilisé à ce que peut ressentir l'élève qui se trouve dans une telle situation et aux répercussions que peuvent avoir une réaction ou des commentaires. Il va sans dire que l'enseignant joue un rôle de premier ordre dans l'émergence et la consolidation de sentiments de confiance et d'existence de l'élève. D'ailleurs, toutes les définitions des sujets qui affirment ressentir cette "plénitude d'être" et cette "assurance intérieure d'une reconnaissance anticipée de la part de ceux qui comptent" (Mucchielli, 1986, p. 63-64), font référence à l'importance des liens familiaux et à l'impact de l'école et de la communauté. Il en est de même aussi, mais en sens inverse, pour ceux qui expriment une difficulté ou un malaise à définir leur identité culturelle. Comme l'exprime le dernier sujet, le manque de reconnaissance génère une frustration vis-à-vis de cette impossibilité d'affirmer une appartenance à une identité culturelle. Dans cet exemple, le sujet remet en question cette image qui lui est projetée et qui ne tient essentiellement si non exclusivement compte que de son "ethnicité", ce qui limite ses possibilités identitaires.

SENTIMENTS DE SON ÊTRE MATÉRIEL, D'APPARTENANCE, DE DIFFÉRENCE, DE VALEUR, D'AUTONOMIE

Les sentiments de son être matériel, d'appartenance, de différence, de valeur et d'autonomie se rapportent au noyau groupal et sont imbriqués

dans les sentiments plus globaux de confiance et d'existence. Il n'est donc pas étonnant que nous ayons pu en déceler les traces dans les propos des sujets précédents. L'analyse de contenu des définitions permet cependant de constater jusqu'à quel point le sentiment de différence peut jouer en faveur d'une détermination d'une identité culturelle ou constituer l'inverse. Par exemple, il est évident qu'en contexte minoritaire plusieurs cultures sont mises en jeu et même comparées quotidiennement. La personne s'identifiant à la culture minoritaire doit donc faire constamment la part des choses. Le cas du sujet suivant est d'ailleurs assez représentatif de plusieurs étudiants inscrits à la formation à l'enseignement:

Je suis franco-ontarienne et je m'identifie à la culture française. Je viens de Cornwall où plus que (sic) la moitié des francophones sont anglophones. J'ai donc été exposée à une culture anglaise aussi. . . Je suis fière d'être franco-ontarienne et aussi bilingue. . . (Sujet 47)

Face à la différence, le sentiment d'appartenance se trouve aussi confirmé dans l'exemple suivant:

. . . Ce qui m'aide à m'identifier comme franco-ontarienne est principalement mon style de vie. J'habite avec un anglophone mais nos styles de vie sont complètement différents. Nous avons chacun notre façon de penser, de parler, d'agir, de réagir, de percevoir les choses. Ceci n'empêche pas que nous avons plusieurs points en commun. (Sujet 78)

Il n'est cependant pas toujours évident de conserver des sentiments d'appartenance, de valeur, d'autonomie et de reconnaissance matérielle de son être face à la différence dans un contexte minoritaire, c'est ce que nous confie le sujet suivant:

Après une longue réflexion, j'ai conclu que je m'identifie à deux cultures d'appartenance différentes, comme franco-ontarienne et anglophone. Je suis née en Ontario dans une famille francophone. A l'heure de ma jeunesse, j'ai fréquenté une école élémentaire française. A ce moment, je m'identifiais facilement comme franco-ontarienne parce que je maîtrisais ma langue. Malheureusement, je n'ai pas eu accès à un programme français à mon école secondaire. J'ai fini par perdre ma confiance comme franco-ontarienne parce qu'il n'avait (sic) pas un grand réseau d'activités et de club francophone dans ma communauté. Ma famille fut ma seule ressource culturelle. Peu à peu, je me suis assimilée à la culture anglophone de ma région. Aujourd'hui, je me sens encore franco-ontarienne mais je dois apprendre de nouveau ce que c'est d'être franco-ontarienne afin de pouvoir communiquer une fierté culturelle à mes élèves. (Sujet 49)

Ce t  moignage permet de constater que le sentiment d'appartenance est tr  s li      la possibilit   de communication de la personne avec la communaut   et aussi    la possibilit   de s'y impliquer, comme l'indiquent aussi les propos du sujet suivant:

Ce n'est pas seulement parce que je suis n   dans cette province et que j'ai v  cu une bonne partie de ma vie en fran  ais, mais aussi parce que j'adore cette culture et elle me donne un sentiment d'appartenance tr  s fort. En faisant partie de ce groupe, je partage les m  mes responsabilit  s de pr  server et de promouvoir cette culture et je vis les m  mes probl  mes que les autres francophones de ma province. . .
(Sujet 45)

Ce sujet exprime clairement une reconnaissance et une complicit   avec la communaut      laquelle il s'identifie ainsi qu'une prise en charge et une d  termination d'approfondir l'appartenance culturelle. C'est en ce sens qu'il est possible d'observer que l'implication m  me de la personne peut contribuer au processus de construction de sens de l'identit   culturelle.

SENTIMENT D'UNIT   ET DE COH  RENCE ET SENTIMENT DE CONTINUIT   TEMPORELLE

Conditionn  s aussi par les autres sentiments, le sentiment d'unit   et de coh  rence ainsi que celui de continuit   temporelle font partie int  grante de cette appartenance, autonomie, valeur. . . que la personne identifie et d  veloppe dans son cheminement personnel. C'est bien souvent la r  flexion qui va amener la personne    faire le lien entre les diff  rentes exp  riences de sa vie et    d  terminer de quelle fa  on elle s'identifie. D'ailleurs, deux personnes de m  me origine peuvent en arriver    des conclusions diff  rentes, comme le d  montre l'exemple des deux sujets suivants:

Je m'identifie comme une franco-ontarienne d'origine italienne. Je suis une enfant de premi  re g  n  ration d'immigrants parvenus d'Italie. . . J'ai poursuivi mes   tudes au primaire, au secondaire et    l'universit   toujours en fran  ais. A la maison, je communique en italien avec mes parents par contre je parle fran  ais avec mes fr  res et soeurs. . . Je suis chanceuse car j'ai un bagage culturel riche. . ." (Sujet 33)

En ce qui concerne ma culture d'appartenance, je m'identifie plut  t comme italienne. Mes parents sont n  s en Italie et ils parlent l'italien    la maison. C'est vraiment ma langue maternelle, mais en milieu scolaire j'ai appris l'anglais et le fran  ais   galement. M  me si je m'identifie comme italienne, je suis n  e au Canada et les cultures

francophone et anglophone ont toujours joué un rôle important pour moi puisque c'est ce que j'ai vécu hors de la maison. . . (Sujet 103)

Tout en qualifiant différemment leur parcours identitaire, ces deux personnes reconnaissent l'apport des diverses cultures avec lesquelles elles transigent et considèrent la richesse de leurs expériences. Elles leur donnent un sens et les inscrivent dans le temps sans que soit rompu le sentiment de cohérence. Ce fil conducteur ou ce sens d'unité que la personne donne à ce qui lui arrive lorsqu'elle définit son identité permet aussi de faire ressortir ce qui est important pour elle dans la prise de conscience de l'identité culturelle. D'abord, l'importance de la famille comme berceau identitaire est indéniable d'après les propos des étudiants, les exemples cités précédemment en sont aussi probants. Par la suite, le lien avec la communauté et le rôle que joue l'école sont aussi indéniables. Parmi les différentes influences, l'attraction de la culture de la majorité suscite particulièrement chez les sujets adolescents vivant en minorité linguistique une profonde remise en question identitaire. Selon que s'offre ou non la possibilité de trouver un lien à l'intérieur d'une institution comme celle de l'école, ou par le biais de relation avec des amis ou des membres de la communauté, il est plus ou moins facile de poursuivre un cheminement identitaire qui inclut l'identité culturelle de la minorité. C'est du moins ce qui transparaît des propos que tiennent les sujets qui ont vécu cette difficulté. Il est vrai que ces propos viennent de sujets issus de milieu minoritaire francophone et qu'il serait très intéressant de voir si ce même malaise existe à l'adolescence chez des sujets de milieu minoritaire anglophone.

Par ailleurs, l'occurrence d'événements marquants peut inciter la personne à réfléchir à son identité culturelle. C'est du moins ce que fait réaliser l'exemple suivant qui mentionne que le fait de devenir parent peut influencer un parcours de vie:

. . . Ce n'est qu'après la naissance de mes enfants que j'ai décidé que ma langue maternelle était importante pour moi. . . (Sujet 131)

Prenant conscience de ses origines en donnant naissance, ce sujet revient aux sources et réévalue sa façon d'assumer son identité culturelle. Il est d'ailleurs courant en milieu minoritaire franco-ontarien de rencontrer des parents qui ont vécu et qui vivent une telle transition. Lorsque "l'enfant paraît", le lien avec sa propre enfance semble se consolider. Il devient important de reconnaître les institutions et les manifestations qui permettent d'avoir un contact avec la culture francophone et de donner la chance au nouveau-né, qui deviendra vite

futur   l  ve, de vivre des exp  riences qui le mettent en contact avec cette culture (Desjarlais, 1990 ; Cazabon, 1993). Il ne s'agit pas uniquement de langue, bien s  r, mais aussi de d  velopper un sens d'appartenance au groupe suffisamment prononc   pour que l'enfant s'y reconnaisse et l'int  gre    son identit   culturelle.

Dans le m  me ordre d'id  es, les exp  riences de voyages peuvent   galement remettre en question des croyances et faire en sorte que la vision identitaire soit con  ue non pas comme une finalit  , mais en terme d'  volution:

... mes exp  riences v  cues outremer: un an en Espagne, quatre mois en Allemagne et trois ans au Japon. ... ont remis en question certaines de mes attitudes, mes comportements et mes croyances face    ma vie personnelle. Sans doute parce que je vis quotidiennement avec mon mari japonais, mon comportement s'adapte et mes connaissances s'enrichissent continuellement. C'est donc important pour moi d'apprendre    vivre en harmonie avec toute cette transformation culturelle toujours en   volution. Ceci ne veut pas dire que j'abandonne mon bagage culturel ou que je renie mes valeurs fondamentales. Au contraire, ces valeurs positives acquises des autres cultures, ne font qu'enrichir ma culture. (Sujet 91)

Ce dernier t  moignage, comme ceux de bien d'autres cit  s pr  c  demment r  v  lent l'importance    accorder    la prise de conscience de sa propre identit   culturelle. Il met aussi en valeur le bagage culturel de ces   tudiants auxquels nous enseignons    la formation    l'enseignement. S'ils nous permettent de constater la pr  sence constante des r  f  rents historiques dans les d  finitions qu'ils donnent, ils illustrent   galement une prise de conscience de la complexit   de se d  finir culturellement et la n  cessit   de rester ouvert aux changements. Il n'en demeure pas moins cependant que ces t  moignages portent    r  fl  chir au sujet du r  le que peut jouer la formation    l'enseignement dans cette prise de conscience identitaire. Il ne s'agit pas seulement de sensibiliser les   tudiants aux diff  rences culturelles qui sont pr  sentes dans le milieu scolaire actuel, mais aussi de les inciter    faire le bilan de leur propre parcours et de leurs propres sentiments d'appartenance, de diff  rence, de valeur, d'autonomie. C'est ainsi qu'en articulant une r  flexion vis-  -vis de lui-m  me, l'  tudiant risque d'  tre plus en mesure de saisir la port  e des influences qu'il a re  ues.

CONCLUSION ET IMPLICATIONS

Comme nous avons pu le constater dans les exemples pr  c  dents, le concept de l'identit   culturelle est en mouvance m  me si une personne

naît et demeure dans un même milieu culturel une bonne partie de sa vie. Dans le contexte de la formation à l'enseignement, il est d'autant plus important pour le futur enseignant d'interroger ses propres résurgences identitaires que, d'une part, l'exercice de sa profession risque fort de le remettre en question tôt ou tard et que, d'autre part, il a tout intérêt à développer un sens d'ouverture propice à l'aider dans ses transactions avec ce qui lui apparaît a priori différent et étranger. A cet effet, il s'avère essentiel de s'inspirer du paradigme du praticien réflexif qui fait à toutes fins utiles l'unanimité des différents courants de recherches de formation à l'enseignement. Il importe donc que le futur enseignant réfléchisse à sa pratique et à son identité culturelle pour mieux se connaître en tant que personne et pouvoir ainsi mieux comprendre la teneur des relations qu'il établit dans son milieu de travail.

Il est aussi essentiel de tenir compte de l'importance du contexte en traitant de la question d'identité culturelle. Par exemple, en nous situant dans celui de la minorité linguistique des Franco-Ontariens, nous avons eu l'occasion de constater dans les propos des étudiants qu'il importe que la personne vive des occasions qui lui permettent de s'identifier à la culture et au groupe pour concevoir un sentiment d'appartenance comme une résultante à la construction de l'identité culturelle. C'est en ce sens que le contexte des écoles de langue française joue un rôle particulier d'animation culturelle afin d'aider l'élève dans sa quête d'identité culturelle quelle qu'elle soit. Force est de reconnaître également que dans ce contexte linguistique, le lieu scolaire est plus souvent qu'autrement source d'appropriation de la langue française et de sensibilisation à cette culture puisque cette dernière est souvent absente du milieu ambiant de l'élève. En effet, avec la croissance de l'exogamie, il ne faut surtout pas tenir pour acquis que le foyer familial, la rue, le centre d'achats, la patinoire ou le terrain de balle communautaire reflètent une quelconque francophonie. Dans ces circonstances, il est clair que l'élève francophone doit en partant négocier au moins une double identité culturelle, d'autant plus que les produits culturels anglophones exercent un très grand attrait en Amérique du nord et que le phénomène de mondialisation accentue cette attraction.

Il apparaît aussi essentiel d'aborder le "travail des représentations" (Baillauquès, 1996) des étudiants à la formation à l'enseignement. Pour ce faire, il est essentiel de favoriser l'ouverture d'esprit afin de susciter un dialogue qui mette en présence différentes représentations identitaires et aide les étudiants à concevoir leurs apports au milieu scolaire franco-ontarien. Tout en faisant le pont entre le milieu universitaire et le milieu scolaire, la formation à l'enseignement constitue un temps de

formation privil  gi   o   l'  tudiant se questionne sur son avenir professionnel. En s'inscrivant dans un programme en   ducation, il d  montre d  j   un int  r  t pour la profession d'enseignant, mais non n  cessairement la certitude d'un choix et c'est pourquoi ce retour sur soi, sur son identit   culturelle, sur ce qui motive un engagement personnel dans cette profession sont d'une importance cruciale. Le milieu de la formation    l'enseignement, tout comme celui de l'  ducation ne peuvent faire fi des changements constants auxquels fait face la soci  t  , ni de cette vague de migration qui modifie consid  rablement les rapports    privil  gier entre enseignants,   l  ves, parents et directions d'  cole. L'identit   culturelle est une probl  matique qui se situe au c  ur m  me de ces changements. L'aborder en ces temps de mouvance demande du courage, car il n'y a pas une mais plusieurs r  ponses possibles. Cela signifie   galement la n  cessit   d'  tre    l'  coute de l'  tudiant    la formation pour lui donner des pistes de r  flexion    suivre.

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THE ROLE OF MENTORSHIP IN A SASKATCHEWAN CROSS-CULTURAL TEACHER EDUCATION PROJECT

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ABSTRACT. This paper describes a cross-cultural teacher education project which took place in Saskatchewan. A teacher team mentored a group of upper-level education students working in multicultural classrooms in the Province of Saskatchewan. The evolving participant structures of the research moved beyond the originally proposed mentorship model.

RÉSUMÉ. Cet article décrit un projet transculturel de formation des maîtres réalisé en Saskatchewan. Une équipe d'enseignants a conseillé un groupe d'étudiants en dernière année de sciences de l'éducation travaillant dans des classes multiculturelles en Saskatchewan. Les structures de participation évolutives de la recherche ont dépassé le cadre initial du modèle de mentorat proposé.

Canada, like most Western countries, has an increasingly diverse population whose social and educational needs are not being met by the mainstream school system. McLaren (1995) claims that in North America "mainstream schooling ensures that those publics which already enjoy most of the power and privilege in society will transmit their advantage for succeeding generations" (p. 11). If this is to change, those of us working in teacher education settings must prepare teachers to build the new world order in our schools. As yet, we have few practical ideas about how to do this. The project described in this article was an attempt to involve preservice and inservice teachers in linking foundational understandings of cross-cultural education with classroom practice. We chose the metaphor of mentorship to describe the connections to be built between university researchers, classroom teachers, and education students in the project.

Working cross-culturally in a post-colonial context is to put oneself in disputed territory, a place of "border work" (Haig-Brown, 1992). For example, in Saskatchewan, Canada, a significant demographic shift is

occurring: "By 2001 about one-quarter of all labour force entrants and one-third of all new school entrants will be Aboriginal, with the vast majority being Indian" (Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, 1997, p. 13). Many mainstream teachers, and almost all Aboriginal teachers in Saskatchewan, will be working across cultures, teaching students whose parents have experienced schooling in a colonial context. Aboriginal peoples in North America are still suffering the results of an oppression which denied them democratic rights and deliberately attempted to assimilate their cultures through residential schools and language suppression. Ironically, in a province with a significant Aboriginal population, few mainstream education students in the university where I teach have actually spoken with an Aboriginal person, and have certainly never worked collegially with a member of one of the Indian Nations of Saskatchewan. The Indian Teacher Education Program, which is part of our college [University of Saskatchewan], runs a parallel program for Aboriginal students, with few opportunities for interaction between their students and mainstream preservice teachers. This parallel structure provides a "safe place" for Aboriginal students to explore cultural issues and to work together in a non-racist environment. However, mainstream teachers are disadvantaged by this, since they have little opportunity to build positive relationships across cultures before placement in schools with diverse student populations. Indirectly, students in these mainstream teachers' future classrooms are also disadvantaged by preservice teachers' lack of experience in cross-cultural situations.

The project described in this article involved both Aboriginal and mainstream participants, including university faculty, public school teachers, and undergraduates from the Indian Teacher Education Program, the Urban Native Teacher Education Program and the mainstream education program, all of whom live in a small prairie city in Saskatchewan, with a growing population of Indian and Métis peoples. The task in the current project was to find a way for practising teachers to pass on their understandings about cross-cultural teaching to our preservice education students. There has been deep interest in preparing teachers for multicultural settings since the 1970s, but no consensus on the practicalities of doing this.

Background review

Previous efforts to prepare teachers for multicultural and cross-cultural settings have focused on the provision of appropriate curriculum and

text materials, on developing course content for preservice education, or on studies of practising teachers (Grant & Tate, 1995). Other writers reviewing cross-cultural education have emphasized the importance of selecting already "culturally competent" teachers for urban and multicultural schools (for example, Haberman, 1996). The non-Aboriginal students in our project represent the majority of our preservice teachers, and indeed the teaching profession as a whole in North America. They are mainly white, middle-class women raised in rural or suburban environments. Zeichner and Hoeft (1996) describe students like ours as "young, inexperienced and culturally encapsulated" (p. 529). The task, then, is to prepare our teachers, both Aboriginal and mainstream, to work together to build cross-cultural coalitions and to provide an education founded on principles of social justice for all their potential students.

There is agreement in the literature on important aspects of preparing teachers for cultural diversity. Zeichner (1993), in his list of key elements for such preparation, includes selection issues, focus on developing students' cultural identities, examining attitudes towards other cultural groups, and providing experiences in culturally diverse settings. Cooper, Beare, and Thorman (1990) describe a field experience where education students from Minnesota had student teaching practice in predominantly Hispanic communities in Texas. The writers note that they identified changes in the cultural attitudes of preservice teachers who had interned in cross-cultural settings as measured on a self-assessment questionnaire. However, the practice of exposing mainstream students to diversity in school and community settings has the potential to reinforce stereotypes if the experiences are not carefully embedded in critical reflection and political understanding.

McLaren (1995) affirms the efficacy of "creating a new moral order at home first (and that means in the classrooms and the living rooms of the nation)" (p. 9). We may despair of the larger polity, but it is possible as teachers and teacher educators to build "cultural spaces where students are able to form interlaced networks of intracommunal negotiation, spaces that work toward the construction of intimacies and co-articulated communal patterns in classrooms and the surrounding communities and that take the project of human liberation and social justice seriously" (p. 25). There is much evidence in the research literature that schools do not offer social justice to all who live and work in them.

For example, Delpit (1995) interviewed six African-American and six Native American teachers, who described negative cultural and racial attitudes directed towards them and towards minority children. The teachers had often felt isolated from instructors and other students during their teacher education programs. Thiessen, Bascia, and Goodson (1996) carried out a similar study in urban Canada. The professional life histories of the immigrant minority teachers in this study make sad reading for teacher educators. These teachers describe their isolation, their disappointment in not finding like-minded colleagues, and their various ways of coping with professional loneliness. Many of the participants in this study became advocates for their minority students in a hostile school system. Bascia (1996) suggests that "the teachers' reflections on their own educational experiences to date are dismaying" (p. 171). They held out little hope for changing the attitudes of mainstream teachers at either the inservice or preservice level. Bascia calls for "explicit consideration of the value systems that underlie teaching and administrative practices" (p. 172). Projects such as ours, which involved both preservice and inservice teachers, may have some chance of effecting change.

Teacher educators might also learn from minority student teachers who have described their experiences in mainstream North American schools. Solomon (1997) followed 20 preservice "teacher candidates of colour" who believed that they should be role models for their minority students. These teachers identified the stresses of being primary cultural resources for both students and teachers in multicultural schools where most staff were from the mainstream. These future teachers had themselves been inspired by role-models, "and they, in turn, are convinced they can make a difference in the lives of the next generation" (Solomon, 1997, p. 405). We chose the mentorship metaphor for our project as a way of formalizing this role-model concept. What we did not anticipate was the complexity of the process in which we were involved, and how vital it would be to move from the broad themes and issues of multicultural research to the specific relationships within our group. This project demonstrates how we came to personalize generalities such as diversity and cross-cultural education (Hynds, 1997).

The history and setting of the project

The project described here developed from a previous research study where a group of academics and teachers worked together to make explicit the strategies used by teachers as they adapted curriculum to

support students' literacy learning in cross-cultural classrooms (Ward & Wason-Ellam, 1995). Early in that study it became obvious to us that specific teaching strategies were of minor significance as these teachers constructed their identities as "cross-cultural teachers". Teachers in the 1995 project consciously encouraged culturally appropriate participant structures to build community and relationship between teachers and students.

The participants in the current project formed a collaborative network of teacher-mentors, post-internship education students, and university teachers. The teachers all worked with a mix of Aboriginal and Métis students, mainstream students, and a few others from the Canadian plural fabric. In this particular mix of schools the Aboriginal and Métis students often comprised from 40% to 80% of the school population.

The five teacher participants included three teachers who were themselves of Aboriginal or Métis ancestry, and two from mainstream backgrounds. The ten preservice teachers we invited to join the group were in their post-internship term of study. Some of the mainstream students had taken courses in Native Studies and all had taken a course in multicultural education. The three University of Saskatchewan teachers (two mainstream, one Aboriginal) were experienced in naturalistic research in multi-ethnic classroom settings and had been cross-cultural teachers in a variety of urban and community settings.

During the fall term of the project, the five teachers and three university researchers met once a month to discuss the research question "What does it mean to be a teacher in cross-cultural environments?", and to make practical plans for inclusion of the education students in the group after Christmas. At the first meeting attended by students we reviewed the project and organized student and teacher cross-cultural teams. Most teachers were to mentor two or three students to work with them once a week, at a time convenient to their team members. Our expectation was that the teams would carry out lessons and activities focusing on multicultural and cross-cultural issues. We left the planning of activities to the individual teams. The handing of responsibilities to the teacher-led teams ensured that project leadership became a shared responsibility, and was meant to support informal mentorship.

Introducing Mentor

The original Mentor was a character in Homer's *Odyssey*. He had been a close childhood friend of Odysseus. More significantly, his identity

was taken over by the goddess Athene when she wished to be (somewhat) unobtrusive in giving advice to Odysseus. Her role was to give fairly non-specific advice and encouragement to Odysseus, and to impart important pieces of information to other characters in the story. Athene's protection (in the guise of Mentor) seems to transfer some of her own high status to Odysseus. The advantages to the relationship were completely one-sided, as one might expect with divine intervention. More prosaic mentorship was a characteristic relationship in the Iroquois Confederacy (Debolt, 1992), where Deganawidah acted as mentor to Hiawatha, metaphorically holding up a mirror to his young colleague's actions. Traditional views of mentorship favour the one-way conduit metaphor.

More recently, the mentorship model has been used to induct new members into a variety of professions. Sometimes the metaphor of "coaching" is used to describe the relationship between mentor teacher and student (van Thielen, 1992). In teaching, where a gap has been perceived between the theoretical orientation of colleges of education and the practical knowledge of classrooms, mentorship has been suggested as a way to close the theory-practice gap.

Mentorship has been used in other projects as a model for preparing preservice teachers to work with culturally diverse groups of children. Larke, Wiseman, & Bradley (1990), within the Minority Mentorship Project of Texas A & M University, linked twenty-six education students with minority school students. The purposes of the project were to "broaden preservice teachers' pedagogical knowledge base, sharpen their teaching skills and modify their attitudes, values and beliefs to improve their teaching ability" (p. 6). The education students engaged in a variety of activities over a three-year period, including an individualized tutoring project with minority students and their families. This was a study where preservice teachers learned to value students from backgrounds different from their own. The preservice teachers stated that they did learn from the children with whom they worked, but it seems that most of the giving came from mainstream adults to minority youth. Mentorship is probably an appropriate metaphor for the relationship described in the Texas study, since faculty and preservice teachers were apparently all from mainstream backgrounds. Our project wrapped Mentor's mantle around both minority and mainstream participants, with Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal teachers mentoring both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal education students in cross-cultural classrooms.

Roles and characteristics of mentor teachers

According to Debolt (1992), mentors should possess personal characteristics such as approachability, integrity, active listening, and should also have knowledge of a variety of teaching strategies as well as good skills in working with adult learners. Heller and Sindelar (1991) emphasize that the relationship between mentor and student should be synergistic, and that in an effective mentoring situation, the mentor will learn as much as the student. This parallels the relationships which developed in this project.

Heller and Sindelar also suggest that mentors should increase their partner's instructional competence, self-confidence, and should also develop friendships. Turner (1995) also recognizes that the personality of mentors is important, but suggests that training plays an important role. Mentors are expected to model different instructional methods, provide regular observation and feedback, act as resource and consultant, and engage in classroom research. Reports from teachers who have acted as mentors suggest that it is important to clarify their roles before assigning them to work with students.

Maynard and Furlong (1995) suggest that the roles of mentors in supporting beginning teachers can be conceptualized in as developing through three stages: as collaborative teachers, working alongside partners and helping them make sense of the classroom situation, acting as instructors by establishing routines of observation and feedback, and establishing themselves as co-enquirers with the aim of promoting critical reflection on teaching and learning. In this project, our students entered with successfully completed teaching internships, and so fitted most readily at this third stage described by Maynard and Furlong as "co-enquirers".

Issues of mentorship with a cross-cultural focus

The focus of our project was to support beginning teachers in developing awareness, skills, and strategies for teaching in cross-cultural settings. We spent considerable time in our cross-cultural team discussing the foundational issues of cross-cultural education as well as working on practical classroom strategies. The concept of mentorship in the teacher supervision literature seems to be based on a particular power relationship, in which evaluation is a component. In this project however, the teachers were not evaluating the student teachers, but were working alongside them to model approaches for working with diverse populations. In fact, several students in their written summaries of the

project mentioned their pleasure in working with teachers and academics who were role-models of respectful cross-cultural communication. I would like to suggest that as the contexts of the project shifted, so did the power and mentorship relations. In some contexts (for example the large group discussions about cultural identities and specific knowledge about Aboriginal content in the elementary school curriculum), being Aboriginal conferred high status and consequent speaking rights. In other discussions, the academic voices were privileged. This bears out the notion of power as a complex, shifting field of relationships in which all humans play varying parts. The following is an exploration of "shared mentorship" as it played out in the changing contexts of our conversations.

Shared mentorship in network conversations

We had obtained funding to release teachers one afternoon a month throughout the school year to meet with us. Our previous experience with teacher networks had led us to decide that the meetings should be in participants' homes rather than in an institutional setting. We had also come to realize that the overt participant structure of network meetings was extremely important in supporting collaboration. Within an earlier project I had started out by recording the group's ideas on chart paper, which had the immediate effect of putting me in charge of proceedings, and in damping down contributions from Aboriginal teachers. Learning from our mistake, we went on to use a version of the traditional Aboriginal talking circle where a rock was passed from speaker to speaker to avoid mainstream domination of the group agenda. In the current project we decided to try an informal version of the talking circle, where all members were invited to speak and were given the floor without fear of interruption, but no object was used to symbolize turn-taking. In general, speakers took on conversational rights when they owned the expertise. Expert knowledge was sought from different group members according to the meeting topic.

SETTING PURPOSES In the early meetings, much of the time was spent setting purposes and deciding on research issues. The academics were called upon, naturally enough, to clarify the purposes of the project. Despite our intentions to fully engage participants in all aspects of the study, the reality of much university or school collaboration dictates that university faculty drive projects such as this one. We needed to find innovative ideas for preparing education students to work in culturally diverse settings, and also to present our findings in some academically recog-

nized way. The teachers joined the project because we asked them to, and because they knew at least one of us personally and the others by reputation and respected our work in schools. All project teachers had a deep commitment to teaching diverse populations of students. So in the first meetings of the project, the academics took on the mentorship role. At one point during the second meeting, we began to focus on the question "What does it mean to be a teacher in a cross-cultural setting?"

IDENTITY ISSUES Gradually the discussions came closer to the heart of identity issues. One of our Aboriginal teachers had been adopted into a white family, and told us how she was struggling to reclaim her original family and culture. All the Aboriginal participants had painful stories to tell about racism and isolation. Respectfully following their Aboriginal colleagues' lead, mainstream participants began to consider "white" as a colour and to explore difficult aspects of their own cultural lives. It became clear that becoming a "cross-cultural" teacher required often uncomfortable explorations and affirmations. During these meetings the notion of mentorship became irrelevant. The voices most clearly heard were those of teachers who had the deepest understanding of how issues of race and culture play out daily in schools and classrooms.

PLANNING CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES At the first post-Christmas meeting, when the students joined us, we spent a great deal of time getting to know each other. There were five Aboriginal and five mainstream students added to the group. This generalization hides great variety. There were some interesting cultural mixes among the students who identified themselves as Aboriginal; some had one European parent, and kept ongoing connections with family in Germany and Denmark. Faculty and teachers came from the USA, Greenland, and Britain, and most had lived for extended periods in cultures other than their own. All this made for lively interactions and extended discussions. During the first meeting we tentatively made up cross-cultural teams of two students per teacher and asked teams to meet at their schools to plan what they might do. The only guidelines were that students should be in the school at least once a week at the same time as each other, and that the plan have some kind of cross-cultural focus. We had talked informally before Christmas with the teachers in our project about mentorship, and what it might involve. Although our original plans had included the possibility of drawing up lists of characteristics and activities associated with successful mentorship, the tenor of our discussions and the focus on identity issues meant that there never seemed to be a rightness of fit for making such a list. In the end, we relied on the wisdom and

experience of our teachers to build informal relationships within their teams.

All students had just successfully completed a sixteen-week practicum and were finishing required coursework at the college. From experience we knew that students at this stage of their program saw themselves as teachers and were hungry for more school exposure. Again, we had invited this particular group of students because we knew they were strong students and were committed to cross-cultural education. University faculty had either taught classes to the students in the project or had supervised their practicum work.

At this point the students and the classroom teachers engaged in discussions of what might happen in their classrooms. To begin with, the teachers took the lead as they described their own practices, but when it came to planning activities, the students, fresh from a term of unit planning, came up with many practical ideas. Some of them included ideas for classroom bulletin boards, multicultural units, family portraits, drama activities, and discussion activities for the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, as well as discussions around cultural practices. It was evident that as the project proceeded, students moved away from superficial discussion of specific classroom activities to broader understandings about the socio-cultural issues underlying the school system in which they were working. At that point, the mentorship roles shifted yet again.

DISCUSSION OF SOCIO-CULTURAL ISSUES Early in the project, it was the university researchers who took on mentorship roles in discussing issues of racism and marginalization. Once members of the network came to trust each other, teachers began sharing their own stories of racism and discrimination. Again, as a form of respect, the non-Aboriginal teachers and students tended to listen respectfully to colleagues, whose voices were privileged by their experiences. In these discussions, Aboriginal participants again became our mentors, to such an extent that in our post-meeting discussions we were somewhat worried that the non-Aboriginal teachers and students might feel excluded.

So, it was our experience that mentorship was not a simple process, where information was passed down a conduit from "expert" to "novice". In our network conversations, the role of mentor shifted according to the purposes, topics, and contexts of the discussion.

The inadequacy of mentorship as a metaphor

In recognizing a lack of fit between the mentorship ideal and the way our project evolved I came to understand that it was our focus on *process* which led to a change in the project's structure. Mentorship implies an expert-novice relationship, built on the notion that one partner has the knowledge and skills to pass to the other. In our project, participants passed the expert mantle from one to another, depending on the discussion context. The notion of co-constructing knowledge does not apply to the traditional picture of mentorship but happens naturally when professionals are in egalitarian relationship structures. The benefits of mentoring for the mentor (as opposed to the one who is mentored) seem usually to involve mentors gaining understanding as they make knowledge explicit in order to teach it to someone else.

The group process in this project involved making explicit two different kinds of knowledge: the wisdom gained through life experience (expressed in personal narratives) and teacher practical knowledge (expressed through planning, classroom activities and conversational reflection on practice). In general, issues of professional and cultural identity as evidenced through personal narratives became the focus of our passionate discussions; the skills and strategies developed in cross-cultural classrooms were of lesser importance to most in the group. One might then expect that the mentorship metaphor could be readily applied in the classroom situations where the teams were working; but teacher practical knowledge was owned by both teacher and students in the teams, since the students had just completed their internships, and were familiar with new curricula and instructional techniques. The teachers had intimate knowledge of the children in their classes, but many of the education students, through sharing their own cultural backgrounds with children, also made close personal connections with them.

Mentorship implies a transmission approach to shared knowledge and did not match the complex relationships which became a distinguishing feature of the project. What we were experiencing by the end of the project was the synergy of a professional collaboration. As faculty we had assumed that the teachers would pass on knowledge to their student teams, and that we would be the academic anchor for the proceedings. In reality, personal wisdom and professional knowledge were shared at different times among Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal team members, and between experienced and inexperienced teachers. The strength of

the methodology was in providing a variety of discourse contexts which allowed participants of both genders, ranging in age from 22 to 55, and from diverse backgrounds, to draw on their personal and professional knowledge while engaging in the primary task of reflecting on their experiences as intercultural teachers. It would have been easy for the university faculty in the group to set up situations where only academic knowledge was acceptable currency, or for the experienced teachers to deny the expertise of preservice students, or for Aboriginal participants to discount the voices of colleagues wishing to learn with them. However, the strength of the group was in acknowledging the value of diverse experiences and engaging in open-hearted dialogue. To describe this more richly we needed a more complex metaphor, a new embodiment – Proteus the transformer perhaps, or a modern shape-changer melding European and Aboriginal characteristics.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author wishes to thank the Dr. Stirling McDowell Foundation for Research into the Study of Teaching Inc. for financial support for this project.

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REPORT FROM THE FIELD

SOME RANDOM THOUGHTS ON THE ETHICAL BEHAVIOUR OF TEACHER CANDIDATES

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ABSTRACT. Accepting the reality that teaching is not a fully fledged profession like other such societal occupations, student teachers find themselves being orientated into a vocation that is still attempting to carve out its rightful place in an evolving society. Until such time as teacher educators adopt a public and accountable ethical regime for teacher candidates, this quasi-profession of teaching will continue to wallow in uncertainty and misdirection.

RÉSUMÉ. Résignés à la réalité que l'enseignement n'est pas une profession à part entière comme d'autres professions sociales, les professeurs stagiaires se voient invités à embrasser une vocation qui tente encore de prendre la place qui lui revient dans notre société en évolution. Tant et aussi longtemps que les responsables de la formation des maîtres n'adopteront pas un régime éthique public et responsable pour les futurs enseignants, cette quasi-profession continuera de croupir dans son indécision et sa mauvaise orientation.

Walking into an ethical dilemma is like entering a thicket. It is not like entering a maze because a maze was constructed by someone so we have the anticipation that there is a clear yet complex way out. Given time and patience we should be able to find it. But a thicket has none of these presumptions of final clarity. It is rather like trying to undo a terribly tangled knot. We have no idea how it got that way. We finger and fiddle until some opening or possibility of progress suggests itself. We must be open to possibilities and probabilities, cautious in devising or demanding parameters. (Ellos, 1994, pp. 26-27)

An overheard conversation

I don't usually sit in the small claustrophobic cafeteria in the basement of my building. Not only do I find the ventilation inadequate, but the lack of windows sort of takes away from the esthetic enjoyment of a

strong cup of coffee. Additionally, and I guess that this is a sign of age as well as girth, I find that the bolted-to-the-floor steel and plastic tables and chairs are designed for a younger and thinner clientele. Unfortunately, I do not have quite enough comfortable and breathable space between my expanding midriff and the hard and unyielding edges of the tables. In any case, I was tired one particular afternoon, only a few students were in the cafeteria, and so I gently squeezed into a spot in the corner to enjoy a more or less quiet cup of coffee (along with a totally illegal and immoral cinnamon bun!).

A couple of moments after I sat down, a few female students sat at the table behind me and began a lively conversation concerning their just completed student teaching week. While I did not intend to eavesdrop, my physical location made any kind of privacy impossible, and I must admit to some interest in their animated, rapid-fire, vernacular, and upbeat conversational exchanges concerning varying aspects of life in general and, more specifically, academic life in a large contemporary downtown inner-city elementary school. It became quickly apparent that these three were all student teaching in the same school with two of them at the primary level and the other at one of the more senior elementary grades. From an initial voyeur's sense of some pleasure in hearing the laughter, the joy, the excitement, and the animation in the voices as incidents and events were discussed and analyzed, I soon rapidly moved to a sense of personal and professional unease and discomfort as one of the two primary-level teacher candidates discussed in some graphic details her cooperating teacher, a particular elementary pupil, this child's mother, and some aspects of the school situation. Her seat-mates, and anyone else who overheard this conversation for that matter, were a captive audience.

What follows, then, in the tradition of Connelly and Clandinin (1986, 1988, 1990) is my edited narrative reconstruction of this overheard aural event. I have supplied simple pseudonyms and attempted to reconstruct this conversation such that it makes some sense to those who may not be familiar with particular local terminology and 'inside' knowledge. The many interjections and 'side bars' that are so common in free flowing animated speech, as well as those ever-present tangents that refer to other incidents or previous events, have been eliminated so that this particular exchange, with its colourful language, stands starkly alone. Furthermore, although the odd word has been altered so as to indicate tone or emphasis, no serious literary attempt has been made to describe the tone of the conversation in regards to sarcasm or

word emphasis. I leave such artistic endeavours to the imagination of the reader. Additionally, as my back was to these participants for this entire conversation, I have no knowledge in regards to accompanying body language, hand gestures, or facial expressions.

Mary: "Oh, God, did I tell you about that little creep in my class who has the drunken mother?"

Audience: "No, what creep . . . drunk mother in school?"

Mary: "Well, you know that fat kid who has a face like a little shriveled up rat with a pointed nose, and those funny coloured glasses he got in the States. Anyhow, he was a real pain in the ass on Tuesday and so Mrs. Smith [the cooperating teacher] gave him a recess detention for the next day. He cried and cried . . . what a little baby. . . said that it wasn't his fault . . . always his excuse . . . and his mother said that Mrs. Smith was picking on him . . . so he did not have to attend any more detentions."

Audience: "Did he r-e-a-l-l-y say that his mother said that the teacher was picking on him and that he didn't have to go to any more detentions?"

Mary: "Yep! And Mrs. Smith went ballistic . . . b-a-l-l-i-s-t-i-c. . . I mean she really went out of her head! I have never seen her so angry. She told Robert [the pupil] that he was a little lazy fool and that he was going to fail again if he did not stop acting like a baby every time something didn't go his way. She told him to grow up and said that this was probably why he had no friends in the class."

Audience: "W-O-W!"

Mary: "Wait, it gets better. This all happened on Tuesday during the last period and Robert went off crying . . . typical . . . to the bus. The next morning, Mrs. Martin [the mother] brought Robert to school herself and she and Mrs. Smith got into a real shouting match in the school yard."

Audience: "N-O !"

Mary: "I mean, you know, this was really something. Robert was hiding behind his mother and the two of them were yelling at each other with kids sliding all over the yard and trying to stay out of the way. I mean, you know, what the hell was I to do? I had to stop myself from laughing out loud as it looked so p-a-t-h-e-t-i-c to see these two old biddies yelling at each other. And, I mean, you know, that little rat-faced slob hiding behind his mother."

Audience: "What happened?"

Mary: "Well, the bell rang and all the kids started to line up so the two of them, well you know, they had to sort of stop. Mrs. Martin was yelling that Mrs. Smith was always picking on her little boy . . . it wasn't fair . . . why couldn't Mrs. Smith just do her job and teach her son how to read. She also shouted that Mrs. Smith should mind her own damn business and stop poking into personal things that were not her concern."

Audience: "Oh, God . . . this was happening in front of kids in the school yard?"

Mary: "You know, I thought that Mrs. Smith was going to go ballistic again 'cause she got all red in the face . . . said that she couldn't help Robert if he had screwed up genes . . . that maybe Mrs. Martin should spend less time in the bar and more time at home helping her son with his homework."

Audience: "She said t-h-a-t!"

Mary: "And more! She told Mrs. Martin that Robert had no friends in the class because he was a mean little boy and the other kids didn't like him. She also said that Robert had written many things in his journal and that she had made copies so that Mrs. Martin had better not make any trouble for her. . ."

Audience: [Interrupting with rising voice]"She made copies of the kid's journal. . .?"

Mary: [Rushing] "By this time, the kids were going into school and Mrs. Smith went with them. Mrs. Martin, you know, just stood out there alone in the yard yelling back at the school. And then she suddenly stopped and sort of started to talk to herself. I mean, God, it was sort of funny to see her standing there all alone. I mean, what a loser that drunk mother is. She couldn't raise so much as a mouse and look what she is doing to that screwed up little kid."

Audience: "What happened to Robert?"

Mary: [Pause] ". . . I'm not sure . . . just like that little creep to sneak into school when no one was looking. . ."

Audience: "No . . . No . . . what happened to Robert in class?"

Mary: "You know, what do you expect? How can you teach a kid who has a loser mother like that . . . anyway . . . I mean you know, how the hell do you teach a kid like that? Why should I spend my time with him anyway. . ."

Audience: "OK, OK, but what is going to happen to him?"

Mary: "Mrs. Smith and I discussed Robert later that morning and we decided that we are just going to ignore him the rest of the term."

Audience: [Pause] "... um ... um ... is that the best thing to do. . .?"

As I walked back to my office, I pondered and attempted to make some personal and professional sense of this overheard conversation. I had actively and not passively listened, left because I was uncomfortable, never looked back at the girls as I exited the cafeteria, and had said nothing to them to challenge their actions; therefore, what was my culpability, however inadvertent, in this unfolding scenario? This experience gelled with others from my past and as I attempted to fit the pieces together, I came to know that a major factor in this ongoing and somewhat secret and internal ethical dilemma is that 'teaching', as a career, job, position, calling, life-long activity, obligation, or vocation, is not considered a 'profession' in the same sense that other such key and recognized societal activities are.

Robert Nash (1991) postulates that as individuals we live in a number of separate and yet intertwined moral worlds. Specifically, Nash identifies three such realms; namely, what he terms, secular pluralist, concrete moral, and phenomenological. To Nash,

Educators . . . make ethical judgments and decisions by relying somewhat haphazardly on past religious and family training, early schooling, on-the-job trial and error, and vague impressions of what constitutes good moral character. *Unfortunately, this prediscursive decision making is not adequate.* (my emphasis, p. 164).

Roadblocks to professionalism

Webster's Encyclopedic Dictionary (1988) defines 'profession' as "one of a limited number of occupations or vocations involving special learning and carrying a certain social prestige, esp. the learned professions: law, medicine and the Church" (p. 798). Hoyle (1980), on the other hand, makes a distinction between what he terms professionalism, where the focus is on professional practice; and professionalization, where the focus is on the status of the occupation. In a somewhat more satirical vein, Soder (1991) suggests that teaching will never become a profession as long as it continues to define itself in terms of what it is *not*, as opposed to specific terms clearly defining what it is [my emphasis].

For possible reasons of overt public status, the Quebec Government, in a similar manner to other individual provincial and state governments,

currently officially recognizes a score or so of different and distinct professions (doctors, nurses, psychologists, dentists, guidance counselors, physiotherapists, notaries, lawyers, etc.). Each of these recognized professions has special responsibilities and powers in law, for example, in regards to internal governance, licensing, credentials, public and private communication, discipline, negotiations, up-grading or in-service professional development, professional standards, and codes of behaviour. 'Teacher' is not included within this special professional framework and is therefore, in the eyes of this government and this society at least, not a member of this exclusive and special professional club.

While some of us who are indeed certified public school teachers and maybe a few of us who have a hand in preparing new teachers refer to ourselves as 'professionals', the hard legal reality is that we are, at best, 'non-professionals' – however that may be defined – or, as suggested by Darling-Hammond and Cobb (1996) "quasi-professional" (p. 46). Aspiring to a lofty standard does not in and of itself guarantee such success, and teachers must face the political and societal reality that theirs is not a profession like the others. Such a lack of status is deeply based within our culture and perhaps finds its roots in the *Webster* definition in that there is a general suggestion that elementary and secondary school teaching is not all that difficult, that special skills are really not needed, and that pretty well anyone can tackle this teaching endeavour with some success. While satirist and playwright George Bernard Shaw may have succinctly and negatively defined our vocation when he penned "He who can, does. He who cannot, teaches", he was perhaps only reflecting and reporting on societal attitudes as he observed them.

A large part of even the educated part of the community is still under the shadow of the old belief that anyone who is in possession of his five senses, and who has himself or herself learned to read, write and figure, knows enough to teach *little* children. . . . (emphasis in original. Dewey, 1925, p. 119)

Particular damaging . . . is the belief that is abroad in the community that only persons incapable of success in other lines become teachers, that teaching is a failure belt, the refuge of 'unsaleable men and unmarriageable women'. This belief is the more damaging for the truth that is in it. (Waller, 1932, p. 379)

. . . teacher knowledge is not considered special and . . . people are ambivalent about its value. (Buchmann, 1986, p. 2)

. . . deep down many leaders believe that teaching is not all that difficult. (Fullan, 1993, p. 104)

. . . lay people believe they can teach as well as professionals. (Proefriedt, 1994, p. 1)

Of course, commonsense theories abound. 'Anyone can teach.' 'If you know your subject, you can teach it.' 'Teachers are born not made.' 'Everything you need to know about teaching can be learned on the job'. (Feiman-Nemser & Remillard, 1996, p. 64)

. . . many people who have schooling experience presume that having played the role of student, they are possessed of the knowledge needed to produce or direct the play. (Clabaugh & Rozycki, 1996, p. 356)

The idea that a person needs a particular kind of professional preparation to become a licensed educator has yet to be established in many jurisdictions, and in times of crisis the temptation to appoint ill-qualified persons arises still more frequently. (Simpson & Jackson, 1997, p. 188)

Another difficulty for teachers in this quest for a share of this official 'professional pie' is that teaching lacks ritual, ceremony, and rites of passage. Unlike such recognized professions as engineering, medicine, and law, there are no oaths or codes to which sacred vows are taken. While many may view such ostentatious trappings as somewhat gauche or reminiscent of a pagan past, there is no question that the 'ceremony of the ring' in engineering, and the 'reciting of the Hippocratic Oath' in medicine, as but two powerful examples, serve to bind together and make special the new initiates.

David Blacker (1997) surmises that humans may have an inner desire to 'touch' history and that various rituals and holidays are our weak and ill-defined attempts to maintain a sort of temporal immortality. Noting that "we still have the broken shards of these traditions" (p. 89). Blacker goes on to suggest that:

We need to recapture these stories, especially the collectively told and enacted kind that have always bound human beings together. We need more old wives' tales. Nowhere is the need greater than in education, where the stories are daily growing shorter and sparser, more hastily told to fewer and fewer. . . . Our stories seem draining down the same sinkhole as our gods and heroes. (p. 90)

Additionally, most other professions usually have a very visible indication that one belongs to a special club and that is the appropriate initials that are proudly displayed after a name on a business card, on letterhead, or following a signature. A medical doctor would not normally have her name appear on letterhead without the initials 'MD', engineers follow signatures with the appropriate corporation letters of

'P. Eng.' or something similar, as do registered and certified nurses with the recognized 'RN', chartered accountants proudly display the 'CA' nomenclature where ever necessary, and Canadian lawyers covet (are they really allowed?) the 'QC' (Queen's Council) accolade and such is proudly and publicly displayed. Even those groups that are relative newcomers to this restricted professional club; such as real estate agents and financial planners, have specific identifying initials and credentials that are proudly displayed and constantly made known to the public.

In a like vein, many professions have 'restricted' and 'exclusive' use over their professional title. Somewhat akin to a copyright, one can only call oneself a nurse, for example, if one is in fact a member in good standing in that corporate professional body. Likewise, one cannot call oneself a medical doctor or a civil engineer or a chartered accountant or a guidance counsellor or a social worker unless one has certain credentials and belongs to the required professional organization. However, anyone can call herself or himself a 'teacher' or an 'educator' – no special training is necessary and the name (and therefore the job and the function) is not protected or restricted to those who meet certain exacting standards.

Darling-Hammond and Cobb (1996) make the telling observation that teachers have historically had little control over their own developing landscape and, therefore, very little practical say in how their titles and duties have evolved. Darling-Hammond and Cobb note that such overt and external influence has "tend(ed) to produce bureaucratic rather than professional controls over the content and structure of the work – that is, controls aimed at standardizing procedures rather than at building knowledge that can be applied differentially depending on the needs of a given child" (p. 20).

Unfortunately, teachers have no such exclusivity, and no ceremony or ritual or identification symbol. New teachers do not swear oaths of standards, do not don cloaks of station, do not acquire a specific professional nomenclature, do not even symbolically aspire to some ancient muse and, regretfully in my view, have no special set of initials, or symbols that indicate professional belonging, competence, responsibility, and accountability.

Just about every other recognized profession demands that one belong to a special club and that such membership is sealed with the only currency that is acceptable in our modern society – that being money. One has to pay to belong to the club! If one should choose not to renew

the professional membership, then all rights to the club are withdrawn and one loses the legal, professional, and personal contacts that are associated with this membership. Additionally, membership is not for life but only until the next dues payment is required – often only one year. While some may view such constant repetition of renewal as tedious and maybe even as somewhat crass, such renewal does indeed force each member on a regular basis to pause and to think about the association, the commitment, and the bonds that exist between members.

Teaching may also be hindered by its sheer mass. Most other professions are relatively small in number with several thousand, at most, members. Public school teachers in the Province of Quebec number around one hundred thousand and professional status would make them, by far, the largest of all the professional groups. Furthermore, the addition of pre-school teachers, day-care educators, and college and university instructors would further greatly swell these already swollen ranks. Politically, would a government want such a large and potentially powerful group running its own affairs and perhaps asserting its will in regards to curriculum design and other pedagogical matters?

Realistically, then, teachers may unfortunately forever be permanently relegated to the rank of 'non-profession' simply as a matter of control and power! John Dewey (1937) noted that if one is constantly excluded from the decision making process and denied a voice in policy formulation, then one will naturally begin to feel distant and disaffected from the process. Dewey suggested that:

It is still also true that capacity to assume the responsibilities involved in having a voice in shaping policies is bred and increased by conditions in which that responsibility is denied. Habitual exclusion has the effect of reducing a sense of responsibility for what is done and its consequences. (p. 113)

As if these hurdles were not enough to stand in the way of recognized professionalism, teaching is also burdened with another serious defect and that is the commonality and the normalcy of its professional language. Notwithstanding Karl Popper's (1974) observation that one should focus on the facts and the assertions about facts and never "be goaded into taking seriously problems about words and their meanings" (p. 12), Polkinghorne (1988) strikes a more meaningful cord when he suggests that language is much more than a simple decoding vehicle and that "language is both the product and the possession of a community" (p. 23). Additionally, Charles Taylor (1975) goes so far as to suggest that

language "happens in the community" and that "a language. . . is something that can only grow in and be sustained by a community" (p. 182).

Many professional communities have developed over time a special, intricate, and precise language that makes communication between members easier, specifically identifies parts of their profession so that confusion does not arise, and may well help inculcate new folk into the existing professional body. Perhaps the prime examples of such an intricate professional lexicon rest with the cardinal professions of medicine and law; however, a close look at many other recognized professions will indicate that they too have developed that special and 'secret' language that paradoxically binds at the same time as it excludes.

In a similar vein to Noddings (1984) and McLaughlin (1991), Freema Elbaz (1992) offers a language related concern in that she suggests that "to talk about teaching in terms of caring and relationships seems to risk placing in question the professionalism of teaching" (p. 422). Furthermore, Elbaz questions how one can even begin to tease out the moral thoughts of practitioners without using language that appears to be contrite, unscientific, and non-objective. John Dewey (1929) postulated that the profession of education had to develop its own 'scientific' language so that it could evolve and develop.

Education is autonomous and should be free to determine its own ends. To go outside the education function and to borrow objectives from an external source is to surrender the educational cause. Until educators get the independence and courage to insist that educational aims are to be formed as well as executed within the educative process, they will not come to consciousness of their own function. Others will then have no great respect for educators because educators do not respect their own social place and work. (p.74)

Finally, teachers may never develop beyond their present non-professional status as long as faculties of education and other such training institutions continue to trivialize teacher preparation (Clabaugh & Rozycki, 1996), and to continue to train new initiates as if teaching were simply composed of a set number of technical and observable skills. Bricker (1989), for example, suggests that practitioners seldom have a carefully articulated philosophy of ethical balance and tend to deal with classroom realities via a trial-and-error and ever changing methodology.

If teachers and teacher trainers continue to see the role of practitioners as somewhat akin to a dance instructor whose only concern is a specific dance skill and makes no attempt to place the skill within an historical,

cultural, linguistic, contemporary, and ethical environment (Soder, 1991), then growth into the more complex and messy realms of human interaction and learning are most probably impossible. In other words, as long as teachers broadly see themselves as 'technicians' and refuse to grasp and internalize the wider and far deeper notion of teacher as a re-shaper and re-placer of knowledge within an ethical landscape, then professional growth is stymied.

Additionally, Nasaw (1979) as well as Beyer and his colleagues (1989) may well be correct in their assertion that faculties of education have tended to avoid controversy. In an apparent desire to achieve a place or rank within both the local community as well as the academic community, teacher training facilities have tended to avoid contentious issues in this quest for professional acceptance. Beyer (1991) further suggests that as these human and societal controversial issues were eliminated from the educational framework,

[W]e inherited a system of teacher preparation in which social and political controversy was avoided and a particular conception of professionalism as technical competence was adopted. (p. 206)

Personal position and observations

Notwithstanding what one may think of the above mentioned notions or the reconstructed narrative that commenced this article, my view is that public school elementary and secondary teaching will never evolve above and beyond its present lowly social and political rank, as it critically and importantly does not hold itself publicly accountable to a set of professional standards including a code of ethics. Quite frankly, my experience has led me to believe that many elementary and secondary teachers as well as school administrators often act in what may be interpreted to be unethical ways. My experiences convince me that they behave in ways that in most other recognized professions would result in severe reprimands or outright loss of professional licenses. In a kind of perverse logic, the young student teachers who chatted in the cafeteria broke no existing professional rules, violated no public behavioral codes, transgressed no standard ethical boundaries, and may therefore be viewed as upstanding examples of the next generation of elementary school teachers.

These young ladies were not discussing the selling of drugs to pupils, they were not chatting about hitting or beating children, they were not planning to steal school property, and they were not sharing ways to

quietly drink alcohol while in the performance of their duties. They were simply talking and sharing real-life stories, and doing so in what they may well have been considered to be an appropriate manner in an appropriate location. Nonetheless, while their actions will not make the six o'clock news, they would be guilty in some eyes of unethical behavior and have potentially created a situation that could be as damaging to their minor aged students as if they had in fact committed a more serious and heinous physical offense. Accepting Lortie's (1975) assertion that teaching is a lonely and isolating vocation, I personally wonder if teachers (and teacher candidates) engage in this kind of overt and borderline chit-chat as a form of personal release or of professional bonding?

Lest one thinks that I am being too hard, let me state here and now that I hold a public school teachers license for grades one through eleven that is currently valid in the Province of Quebec. I am a good standing member in several professional educational organizations, and I have been working with teacher candidates in a full-time capacity since September of 1972. Furthermore, while exact figures would be most difficult to verify, it would be accurate to note that as part of my professorial responsibilities, I have visited elementary and secondary schools on and off the Island of Montreal, Catholic and Protestant, English and French, public and private, secular and religious, pre-school through to grade eleven. Geographically, I have spent significant amounts of time in many far-flung areas of the Province, and have been in schools from the Magdalen Islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to the shores of James Bay and Hudson Bay, and to a myriad of aboriginal communities throughout Northern Quebec. In total, I would estimate that I have seen approximately 1000 teacher candidates 'in action' over this time frame ranging from superficial 'one-shot' individual lessons through to long and somewhat more intimate and intensive eight-month affairs.

Through this quarter century of staff room visitations, classroom observations, hall-way conversations, and office chit-chats, I have been bombarded by young and old teachers and administrators alike with detailed descriptions of problem children, parent-teacher disagreements, inter- and intra-school rivalry, school board vendettas, and community hassles. With two noticeable community exceptions, such divulging of personal, confidential, or hearsay material has been a constant refrain during my professional sojourns. Lest I be misunderstood, in the majority of cases, I believe that I may have been perceived as a kind of neutral-outside-objective-captive professional and, therefore, the in-

tent was to solicit some help, or advice, or suggestion. Conversely, very rarely did I feel that I was involved in a purely 'gossipy' situation. However, regardless of the intent, I was made privy to vast stores of private, confidential, and personal material that, quite honestly, the professional codes of most other helping professions would forbid.

Jeffrey Reiman (1976) maintains that the right to privacy "protects the individual's interest in becoming, being, and remaining a person" (p. 314). A complicating factor in this expanding discussion is that 'minors' (all elementary pupils and most secondary students as well) are heavily involved. Do teachers assume a greater moral and ethical responsibility due to the fact that they are working with those who are less powerful, have no authority, and who are under the age of majority? Do such extenuating conditions make the burden of responsibility greater or less, or perhaps make no difference at all?

Ideally, a code of ethics should serve as a guide to resolving moral problems that confront the members of the profession that promulgate it, with its primary emphasis on protecting the public that the profession serves. It should be a grand statement of overarching principles that earns the respect of that public by reflecting the profession's moral integrity. Rarely can a profession fully attain this ideal. Realistically, what a code of ethics does is consensually validate the most recent views of a majority of professionals empowered by their colleagues to make decisions about ethical issues. Thus, a code of ethics is, inevitably, anachronistic, ethnocentric, and the product of political compromise. But recognition of that reality should not inhibit the creation of a document that fully realizes and expresses fundamental moral principles. (Bersoff, 1995, p. 1)

Some time ago one of my third-year student teachers came to see me and described what she considered to be an awkward and embarrassing school situation. Briefly, several days previously, she had arrived at her classroom to find an experienced and oft utilized substitute teacher in attendance. This was not a major difficulty as the cooperating teacher had 'clued the sub in' so that the student teacher's classroom activities would progress as planned. What upset this teacher candidate, however, was that for the fifteen or so minutes that the two of them waited for the monitors to deliver the pupils from the school yard, the substitute teacher launched into spontaneous, detailed, and value laden descriptions of some of the pupils in the class. As well as past academic achievement, or lack thereof, many home situations were described and personal judgments rendered. [Note: Pseudonyms used below in all cases.]

- "Keep a tight rein on these kids as they are hellions."
- "Peter is not very bright, so only give him easy questions."
- "Yoni is a jap and you know how good they are in math."
- "Mary does not like math so don't ask her any questions."
- "No small group work with this class as they all hate group work."
- "Kay's father is abusive and an alcoholic so watch for marks."
- "I had John B. last year and he is trouble, so watch him."
- "Don't ask Mark to read aloud . . . he will just pee his pants."
- "A strange religion in that family . . . so watch Mickie . . . [nudge - nudge] . . ."
- "Gerry smells so always keep him separated from the other kids."
- "Scott's parents are divorcing, so . . . [wink - wink] . . ."
- "Don't give Janet any homework as her mother will just do it."
- "Watch Sean . . . he will steal all the snacks . . . he's on welfare."
- "Lots of stencils and seat work make the day fly by with this lot."

The arrival of the children from the yard brought this descriptive monologue to a close. Essentially, the student teacher felt very uncomfortable with this new knowledge, did not know if such information was in fact true and current, and was unsure how her attitude towards certain pupils might now be affected. Additionally, she wanted to know what strategies she could use in the future in order to maturely and graciously extricate herself from any similar recurring situations.

Upon sober second thoughts and reflecting on her own practical experiences as well as relevant life episodes, my student teacher felt that the information given to her had been done in a sort of 'underhanded' manner, and that what she had been given would not really help her in her daily interactions with the pupils. Furthermore, some of the information presented to her was directly at odds and contradictory to her own experiences with and knowledge of these same children. Additionally, she felt that the substitute teacher had acted in what she perceived to be an unethical manner and she was also concerned that what she had been exposed to, after discussions with her student teaching peers, was more the norm than the exception.

As a result of my cafeteria experience, my discussions with this third-year student teacher, and based on my own long-term experiences in many relevant communities, it is clear to me that:

- My experience raised questions as to how well my Faculty of Education promotes an effective kind of ethical code to guide these education teacher candidates during their various in-school practical experiences. The University does have an all encompassing and somewhat general code of conduct related to academic and University matters. However, this code is not really applicable to the particular situation of student teachers who are practicing their craft in community public schools; away from the confines of the University milieu; working with minors in often stressful situations; and under the direct day-to-day supervision of elementary and secondary school teachers who themselves are not part of a legally recognized profession.

- These elementary candidates are enrolled in a 120-credit program spread over four years with their course content broken into three main areas; namely, (1) 39 credits of academic or subject background work (English Literature, history, biology, etc.); (2) 75 credits of professional or education courses; including, 19 credits in field work (a total of 700 hours that roughly translates into 125 in-school days), and 8 credits in co-requisite seminars; and (3) 6 credits of what might be termed free electives.

In this multitude of offerings, there is not one compulsory course offering that deals specifically with ethical or moral standards, or professional behaviour. There is a general first-year 'philosophical foundations' course, and some ill-defined and poorly developed notions centered around 'professionalism' that may or may not be expressly dealt with via the co-requisite seminars that accompany the various field experience offerings.

- Education students freely, openly, and without apparent inhibition discuss specific pupils, cooperating teachers, and other school personnel by name as well as describe, analyze, and comment upon all manner of personal and professional incidents arising from their various student teaching experiences. These open discussions occur not only in the cafeteria between friends, but also in the various education and professional courses and, in many cases, at the encouragement of the course instructors who actively solicit such material for the avowed purpose of generating in-class 'realistic' discussions.

- Based on my student teacher's personal experience and my own personal province-wide travels, teacher candidates are generally exposed in their classrooms, the school staff lounges, and the endless hallways to a never-ending barrage of open-ended and value laden comments and recollections relating to pupils, their parents, the administration, the school board, and even fellow teachers.

A number of years ago, a graduate student was brought to one of the senior discipline committees of the University for what was alleged by her department to be a breach of professional standards. Her lawyer successfully argued that the institution could not hold one of its own students accountable to standards of an outside professional organization to which that student had not yet been admitted. Similarly, how can we possibly hold student teachers accountable for ethical standards that they may be genuinely ignorant of. Additionally, how can they alter their behaviour or temper their actions when in fact they have not signed, sworn, agreed, or consented to any such ethical regime or standard?

The art of ethical codes

If Goodlad and his colleagues (1990, 1994) as well as Tom (1984), Soltis (1990), Soder (1991), Jackson *et al.* (1993), Hanson (1995), and Campbell (1997), as examples, are correct in their observations that teaching is fundamentally a moral-ethical activity and that teachers are engaged in a "moral purpose" (Fullan, 1993, p. 10), then it is essential in my view that beginning teacher candidates be exposed to this 'morality', however it may be defined, in a systematic, serious, and 'professional' manner. Perhaps Beyer (1997) best encapsulates this notion when he suggests that teaching is "a field of reflective moral action" (p. 248).

In a similar vein and proclaiming that teaching is "the vocation of vocations", Ayers (1993) suggests that at its heart and soul teaching is "an intellectual and ethical enterprise" (page 127). Perhaps one way to attempt to define this elusive concept of 'morality-ethicalness', as well as its attendant sub-lexicon of charged words and phrases, is to restrict and codify parts or pieces in some kind of acceptable code of behaviour and ethics. Such a task will not come easily and will have to, by necessity, take into consideration a number of points of view and cultural considerations; however, the present state of 'let's pretend that there is no need for a written ethical code for teachers' simply flies in the face of contemporary reality.

Lest one think that ethical rules are not important or somewhat *passé* within our evolving multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-religious, and multi-linguistic society, it is perhaps appropriate to note that the 1996 edition of the American Psychological Association's tome entitled *Professional Conduct and Discipline in Psychology* lists some 100 individual and separate ethical items within eight broad categories (pp. 177

- 208). Very recently for example (July 1997), the Tri-Council Working Group representing the three major research granting agencies in Canada released their working document entitled *Code of Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*. This working document is divided into two broad sections with the first defining a general ethical framework, and the second detailing some 70 individual articles focused on various aspects of ethical behaviour. Notwithstanding Soltis' (1990) pithy comment that "Ethics is ubiquitous" (p. 247), codes of ethics and behaviour and limits of accountability appear to be an ever expanding and evolving 'big business' within professional circles; except it seems, for teachers!

As a group, student teachers are in an awkward situation. They are university students but practicing their craft in far flung places; they are students themselves and yet are acting as surrogate teachers and are thusly exposed to and become involved with all of the secrets of their charges; they have not signed or accepted any kind of code of ethics but are supposedly operating within some kind of a known or unknown school or community framework that may or may not be specifically illuminated by the local community; and finally, they are being supervised by practitioners who themselves do not belong to a recognized profession and who have not sworn or agreed to abide by any kind of ethical code.

Dewey and Tufts (1936) poignantly note that the mark of ethical and responsible citizenry is that they are capable of changed behaviour. This is what may signal the beginnings of a move towards formal teacher professionalism; that is, to modify actions in the light of previous experiences.

A human being is held accountable in order that he may learn; in order that he may learn not theoretically and academically but in such a way as to modify and – to some extent – remake his prior self. The question of whether he might when he acted have acted differently from the way in which he did act is irrelevant. The question is whether he is capable of acting differently *next* time; the practical importance of effecting changes in human character is what makes responsibility important. (emphasis in original. Dewey & Tufts, 1936, p. 337)

Darling-Hammond (1990) notes that professionalization in general is designed to protect the public which is served by a particular profession. She suggests that three main points are guaranteed or sought by such professionalization; namely, all individuals who practice a particular

designated specialty are qualified to do so and have had the appropriate training; the practitioners will continually seek, as a group and individually, to discover more efficient and more responsible courses of action; and that practitioners 'pledge' that their first and perhaps major responsibility is to the welfare of their particular clients (page 268).

James Covert (1993) forcefully argues that without a specific code of ethics or a recognized set of professional conduct requirements, teachers must rely on the somewhat tenuous articles of "collective agreements, precedents set by arbitration board rulings, and judicial review" (p. 437) to help frame appropriate codes of everyday professional behavior. To Covert, the only logical and reasonable alternative to this somewhat uneven and scattered regime is for teachers to become 'professionals' like the other recognized societies and, thereby, have all of the responsibilities and duties that go with the responsibility of being a self-governing professional body. Similarly, Murray (1996) suggests that education will continue to lag behind other professions as "there is regrettably no accepted view, except in a few extreme instances . . . about what educational practices should not be employed in classrooms" (p. 9).

Hugh Sockett (1993) argues that however teaching is conceived or practiced, "we must try to make the standards of professionalism clear so as to offer a guide to novices" (p. 1). Similarly, Imig (1991) flatly stated that "professionals must define high standards, set rigorous expectations, and then hold peers to these standards and expectations" (p. 14). In a similar vein, Kenneth Strike (1990), while withholding judgment on whether teachers should be organized into professional bodies, does make the telling point that:

... ethical conduct is thought to be largely a product of training. The norms and standards of the profession are supposed to be internalized during the formal education of the professional. (p. 47)

Robert Nash (1991) offers the observation that beginning teachers are often ill-equipped to handle complex ethical and moral dilemmas. He suggests that new teachers simply have not been able to bridge the gap they perceive between the general ethical language that codes are written in and the practical nature of their everyday work. Betty Sichel (1993), on the other hand, suggests that every individual school should establish its own "school ethics committee". In her view, each of these individual school ethics committees "should generate ethical policy and moral codes, plan and offer professional ethics education, and

consult on particularly difficult moral cases" (p. 164). In a two-year study of a secondary school staff room, Kainan (1994) describes how the staff was divided by subject discipline as well as by 'technical' as opposed to 'academic' instructors. Further, she observed how the unwritten rules played against the known rituals such that the values and ethics of the individuals were exhibited, transmitted, and reenforced within the walls of the staff room.

In a powerful extension of his moral and ethical environment, Sidney Hook (1981) commented that shortly before his death, John Dewey "expressed the belief that the only frontier left in America was the moral frontier – one in which all social problems must be considered moral problems, too" (p. xx). As if in support of this Deweyan prophecy, Margaret Somerville, the founding Director of the McGill Centre for Medicine, Ethics and Law, recently (1997) penned:

We are used to considering ethics in medicine, but we are now exploring, for example, the ethics of politics, politicians and public policy, ethics in sports, the ethics of public accountability and the ethics of research and research funding. The search for ethics can be seen as an end-of-the-20th-century revolution in conscience and consciousness, in the sense of awareness of the need to ask the question, 'Is this right?' in a wide variety of contexts. (p. C-1)

A code for teacher candidates?

John Dewey's pioneering 'Laboratory School' operated out of the University of Chicago for a very brief period of seven years from 1896 until 1903. This was a special place where Dewey, his associates, and selected graduate students attempted to provide an ethical and moral all encompassing framework wherein curriculum could be developed, monitored, and evaluated (Mayhew & Edwards, 1936). It is perhaps not too coincidental that almost immediately after the establishment of this groundbreaking endeavour, Dewey penned his *Ethical Principles Underlying Education* (1897). In this seminal essay, Dewey noted that:

The child is an organic whole, intellectually, socially, and morally, as well as physically. The ethical aim which determines the work of the school must accordingly be interpreted in the most comprehensive and organic spirit. We must take the child as a member of society in the broadest sense and demand whatever is necessary to enable the child to recognize all his social relations and to carry them out. (p. 58)

If one accepts the underpinning notion that school is an essential social and moral place where all participants (teachers, administrators, sup-

port staff, pupils, and parents) work for a common goal, then it follows that the individuals sent by the universities to train and practice their craft in such locations also exhibit similar or complimentary ethical standards. Strike (1989), for example, postulates that "teachers who lack any serious study of ethics . . . will be unable to formulate the grounds of their practice" (pp. xvi-xvii). More recently, Beyer and Liston (1996) go so far as to suggest that as education is an environment on which financial and political views are played out, it falls to the ethical and moral base to be the central controlling element within this on-going societal struggle. In an earlier view, to Dewey (1897), ethical issues are 'real', not transparent or ethereal, and 'ethicalness' lies at the very heart and soul of that special and unique institution called 'school'.

The one thing needful is that we recognize that moral principles are real in the same sense in which other forces are real; that they are inherent in community life. . . . The teacher who operates in this faith will find every subject, every method of instruction, every incident of school life pregnant with ethical life. (p. 83)

In a more contemporary but forcefully similar view, Sockett (1993) argues for what he terms a "Code of Practical Guidance". Noting that teaching is a practical and an action orientated endeavor, Sockett suggests that:

A code of practical guidance is intended to govern action, not belief. Practice is the target. The content will thus describe what practitioners should do in their work. (p. 124)

Elizabeth Campbell (1997) suggests that educational professional ethics can only be lived through and experienced via realistic classroom situations. Campbell further states that "issues of teacher professionalism are fundamentally issues of moral and ethical significance" (p. 256). Furthermore, Campbell – in echoing the views of Sockett (1993) – is even more forceful in staking the role of faculties of education by stating that such ethical and moral instruction "should not be left to chance but developed in a deliberate way through the teaching of ethics to preservice teachers" (p. 257). Deborah Yost (1997), similarly, notes that teacher training facilities must not restrict their preservice programs only to the academic knowledge base. To Yost, "teacher education programs must help preservice teachers learn to reflect critically on student, school, and community issues and make ethical decisions" (p. 281).

When all is said and done, however, the ethical questions for teacher candidates still beg an answer. In order to progress, we must ask ourselves to what ethical or moral or (semi-) professional standard educa-

tion students and student teachers might be held. This is not in any way a lofty academic matter for the rarefied air of academia and the round table of philosophers; this is a rock-hard practical issue that will: (1) help to determine how student teachers act in classrooms; (2) set observable standards to be internalized by the teacher candidates as they are inducted into their new role; and (3) perhaps influence how elementary and secondary students are openly treated, privately discussed, and publicly taught.

The Supreme Court of Canada Justice, the Honourable Mr. G. V. La Forest (1997), noted that the actions of off-duty teachers can sometimes be considered to impact upon their "fiduciary relationship"; that is, that special relationship of trust and responsibility that exists between teacher and pupil (pp. 2 - 3). Notwithstanding any individual's right to privacy, free speech and association, and equal legal status under the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, Mr. Justice La Forest forcefully indicated that the consequences of actions of off-duty teachers are open to scrutiny. Specifically, he stated:

I do not wish to be understood as advocating an approach that subjects the lives of teachers to inordinate scrutiny on the basis of more onerous moral standards of behavior. This could lead to a substantial invasion of the privacy rights and fundamental freedoms of teachers. However, where a 'poisoned' environment within the school system is traceable to the off-duty conduct of a teacher that is likely to produce a corresponding loss of confidence in the teacher and the system as a whole, the off-duty conduct of the teacher is relevant. (pp. 16 - 17)

Mr. Justice La Forest is not the first senior judge to link off-duty teacher behaviour directly with a perceived community role. For example, the British Columbia Court of Appeal (as cited in Black & Lopez, 1996) stated that:

The reason why off-the-job conduct may amount to misconduct is that a teacher holds a position of trust, confidence and responsibility. (p. 112)

Furthermore, Black and Lopez (1996) summarize that many provincial courts as well as the Supreme Court of Canada

have imposed very high standards on teachers both on and off duty. In so doing, the Supreme Court of Canada has set out its concern that a teacher's off-duty conduct, although not directly affecting the teacher's work, may nevertheless be likely to produce conflict between the teacher's responsibilities to the education system and the public in general, and his or her personal activities conducted on the teacher's own time. (p. 117)

An interesting conundrum. Normally, one thinks about abhorrent popular press reported off-duty teacher behavior as related to drugs, physical contact, sexual escapades, or similar such obviously illegal actions. However, could not the divulging of private and confidential information in public also be considered an act that could 'poison' the educational environment? Further, without clouding an already perhaps somewhat murky issue, what is the legal status of education teacher candidates while they are operating within the confines of a particular school situated within a particular school board? To a large extent, these preservice education candidates did not select and approve of this school, but they have been arbitrarily assigned to this in-school field placement by some administrative office within the university structure.

Perhaps David Blacker (1997) best combined the ethical, moral, and practical concerns of everyday classroom practitioners when he noted:

As a teacher, one can be corrupted from many directions: subject, child, and self may center as well as decenter, depending on the situation. One might say that teaching is by nature a perpetually corruptible business, suitable only for those who do not mind getting their hands a little dirty, for those whose moral compass continues to operate well even under conditions of extreme ambiguity, frustration, and 'no-win' situations. Required is the artistry, a sort of Aristotelian phronetic 'sense', not only of how to avoid the extremes, but also how to use them to maintain the sweet spot at the center, adjusting the tension from each end as need be. (p. 16)

Universities are not passive on-lookers or disinterested observers in this societal debate. Occupying the central role of training and retraining people for the teaching ranks, it is incumbent upon the institution to provide leadership and to map out, however broadly, what might be considered an appropriate path. Murray (1996) notes that teaching must overcome formidable obstacles if it is "to become the genuine profession it aspires to be" (p. 8). Therefore, in order to begin the process of eliminating these various obstacles, might it not be sensible for all teacher candidates to ceremoniously swear to abide by a set of guidelines that will respect their charges and, at the same time, offer these neophyte professionals an ethical framework within which they can practice their craft? We could do a lot worse than adopting and adapting the powerful *first principle* of the National Association for the Education of Young Children:

Above all, we shall not harm children. We shall not participate in practices that are disrespectful, degrading, dangerous, exploitative, intimidating, psychologically damaging, or physically harmful to children. **This principle has precedence over all others in this Code.** (emphasis in original. Feeney & Kipnis, 1991, p. 30)

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JON G. BRADLEY is Associate Professor with the Department of Educational Studies of the Faculty of Education of McGill University. Prior to joining the Faculty a quarter of a century ago, he was a practicing elementary school teacher. His prime areas of research are centered in the broad field of teacher training and more specifically focused on the various practicum components related to initial preparation of elementary teacher candidates.

JON G. BRADLEY est professeur agrégé au département d'études éducationnelles de la faculté des sciences de l'éducation de l'Université McGill. Avant de se joindre au personnel enseignant de cette faculté il y a vingt-cinq ans, il a enseigné au niveau du primaire. Ses recherches, qui se concentrent sur le vaste champ de la formation des maîtres, portent plus particulièrement sur les divers éléments des programmes d'études qui se rapportent à la formation initiale des futurs enseignants du primaire.

BOOK REVIEWS

DAVID HUTCHISON. *Growing Up Green: Education for ecological renewal* (1998). New York: Teachers College Press. 192 pp. \$19.95 ISBN: 08077-3724-0 (paper); \$41 ISBN: 0-8077-3725-9 (cloth).

Nature is dynamic and historical. Man is but a fragment of history, but he directs and creates his own history, as well as his *mise-en-scène*, his ecology, for good and ill. . . . We cannot recognize this phenomenon of individuality, which differentiates man from all other animals, unless we accept the idea at cultural levels each individual is, as it were, a species in himself. (*italics in original*; Cobb, 1977, p. 18)

Thank God that Hutchison has not written another one of those 'gloom and doom' ecological polemics! Unlike some strident and shrill defenders of all that is natural, traditional, basic, and good, Hutchison wraps his plea for environmental responsibility within twin cloaks of 'curriculum' and 'childhood'. Additionally, he presents his case via deep philosophical concerns juxtaposed with notions of how children (and adolescents as well as adults) learn and interact with curriculum. What is particularly exciting is that the author is able to bring a broad intellectual sweep of over a hundred years of Western educational development to bear on this emerging postmodern societal problem.

Lest I be misunderstood, there is no question that as a civilization and a people we should be concerned about the environment, and must constantly be aware of ways to bring this overriding issue to the attention of young people who, after all, will soon inherit what previous generations have left them. However, Hutchison is subtle in his use of what might be termed 'scare statistics' and it is quite clear that his goal is not just a plea for an ecological friendly curriculum for elementary and middle school aged children, but he consciously places and situates his new curriculum within the traditions of Western educational thought

so as to anchor his notions within intellectual hierarchies that will resonate with the readers.

This is not a 'how to' kind of book with lots of quick and easy in-class activities of questionable long-term effect for teachers to use with various levels of learners. Rather, this is a deep and thought-provoking tome that demands a realistic rethinking of how curriculum is developed and applied in the schools and, further, how such a retooling – within the intellectual traditions that envelope our schools – might have a most positive effect, over time, on the environmental state that exists in our contemporary world. Hutchison is quite clear in stating that he feels that we are in the midst of an ecological crisis that, if left unchecked, could have a major impact upon how humans inhabit this planet; however, his solution rests in a carefully developed, crafted, and age specific program that emanates from the great educational traditions of Western civilization.

For this reader, the heart and soul of the Hutchison book were the concluding chapters in which the author creatively investigated the whole notion of 'childhood' from several points of view and over the last century or so. These three chapters lay bare a novel view of how children think and interact with their local environment and it is on this redefinition that Hutchison postulates a different curriculum – one that is ecologically centered and grounded – for the twenty-first century.

Growing Up Green is an essential read for just about all educators, regardless of their level of instruction. Hutchison has done a masterful job of realigning concepts of curriculum development along with aspects of how people learn such that a coherent and realistic master plan of ecological renewal emerges.

As teachers, parents, and caregivers, we need to involve children in ecologically and culturally significant endeavors that restore natural places and richly textured play and learning places to cities and strengthen ties to local communities. To sustain these initiatives, we need to renew our commitment to make our cities safe for men, women, and children. (Hutchison, 1998, p. 153)

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JON G. BRADLEY, *McGill University*

JAMES R. KING. *Uncommon Caring: Learning from men who teach young children.* New York: Teachers College Press (1998). 168 pp. \$19.95 ISBN: 0-8077-3739-9 (paper); \$44 ISBN: 0-8077-3740-2 (cloth).

As I watched the argument grow and intensify, I realized that I had lost control of the direction of this third year B. Ed. professional seminar class. These twenty-one elementary education teacher candidates were engaged in their own war of words and ideas, and operating on a plane and with the intensity associated with those in the heat of battle that momentarily excluded me – the slightly over the hill faculty instructor.

"What the hell do you mean 'Men have fewer discipline problems'?" asked Mary with a rising tone and a straight back delivery. Her question appeared to be thrown across the tables at the targeted male colleague. Not to be outdone, Robert replied in an equally forceful manner, "It is a proven fact that men have fewer management problems than women because of our stronger voices!" Sally responded with a note of skepticism, "What 'proven facts' are you referring to – sounds like an old fashioned male chauvinistic pig attitude to me!"

The accusations, comments, questions, and half-truths flew around the room. Detached from the *melée*, I was pleasantly surprised to notice that even in the heat of this gender battle, civility showed itself as the students let others finish before they commented. Quite clearly, this was an unequal contest as the three male students attempted to ward off the arrows of an overwhelmingly more numerous group of females. However, within a few moments it became clear that the wrath had been spent and the various arguments and statements were coming around for the second and third trips as the knowledge base of these teachers-in-training demonstrated its limiting depth.

Over a quarter century of my own evolving preservice education training experiences, I have encountered a consistently small number of men who had opted for the elementary option. I really did not give their career decisions much thought, or – strangely – did I dwell on my original motives either. At times, I would vaguely remember my interview for my first full-time public school teaching position. In my mind, the overall interview had progressed well, and the committee (made up of two principals and one board official) were chatting with me in regard to grade level, school location, long-term plans, etc. My clear desire for an elementary position was seriously challenged even though I had just completed an elementary training program. While I cannot

recollect the conversation in its entirety or with absolute accuracy, the following assertions are representative.

- Why do you want to *waste* yourself at the elementary level?
- You know, some people may think that you are f-u-n-n-y?
- What good is your masters degree in history at grade four?
- Well, even if you want the elementary grades, the *Board* has a policy of never placing a man in the lower grades!
- We never leave males – *normal* males that is – longer than two or three years in grade schools as teachers – our parents will *talk*!

Resurfacing back to the present and reasserting my place at the end of the room and at the head of the table, I called the class together and attempted to review and make some professional sense of the last several minutes. My innocent questions of what appeared to be so long ago had simply asked, "I wonder why so few males select elementary education as a career?" and "what might be in your opinion some of the differences between male and female elementary teachers?"

As the professional seminar group refocused and redirected its individual and collective thoughts, Mary commented that her brother-in-law and sister had refused to send their preschool aged children to a particular day-care center near their home because the facility employed male caregivers. This somewhat drastic decision was based on their apparently collective and strong conception that men were "dangerous" with your children. Roberta, in a similar vein, reported to the group that her cousin had stated at a recent family gathering that any man who taught in the primary grades was "not to be trusted". Still another female student acknowledged that her sister had told her that men should only be allowed to work with young children if a female co-caregiver was always in attendance. As the chat and the individual narratives emerged and the stories became far more intimate and personal, the full import of the overt gender discrimination added a new and somewhat awkward tone to the discussion. One student quietly asked, "Why is it OK for a father to take care of his own child, but no one else's?"

In this vein, James R. King has written a powerful and thought provoking book. At times, this is a disturbing volume. King combines a set of unique and intimate narratives within a 'caring' philosophical framework. King attempts to come to grips with the social and community

pressures as well as the all too often unspoken sexual and gender undertones that permeate this whole issue of men as primary caregivers. In part, *Uncommon Caring* documents the personal and professional stories of six current male primary teachers and presents a different and intimate snap-shot of an aspect of their professional lives. Additionally, *Uncommon Caring* presents an overview of a North American society that appears to demand that fathers take a more proactive stance in child rearing and yet, conversely, finds unsubstantiated fault with men who wish to work with young children. Furthermore in an ever more twisted and at times Kafkaesque-like scenario, this same community creates and sustains stereotypical issues. These submerged images, along with selected isolated public examples, tend to brand all male caregivers as somewhat deviant (or at least potentially deviant) 'non-men' who cannot be trusted with the care of young children.

There is no question that male elementary teachers are a minority within the realm of the North American elementary school. The National Education Association [NEA] (1997) reports that males account for only 9.1% of the total elementary teaching cohort. The comparative data from the NEA over the last several decades clearly demonstrates that there has been a marked dissolution in absolute numbers of male elementary teachers over the last fifteen years. Specifically, the NEA stated that "percentages of males at the elementary levels have declined steadily since 1981, dropping from 17.7 percent to 9.1 percent in 1996" (p. 76).

Equally recent but less detailed information from the Canadian Teachers' Federation (1998) reports that during the 1994–1995 school year, 22.7% of all elementary (more broadly defined as grades K to 8) teachers in Canada were male. It is important to note the significant decline within the three years since the cross-Canada survey by King and Peart (1992) which indicated a male elementary percentage of 6% in the K to 3 grade range, and 28% at the grades 4 to 6 levels. However, the prediction by King and Peart that male percentages at the elementary level would begin to drastically decline by the turn of the century and begin to mirror the single digit figures as represented by the American data appears to be demonstrated by these figures. Finally, very recent data from the Gouvernement du Québec (1998) indicate that no more than 2% of preschool teachers are males and only about 15% of elementary level teachers are males.

Uncommon Caring raises a number of very important and all too often ignored professional issues. King suggests that men who enter the

primary arena do so against a backdrop of unstated criticism and innuendo. Specifically, King suggests that "a public perception is that men who teach primary grades are often either homosexuals, pedophiles, or principals in training" (p. 3). Throughout his look at the caring environment of the primary school, King constantly juxtapositions notions and paints a realistic and interwoven picture that is both disturbing and enthralling. At times bordering on the rhetorical, King challenges his readers to break commonly held myths as well as ill-conceived perceptions, and to engage in a fundamental discussion of males as primary care givers and of young children as primary care receivers.

Teachers can either be committed or uncommitted to their caring for children. Their construction of teaching as caring is based on their own philosophies about learning and about children. Biological sex as well as sexual orientation have evidently little to do with whether or not men are or can be effective as primary teachers. Socially constructed gender roles and their effective deployment *are* teaching. It is, therefore, others' use of their own perceptions of caring and their automatic suspicions about men's acts of caring that are the real problem with men in elementary teaching. (emphasis in original, p. 139).

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BOOKS RECEIVED

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

Blitz, M., & Hurlbert, M. (1998). *Letters for the living: Teaching writing in a violent age*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. 181 pp. PB \$25.95 (NCTE members \$18.95) ISBN 0-8141-2803-3.

Brown, J.E., & Stephens, E.C. (Eds.). (1998). *United in diversity: Using multicultural young adult literature in the classroom*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. 221 pp. PB \$22.95 (NCTE members \$16.95) ISBN 0-8141-5571-5.

Covington, M.V. (1998). *The will to learn: A guide for motivating young people*. 322 pp. HB \$59.95 ISBN 0-521-55353-9. PB \$19.95 ISBN 0-521-55679-1.

Greenwood, B., & Collins, H. (Illustrator). (1998). *The last safe house. A story of the underground railroad*. Toronto: Kids Can Press. 119 pp. HC \$22.95 ISBN 1-55074-507-7. PB \$14.95 ISBN 1-55074-5507-4.

Hancock, P., & Mantha, J. (Illustrator). (1998). *The kids book of Canadian Prime Ministers*. Toronto: Kids Can Press. 56 pp. HC \$18.95 ISBN 1-55074-473-9.

Holmes, M. (1998). *The reformation of Canada's schools: Breaking the barriers to parental choice*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 293 pp. PB \$24.95 ISBN 0-7735-1746-4. HC \$65. ISBN 07735-1745-6.

Hodge, D., & Stephens, P. (Illustrator). (1998). *Beavers*. Toronto: Kids Can Press. 32 pp. HC \$14.95 ISBN 1-55074-429-1.

Laminack, L.L. (1998). *Volunteers working with young readers*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. 144 pp. PB \$14.95 (NCTE members \$10.95) ISBN 0-8141-3410-6.

Larochelle, M., Bednarz, N., Garrison, J. (Eds.). (1998). *Constructivism and education*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 305 pp. HC \$54.95 ISBN 0-521-62135-6.

Mahiri, J. (1998). *Shooting for excellence: African American and youth culture in new century schools*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. 166 pp. PB \$26.95 (NCTE members \$19.95) ISBN 0-8141-4463-2.

Nicolson, C.P., & Slavin, B. (Illustrator). (1998). *Starting with space series: The stars*. Toronto: Kids Can Press. 40 pp. HC \$14.95 ISBN 1-55074-524-7. By the same authors: *The Planets*. 40 pp. HC \$14.95 ISBN 1-55074-512-3.

Parasnis, I. (Ed.). (1998). *Cultural and language diversity and the deaf experience*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 306 pp. HC \$49.95 ISBN 0-521-45477-8. PB \$19.95 ISBN 0-521-64565-4.

Raymond, D., & Lenoir, Y. (Éds.). (1998). *Enseignants de métier et formation initiale: Des changements dans les rapports de formation à l'enseignement*. Paris-Bruxelles: De Boeck Université. (available through erpidlm@odyssee.net). 324 pp. ISBN 2-8041-2612-9

Service, R.W., & Harrison, T. (Illustrator). (1998). *The cremation of Sam McGee*. Toronto: Kids Can Press. 32 pp. HC \$18.95 ISBN 1-91964-92-3. PB \$8.95 ISBN 1-55074-606-5.

Service, R.W., & Harrison, T. (Illustrator). (1998). *The Shooting of Dan McGrew*. Toronto: Kids Can Press. 32 pp. HC \$16.95 ISBN 1-921103-35-2. PB \$8.95 ISBN 1-55074-608-1.

Singleton, J. (Ed.). (1998). *Learning in likely places. Varieties of apprenticeship in Japan*. New York: Cambridge University Press. HB \$64.95 ISBN 0-521-48012-4.

Wolcott, W., & Legg, S.M. (1998). *An overview of writing assessment*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. PB \$25.95 (NCTE members \$18.95) ISBN 0-8141-3490-4.

INDEX: VOLUME 33

- 71 ABDI, ALI A. *Economic liberalization and women's education: Prospects for post-apartheid South Africa*
- 299 BRADLEY, JON G. *Some random thoughts on the ethical behaviour of teacher candidates*
- 127 EDWARDS, REGINALD *1854 revisited: McGill College seeks a new principal*
- 7 GURNEY, PENELOPE J. *On the association between modes of mental representation and mathematics experience in teacher education*
- 189 HAINES, JIM *Curriculum implementation in Ontario: Espoused and de facto aspirations for inquiry*
- 207 HERRY, YVES *Les finissants francophones en éducation de l'Ontario: La situation de l'emploi*
- 207 HINTON, ANGELA *Les finissants francophones en éducation de l'Ontario: La situation de l'emploi*
- 85 KEPRON, JAMES P. *Reading recovery: Response from the field*
- 253 KOLESAR, RASTISLAV *Participant observation: A research and assessment approach for multiply disabled populations*
- 31 LIN, JING *The potentials and problems of diversity in Chinese education*
- 51 LIU, XIUFENG *Integration of computers into the curriculum: How teachers may hinder students' use of computers*
- 51 MACMILLAN, ROBERT *Integration of computers into the curriculum: How teachers may hinder students' use of computers*
- 207 MALTAIS, CLAIRE *Les finissants francophones en éducation de l'Ontario: La situation de l'emploi*
- 335 MEYER, MATTHEW J. *In Memoriam: Remembering Geoffrey Isherwood*
- 221 PATEL, VIMLA *In Memoriam: A tribute to Thomas O. Eisemon*
- 189 PUK, TOM *Curriculum implementation in Ontario: Espoused and de facto aspirations for inquiry*
- 31 ROSS, HEIDI *The potentials and problems of diversity in Chinese education*

- 332 SMITH, DAVID C. *In Memoriam: A tribute to Dean George E. Flower*
 5 TALLEY, WILLIAM M. *Editorial: Beneficial research from the field*
 125 TALLEY, WILLIAM M. *Editorial: Enlightening us about McGill's early history*
 227 TALLEY, WILLIAM M. *Editorial: Some thoughts on special education
 and cultural identity of teachers*
 265 THÉBERGE, MARIETTE *L'identité culturelle d'étudiants de la formation
 à l'enseignement: Sentiments et référents identitaires*
 51 TIMMONS, VIANNE *Integration of computers into the curriculum: How
 teachers may hinder students' use of computers*
 177 TROTTIER, CLAUDE *L'éducation et les problèmes de marginalisation sur
 le marché du travail*
 285 WARD, ANGELA *The role of mentorship in a Saskatchewan cross-
 cultural teacher education project*
 229 WINZER, MARGRET A. *The inclusion movement and teacher change:
 Where are the limits?*

Reviews

AXELROD, PAUL.

The promise of schooling: Education in Canada. 1800-1914.

Toronto: University of Toronto Press (1997). (By: Jon G. Bradley, 118).

BEYER, LANDON E. (Editor).

Creating democratic classrooms: The struggle to integrate theory & practice.

New York: Teachers College Press (1996). (By: Jon G. Bradley, 101).

CHRISTIAN, SCOTT.

Exchanging lives: Middle school writers online.

Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English (1997). (By: Helen Amoriggl, 116).

EGAN, KIERAN.

How cognitive tools shape our understanding.

Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press (1997). (By: Andrew Carson, 106).

GIROUX, HENRY A.

Channel surfing: Race talk and the destruction of today's youth.

Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press (1997). (By: Winston Emery, 113).

HUTCHISON, DAVID.

Growing up green: Education for ecological renewal.

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Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English (1977). (By: Abigale Anderson, 109).

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New York: Teachers College Press (1997). (By: Jon G. Bradley, 101).

CORRECTION
VOLUME 33 NUMBER 2
SPRING 1998

the "In Memoriam" was incorrectly attributed in the Table of Contents.

Would you kindly attach the enclosed label to the "Table of Contents" page of Vol. 33 No. 2.

In Memoriam

221 A TRIBUTE TO THOMAS O. EISEMON

Vimla Patel

Table of Contents

221 In Memoriam: A Tribute to Thomas O. Eisemon

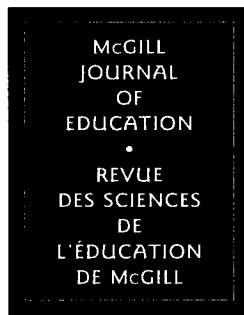
The author of this *In Memoriam* is Vimla L. Patel.

*1854 Revisited: McGill College seeks a new Principal
by Reginald Edwards*

Page 158 line 18: for Tait read Arnold

Page 150 line 4: should read: nephew of Lord Cockburn, Judge of the Court of Session, Lord of Judiciary, one time Lord Advocate Depute, and former Solicitor General of Scotland.

Cockburn was never a Writer to the Signet. In 1880 he entered the Faculty of Advocates. A Whig, he was appointed by his Tory relatives to the political office of Lord Advocate Depute, only to be dismissed four years later. The Whigs in the Earl Grey Administration made him Solicitor General for Scotland, but he continued to be known by one and all as "Cocky." He was appointed to be a Judge of the Court of Session, trying civil cases, and later as Lord of Judiciary, trying criminal cases. Archibald Davidson, David's elder brother, was one of the trustees of Cockburn's estate.



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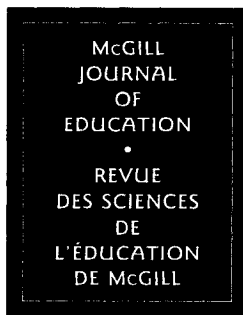
Notre journal traite de tout un éventail de sujets dans le domaine des sciences de l'éducation en général. Même si les articles traitent avant tout de la situation canadienne, certains portent également sur des recherches et des problèmes théoriques revêtant une importance mondiale, ainsi que sur des sujets propres au Québec.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

FALL 1998 VOL. 33 NO. 3

- 227 EDITORIAL: SOME THOUGHTS ON SPECIAL EDUCATION
AND CULTURAL IDENTITY OF TEACHERS *William M. Talley*
- 229 THE INCLUSION MOVEMENT AND TEACHER CHANGE:
WHERE ARE THE LIMITS? *Margret A. Winzer*
- 253 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION: A RESEARCH AND ASSESSMENT
APPROACH FOR MULTIPLY DISABLED POPULATIONS *Rastislav Kolesar*
- 265 L'IDENTITÉ CULTURELLE D'ÉTUDIANTS DE LA FORMATION
À L'ENSEIGNEMENT: SENTIMENTS ET RÉFÉRENTS IDENTITAIRES
Mariette Thériberge
- 285 THE ROLE OF MENTORSHIP IN A SASKATCHEWAN CROSS-CULTURAL
TEACHER EDUCATION PROJECT *Angela Ward*

REPORT FROM THE FIELD

- 299 SOME RANDOM THOUGHTS ON THE ETHICAL BEHAVIOUR
OF TEACHER CANDIDATES *Jon G. Bradley*
- 325 BOOK REVIEWS
- 331 BOOKS RECEIVED

IN MEMORIAM

- 332 A TRIBUTE TO DEAN GEORGE E. FLOWER *David C. Smith*
- 335 REMEMBERING GEOFFREY ISHERWOOD *Matthew J. Meyer*
- 339 INDEX – VOLUME 33

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