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EDITORIAL

RIGHTS AND RECOGNITION

A recent front page story in one of Canada's major newspapers, *The Globe and Mail*, began as follows:

Twenty years after prime minister Trudeau braved the anger of the premiers to give the country the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Canadians are overwhelmingly convinced that their rights have been better defended because of his actions.

Nearly three quarters of Canadians view their rights as better protected because of the Charter, a recent poll by Ipsos-Reid Poll conducted for the *Globe and Mail* and CTV suggests. (Makin, 2002)

This news item raises a fascinating question about how individuals, in Canada at least, see their own social identity. A document of rights and freedoms "on paper" – together with the social structures that facilitate and safeguard those rights – can take on an importance that is perfectly clear to members of the public and is valued by them. Almost certainly, contemporary education in Canada's schools is a significant element in creating this attitude. The schools' efforts to promote understanding and respect for individuals and groups across enormous areas of difference form one foundation of this public stance.

Behind this Charter of Rights lies another written document, formulated just after World War Two, in which a different Canadian was famously involved. John Humphrey brought together current thinking and his own vision of the just society, in his formulation, in 1947, of what became the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). The first article in this issue of the *McGill Journal of Education* offers an unusual perspective on Humphrey's achievement. It argues that his intense struggle in the area of human rights, his insistence on the need to recognize others, emerged from deep sources in Humphrey's own early experience. A. J. Hobbins sees Humphrey's work, indeed, as coming in part from his own early sense of helplessness and humiliation in an education system that, in keeping with much thinking of its time and culture, did not see student rights as an issue. Indeed, Hobbins argues, the beatings and "fagging," poor

food and freezing dormitories, domineering and insensitive pedagogy that Humphrey experienced¹ gave him a true insight into suffering and powerlessness.

The remaining articles in this issue offer challenging and widely varied studies of controversial issues in education. They show the inevitable inter-relationship of educational issues with politics, economics, religious, cultural and linguistic differences, and the special interests of certain groups. Suzanne Majhanovich presents a vigorously argued account of the current position of teachers in Ontario. Her provocative paper sets forth a view of what she calls the “de-skilling” of teachers that has accompanied a neo-liberal agenda with very explicit ideological foundations. The article raises intriguing parallels with Olssen’s analysis of a similar development in New Zealand at the university level (Olssen, 2002).

The next three articles have been set together in spite of their differences of approach and subject because they offer a rich set of perspectives on current educational discussions in three different countries on the African continent: Nigeria, Cameroon, and Botswana. Joel Babalola examines funding for education in Nigeria over the last 36 years. He argues that funding has often been shaped by forces quite different from the apparent and obvious benefits of providing greater resources, and that it needs to be informed by a new attention to the cultural, economic and social needs of those concerned.

Gilbert Tsafak presents an intriguing and challenging set of results from a national survey of students’ attitudes in Cameroon: he finds that their self-definition as part of specific tribal and linguistic groups can work sharply against their interactions with each other in the larger society. Many questions arise from this, about the way schools and communities present “self” and “other” – or use Charles Taylor’s definition, the ways in which identity is inextricably linked to questions of recognition. Taylor sees this as a:

person’s understanding of who they are, of their fundamental defining characteristics as a human being. The thesis is that our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves. Nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being. (Taylor, 1994, p. 25)

Michael Adeyemi and Augustus Adeyinka provide an intriguing account of the tensions between a Western/colonial educational past and the resur-

gence of traditional educational values in African societies. While recognizing that the past cannot – and should not – simply be repeated, they see values and practices from traditional education that may be of major benefit to the realities of students' lives and well-being today.

Finally, in our Perspectives section, Patricia Vickers presents an impassioned account of her own trajectory through a Canadian educational system as a First Nations student. Her reflections on history and culture, dominance and resistance, reveal that in Canada as elsewhere there are many unresolved challenges still to be met.

The articles throughout this issue disturb more than they reassure. They contest many issues in ways that may raise strong reactions and counter-reactions in readers. What they all do, however, is to reawaken a sense of the vital seriousness of educational work; they show how a complex interplay of rights and recognition remains at the heart of what happens in schools.

A.B.

NOTE

1. It must be made quite clear, of course, that the conditions in the school where Humphrey arrived in 1916 bear no relationship of any kind to those of the contemporary school which partially includes its name.

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ÉDITORIAL

DROITS ET RECONNAISSANCE

Un article paru récemment à la une du *Globe and Mail*, l'un des plus grands quotidiens du Canada, commençait en ces termes :

Vingt ans après que le Premier ministre Trudeau a osé braver la colère des premiers ministres provinciaux pour donner au pays sa Charte des droits et libertés, une écrasante majorité de Canadiens sont convaincus que leurs droits sont mieux protégés grâce à son action.

Près des trois-quarts des Canadiens considèrent que leurs droits sont mieux protégés grâce à la Charte, si l'on en croit un récent sondage d'Ipsos-Reid réalisé pour le *Globe and Mail* et CTV (Makin, 2002)

Cet article soulève une question passionnante sur la façon dont les citoyens, du moins au Canada, perçoivent leur propre identité sociale. Un document écrit traitant des droits et libertés (accompagné des structures sociales qui facilitent et protègent ces droits) peut être d'une importance sans équivoque et d'un grand prix pour le public. On peut affirmer avec quasi-certitude que l'enseignement moderne dans les écoles du Canada a contribué à créer cette attitude. Les efforts que déploient les écoles pour promouvoir la compréhension et le respect entre individus et groupes en dépit de différences colossales sont à la base de cette position publique.

Derrière la Charte des droits et libertés, se dissimule un autre document rédigé juste après la Deuxième guerre mondiale, et dont l'un des architectes est un autre Canadien célèbre. John Humphrey a réuni les réflexions de l'époque et sa propre vision d'une société juste dans sa formulation en 1947 de ce qui est devenu la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme de l'ONU (1948). Le premier article de cette livraison de la *Revue des sciences de l'éducation de McGill* propose un point de vue inhabituel sur la Déclaration. Son auteur affirme que la lutte acharnée que Humphrey a menée dans le domaine des droits de l'homme et son insistance sur la nécessité de reconnaître les autres trouvent leurs sources profondes dans la propre expérience de jeunesse de Humphrey. A. J. Hobbins estime en effet que l'œuvre de Humphrey est inspirée en partie par le sentiment d'impuissance et d'humiliation qu'il a ressenti très jeune dans un système d'éducation qui ne considérait pas les droits des élèves, conformément à la pensée de cette époque et à sa culture. John Hobbins soutient que les brutalités et les menues corvées, la mauvaise nourriture et les dortoirs glaciaux, la domination et la pédagogie brusque que Humphrey a connus¹ lui ont fait véritablement comprendre ce qu'était la souffrance et l'impuissance.

Les autres articles de ce numéro proposent des analyses passionnantes et variées de questions controversées dans le domaine de l'éducation. Ils témoignent de l'interdépendance inévitable des questions d'éducation, de politique, d'économie, de différences religieuses, culturelles et linguistiques et des intérêts spéciaux de certains groupes. Suzanne Majhanovich analyse vigoureusement la situation actuelle des enseignants en Ontario. Son article, qui pousse à la réflexion, dénonce ce qu'elle appelle la « déqualification » des enseignants qui s'est faite parallèlement à un programme néolibéral aux fondements idéologiques parfaitement explicites. L'article établit des parallèles fort intéressants avec l'analyse qu'Olssen propose d'une situation semblable en Nouvelle-Zélande au niveau universitaire (Olssen, 2002).

Les trois articles suivants ont été regroupés en dépit de leur approche et de leurs sujets différents, car ils offrent un ensemble de points de vue très riches sur les dossiers pédagogiques d'actualité dans trois pays différents du continent africain : le Nigeria, le Cameroun, et le Botswana. Joel Babalola analyse le financement de l'éducation au Nigeria depuis 36 ans. Il affirme que le financement a souvent été dicté par des forces qui diffèrent radicalement des avantages apparents et évidents tirés du déblocage de moyens accrus alors qu'il devrait être guidé par un regain d'attention porté aux besoins culturels, économiques et sociaux des intéressés.

Gilbert Tsafak expose un ensemble de résultats intéressants tirés d'un sondage national sur les attitudes des élèves au Cameroun : il constate que la façon dont ils se définissent comme membres de groupes tribaux et linguistiques particuliers peut sérieusement nuire à leurs rapports mutuels dans la société en général. De nombreuses questions résultent de ce phénomène, notamment la façon dont les écoles et les collectivités présentent le « moi » et « l'autre », ou pour reprendre la définition de Charles Taylor, la façon dont l'identité est inextricablement liée aux questions de reconnaissance. Taylor voit cela comme :

... la perception que les gens ont d'eux-mêmes et des caractéristiques fondamentales qui les définissent comme êtres humains. La thèse est que notre identité est partiellement formée par la reconnaissance ou par son absence, ou encore par la mauvaise perception qu'en ont les autres : une personne ou un groupe de personnes peuvent subir un dommage ou une déformation réelle si les gens ou la société qui les entourent leur renvoient une image minimisée, avilissante ou méprisante d'eux-mêmes. La non-reconnaissance ou la reconnaissance inadéquate peuvent causer du tort et constituer une forme d'oppression, en emprisonnant certains dans une manière d'être fautive, déformée et réduite. (Taylor, 1994, pp. 41-42)

Michael Adeyemi et Augustus Adeyinka proposent un compte rendu intrigant des tensions qui existent entre un passé éducatif occidental et colonial et la

résurgence des valeurs éducatives traditionnelles dans les sociétés africaines. Tout en admettant que le passé ne peut et ne doit tout simplement pas être répété, ils pensent qu'il y a des valeurs et des pratiques dans l'éducation traditionnelle qui pourraient avoir des retombées intéressantes sur l'existence et le bien-être des élèves d'aujourd'hui.

Enfin, dans notre chronique *Perspectives*, Patricia Vickers présente un compte rendu passionné de sa propre trajectoire dans le système éducatif canadien en tant qu'élève autochtone. Ses réflexions sur l'histoire et la culture, la domination et la résistance, révèlent qu'au Canada comme ailleurs, il reste quantité de questions à résoudre.

Les articles de ce numéro sont davantage troublants que rassurants. Ils remettent en question de nombreux dossiers qui suscitent de fortes réactions et contre-réactions chez les lecteurs. Ce qu'ils font tous cependant, c'est de réveiller le sens de l'importance vitale des travaux sur l'éducation; ils montrent comment la complexité de l'interaction des droits et de la reconnaissance demeure au cœur de ce qui se passe dans les écoles.

A.B.

NOTE

1. Il faut bien comprendre bien entendu que la situation qui régnait dans l'école que Humphrey a fréquentée en 1916 n'a aucun rapport avec celle de l'école moderne qui porte partiellement son nom.

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JOHN HUMPHREY'S SCHOOLDAYS: THE INFLUENCE OF SCHOOL EXPERIENCE ON THE CANADIAN WHO DRAFTED THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

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ABSTRACT. John Peters Humphrey prepared the first draft of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and was, for decades, one of the world's premier human rights advocates and activists. One of the great strengths of the Declaration was the decision to include social/economic rights, in addition to the more traditional civil/political ones, a duality that Humphrey had created in the first draft. Humphrey's difficult early life had given him unusual insights into suffering, powerlessness and the nature of human dignity. After having one arm amputated when he was 6 and being orphaned when he was 11, he was faced with a new challenge when he was sent away to a boarding school in Rothesay, N.B., where he spent four unhappy years. This paper draws on a variety of sources, including letters and memoirs, to examine the influence of his school experience on his later life and work, especially as it affected his draft of the Declaration.

LES ANNÉES D'ÉCOLE DE JOHN HUMPHREY : L'INFLUENCE DE L'EXPÉRIENCE SCOLAIRE SUR LE CANADIEN QUI A RÉDIGÉ LA DÉCLARATION UNIVERSELLE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME

RÉSUMÉ. John Peters Humphrey a rédigé la première version de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et pendant des dizaines d'années a été l'un des plus grands défenseurs et activistes des droits de l'homme dans le monde. L'un des grands innovations de la Déclaration est la décision d'y incorporer les droits sociaux et économiques, en plus des droits civils et politiques plus traditionnels, dualité introduite par Humphrey dans cette première version. Les premières années difficiles de la vie de Humphrey lui ont donné une appréhension inhabituelle des souffrances, de l'impuissance et de la nature de la dignité humaine. Amputé d'un bras à l'âge de six ans, puis orphelin à l'âge de onze ans, Humphrey a dû faire face à un nouveau défi de taille lorsqu'on l'a envoyé en pensionnat à Rothesay (N.B.), où il a passé quatre années difficiles. Cet article s'inspire de diverses sources, notamment de lettres et mémoires, pour analyser l'impact de sa scolarité sur sa vie et sa profession ainsi que son influence sur la première version de la Déclaration.

John Peters Humphrey (1905-1995) is now recognized as one of the great human rights advocates and activists of the twentieth century. Yet Humphrey's achievements were little known until recently. The main purpose of this article is to focus closely on his early years and, in particular, to examine the influence school experience had on his later development. First, however, it is necessary to trace his adult career as an advocate for individual and collective human rights.

During the Great Depression, Humphrey, as a young Montreal lawyer, became a socialist and developed his theories of the government's responsibility to look after the economic and social well-being of its citizens. In the Second World War, as a law professor at McGill University, he broadcast over the national CBC network, putting forward his views that Canada could become united only with adequate social security programs and the adoption of official bilingualism and biculturalism. The evils of the war persuaded him that it was not enough to advocate social justice only in Canada, and he turned his attention to the international arena. In August 1946 he was appointed the first Director of the UN Division of Human Rights and, six months later at the request of Eleanor Roosevelt, he authored the first draft of what became the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).¹ This instrument was the first attempt to recognize the individual in international law, which until then had only recognized nations. One of its great strengths was to include social/economic rights, in addition to the more traditional civil/political ones – a duality that Humphrey had included in the first draft.

Over the next twenty years at the UN, Humphrey worked on the two human rights covenants and various means of implementation. After retiring from the UN he remained active, teaching law at McGill once more, while co-founding Amnesty International (Canada) and the Canadian Human Rights Foundation. He served on numerous bodies such as the International Commission of Jurists, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, and the International Commission of Inquiry into the 1932/33 Famine in the Ukraine. He advocated many individual causes including seeking compensation for groups such as the Canadian Hong Kong veterans and the Korean Comfort Women. His name became synonymous with human rights advocacy for the knowledgeable few, yet it was generally unrecognized outside those circles.

It is probable that Humphrey did not receive wide recognition for his work during his lifetime because human rights advocates, who constantly criticize governments, tend to become unpopular in official circles, and this unpopularity can affect public awareness. Humphrey was deeply shocked when Canada abstained in the voting on the UDHR in the Third Committee of the General Assembly on December 7 1948. Nor was he much mollified

when that vote was changed to an affirmative three days later in the Plenary Session of the General Assembly. From that point on he began to criticize Canada's human rights record. One can feel a certain sympathy for Canada, by no means the worst of nations, in that every little misstep it made over the decades in the area of human rights tended to draw a rumble of Humphrey's thunder from the left. For nearly fifty years he fired his salvos at Ottawa, almost always from the moral high ground of the Declaration. Policy makers probably grew very tired of this criticism and ultimately found it simplest to ignore him.² He began to gain wider recognition in the closing years of his life when papers proving his authorship of that first draft of the UDHR, long wrongly attributed to another, were discovered.³ Slowly the story of his enormous contributions emerged and acknowledgement came from many quarters except, like the prophet's honour, in his own country.

Inevitably this situation changed with Humphrey's death. In the years leading up to the fiftieth anniversary of the UDHR in 1998, he became something of a national icon. The city of Côte Saint-Luc in Quebec inaugurated its Human Rights Walkway with a Humphrey memorial. The International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development added his name to its annual Freedom Award, and several institutions now give Humphrey lectures. In his birthplace of Hampton, New Brunswick, music teacher Ann Scott of the Hampton Elementary School wrote a musical play, *Peace Cranes 2000*, partially based on his life, for 200 student performers (Ainsworth, 2000). In June 1998, as part of Festival Canada, the National Arts Centre prepared a major exhibit on his life and achievements called *Citizen of the World*. This exhibit has since toured the country. In September of that year, Nelson Mandela dedicated a special Humphrey plaque on the Human Rights Monument in Ottawa. The government also settled Humphrey's last case by agreeing to pay compensation to the Hong Kong veterans. Finally on October 7 1998 Canada Post unveiled the new 45-cent Humphrey stamp.

There was a separate launching of the Humphrey stamp at RCS Netherwood, a private school in Rothesay, N.B., about halfway between Hampton and St. John. Humphrey's rise from obscurity to prominence had been rapid, and hasty examinations of his early life revealed the information that he had attended Rothesay Collegiate School (RCS), the boys' boarding school that was a predecessor to the co-educational RCS Netherwood. It seems appropriate enough to have held the stamp launching there, although perhaps the school had but recently learned of its distinguished alumnus. A number of speakers extolled Humphrey's achievements with perhaps greater enthusiasm than accuracy – as if exaggeration could make up for decades of neglect. The keynote speaker called Humphrey a man of "incredible intelligence" whose determination moved the UDHR through the UN's extensive bu-

reacuracy towards becoming international law (Hawkins, 1998). Honesty more than modesty would have caused Humphrey himself to challenge the accuracy of such assessments. The school authorities may have wondered during these speeches how they could have spent so many decades blithely unaware that such a paragon was one of their Old Boys. Yet, if the school had forgotten Humphrey, he had never forgotten the school. His experiences there profoundly affected him in later years when he became engaged in drafting the UDHR. In the pages that follow, Humphrey's education at Rothesay Collegiate School (RCS) is explored, drawing on a variety of sources, including autobiographical texts and original letters which are not yet widely known.

RCS Netherwood was created in 1984 through the merger of RCS and Netherwood School for Girls, a separate institution founded in 1894.⁴ In 1891 James F. Robertson had purchased Thomson's School (established 1877) and renamed it RCS. In 1908 the Synod of the Diocese of Fredericton took over the running of the school and appointed the Reverend W.R. Hibbard as headmaster. Hibbard ran RCS as a boys' boarding school on the British public school model. The mission of the school, for those who wished to pursue higher education, was to prepare students to take the McGill Normal examinations, necessary for admission to most universities in Canada. Other groups took courses to prepare them to enter the Royal Military College, Kingston, or for management careers in business and industry. It was to this environment that Humphrey came in 1916, the newest of 81 pupils (*Blue and White*, 1916, Vol. 12, No. 1, p. 11).

Humphrey's childhood had been a painful one. He was the third child of Frank Monmouth Humphrey, a St. John shoe manufacturer, who resided in Hampton about thirty miles from St. John on the Kennebecasis River. Frank died of cancer when John was only thirteen months old. At age 6 John's left arm was amputated at the shoulder after an accident in which his clothes caught fire. Finally, when he was 11, his mother also died of cancer. His sister, Ruth, who went on to a distinguished academic career at the University of British Columbia, was just entering Mount Allison University at this juncture. His brother Douglas, then 17, immediately left school and went into business, eventually making his career with the investment company, A.E. Ames of Montreal. This left only the problem of John for his father's executor, J.M. Scovil. Scovil, a partner in Scovil Bros. of St. John, was in the clothing business. He considered that his duty as Frank's executor was to preserve the estate's capital and to get the heirs into the job market as quickly as possible. This would later bring him in to conflict with Humphrey over the latter's desire to continue at university (Hobbins, 1994-2000, Vol. 1, pp. 12-14).

While both Humphrey's parents came from large families, his aunts and uncles had families of their own and lacked the resources to look after another child. Fortunately Frank had taken the prudent step, unusual for the time, of taking out life insurance so there was some money to look after his children's educational or other needs. It was decided that the best thing to do would be to send the young John to RCS, and arrange for him to spend the vacations with one or other of his relatives. Humphrey himself welcomed the idea of going to RCS since he had gleaned some romantic notions of British public school life through his readings in *Chums* and *Boy's Own Paper*. He recalled the exciting prospect, writing:

... nothing seemed to me more desirable than the life of an English public school boy as described in these journals. Rothesay, I thought, would be like that. My sister, who was going that fall to Mount Allison University, supervised the purchase of the regulation school wardrobe which included such exotic items as an Oxford grey quasi military uniform – there was plenty of black braid and the tunic buttoned up to the neck – and the school cap. I wanted very much to wear these immediately, but they were packed away awaiting the day when I would be off for Rothesay. (Humphrey, c. 1990, p. 16)

Humphrey's RCS experiences are recounted in his weekly letters to his sister⁵ and his later reminiscences (Humphrey, c. 1990). They were to show how badly he had been misled by those boy's magazines. As he recalled later, he "hated nearly every minute of the four years" he spent at RCS (Humphrey, c. 1990, p.17). However, neither the scribbled letters of a lonely adolescent nor the memoirs of an octogenarian, coloured by the passage of time, can be considered wholly reliable historical sources. Hopefully through the examination of both sources a truer picture of private education in the early part of the twentieth century and its effect on the life of a distinguished Canadian will emerge. The RCS that influenced Humphrey so greatly was not necessarily the school that other students might have remembered but rather the one that he had known – the Rothesay of his experience and his memory.

Humphrey had been teased at his earlier school in Hampton because of his handicap. He had been nicknamed the "one-armed Doukhobor" – Doukhobor presumably being considered something of a deadly insult at the time. At RCS nicknames were part of a more formal and somewhat unpleasant procedure. In Humphrey's words:

Whatever good qualities I may have had, I presented a poor figure. I was too fat – or at least the way I wore my uniform must have made me appear so . . . In any event, at the christening of new boys when we were thrown into the college brook, I was christened "fatty" – an epithet which degenerated in the mouths of my enemies to "fat-ass," although the Hampton "one-armed Doukhobor" also continued to hound me. My friends called me "the Duke" – a name which I rather liked. (Humphrey, c. 1990, p. 17)

The name-calling that Humphrey had been subjected to at Hampton had given him an ungovernable temper, which he "made little effort to control and which was only too easily provoked" (Humphrey, c. 1990, p. 18). He would get into frequent fights that he inevitably lost. While Humphrey never explains the origin of his nickname "the Duke," one wonders whether it might have been an ingenious schoolboy reference to the fact that in his frequent fights he could only put up one duke, or simply a more prosaic shortening of Doukhobor.

There were other aspects of life for the new boy that Humphrey intensely disliked:

The school had a time-honored institution of fagging; and all the new boys were collectively the fags of all the old boys. A refusal to do some humiliating thing or even the simple wish to was sanctioned by the obligation to point. This meant leaning over, touching one's toes with one's fingers, and receiving on a part of one's body – which in my case was too fat and hence a certain protection – a sharp blow with some object which could even be a fencing foil. (Humphrey, c. 1990, p. 18)

On the question of corporal punishment in general, Humphrey noted:

The discipline at Rothesay was hard and vicious. One was vulnerable to it all day and even at night. Apart from the more normal possibilities of punishment, there was a particularly vicious institution known as the "slip" system, meant for incorrigible boys of whom in my final year I was to be considered one. If a boy was not doing well in his studies or if he was considered especially unruly, he was given a slip each day which had to be signed by every one of his masters. If he missed one signature in a week, he went on the system for another week; and every miss over that was followed by a thrashing which he received from the Head Master. It was not only the Head who thrashed us. The privilege was shared by all the other masters, some of whom were veritable martinets. (Humphrey, c. 1990, pp. 19-20)

The 'slip' system certainly seemed to be feared. In 1918 Humphrey reported: "Two boys here ran away the other day but they're back locked up in the isolation room. They ran away because they [were] on the slip system. I'm on it now but I hope I'll soon be off."

It was standard practice in boarding schools to isolate returned runaways from the general population, usually pending withdrawal from the school. It would be rare to have an isolation room *per se* – runaways were simply said to be in isolation. There might, however, have been an isolation room for medical purposes that could serve double duty.

It did seem relatively easy to get into trouble, as he related later that year:

[June, 1918]

At Church parade this morning the Sergeant reported a lot of fellows to Beak. I was one of them for not having black boots on. I haven't got any

now. And it's all up with me on Monday too being as Beak will call us up then. I didn't have a hard collar on either. Gee!! We have to pay out of our own money to get our collars clean.

The Sergeant was Drill and Physical Training instructor Richard Dooe, while "Beak" was the nickname of the headmaster, Hibbard. At this time shirts were not changed daily but worn for considerable periods of time. The cuffs and collars were detachable and could be washed and starched separately. Thus one would put on a clean collar rather than a clean shirt for special occasions, while at other times go about with no collar at all.

In his first few terms at Rothesay Humphrey did not fall foul of the teachers too much and did well academically. However, he did not get along with his fellow pupils. Sports were an important aspect of school life, especially from a social perspective, but he was not allowed to participate owing to his handicap. Sergeant Dooe considered the only suitable activity for him was to play the bugle in the cadet band, which led the Church Parade every Sunday. It was therefore initially difficult for him to become integrated into the day-to-day school life. In addition to teasing, he was bullied by classmates who were an average of two years older. He made up his mind to run away if he could not overcome the bullying problem. His difficulties were finally resolved in October 1918 when he changed rooms. He was put in with an older boy, Gordon MacPhail, much admired as an athlete, an arrangement that afforded no small amount of protection. MacPhail agreed to accept his new room mate at the request of his older sister Agnes, a close friend of Ruth's. Humphrey's Uncle Percy then persuaded the school authorities to make the change. Yet as Humphrey slowly experienced better relations with his peers, he began to have more difficulties with the masters.

Humphrey remembered some of the masters vividly. The headmaster:

... was a powerful preacher and certainly at his best in the pulpit. The boys held him in awe, and with good reason, because he was a martinet. He had a long curved nose, like the bill of a hawk, and this had earned him the nickname of the Beak. He had a violent temper and I imagine that the other masters were quite as afraid of him as we boys. I cannot imagine a man worse adapted to be the Head Master of a boys' school. He taught French – right out of the book. Most of our time was devoted to learning irregular verbs and reading passages out of that book. I doubt whether the Beak could speak French, but he certainly knew his irregular verbs. He also taught Divinity. He was as impatient as he was bad-tempered. I once saw him throw a piece of chalk at a boy who could not distinguish between *qui* and *que*. "Er, Great God, boy," he said, and threw the chalk.

I look back to some of the masters with a measure of respect. One such was Mr. Cooper, called the "Old Bird," who taught Latin; but, like the others, he was also a martinet and believed in the strap and the cane. Another ordained minister, the Reverend Mr. Scott, whom we called "Mokum" –

I do not know why – caned a dozen boys in the North House on his first night of duty. He wanted to establish a reputation and he did. There was an American master, called William Rogers, with who I had memorable encounters in my second year. He once asked the class to write an essay. When the marks were announced, the top place went to a boy named White, who was one of my tormentors. I was convinced I had done better than White and was fool enough to say so. There was an argument and, quick-tempered as I was, I said some things I should not have said. Instead of punishing me himself, Rogers sent me to the Beak, which was much worse. But the Beak, to my surprise, did not thrash me. Perhaps he had his own doubts about the master's marking and, being an intelligent man and seeing the state I was in, he could see that I had already had my punishment. It was the one time I can remember him showing any compassion. (Humphrey, c. 1990, pp. 21-22)

Humphrey recalls enjoying a good relationship with only one master, W.A. Haines. He had always had a certain aptitude for drawing and his desire at this time was to become a cartoonist. Humphrey's aunt, Edith Killam, was a well-known painter, while his cousin, Jack Weldon Humphrey, would become famous as a member of the Eastern Group of painters. Ruth arranged through Scovil that Humphrey receive drawing lessons from Haines for an extra fee. Nothing came of these lessons in terms of uncovering any of the family's artistic talent, but it did secure for Humphrey a friend in the establishment with whom he could talk over problems. In retrospect, Humphrey thought that might have been the end intended by his sister (Humphrey, c. 1990, p. 23).

Humphrey's letters show an almost fatalistic unhappiness with life. He was always short of money even to buy stamps, his clothes were ragged compared to his well-dressed peers', and the food was "punk." Daily life was tedious and unchanging, and the rooms were cold in winter, prompting frequent requests for bedsocks. One or other of these factors caused Humphrey to head some letters laconically "Rothsay Cold Storage," presumably a school-boy pun on RCS then in general use. Disasters struck Humphrey on a regular basis, his fountain pens disappeared with amazing regularity, and even religion seemed forced upon him. A brief sample is typical

Sunday [February 1919].

I had to borrow this stamp. Just by luck I got it too. Say, Ruth, next letter you send me you might drop in two stamps. I bust a window so I won't get any pocket money next week. Gee it's hard luck. I didn't have enough money for collection today.

... Well, Ruth, there's absolutely nothing to talk about this old school – the same thing happens every day except when you break a window – why in hang don't they make windows that don't break anyway? That's all I can say.

March 2 1919

Oh Hang! Oh Hang! Oh Hang! I bust another window. Oh Gee I was mad, but another fellow is going to pay half so it's not so bad.

. . . There's no news. Everything's rotten. Smashing windows. . . besides I got a licking from Mr. Cooper night before last.

March 16 1919

Oh here's something awful important that I nearly forgot. Mr. Hibbard wants me to be confirmed in the Church of England. I told [him] that we were Methodists but he told me I'd better go to the Confirmation classes. Say Ruth, I don't want to be confirmed in the Church of England, I want to be a Methodist. Please write and tell me what to say.

April 27 1919

. . . I needed some stamps so I asked Mr. Hibbard for 25¢ worth but he said he didn't have change for a dollar so I had to take thrift stamps in change. That makes me a regular pauper.

Rothesay did not attempt to provide a social education, especially concerning the opposite sex. Humphrey recalled:

We never saw a woman, except the Matron and servants in the dining hall, and, on Sundays at church, the girls from Netherwood, a feminine duplicate of R.C.S. We did take dancing lessons, but the boys danced with one another. Sex was a smutty thing at Rothesay. I learned a lot about it, but not in the right way. But in spite of the reputation of such places, there was no homosexuality that I ever heard of. Perhaps I was not an attractive enough object. (Humphrey, c. 1990, p. 20)

School life was not the picture of unrelenting gloom that Humphrey recalled late in life or that a quick perusal of his letters might suggest. Brighter moments showed up now and then with jazz band concerts, hare and hounds races, assorted high jinks with fellow students and a "corking" school play. This play, the *Private Secretary*, was performed on June 1, 1918 under the direction of W.A. Haines, and was somewhat controversial. According to Humphrey's program, the Senior Debating Society presented it for "patriotic purposes." Rothesay's yearbook reported "the committee acting for the Senior Debating Society, after considerable doubt and misgiving, finally consented to produce 'The Private Secretary,' an old but ever interesting play" (*Blue and White*, 1918, Vol. 13, no. 3, p. 35). The reason for the unusual misgivings and stressing of patriotic purposes was that the play was based on the German farce *Der Bibliothekar* by Gustav von Moser, adapted to English by Sir Charles Hawtrey in 1884. Clearly it was deemed possibly disloyal to do anything with a German connection during the war. The students were charged \$0.20 to see the play, fundraising for unspecified "patriotic purposes."

Despite his straitened circumstances Humphrey found ways of making money. He reported:

March 9 1918

I am dealing with 6 stamp companies now and I have quite a rushing business. I get 50% disc[ount] but I sell them at 20%. Quite a gain. The approval I have now is a Marks Stamp Co. one. Boys!! For stamps. Woh!!

[May 11, 1919] Sunday

Wednesday I went to town and saw Doug and a show at the Unique. I went down to Aunt Mab's for supper but she wasn't in so I had to buy my own. Gee Whiz!! It just about landed me on the rocks. I'm broke now but I'm working all this week for a fellow who is a new fellow and is on window duty. That is, every morning he has to get up and put down all the windows in the middle flat. I'm going to do it for him this week for .25.

"Aunt Mab" was Mabel Scovil Humphrey, daughter of Humphrey's guardian and wife of his paternal uncle, Guy Heston Humphrey. At this time Guy owned a coffee-roasting business in St. John, N.B. Since Humphrey needed a fountain pen to write examinations and his were always missing, he solved the difficulty by purchasing pens before the examination and selling them immediately afterwards.

There were also moments of high excitement at Rothesay when significant events happened or distinguished visitors came:

November 14th, 1918

Well we certainly celebrated [the armistice] here. First we built a big bonfire as big as a small house. We got a whole holiday, refreshments in the evening. Next day we went in town on trucks to take part in the parade. It was the biggest parade I ever saw.

. . . Most of the fellows went in on trucks [but] before I went out our truck broke down. So they rushed myself and two other fellows in on the Ford because one was an officer and me and another fellow belonged to the bugle band. Gee, Mr. Scott (one of the masters) drove fast. They've just fixed those roads. The other fellows got in town when the parade was finishing so they got off.

[May 11, 1919] Sunday

. . . We had real boiled eggs for breakfast Friday. What do you think of that?

Nonetheless these bright spots did little to relieve the overall gloom, nor did they diminish Humphrey's resolve to leave Rothesay as soon as possible. Following another humiliation at the hands of the physical training instructor, he made a final plea to Ruth, writing:

[n.d.] 1919

. . . Then today at Church Parade I forgot my rubbers and asked the Sergeant (you'll hear more about him later) if I could go back for them, but his son⁶ and I had a sort of fight concerning the bugle band which ended in me getting kicked out: anyway he wouldn't let me go back for them so when we had marched for about half a mile he made me go back for them. . . . Ugh!! but it was awful.

. . . Look, Ruth, I'm not getting along good with the masters at all and this place is getting to be a place for little kids. There's a new rule every day and that's no exaggeration. Lights go out at half-past nine. Gee, but I long [for] the holidays and we can't go to the village if we have detention book. They're trying to make it into a sort of reform school. Why if you're even late for parade they will give you a licking. And the Sergeant treats me rotten. He's always playing rotten tricks on me. I could stand it here if it wasn't for him. Couldn't it be arranged so that I could go to [Hampton] High School next year? I could board somewhere and have a damn sight better time than I have here. I'm not doing half as good in my work. I try but I don't do half as good. I came 6th in the fourth [form] this half-term.

I want you to understand that this is not homesickness. Will I write Mr. Scovil?

P.S. Getting along okay with the fellows.

His pleas went unanswered since Ruth, herself reliant on Scovil for money, could do nothing. Scovil himself felt Humphrey should remain at RCS.

When Humphrey went to Hampton for Christmas 1919, he faced the prospect of another two and a half years at RCS before he could take the McGill Normal entrance papers. For a second time he formed the resolve to run away from school. He talked over his problem with a friend's older brother, Jack Angevine, who was in his final year of high school and planning to go to Mount Allison University. Admission to New Brunswick universities only required passing the provincial matriculation examinations in August. Angevine suggested that he and Humphrey take these examinations at the same time. This was problematical since the curricula and the texts were different and one subject, botany, was not even taught at RCS. Angevine helped Humphrey find the necessary texts and he returned to RCS to begin a double life of secret study. In Humphrey's words:

I then began to work like I have never worked since. It was absolutely necessary, of course, to keep up appearances at the school and I never whispered a word of my plot to anyone until, at the end of the school year, I shared my secret with my sister who gave me what help she could during the short period of the summer holidays before the matriculation examinations. I had a book with me everywhere I went, even to the toilet; and when in the supervised study periods I was supposed to be doing some-

thing else, I was actually studying for the provincial matrics. I did not care how I did in my Rothesay classes because my mind was firmly made up not to return to school whatever happened. I had never heard the term, drop out; but I was ready to become one if necessary. In the result I passed all the matriculation papers except geometry. And even here there was an extenuating circumstance which, if it did not justify, at least partly explained my failure. I had studied very little geometry at Rothesay, and my present efforts had obviously not been enough. I do not know whether my inaptitude for mathematics is the result of or the reason for this experience. There was perhaps still another reason for my failure. I had decided not to try the examination in botany, which I had never studied. I believed that I would, partly because of family connections, be admitted to Mount Allison – where I decided I would go – even if I had, as it was called, one condition.⁷ But three or four days before the examination I had decided – again on Jack Angevine's advice – to try the examination. He showed me how to draw a cross section of a leaf and I learned by heart the answers to two or three questions. When I got into the examination room, I wrote down everything I knew and drew my picture; and I passed in the second division. Since then I have not had much confidence in examinations. But it had been a real effort and that is perhaps why I failed in the next examination, on geometry. The university admitted me notwithstanding, although it should have been obvious, that I was unprepared. I had had only eight years schooling against the normal eleven. There were great gaps in my knowledge and I was only 15 years old. (Humphrey, c. 1990, pp. 25-26)

Humphrey's memory of this remarkable accomplishment is not entirely accurate. He may have conceived the plan in secret and kept that secret until some time before the Easter holidays in April. However, he had certainly confided in his sister by March 14th when he wrote: "I'm convinced now by the way the Beak's acting that I want to be able to go to Sackville. He's such an unreasonable lunatic." By May, his family, his guardian and the school authorities were all aware of his intention. On May 2 he reported: "well, I guess I can go to Mount A. though I have to promise the old Beak that I'll do my best in school work, etc. He didn't want to let me go." Later it seemed Humphrey was offered all reasonable assistance to help achieve his goal, and Scovil even arranged extra tuition as some extracts from the letters show:

[n.d. May, 1919]

I looked at that book again and I think I can pass my Latin as they want Caesar book II and I've done Caesar book III. Mr. Scott, our mathematics master, says I can pass my mathematics and I'm reading English Lit all my spare time. So I think I can pass 2nd div. I wrote to Mr. Scovil yesterday. I think he will understand. Mention it in your next letter, will you please?

May 30, 1920

Well, I got a letter from Mr. Scovil the other day. He agrees with me and I'm taking extra lessons in Geometry. Only the math master told me I

didn't need them so I'm taking a few extra Latin lessons too. I wrote Mr. Scovil to ask him if I could get out of the June exams as I could study in that time.

The mathematics master, "Mokum" Scott, evidently gave bad advice on extra geometry lessons since that was the course Humphrey failed. While his recollection of the method he used to study for Botany was surely correct, he may have been obliged to take the examination as part of the matriculation requirements.

Humphrey was critical of the decision to allow him to go to university so young, but his own determination was largely to blame. Ruth felt that he was not old enough and proposed that he transfer to another school for the fifth form if he was so unhappy at Rothesay. However, Humphrey reacted strongly to her suggestions, writing on June 5 1920:

I think you're mighty discouraging. I'm not too young to go to Mount A. Murray Angevine is going next year. It only means another year at Rothesay if I don't go and King's is exactly the same as Rothesay because the King's fellows were here about a week ago and I got a good idea from them the housing is not good and about twenty fellows sleep in the same room. The meals are worse than at Rothesay. A lot that Windsor girl knows about it. I'll bet a Netherwood girl would say that Rothesay is a fine place too. It's only a lot of money wasted if I come back here because I'm taking extra lessons in Geometry and Latin. If I can get along with the studies well why not go? I'm not too young to mix with the fellows up there. I'll bet I can take care of myself as good if not better than Murray Angevine. Though if you think I hadn't better I'm willing to work for a year and then go to Mount A. or go to St. Andrews or Upper Canada. But Ruth, you know you think of some of the craziest things. You were perfectly willing that I should go if I passed the matrices. I'll try the matrices anyway and if we decide in the summer that I take another year in Prep School, well and good.

Anyway, Ruth, it doesn't matter how old you are but if you can take care of yourself. And I guess 4 years at Rothesay will help there.

So please put me wise how to put in an application and the application to the exams besides the one for Mount A. Also put me wise about Physics.

Faced with the strength of her brother's feelings, Ruth withdrew her opposition and evidently did an excellent job of putting Humphrey "wise" to things like physics. By passing the Provincial examinations Humphrey had pulled off his coup and never returned to RCS.

His two years at Mount Allison were a failure from most points of view, although Humphrey felt this was not the fault of the university.

[The fault] was with me and with Rothesay Collegiate School. I came to Mount Allison too young ... and quite unprepared for university... There had been no one at Rothesay or elsewhere who had undertaken to stimu-

late in me any real love of learning or help me find my direction. In the result I had no sense of purpose. I had no idea whatsoever of what I wanted to do after graduation; my one ambition had been to shake the dust of Rothesay from my feet. Having done that, I settled down to two years of intellectual lethargy. The rigid discipline at Rothesay had also made me impatient of all authority and I was more apt than not to break a rule simply for the fun of it. More serious, from the point of view of my immediate happiness, Rothesay had made me into a snob – one of the worst kind, the kind that judges people by the clothes they wear; and I had nothing but disdain for the sons of Methodist ministers and farmers who made up the great majority of the Mount Allison student body. I heartily endorsed every prejudice that it was possible to have. In the result, I soon became very unpopular, except in the small coterie of like-minded people whom I first frequented. (Humphrey, c. 1990, p. 34-35)

Years later, after a Commerce degree from McGill University had left him with an aversion to accounting, Humphrey finally found a love of learning and sense of purpose, instilled by Stephen Leacock in Arts and Percy Ellwood Corbett⁸ in Law. It was also Leacock who told Humphrey that to achieve his goal of a law degree within a certain time he could take his last year of Arts and first year of Law simultaneously – the equivalent of 54 credits in today's terms (Hobbins, 1999, pp. 757-758). Humphrey had learned from his last year at RCS that he was capable of carrying this level of academic load if the end was important enough to him, and he did manage it with great success.

Other lessons from RCS were also to prove useful to him. His temper never left him and injustice made him fiercely angry, yet he realized from his futile fights that force, no matter how apparently justified, was not the way to resolve issues and certainly no guarantee that the deserving side triumphed. He learned that anger should be controlled and focused into positive action. The situation of the jobless in Montreal during the Great Depression angered him deeply and, under the influence of Frank Scott and King Gordon, he changed from a conservative to a socialist. He began to advocate his belief that governments had an obligation to protect citizens from such disasters through social programs. Throughout the 1930s and the Second World War he argued passionately for a bilingual, bicultural Canada with a social safety net, and he promulgated these views – thirty years ahead of their time – on the national CBC Radio (Hobbins, 1993).

He also realized from the treatment he received from his fellow students that the individual sometimes needs to be protected from society. When he sat down to prepare the first draft of the UDHR, he decided to include not just civil/political rights, but also the controversial social/economic rights, then anathema in North America.⁹ The UDHR retained this duality through to its final iteration, and the inclusion of both types of rights is now considered one of its greatest strengths. RCS also taught Humphrey that those in

authority – the masters – are not always right by virtue of their position; they can often exercise a tyranny of their own that must be resisted. Until the end of the Second World War, international law, Humphrey's specialty, had only recognized nations, not individuals. However, the wartime crimes against humanity made it imperative to develop mechanisms that protected the citizen from the state. The UDHR was an early part of this process, which continues to be refined to this day.

Humphrey prepared his draft declaration, selecting from a dozen or so previous instruments (Glendon, 2001, pp. 56-58; Humphrey, 1984, pp. 31-32), to combat the evils of the world, not those of RCS. Yet reading through the draft (UN, 1947) it is easy to imagine that his Rothesay experience might have influenced him when selecting what to include. He may have had a brief vision of the mad Beak armed with a cane flit through his mind as he prepared article 4, which stated no one should be "subjected to torture, or to any unusual punishment or indignity." When he wrote article 8, noting that "slavery and compulsory labour are inconsistent with the dignity of man," thoughts of fagging may have occurred to him. He may have recalled the small boy contesting a mark when he penned in article 15 that "every one has the right to form, to hold, to receive and to impart opinions." The teenage rebel, frustrated with the daily imposition of rules and restrictions, might well have inspired article 25, wherein it is said that: "Everything that is not prohibited by law is permitted." Cold bedrooms and school food might have been behind article 42 – "Every one has the right to good food and housing and to live in surroundings that are pleasant and healthy." The list could go on. It should be noted that while the UDHR contains no concept that was not in Humphrey's original draft, a number of his ideas were dropped as being unacceptable to one or other of the member states.

While Humphrey generally managed to channel his anger towards positive action, it is clear that he could never completely control his temper, as his diary of the UN years reflected:

May 23 1955

Occasionally I lose my temper and it is then that I usually say something that I can't back up as this morning to [Assistant Secretary-General for Economic and Social Affairs Philippe] de Seynes who must be beginning to think that I am difficult to get along with. But these people are so wrong on the big things that they are still wrong even when they are right on the details. (Hobbins, 1994-2000, Vol. 3, p 153)

Humphrey was often in conflict with authority figures, whether individual or governmental, throughout most of his career. His relationship with McGill Principal F. Cyril James was not the easiest in the 1940s. He was constantly at loggerheads with UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld over the latter's attempts to cut back on UN human rights activity. Indeed,

Humphrey considered his greatest contribution was not drafting the UDHR, but rather keeping the UN program going at all in the face of Hammarskjöld's perceived hostility. He spent fifty years criticizing Canada's human rights record from its 1948 abstention on the UDHR to the question of compensation for the Hong Kong veterans, unresolved at his death.

There can be no doubt that Humphrey was profoundly affected by his schooldays at RCS. Although the institution may not have been as bleak as Humphrey recalled it to be, he was conditioned not by his experiences but his memory of those experiences. The injustices he encountered instilled in him a strong sense of justice and a passionate desire to protect the weak. The passion that drove him helped him overcome a natural indolence and achieve his goals regardless of difficulties. Indeed, he developed an unswerving determination, that detractors might term obstinacy, in the pursuit of these goals. It seems clear that RCS, or rather the Rothesay of his mind, had provided much of the stimulus to develop these traits. It is a moot question as to whether Humphrey could have become one of the world's premier human rights advocates had he been educated in the gentler schools of contemporary Canada, where Hibbard and his fellows would be sued, if not jailed, for their actions. Regardless of such considerations, the Rothesay legacy combined with his observations in the Great Depression made Humphrey determined, as a lawyer, to protect the unfortunate in Canada. The atrocities of the Second World War and the influence of Percy Corbett broadened his perspective beyond Canada to embrace the world. The coincidence of a number of fortuitous circumstances placed him in a position to prepare the first draft of the UDHR. He prepared a text that was based on many earlier instruments but one that also reflected his personal beliefs – beliefs that RCS played no small part in forming.

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NOTES

1. The drafting process has given rise to great confusion and erroneous information in the literature. It is only recently that a comprehensive and accurate scholarly treatment of the subject has been published (Glendon, 2001).
2. The exception was when Pierre Trudeau was Prime Minister. He and Humphrey shared many ideas in common and it was then Humphrey was named to the Order of Canada.
3. French human rights advocate René Cassin had long been credited with preparing the first draft based on his own assertions. Humphrey's claim was not recognized until his manuscript was discovered in 1988 (Hobbins 1989) and was the subject of some debate for a few years thereafter.

4. The facts concerning the histories of Rothesay Collegiate School and Netherwood School for Girls are taken from the school website RCS Netherwood (2001).
5. Ruth kept all of her brother's letters covering a span of nearly sixty years, and these were returned to Humphrey after her death. Letters from the Rothesay period cover 1918-1920. (McGill University Archives number MG4127).
6. Dooe had two sons at RCS at this time. The younger, Walter Colwell Dooe, was in the bugle band (*Blue and White*, 1917, vol. 12, No. 3, p. 22).
7. Students were allowed to advance to the next level with one condition if there was a failure in one required subject. The condition was that the credits had to be made up in the following year.
8. Corbett's influence on Humphrey is described in detail in Hobbins 2000.
9. For the negative attitudes of the Canadian political elite to the question of human rights, see Schabas (1998). Hobbins (1998) describes similar attitudes in the Canadian legal and business communities.

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CONFLICTING VISIONS, COMPETING EXPECTATIONS: CONTROL AND DE-SKILLING OF EDUCATION – A PERSPECTIVE FROM ONTARIO

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ABSTRACT. This article examines recent Ontario Government regulations that have had a far-reaching impact on the working conditions and job expectations of Ontario teachers. The article explores the restructuring initiatives in education that are associated with these regulations. It argues that although the changes have been promoted in the name of excellence and quality enhancement, in fact, they have destabilized the public school system, resulted in de-skilling of teachers, and may ultimately facilitate inroads into education by the private sector.

**POINTS DE VUE DISCORDANTS, ATTENTES CONTRADICTOIRES :
UNE PERSPECTIVE ONTARIENNE SUR LE CONTRÔLE ET LA DÉQUALIFICATION
DE L'ÉDUCATION**

RÉSUMÉ. Cet article analyse les récents règlements édictés par le gouvernement de l'Ontario qui ont eu un profond retentissement sur les conditions de travail et les perspectives d'emploi des professeurs de l'Ontario. L'article analyse les initiatives de restructuration dans l'éducation qui se rattachent à ces règlements. L'auteur affirme que même si les changements ont été préconisés au nom de l'excellence et de l'amélioration de la qualité, ils ont, en fait, déstabilisé le réseau scolaire public et entraîné la déqualification des professeurs, risquant peut-être ainsi de faciliter les incursions du secteur privé dans le secteur de l'éducation.

Background

Criticism of education is not new, but in recent years, it seems to have grown more strident. Much of the debate revolves around different visions of what constitutes a desired education for youth, and conflicting expectations as to the product achieved at the end of formal schooling. Is the purpose of education to help the young to develop character, and expand physical, mental and moral powers? Or should education be focussed on training youth to take their place in the world of work? In other words, education for life or education to make a living? Should schools concentrate

on the basics – language, mathematics and science – as well as prepare students to engage with the world of technology? Or is the traditional notion of a liberal education that embraces humanities and the development of aesthetic appreciation, along with an understanding of science and mathematics, preferable? Should one concentrate on subject disciplines or on broader educational concerns such as problem solving, critical thinking, understanding of how various disciplines interact in the world outside of academia? How inclusive should schools be? When is it wise to stream students by ability or interest?

The conflicting viewpoints are not easily resolved. Perhaps final resolution should not even be attempted. As long as the debate continues with each side presenting the merits of its vision, such discussions can be healthy, contributing to the development of understanding education in the context of the modern world.

However, when the conflicting arguments result in wide-scale blaming of the problems of society on the education systems and on the teachers charged with delivering whatever view of education is currently in vogue, then the debate becomes problematic and destructive. Such is the unfortunate case in Ontario, as the following discussion will illustrate.

Political restructuring in the Province of Ontario

Education in Ontario has been undergoing a ‘roller coaster’ of changes, particularly over the last decade, leaving teachers exhausted and somewhat cynical about the validity of some of the changes they have been charged with implementing. In part, the varied and often contradictory changes can be traced to the three political parties that have in turn governed Ontario over the last decade: the centralist Liberals, followed by the moderately left-wing, socialist New Democrats, and now the right-wing, business-oriented Conservatives. Each government seemed determined to undo what the previous government had instituted. It often appears that the current Conservative Government, despite its claim of offering a “Common Sense Revolution” to the people of Ontario, has, when it comes to education at least, taken the petty stand that if the previous New Democratic Government championed an approach, then it must be wrong. The very words used by the Education Ministry under the New Democrats must be changed and cannot appear in new curriculum documents. To the current government, some of those words have political implications that do not match their agenda; hence the words are forbidden.

But the ongoing debate over education in Ontario is not geographically exclusive. Nor is the manner in which it is taking place unique to Ontario; that is, accompanied by constant criticism of teachers, demonisation of their federations and unions, and disparagement of the results and products

of the public educational systems. Indeed, Conservative Ontario seems to be following to the letter an agenda of educational restructuring already experienced in Conservative Alberta, in New Zealand, Thatcher's England, and in some of the more right-wing states in the USA (Barlow & Robertson, 1994; Dale, 1989; Jesson, 1996; Lawton, 1996; Soucek & Pannu, 1996; Spaull, 1996; Robertson, 1998; Taylor et al, 1997).

It seems that wherever educational restructuring has been taking place, another broader agenda has been in operation, an agenda that has to do with fiscal responsibility, deficit cutting, reducing government support for social services, along with attendant privatization wherever possible. Public education, being a major recipient of government funding, has come under particular scrutiny, along with health and welfare spending. But public opinion does not necessarily support cutting the education budget. Indeed, polls in Ontario showed that citizens would even be prepared to pay higher taxes for education (Robertson, 1998). So any government following an agenda of cuts to social services must take extraordinary means to convince the public of the "rightness" of their stance. In Ontario, the approach was, in the words of John Snobelen, the Conservative Minister of Education at that time, to "create a crisis." This involved convincing the public that education was "broken" in Ontario, and the teachers and their unions were largely responsible for the problems. It also involved enacting new and complicated legislation that would totally restructure education, both from the curriculum angle, and, more importantly, in the way education would henceforth be administered in the province.

The speed with which the new legislation was introduced and adopted was very reminiscent of what had happened to education in Alberta a few years earlier under Ralph Klein's Conservatives. It is no coincidence that one of the trusted advisors to the Klein government was Roger Douglas, former Finance Minister of New Zealand, responsible for the sweeping economic and social reforms in that country, some of which totally disrupted their education system. Douglas recommends that once committed to reform a government must not blink, but must proceed in full haste. In 1993, Douglas wrote:

It is uncertainty, not speed, that endangers the success of structural reform programs. . . . Once the program begins to be implemented, don't stop until you have completed it. The fire of opponents is much less accurate if they have to shoot at a rapidly moving target. (Quoted in Soucek & Pannu, 1996, p. 46)

This is certainly the model that the Ontario Harris Government is following with respect to education. Despite protests by parents, teachers, school trustees, and boards, over the confusion created by the restructuring, the government refuses to slow down and simply forges on. As part of the program, they announced Bill 160, *The Education Quality Improvement Act*

– a singularly Orwellian title, since the bill, in fact, has nothing to do with improvement to education, and everything to do with a massive power grab with the potential to reshape every feature of public education for years to come (Robertson, 1998, p. 44).

Among the features of Bill 160 are:

the centralization of funding from local boards to the government (thereby removing from local authorities the right to levy taxes for educational purposes);

setting of average class sizes for elementary and secondary school classes across boards (making it look as though classes will be smaller, when in fact, in many schools, they will be much larger);

removal of principals and vice-principals from their unions (thereby pitting them against their teaching staff, and designating them as managers rather than their traditional role of lead educator in the school);

the establishment of school councils, including parents, community leaders, and members of the business community (but not teachers or relatives of teachers);

the reduction of preparation time and the increase in the number of classes taught per day by secondary school teachers (thus resulting in massive layoffs at the high school level);

a clause nullifying all existing contracts between teachers and their board;

boards must negotiate new contracts under the severely-restricted terms of the new centrally controlled funding formula. Boards have no room to manoeuvre, and teachers, who in many cases have not received a raise since 1991, have also lost the right to use work-to-rule, for example, as a bargaining tool to exact better working conditions or raises. (Robertson, 1998; see also Gidney, 1999, p. 248)

Teachers and their unions (correctly) saw Bill 160 as an attack on their hard-won rights to bargain collectively. Working conditions are no longer negotiable, but have become management prerogatives subject to the whim of the Minister of Education. Moreover, the local school boards which had been reduced in number from 129 to 72 in an earlier “Fewer School Boards Act” (Bill 104), are virtually powerless to influence education. They are left with the unhappy task of settling contracts with their teachers while having virtually no room to manoeuvre under the new funding formula. The formula also equalized grants across the province without consideration for different cost of living, or different populations in different geographical settings across the province. Large urban boards like Toronto with one of the most diverse populations in the world clearly have very different educational needs from a board serving a rural, demographically homogeneous area. This differentiation is not allowed for under the new system. The above legislation has wrested control from local boards and the teachers and

placed it firmly in the hands of the provincial government; teachers are now subject to new stricter control.

In the Fall of 1997, teachers made their concerns known by engaging in a two-week work stoppage. The 126,000 Ontario teachers and their principals walked off the job in the largest teachers' strike ever in North America. The boards, aware that they were about to lose their former rights in educational decision-making, tacitly supported their teachers. Despite the government's massive publicity campaign which attempted to paint the teachers as self-seeking villains, and the boards as weak enablers, the public, by and large was not fooled. The teachers mounted their own publicity campaign to inform parents of just what they would lose in their neighbourhood schools under the restructuring. The parents supported the teachers.

Nevertheless, after two weeks, the elementary teachers had enough; they announced that they had made their point, and would return the classroom the next week. Secondary teachers who had the most to lose from the new legislation disagreed, but without the solidarity of their elementary colleagues, the cause was lost. Reluctantly, they too returned to the classroom. Why were the teachers' unions unable to maintain solidarity in their protest against Bill 160? Perhaps one reason lies in the make-up of the federations. The Secondary School Teachers Federation, under the powerful leadership of Earl Manners, has always been much more politicised and militant than the elementary counterparts. Many elementary teachers, especially the women in the Federation of Women Teachers (FWTAO) were genuinely concerned about children missing more than two weeks of school. It has even been suggested that among the elementary teachers were many single parents who felt they could ill-afford an extended work stoppage. Moreover, it is difficult to maintain a united stance among the members of the five separate teachers' federations in Ontario: the public secondary OSSTF, the English Catholic OECTA, the public elementary men teachers OPSTF, the larger group of public elementary women, FWTAO, and the francophone teachers AEFO, plus the umbrella Ontario Teachers' Federation, the OTF. The contested issue of Bill 160 gave the government a wonderful opportunity to employ "divide and conquer" tactics. They did and it worked. Many women teachers were upset with their federation leadership for caving in. In 1998, the long battle to combine the elementary public men and women teachers' federations came about despite the reservations of many women teachers and a new Elementary Teachers' Federation of Ontario (ETFO) was forged out of the larger FWTAO and the smaller OPSTF. Did the events of 1997 contribute to the demise of the FWTAO? Ontario still has more teachers' unions than other provinces and as such, Ontario teachers remain vulnerable to a government that pits one federation against the other as part of its strategy to break the teachers' unions.

The legislation was forced through. Nothing was resolved, but bitter feelings remained, especially since the new Minister of Education, Dave Johnson, never failed to keep up attacks on the teachers and their unions. In the fall of 1998, there were a scattering of lockouts and strikes around the province with the result that during September, up to 200,000 students were out of school. In Durham Region, the riding of the current Minister of Education, Janet Ecker, an arbitrated settlement forced the teachers in both Public and Catholic Boards back to work with higher workloads than teachers in the rest of the province. As a result, teachers began working to rule and refused to participate in extra-curricular activities for the next two years. This may account for the most recent draconian measures the Ontario Government has taken against Ontario's beleaguered teachers.

Since taking power, the Ontario Conservative Government has removed one billion dollars from the education budget (all the while publicly promising not to cut money from classrooms – only to reduce bloated administrations). The implications are clear. Schools will have to make do with less – less money and fewer teachers. If the results are disappointing, it will not be surprising. Many fear that the real agenda of this government, backed by big business and transnational corporations, is to destroy public education, in order to make way for privatized technological schools to serve the global economy. (Robertson, 1998, p. 45) It has already happened elsewhere where charter and voucher schools have received government blessing. Such schools undermine the public system, which must serve the entire population, not just articulate elites with special ambitions for their children. Perhaps more disturbing is the threat to Canadian society as we know it.

As Lewington and Orpwood (1994) point out:

At the moment, public schools are a crucible for Canadian society, spanning the cultural, racial, linguistic and economic diversity of the country. At this point, education is the only institution in the country that can provide the "glue" of shared values and history, providing its citizens with a sense of what it means to be a Canadian. In the absence of a continuing, strong commitment to public education in Canada, those who cannot afford the alternatives will be left to struggle with an already burdened system. As a result, Canada could wind up with a two-tier education system that further exacerbates political, social and economic divisions in the country. (pp. 17-18)

Restructuring the Ontario school curriculum

The above discussion has outlined the nature and manner of the legislated changes to education, and illustrates how central control has been tightened. What is happening to education in Ontario mirrors what has already transpired in other areas of the world driven by governments allied to a neo-liberal economic agenda. (See Hall, 1983, Dale, 1989, Grace and Lawn,

1991 on Thatcher's England, and Angus, 1986, on the case of Australia.) How has this agenda played out in the restructuring of curriculum?

Common features of restructured education around the world include results-based curriculum focussing on what students are able to do at the end of a program; and standard discipline (subject) oriented curriculum based on measurable items. (Affective elements are discouraged or eliminated from course content.) Science, mathematics and technology are privileged subjects. An important feature includes externally-developed standardized tests to be administered at regular intervals throughout the program. Attention is paid to preparation for the workplace and career counselling. Ontario has followed the model. All curriculum for elementary and secondary programs has been rewritten with new curriculum documents created, based on a uniform template, regardless of the essential differences of various subject areas.

The development of the course outlines was subjected to a tendering system whereby interested parties in the private sector would bid for the privilege of creating each document. Once a bid was accepted and the contract signed, the director was given a budget and made responsible for setting up contract agreements with potential members of the writing team, overseeing the process and ensuring that various parts of the proposed document (the deliverables) were handed over to the Ministry by the agreed upon date. Failure to do so would result in monetary fines.

Once the new documents were approved (in a process that often bypassed education and curriculum experts and involved members of parliament and representatives from the community), other teams set about to write course profiles, describing activities, time lines and methods of assessment according to a number of rubrics. The rubrics were based on a four-point scale where "one" represented student performance significantly below grade expectations, "two" slightly below, "three" performance at expected grade levels, and "four" above expectations. Sets of exemplars were also collected from teachers around the province to give teachers a notion of performance at each of the four categories. The Ministry also produced a standard provincial report card, mandatory for every board. New texts were quickly written to conform to the course profiles. Unfortunately, many subjects still lack the mandatory-approved texts, and so teachers must create the curriculum from whatever is available in the school—as long as the program conforms to the course profile.

Other elements of the restructuring included standardized testing in reading and mathematics in Grades 3, 6, and 9, as well as a 5-hour literacy test for Grade 10 students. The first trial test took place in October, 2000; results have just been published and are disappointing. Over 30% of the Grade 10 students failed to meet the standard, and in urban centres with diverse

populations the failure rate has reached 50%. It is not known whether students, knowing the test did not count, did not take it seriously, whether the evaluation was appropriate or whether reporting of results has been inaccurate. Some suggested that in Toronto, for example, many ESL students were excused from the test but in the final tally were counted as having failed it. Since part of the writing test involved compositions based on "world knowledge" and familiarity with local and current events, English Second Language students who did write the test may have been at a disadvantage. In mainstreamed schools with large numbers of ESL students, but without designated ESL programs, there was no way for the school administration to indicate that many of their students were writing in their second language (nor for how long the second language students had been in Canada). The low overall scores of the mainstreamed schools suggests that the ESL students did experience difficulties. To an unwitting public, however, the reporting of the results by school without explanations of the make-up of the student body, might cast aspersions on teachers of mainstreamed schools, the implication being that they had not prepared their students sufficiently. The 2001 literacy test had to be postponed from October after someone obtained the test just before the test date and released it to the public. The grade 10 students wrote the replacement test on February 14 and 15, 2002. Results will only be available in May, too late for students who fail to sign up for summer remedial programs. Suspicious teachers and their federations have suggested that the poor results have provided the Ministry with yet another opportunity to defame the public education system, paving the way for privatization of education in Ontario.

All of the curriculum, assessment and policy changes have been implemented since 1998. Teachers are exhausted with having to cope with so much all at once. The new programs and assessment systems are very rigid and seem to reflect the notion of "teacher-proof" education. Certainly there is little room for modification or innovation, and teachers feel that their professionalism and expertise have been seriously diluted; in effect, that they have been subjected to "de-skilling" of the worst kind.

What Ontario has been experiencing as it heads into the new century has been going on for at least the past two decades in the Western World. In the 80s, Michael Apple (1986) spoke of the de-skilling phenomenon and how it has been applied to teachers:

De-skilling also goes on, where the skills that employees used to need are taken from them, broken down and prespecified at the level of conception and then given back to the employee. The employee's work is rationalized. His or her role is transformed into merely an executor of someone else's plans. . . .

In a number of ways, this is exactly what is happening to teachers. . . . the form curriculum takes is more and more prespecified and prepackaged. . . . While observations have shown that some teachers do not fully accept what is clearly a process of de-skilling, these observations also indicate both the rapid growth of the use of this kind of material, its increased acceptance for a variety of internal and external reasons, and the difficulty of not employing it given the growing strength of an ideology of accountability, cost effectiveness, and meeting industrial needs. It is actually a rather sophisticated embodiment of technical control, one that is an attempt by the school to solve the contradictory pressures of accumulation and legitimation put upon it. (pp.161-2)

Nevertheless, the platform for curricular restructuring is not entirely without merit. Indeed, most teachers, while offended at the prospect of having their profession de-skilled, would probably agree with some aspects of this conception of schooling, especially where it involves setting clear expectations and employing fair and clear methods of assessment. They are, however, concerned about areas of the curriculum that are neglected. Is only the strictly measurable worth learning? They also worry about having to "teach to the test," rather than educate the child. Still, it is the manner in which the restructuring has been implemented that has caused the most problems.

In Ontario the changes have been implemented with great haste, leaving little or no time for consultation, or even for text writers to prepare materials that would fit the new curriculum. In June of 1998 some teachers had only one day to place orders for new textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education. They did not have copies to study before making their choices. Much of the new curriculum was not even ready and so teachers had no idea which books and materials would be most appropriate. But the Ministry insisted that if books were not ordered that June, there would be no money to purchase materials later. Teachers cynically suspected that the government was looking for "photo opportunities" in schools when the new materials – the first that schools had been able to purchase for years – arrived in September. Were the teachers' fears justified? As of September, 2000, according to the *Elementary School Tracking Report*, organized by the grassroots group "People for Education," schools were experiencing serious problems supplying enough texts and classroom supplies. Their findings are based on responses from 69 of 72 school boards in Ontario, a significant number. According to the *Tracking Report*, province-wide, parents engaged in fundraising to the amount of \$30,000,000.00 to supplement school supplies and activities; 42% of schools reported fundraising for classroom supplies; 66% of schools report students sharing textbooks; and 65% of schools report worn or out of date textbooks. (*People for Education Newsletter*, September, 2000). The results of the 2001 Tracking Surveys for Ontario elementary and secondary schools showed that 92% of respondents reported worn or out-of-date textbooks, especially in secondary classrooms.

Clearly schools and boards are experiencing serious problems because of underfunding. Conditions may deteriorate even further now that the government has announced a tax credit of up to \$3,500.00 per year per child for parents who wish to enrol their children in a private school. The justification given is to provide parents with greater choice; the teachers' unions and others including People for Education have pointed out that every tax credit of \$3,500.00 for private schools will remove the same amount of grant money from the public system, impoverishing further the struggling public schools. (People for Education Media Release, May 24, 2001) The privatisation of education continues.

Consultation is another troubling issue. Teachers believe that even when the government does consult, it does not really listen to voiced concerns, and in any case demands strict adherence to their time lines for implementation, even if the materials are not yet available much less have undergone field testing. With regard to curriculum restructuring, the Ontario Government, once again, seems to follow New Zealand's Roger Douglas' dictum of "forge ahead and don't blink."

It is generally accepted that in order to implement curricular change effectively, it must be seen to be needed by those expected to carry out the changes (i.e., the teachers), that restructuring should not be imposed in a top-down manner, that teachers need to be granted sufficient time to work through and understand the implications of the changes, and resources must be available as support (Fullan, 1991). In Ontario, where the overriding political agenda to eliminate the financial deficit coupled with a 30% cut to personal income taxes has necessitated massive cuts to social spending in the education and health services areas, clearly money for educational resources is in short supply. Moreover, it is obvious that this restructuring is being imposed in a top-down fashion. The speed with which the Minister of Education wishes to impose the restructured system precludes time for testing, and for teachers to become familiar with the new curriculum. The time factor is even more critical since, as mentioned above, part of the restructuring has led to a severe reduction of preparation time for secondary school teachers, along with the imposition of additional teaching duties. Is it any wonder that teachers, particularly high school teachers, are feeling resentful, demoralized and cynical about the whole process?

Ontario schools move into the 21st century: What next?

In 1999, the Conservative Government was again elected in Ontario with a majority of seats but with a popular vote of less than 40%. The attacks on teachers and the public education system have not abated. In May, 2000, the Ontario government tabled the "Education Accountability Act 2000, Bill 74," apparently to tighten some loopholes in Bill 160. Essentially, Bill

74, which, despite grave reservations from both the teachers' federations and the public, was passed into law in June of 2000, strictly defined the number of courses a high school teacher must teach in an academic year (6.67 out of 8 per year or 1250 minutes per week, up from 6 out of 8 classes per year); legislated a new average class size in elementary and high schools; established requirements for teachers' participation in extra-curricular activities (now called co-instructional activities); and set out broad new laws covering school boards' obligations to comply with orders from the Minister of Education.

In addition, the Ministry now requires a TAG (Teacher Advisory Group) program whereby every secondary school teacher must mentor a certain number of students (usually 12-16) per year meeting the group once a week for a total of about six hours per term. The TAG program is meant to provide students with help in academic and career planning as well as to provide an opportunity for early identification of academic or other problems. This program adds to teachers' workloads, but is not included in the new 6.67 per year course requirement. In fact, the .67 additional teaching time is being made up in part in a team-teaching arrangement of the newly required civics and career planning courses, such that students have one teacher for half the class of approximately 75 minutes and another for the remaining 38 minutes, not the best arrangement from a pedagogical perspective.

The government has been most disingenuous in the introduction of the new workload requirements for teachers. To the public they tried to sell the notion that they were only interested in increasing the quality of education and in providing students with more time with their teachers. However, critics have pointed out from the beginning that this legislation is more about reducing the number of teachers required. By assigning an extra class to teachers for one of the two semesters, obviously fewer teachers will be required to teach the school's course offerings. Students will not be taking extra classes but their teachers will be teaching more classes and will have more students overall. Therefore, they will have less time for individual students, and the government will be able to remove more money from the education budget. Earl Manners, President of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation, estimates that the Bill 74, the Accountability Act, will result in 1000 to 1500 fewer public high school teachers required in Ontario.

Although the Minister also announced some extra funding to lower the average secondary school class size from 22 to 21 students, boards and teachers were unimpressed since average class size still admits a range from under 10 to over 35 students per class. Needless to say, suggestions from the boards and the federation that the length of the school day be increased to

make up for the additional required time without having to find an extra .67 of a class for each teacher has been rejected outright by the government.

What has been viewed as a particularly vindictive and probably unenforceable part of the new Act makes extracurricular activities (now called "co-instructional" activities) as an obligatory requirement of a teacher's duties not subject to the bargaining process. Principals will be given the authority to assign co-instructional responsibilities to teachers not already involved in such. Teachers, most of whom previously participated voluntarily in such activities outside of school hours, and even on weekends, strongly resent being forced to do something they always gladly volunteered for without extra remuneration. Nowhere else has anything comparable been legislated, although it does resemble somewhat the *British School Teachers' Pay and Conditions Document, 1990*" (Grace, 1991, pp. 8-9). The wording in the Ontario Bill states:

It is the duty of a teacher to be in attendance at any time in any day during the school year, whether or not a school day, on school premises or elsewhere to participate in assigned co-instructional activities. Co-instruction duties assigned to a teacher may not be restricted by conditions in a collective agreement. (Cited from *People for Education Newsletter*, 4 p.1, Sept. 2000)

A particularly problematical element of the legislation is the fact that co-instructional activities will not be subject to the collective bargaining process any more. To date, the Minister, Janet Ecker, has not yet proclaimed this section but has reserved the right to do so at any time she pleases. In fact, this part of the bill may not be enforceable since once it is proclaimed, any teacher who does not perform assigned extra-curricular activities when asked will be considered to be on strike even if the teacher is still teaching all assigned classes. Is it a coincidence that it is the riding of the current Minister of Education, Ms. Ecker, where teachers in both the Catholic and Public Boards have withdrawn from extra curricular activities ever since the harsh settlement of 1998 imposed upon them a higher workload than anywhere else in the province? The Minister never tires of voicing her outrage over the graduation ceremonies that have been cancelled or the sports teams that have no one to coach them. However, as a result of the "co-instructional" clause in Bill 74 plus the added .67 class and the TAG program, virtually all high school teachers in Ontario withdrew from extra-curricular activities, not just those in Durham County. Fortunately, the government relented somewhat on the workload for secondary teachers allowing remedial work to count as teaching time. As a result, after contracts were settled in 2001, most teachers happily returned to their volunteer work in extra-curricular school clubs and sports teams.

There is no doubt that this part of the legislation in particular has caused serious problems for school boards trying to negotiate new contracts with

their teachers. With one more factor removed from the purview of collective bargaining, is it any wonder that concern is growing about the precedents being set to restrict further labour negotiations and to extend regulation over educational professionals? (See OCUFA commentary on the Education Accountability Act, May 11, 2000).

Principals too, were most unhappy about being given the role of the "heavy" with the power to assign the extra activities on resentful teachers. When Bill 160 took principals and vice principals out of their federations, many saw it as a deliberate attempt to weaken the teachers' unions and to drive a wedge between school administrators and their staff. No longer would schools be a collegial place of colleagues working together towards a common goal with the principal as lead teacher. After Bill 160, principals became managing administrators, separate from their staffs. Bill 74 drives the wedge in deeper. It will certainly do nothing to improve already sagging morale in the public system.

A further unpopular element in the new legislation involves compulsory testing of teachers. Upon graduation from an Ontario Faculty of Education, new teachers will be required to pass a standardized test before receiving certification. Since the Ontario College of Teachers refused to develop the test, deeming it unnecessary since the Ontario faculties of education have all undergone accreditation for their standards and programs, the Ontario Government, at great cost, hired the Educational Testing Service to prepare a test, even though this American service is unfamiliar with Ontario school law. The Ontario Principals' Council became the local partner to ensure local content in the test. Ironically, because of portability of qualifications laws (part of the NAFTA agreement), teachers from outside the province hired to teach in Ontario, will be able to postpone taking such a test for a number of years. Only graduates of accredited Ontario faculties of education need a successful score in order to receive certification. Needless to say, the faculties are outraged at what they see as a vote of non-confidence from the government directed toward both the faculties and the government watchdog, the Ontario College of Teachers.

Practising teachers will have to undertake mandatory professional development courses to keep them current in their subject areas. Originally, the Government had intended to put in place mandatory written tests for all teachers in keeping with a campaign promise to require all teachers to take and pass re-certification examination every three to five years. In a recent announcement, the Minister of Education has confirmed that practising teachers will be required to take fourteen courses at their own expense (seven compulsory and seven optional) over a five-year period in order to retain their certifications. Critics had pointed out the cost of such an exercise, that no other professional group was required to undergo such

constant evaluation and scrutiny and that written standardized tests would do little to weed out incompetent teachers knowledgeable in their subject area but unable to communicate with students or inspire them to learn. Some wondered if the tests were to be subject specific, just who would set and mark the tests, and how many tests would be required, given the vast array of possible subjects taught in the province. The Ontario College of Teachers also counselled against written tests although they support ongoing professional development, as, in fact, do most teachers who already take up-grading courses every year. The latest pronouncement of the Ministry of Education regarding the Professional Learning Program (PLP) states that each course must be at least 5 hours in length with some kind of final assessment. This reduces the burden of the unwanted program, but cynics have commented that the latest version may be another way to undermine the current system of upgrading courses run through continuing education and graduate departments of faculties of education. Is this yet another way to encourage private interests to become providers of pre-packaged 5-hour short courses? Exasperated teachers, through their unions, have vowed to defy the requirement even though it may mean a cancellation of their teaching certificate. The heavy-handed manner of the decision to implement the PLP (40,000 teachers have already received letters informing them that they are to start the program immediately), suggesting yet again that Ontario's teachers are a lazy, incompetent lot that need constant surveillance and regulation, left no doubt that this was just one more attack on the teaching profession in Ontario. The fact that teachers in private schools will not be required to undergo the recertification program, or perhaps even hold a valid teaching certificate, gives the unions and faculties additional proof that perhaps the real agenda of the government is privatization, not quality control, as is claimed.

Under Bill 160, the boards had difficulty negotiating contracts with their teachers. Bill 74 gives both Boards and the Federations even less room to manoeuvre. In addition, a great number of teachers are now leaving the profession because they have reached retirement age, or simply because they have lost the will to go on as teachers in such a poisoned climate. This at a time when teacher shortages in the UK (see Grace & Lawn, 1991), New Zealand and the United States have resulted in governments trying to attract teachers from all over the world by offering huge bonuses to teachers in certain speciality areas (Carvel, *The Guardian*, March 30, 2000).

Indeed, problems with teacher supply is already evident. The People for Education Group reports that during the school year 2000, parents volunteered 2,848 days per month province-wide in their children's schools and this was not simply to go on field trips or help out in the classroom. Parents were volunteering in English as a Second Language programs, to help keep the school office open, to provide lunchtime supervision, and to keep school

libraries open. In the *Elementary School Tracking Report* (2000) parents and boards indicated that only 68% of schools have a library staffed by a teacher-librarian, compared to 80% in 1998, and only 18% of schools have a full-time teacher-librarian. The number of schools with ESL programs is down 24% since 1998 according to the tracking survey. Moreover, it is reported that the number of elementary schools with a full-time principal is down 10% since 1998 and only 37% of Ontario elementary schools have a specialist Physical Education teacher, down 10% since 1998. What is equally troubling is the report that 30,000 students in Ontario are on waiting lists for special education services. (People for Education Newsletter, 4:1, Sept. 2000) The 2001 *Elementary School Tracking Report* (June, 2001) notes ongoing problems with Special Education assessments and placement. According to their analysis, now 37,000 students province-wide are waiting for special education services, a 15% increase since 1999/00. This includes 58% waiting for assessment, 28% waiting for an IPRC (individual program review committee), and 14% waiting for an appropriate Special Education program (2001 Survey, p. 3).

Things are liable to get a lot worse in Ontario before they improve. The provincial affairs columnist for the *Toronto Star*, Ian Urquhart, in an article (May 13, 2000) "Why teachers? And why now?" commented that it looks as if this latest blow (Bill 74) was wholly manufactured by a government keen for another confrontation with the teachers. The teachers' unions were ready to deal and seek a compromise. Urquhart says:

... a compromise could have been achieved that would have saved face for the unions and the government, and kept teachers, parents and students happy.

The government decided to tough it out risking more turmoil in the schools. Cynically, they are convinced, according to Urquhart (May, 2000) that

whenever they fight with the teachers, they gain in popularity. The unions continue to believe that the government's ultimate goal is to undermine parents' confidence in the public education system so they will demand alternatives in the form of charters and vouchers.

It is certain that Bill 74 represents another attempt to break the Ontario teachers' unions. The unfortunate course of action in Ontario can only result in harm to its young people, especially disadvantaged youth. To add to the problem, in 2001 when there was already a serious shortage of teachers in all areas, but especially in Mathematics, Science, Computer Science, and French, applications to Faculties of Education around the province were down by 30%. Young people had seen the attacks on the public school system and have decided that despite the certainty of finding a teaching position, it was not worthwhile to become a teacher under current conditions. This year applications to Faculties of Education are

rising again especially in areas of business and computer science, but perhaps that is more a reflection of the imploding high tech dot.com companies, and problems in the economy in general, than in confidence in improved relations between the government and teachers.

To conclude, the legislation (Bills 160 and 74) that centralized the power for decision-making over education to the provincial Ministry of Education and Training and away from school boards and teachers certainly illustrates how control over teachers and what they teach has been tightened. The rapid restructuring of the curriculum with new course outlines – all tailored to a uniform template; the reduction in secondary schools of the number of possible courses overall while expanding compulsory courses over the four year program to 18 out of 30; the course profiles, rubrics, exemplars for standards, uniform report cards across the province, standardized testing including the Grade 10 literacy test, success in which is a requirement for secondary school graduation; all illustrate the growth of central control and de-skilling of the profession. As noted above, the new curriculum restructuring reflects a “teacher-proof” notion of education – something that ironically may soon be needed, given the severe shortage of teachers now and the need to hire parents and non-qualified teachers to oversee classes.

Teachers in Ontario, then, have faced restrictions on the conditions under which they work and negotiate their contracts, as well as a loss of control over the content and subject matter they teach. This is coupled with increased monitoring and accountability through the standardized testing program and the initiatives for constant recertification of practising teachers. Gerald Grace documented the causes leading up to teacher supply problems in England and Wales over a decade ago (1991). He could have been speaking of Ontario teachers entering the 21st century when, referring to events of the 1980s in England he stated:

[T]he professional gains of six decades of struggle have been weakened or eliminated by one decade of concentrated and rapid ideological attack from central state agencies. The social democratic consensus in policy making has been decisively broken and replaced by New Right doctrines, aggressive in many respects to the interests of organized teachers. . . [O]rganized teachers have experienced reversals or threatened reversals in every sector of their relation with the central state. Professional autonomy in the school and classroom has been significantly reduced by the introduction of the National Curriculum and by the detailed and highly specified apparatus of assessment and recording which has accompanied it. (p. 6)

The above events have sadly been replicated almost to the letter in Ontario. Today, Ontario teachers derive some hope from the news that the current Premier, Mike Harris, is leaving politics, and that of the five candidates vying to replace him, four have to varying degrees expressed an intent to

make peace with the teachers, should they become leader. A new election might even bring a different party to power, one more favourably inclined to the teaching profession. Still, it is unlikely that much of the repressive legislation or curriculum changes will be revoked, regardless of the party in power. In British Columbia, the new liberal government has begun to reign in teachers' rights by outlawing strikes as a bargaining tool. The attacks from the Right Wing agenda move forward. And in Ontario, teachers try to cope with the chaos that the government has sown. A once proud publicly supported school system finds itself in disarray, awaiting the next blow.

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A REFLECTION ON THE WORLD BANK EDUCATION PROJECTS IN NIGERIA BETWEEN 1965 AND 2001

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ABSTRACT. By 1997, Nigeria was cited by the World Bank as one of the 38 severely indebted low-income countries in the World. This debt crisis coupled with the “strings attached” to foreign aid have made education loans less attractive to Nigerians. In spite of this, the government still sees World Bank lending as an attractive financial mode to revitalize its financially strained education system. This paper contributes to the debate by considering World Bank projects between 1965 and 2001, from a borrowers’ perspective, to provide needed information for both donors and recipients. Using a level-specific approach, the paper argues that the World Bank primary education book project was an example of foreign aid as an up-front input financing that was made to coincide with the onset of international agitation for democracy in Nigeria. Second level education projects were typical examples of projects where Bank-recipient differences were obvious. The third level education project typified cases where loans were being used to force the Bank’s market-oriented reforms on recipients. Consequently, in 2000, there was a resistance by the academic community to the World Bank’s Nigerian Universities System Innovation Project. One important lesson for the international donors from this appraisal is that those who feel that their interests will be adversely affected may stop reforms, particularly if they are well informed and organized to mobilize confrontation.

RÉFLEXION SUR LES PROJETS D’ENSEIGNEMENT DE LA BANQUE MONDIALE AU NIGERIA ENTRE 1965 ET 2001

RÉSUMÉ. En 1997, la Banque Mondiale a déclaré que le Nigeria était l’un des 38 pays du monde à faible revenu les plus endettés. Cet endettement, associé aux modalités contraignantes qui se rattachent à l’aide étrangère, explique que les prêts d’enseignement soient moins attrayants pour les Nigériens. Malgré cela, le gouvernement considère toujours les prêts de la Banque Mondiale comme un moyen financier attrayant pour raviver son système d’éducation dont la situation financière est extrêmement précaire. Cet article contribue au débat en étudiant les projets réalisés par la Banque Mondiale entre 1965 et 2001, dans l’optique d’un emprunteur, afin de fournir des renseignements nécessaires à la fois aux donateurs et aux bénéficiaires. Selon

une démarche propre à chaque niveau, l'auteur de cet article soutient que le projet de livres d'enseignement primaire de la Banque Mondiale est un exemple d'aide à l'étranger accordée pour coïncider avec le début des pressions internationales exercées sur le Nigeria pour qu'il revienne à la démocratie. Les projets d'enseignement secondaire sont des exemples types de projets qui font clairement ressortir les différences entre les bénéficiaires de la générosité de la Banque. Le troisième projet d'aide à l'enseignement illustre les cas où les prêts servent à imposer aux bénéficiaires les réformes de la Banque axées sur les forces du marché. C'est pourquoi, en 2000, le milieu universitaire a opposé une résistance au Projet d'innovation du réseau des universités nigérianes de la Banque Mondiale. Une importante leçon que les donateurs étrangers doivent tirer de cette évaluation est que ceux qui estiment que leurs intérêts risquent d'être compromis peuvent mettre un terme aux réformes, surtout s'ils sont bien renseignés et organisés pour mobiliser les protestataires.

Introduction

World Bank lending for education has a history of generating controversies. The debate intensified after the external shocks of the 1970s and 1980s in Africa. Because of the debt crises in most countries of Africa, critics questioned the need for education loans while the strings attached to foreign aid have made it less attractive to the recipients. The main controversy surrounds power relations between willful donors and insecure recipients. The power of the World Bank and other donors is in their money and superior analytical skills for identifying and analyzing the developmental problems of the receiving countries. On the other hand, the recipients' power is in their choice of policy action to be undertaken as sovereignties. The exchange of power between donors and recipients is a difficult bargain. This is because it involves the surrender of sovereign power on the side of the borrowers through an adoption of donor-driven educational priorities and compliance with creditor's conditions. In fact, the borrowing governments want to obtain as much finance with as few strings attached as possible. Lenders, on the other hand, use the threat of stopping the easy access to loans to force an implicit contract with the borrowers.

The main question is whether or not foreign aid is strictly for the public good. From the lenders' perspective a privileged access to education loans can only be justified by international equity considerations, particularly concerning the future productivity and wellbeing of people in the neglected poor countries. As far as the World Bank is concerned, education loans are not only meant to disburse foreign capital. They are equally meant to exert policy influence on borrowers who lack the financial, technical and organizational capacity to mount education projects. As up-front finance, the Bank is of the opinions that loans can ease the pressure on the public budget

and therefore help recipients to attend to pressing educational needs. The Bank further believes that if education loans are made conditional on and coincident with the onset of desirable reforms, such loans can increase educational development and social welfare.

Criticisms of education loans

Critics of education loans believe that foreign aid is capable of working against the social and economic development which it intended to promote (Kelly, 1985). According to these critics, World Bank projects are like islands of perfection in seas of mediocrity. This occurs because they are insulated against failure by a series of coordinated inputs. In the words of Kelly (1985) insulated projects of this type are doomed to collapse when external supports are withdrawn. This is in spite of the fact that sustenance of a project beyond the time of the donor's involvement is a subject requiring attention with respect to the long-run impacts on recipients' self-reliance (Jones, 1992). Moreover, the relatively easy availability of foreign experts may hinder self-reliance in education, particularly staff development programs and empowerment of local experts. Since the training components of education loans are usually tied to donor countries, progress in the local training sector may be hindered. Considering that education loans should have an element imported from abroad, they can encourage an "import" mentality in education. This, according to Kelly (1985), had led to concern with international standards, which means, in effect, the standards of the former colonial authorities.

In spite of such criticisms, World Bank lending for education has increasingly become a critical financial source around the world. Its contribution to the total foreign aid (such as loans, grants, technical assistant and commodity support) from bilateral and multilateral sources, which was 11 percent in 1975, increased to 25 percent in 1990. Among the multilateral donors, the World Bank has continued to maintain a lead. Its share of the total multilateral support for education increased from 42 percent in 1975 to 62 percent in 1990 (Table 1).

Issues surrounding World Bank lending for education in Nigeria

It has been shown above that in spite of criticism, World Bank loans for education have continued to grow in volume. Some Nigerians and international observers continue to wonder why countries like Nigeria, known to be rich, should perpetually be the candidates of the Bank lending for education. Some even argue that the country could adopt the Bank's policies, if desirable, without necessarily obtaining the Bank loan. Others in Nigeria have started considering the possibility of obtaining the loan without, or with fewer of, the strings attached. The position of this paper is that Nigeria, more than ever before, now needs the financial support of the

TABLE 1.

Bilateral (BL) multilateral (ML) and World Bank (WB) support for education in millions of dollars

YEAR	BL	ML	WB	(4) AS % OF (2) + (3)	(4) AS % OF (3)
ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE	SIX
1975	1490	528	224	11	42
1980	3595	901	440	10	49
1985	2679	1576	928	22	59
1986	3169	1475	829	18	56
1987	3512	1072	440	10	41
1988	3950	1578	864	16	55
1989	3790	2048	964	17	47
1990	3640	2395	1487	25	62

Source: The World Bank (1995) *Priorities and strategies for education: A World Bank Review*. Washington DC: The World Bank (Table 12.1)

World Bank, considering the country's increasing financial, technical and organizational weaknesses.

From a recent preliminary assessment of debt sustainability for heavily poor countries, Nigeria was one of the 38 severely indebted low-income economies in the World (World Bank, 1997, Table A1.2). The plight of these heavily indebted poor countries (HIPC) has gained increasing international attention. In 1996, for instance, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) endorsed the HIPC Debt Initiative to support adjustment and reform efforts in the HIPCs. While Nigeria cannot deny the contribution of internal factors to its present predicaments, particularly in the form of economic mismanagement, the country can no longer pretend to be self-sufficient as far as educational investment is concerned. Considering the deleterious effects of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP)¹ on the country's educational development, Nigeria requires more than its own efforts to revitalize the education system (Babalola, Lungwangwa and Adeyinka, 1999). To my colleagues and myself, borrowing from the World Bank now appears to be a necessary evil. If the country decides to receive Bank loans to prevent the education system from total collapse, the debt burden will increase and the country will be bound to provide a loan-friendly environment to meet borrower's conditions. If, on the other hand, Nigeria decides to ignore the Bank loan and finance its educational investments on its own, this will create undesirable pressures on the scarce available resources and consequently lead to neglect of certain key sectors of the economy. The fact is that the Nigerian economy is in such a deplorable situation that it is no longer strong enough to mount the large-scale revitalization project required by its education system. Unfortunately, the high level of corruption in Nigeria threatens loan effectiveness in education. This paper assumes

that the country has learnt its lessons from its past bitter experiences with respect to financial mismanagement. Assuming an improvement in the way loan monies will be spent, Nigeria and other borrowing countries need a comprehensive and honest appraisal of past World Bank projects from a borrower's perspective. This will help these countries to take informed decisions during future loan negotiations. To provide this much needed but often ignored information this paper appraises all the World Bank Education Projects in Nigeria between 1965 and 1999.²

First level education project

The objectives of the first level of education are to produce a literate and numerate population and to lay the groundwork for further education. To be effective, the second and third levels of education demand a solid foundation, which is a product of the primary education systems. The World Bank began lending for education in 1963 and to primary education in 1970. Since then, the Bank has steadily increased its commitments to primary education. Its global investment in first level education, which averaged 4.5 percent of its total lending for education between 1970 and 1974, increased to 14.1 percent between 1975 and 1979. It peaked at 37.8 percent between 1980 and 1984 and represented 23.1 percent between 1985 and 1990 (Lockheed, Verspoor and Associates, 1991).

The first three decades of World Bank assistance for education witnessed three main policy shifts concerning primary education. In the 1960s, the Bank believed that other sub-sectors of education were more potent in terms of economic development than the primary education sub-sector. It further assumed that it was inappropriate for the Bank to finance school expansion resulting from population growth (Jones, 1992). Characteristically, there is a general preference among donors for capital-intensive and foreign-intensive projects that are limited in number, scope and in geographical spread. Primary education projects do not satisfy these conditions. This is owing to the fact that primary schools are highly dispersed with little or no room for hiring of expatriates and study abroad. The foreign exchange requirement of primary education projects is much lower than that of other higher levels of education. Consequently, there was the prohibition by the World Bank on primary education lending between 1963 and 1970. In the 1970s, however, the Bank accepted primary education as an area eligible for its support, though still skeptical about the capacities of low-income countries to achieve anything near universal primary education (UPE). The Bank did not see the first level of education as a preparatory ground for further education. Rather, it adopted the strategy of education for work as the eligibility criterion for Bank financial support. The 1990s witnessed a drastic shift in the position of the Bank with respect to primary education loans. Based upon rate-of-return data that saw primary education investments as one of the highest

yielding of all development investments, the Bank accepted the UPE as a matter of high priority. Consequently, World Bank lending for primary education projects during fiscal 1992-94 and fiscal 1995-97 exceeded lending for other types of education projects (World Bank 1997b).

Nigeria started enjoying the World Bank loans for primary education in 1991. That is two decades after the lift of the Bank's prohibition on primary education lending. Table 2 shows that the first primary education loan of US \$120 millions was about 25 percent of the total volume of Bank loans for education since 1965. In fact, the amount was more than the cumulative value of the Bank's lending to education in Nigeria prior to 1990. The large volume of this loan should not be misinterpreted to mean a high level of Bank's commitment to primary education. Evidence from Indonesia III (1973-82), that was the first large textbook project,³ revealed that the textbook has helped serve the Bank's need for tangible objects of lending. Logically, the Bank has to devote considerable sums of loan monies to this project since the foreign-exchange components of primary education projects are customarily low, usually confined to capital works, equipment, fellowship and technical assistance (Jones, 1992).

TABLE 2.

World Bank lending to education by level and geographical coverage in Nigeria between 1965 and 1999

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	TYPE OF EDUCATION	FISCAL YEAR (FY)	AMOUNT (US\$ MILL.)	% OF TOTAL	PLACE COVERED
First	Primary	1991-97	120.00	25.28	National
Second	General (1)	1965-77	20.10	4.23	North
	General (2)	1972-79	17.30	3.64	East
	Tr: Training (3)	1973-82	54.00	11.38	North
	Technical (4)	1988-93	23.30	4.91	National
	Junior Sec (5)	1995-99	120.00	25.28	National
	Subtotal	1965-99	234.70	49.44	—
Third	University	1990-96	120.00	25.28	National
All	All	1965-99	474.70	100.00	All

Sources: (1) Ajayi, A.O. (1998) for junior secondary
 (2) Babalola, J.B., Sikwibele, A.L. & Adeyemi A. S. (1999)
 (3) I.D.A. (1990, Annex 10) for technical education

The volume of the primary education loan is important, but of more importance is the kind of assistance given. Table 3 reveals that the main elements of the project included procurement of textbooks of pupil (64.50%), library books (10.25%), training (3.67%), vehicles (19.33%), consulting and technical assistance (1.33%) and research and development (0.92%). These elements clearly reveal the Bank's perspective on the project. As earlier said a Bank project may be meant either to regulate the flow of foreign exchange to borrowers or to push the Bank's policies of strengthening borrower

capacities in key sectors. The mainstream position may however, be taken; in this position the merits of each extreme are grasped. As far as the primary education project in Nigeria is concerned, it was meant to disburse foreign capital to the country. There are two main reasons for this. First, the Bank did not give any financial support for the monitoring aspect of the project. This is an indication that the Bank has little or no qualitative or ameliorative concern for the project. If the project was meant to influence a particular policy, the Bank could have ensured that the project was on track, not minding the delays in disbursement which monitoring and formative evaluation could have caused the Bank. This argument is further strengthened by the Bank's attitudes toward delays in loan disbursement. Realizing that in spite of the fact that the closing date was June 30, 1997, only 10.45 percent of the project funds were disbursed as of October 21, 1996, the Bank pleaded with the government to disburse the remaining 89.15 percent of the loan within the remaining ten months. The issue of impact of a project was evidently not important to the World Bank at this time. To the Bank, the level of loan disbursement was the main indicator of project effectiveness. To the borrowers, the determinant of project effectiveness is the impact of the book project on the quality of instruction and enrolment.

TABLE 3.

Kind of World Bank assistance for Nigerian Primary and University Education in the 1990s

PROJECT ELEMENTS	AMOUNTS (US\$ MILLIONS)	
	PRIMARY SECTOR	UNIVERSITY SECTOR
Books	77.40	—
(a) Pupils textbook	(64.50)	
(b) Library books/journals	12.30	37.10
	(30.92)	(30.92)
Staff development/training	4.40	18.70
	(15.58)	(15.58)
Equipment/vehicles	23.20	29.50
	(19.33)	(24.58)
Research and development	1.10	1.20
	(0.92)	(1.00)
Maintenance/spare parts	—	4.30
		(3.58)
Expatriation payments	—	8.60
		(0.07)
TOTAL	120.00	120.00
	(100.00)	(100.00)

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentages of totals

Sources: (1) Ajayi, O.A. (1998) for the primary figures

(2) IDA (1990) for the university figures

From the above discussion, it is not surprising that enrolment during the project life (1990-96) seemed to be declining (Ajayi, 1998). There were 276,854 classrooms, most of which were dilapidated, serving 15.5 million pupils, implying about 56 pupils per classroom instead of the acceptable norm of 40 pupils per class (Babalola, Sikwibele and Suleiman, 1999). Books were critical in achieving the objectives of the projects: to improve the quality of instruction and increase enrolment. Yet, even though a large proportion of the loans (74.75%) had gone to the procurement of books, the textbooks for primaries two to six were not available for pupil use. The primary one books which were available were not utilized in most schools as of 1998 since parents refused to pay the prescribed twenty Naira per book (Ajayi, 1998:7). Yet the World Bank was interested neither in financing the distribution aspect of the book project nor in its formative evaluation, which could have helped in identifying areas where corrective actions could have been needed.

The next section continues the discussion with a critical analysis of the second level education projects in Nigeria.

Second level education projects

In Nigeria, the second level education is mainly meant to provide a foundation for tertiary education. As an alternative, it is also meant to equip young men and women with vocational/technical skills in an environment of low public employment opportunities. As far as the World Bank is concerned, the secondary school system should prepare students for a job. The World Bank therefore, provides funds in abundance for rapidly expanding secondary school systems, but emphatically those with practical, work oriented curricula. Bank thinking for the second level education differs from those of government's, parents' and students' opinion in Nigeria. Nevertheless, the Bank plays a dominant role in determining the final line of action. This is in spite of the fact that Bank projects are never solely Bank projects but enterprises undertaken in partnership with others.

Nigerian second level education projects were typical examples of projects where Bank-Borrower differences are fundamentally obvious. The first secondary education project supported financially by the World Bank in Nigeria was the US \$20.1 million credit agreement spanning the period March 1, 1965 to December 31, 1997. It was meant to increase secondary school enrolments, particularly, in Northern Nigeria (Table 2). It was meant to diversify secondary school curriculum contrary to the aspirations of parents and students. It was also meant to train craftsmen and technicians instead of the high-level manpower which the Ashby⁴ commissions of 1960 recommended for the economic growth of the country. In fact, at the time of Nigerian independence in 1960, there was a critical shortage of trained

manpower to fill the vacancies created by the exit of the Europeans. Hence, the country's need for foreign assistance at independence was for highly educated personnel at the key sectors of the economy. This was ignored by the World Bank second level loan to the new country.

The second World Bank Secondary Education Project (US \$17.3 million) was between 1972 and 1979. The loan was to assist Nigeria in her effort to rehabilitate the war-battered secondary schools in Eastern Nigeria, as well as to train teachers of technical subjects and to develop new and innovative curriculums for the secondary schools. The project ignored basic education as well as the training of high level manpower required for socioeconomic development of the war-torn region. Moreover, the amount of money offered was relatively small, considering the enormity of the problem.

The third World Bank Secondary Education Project (US \$54.0 million) was between 1973 and 1982. This project was aimed at assisting the Northern States of Nigeria to expand primary teacher training facilities and increase secondary school enrolments. Although the project was made to coincide with the universal primary education program at the national level, one expects that such a teacher-training project should cover the three regions in the country. It is important to note that projects one and three were aimed at developing the education sector in the northern part of Nigeria. Out of the cumulative total loan of US \$91.40 million signed in the country between 1965 and 1973, US \$74.1 or 91.4 percent went to the North while no attention was made to assist the UPE in the West. In fact, no effort was made by the Bank to keep politics out of its education lending in Nigeria. Instead of providing all regions in Nigeria with the resources and allowing local policy makers to determine what models of education they wanted, the World Bank brought along its own educational models. Evidence from the initial World Bank assistance for education in Nigeria reveals that the Breton Woods Institution did not welcome the strengthening of the Western Region's capacity to enforce its own UPE scheme and to argue powerfully for counter priorities to those proposed by the World Bank. Fortunately, time has proved that the Western Region's UPE was a much more effective approach to the training of its manpower than the programs that the World Bank had suggested. In fact, since the initial effort, many countries around the globe have adopted the Western Region's UPE. Today, UPE is a priority for many countries around the world. Moreover, the Western part of Nigeria is one of Africa's most educationally and socially advanced regions.

The fourth World Bank second-level education initiative was the Technical Education Project (US \$23.3 million), which became operational in 1988. It was meant to assist the national government in improving the quality and efficiency of middle-level technical manpower as well as the planning,

management and coordination of technical and vocational education. This project is an example of imposing curriculum on a reluctant borrower. The irony surrounding this Technical Education Project is that the Bank had been very much against the expansion of general academic secondary education, yet unknown to the Bank, the technical secondary schools were identical to the general schools. In fact, most of the technical equipment supplied under the project ended up in general secondary schools where there was lack of vocational and technical teachers. Today, it is doubtful if it is possible to have a trace of the impact of the US \$23.3 million technical education project in Nigeria. The project, in less than a decade, lost its research-based position. This is due to the fact that technical evidence, ironically from the World Bank research reports, favored a shift away from vocational education, because of the argument that vocational education could be more efficiently and effectively provided and financed by the private sector.

The fifth World Bank Secondary Education Project (US \$120 million) concentrated on the junior secondary schools. It spanned the period 1995 to 1999. It was meant to support the national government in upgrading the quality of junior secondary education in its attempts to move toward the Universal Basic Education (UBE). The project elements included strengthening quality control, facilitating planning and research, improving an existing curriculum, upgrading support services to schools, improving school administration/management and project management. This project is still too young for a critical analysis. However, it should be noted that the project has come at a time when the 6-3-3-4 (a 6-year primary, a 3-year junior secondary, a 3-year senior secondary and a 4-year university) education structure has been at its teething stage.

Table 2 reveals the misplaced sense of priority of the World Bank with respect to education between 1965 and 1995 in Nigeria. During these thirty years of World Bank assistance to education in the country, almost half of the loan monies went into supporting the second level education. Moreover, only the second level education enjoyed the Bank's support during the first twenty-five years of World Bank lending to education in Nigeria. The junior secondary education project aside, priority was given to training of primary school teachers while general and technical education was accorded equal but second priority. Worse still, there was an obvious geographical inequality in favor of the northern part of Nigeria between 1965 and 1995.

The political economy of primary and secondary education, as aided by the World Bank in Nigeria, have now been explored. The next section dwells on the third level of education.

Third level education project

The third level education is basically meant to produce the needed skilled manpower in the economy. Loans and grants from external aid and lending agencies, though marginal to the overall cost of higher education in Nigeria, have been assisting the Universities to gain access to the resources and expertise of the industrialized world. Although the World Bank's support for higher education started in 1963, the first Bank's assistance to Nigerian higher education occurred only in 1990. Before this time, the total foreign assistance to the universities in Nigeria was of the order of US \$8 million per year, the large proportion of which was devoted to research projects and twinning arrangements between foreign and Nigerian universities (IDA, 1990, Annex 7-7). In 1988, for instance, Nigerian universities received CAN \$958,435 and US \$2,000,000 for several research projects from the International Development Research Center (IDRC) and the Ford Foundations respectively. Between 1988 and 1991, European currency 9,150, 000 and UK £3,000,000 were received for various research projects from the European Economic Community (EEC) and the Official Development Assistant (ODA)/British Council respectively. In addition, US \$250,000 came in through UNESCO coupon donations from Embassies and book publishers as library grants by 1988. As a result of these and other unrecorded foreign aid to higher education in Nigeria, the World Bank was of the opinion that Nigeria has been Africa's leading borrower for higher education since 1986 (World Bank, 1994: 81.) This, however, is not the main reason for the late entrance of the World Bank into higher education lending for Nigeria.

Initially, World Bank lending for higher education was mainly directed toward institutions that train professionals and technicians for the economy or toward teachers to facilitate expansion of lower levels of education. As said earlier in this article, the World Bank neglected the training of skilled manpower when Nigeria actually needed such manpower to develop the young economy. Even now that the World Bank has started providing support to Nigerian institutions of higher learning, the focus has been on the universities that are responsible for advanced scientific training and research, reflecting the Bank's bias for knowledge-based economic growth strategies. Consequently, the Polytechnics, Colleges of Education and other non-university institutions of higher learning have been neglected.

In line with the World Bank policies for adjustment, revitalization and expansion in African education systems (World Bank, 1988a), the first World Bank University Education Project (US \$120 million) was signed in 1990. This project was to assist the national government in its efforts to ensure the effectiveness and relevance of teaching and research in the

Federal universities. The elements included library books and journals (30.92%), staff development (15.58%), equipment (24.58%), consulting services (0.67%) research and development (1.00%), maintenance and spare parts (3.58%) and expatriation payments (0.07%). The only World Bank support for university education in Nigeria came at a time of increasing global skepticism about the extent of governmental support for higher education. The World Bank therefore viewed the development potential of higher education with restrictions on public supports. Consequently, the project was meant to encourage universities to reduce the recurrent cost per student borne by the government, to increase internally generated income, and to reduce over staffing and other areas of wastage. From these conditions, it has become clear that this Bank's university project was mainly to push the global objective of market operation in education. Unfortunately, the experiment suffers from unrealistic over-generalizations. Several of the strings attached to the Bank loans were made ineffective by social, political and economic realities within which the Bank project was executed. Part of the problem lies in the fact that the original assessment done by the Bank failed to take into consideration input from important domestic stakeholders. Had Nigerians been adequately consulted and allowed to participate effectively in the design of these programs, many of the problems that emerged later could have been anticipated and dealt with at the planning stage.

In short, considering the facts on the ground, it was not reasonable to reduce the recurrent expenditure per student, which became obviously too low both in absolute and in real terms. By the 1991/1992 fiscal year, Nigeria was spending US \$671.62 on each university student, an amount which was judged to be very low, compared to those of universities in the developed countries (IDA, 1990, Babalola, 1997, World Bank, 1988b and Babalola, 1999). Yet, the World Bank made the release of the loan conditional on evidence of further reductions in the unit expenditure per student in Nigerian Federal Universities.

The World Bank further made it mandatory for Nigeria's federal universities to remove from payroll excess academic staff in order to receive the third *tranche* of the IDA loan. The Bank's criterion for determining what constitutes excess academic staff was defective. In fact, the records show that most of the country's university teachers were over-stressed with high workloads at the same time that the World Bank's measures were indicating staff under-utilization. This situation has been aggravated by the rate at which university teachers have been departing the system for more economically rewarding opportunities overseas.

Non-formal education project

More important than the relatively late entry of the World Bank into the primary and university education sectors is its total neglect of the non-

formal education. This is in spite of the Bank's belief in the dual education strategy in which the goal of universal primary education was considered financially unrealistic in the developing world. The assumption was that the non-formal education sector would capture the excess enrolment resulting from supply problems and population growth. Owing to data collection problems, it is not easy to probe further into the World Bank lending for the non-formal sector in Nigeria.

Female education project

Female education has recently been receiving increased global attention. This is due to the fact that such education has been found to have a significant positive impact on social and economic development. In the 1990s lending for female education was justified on the ground of international equity for the sexually disadvantaged groups in the Middle East, South Asia, and Africa where there are significant gender gaps in educational development. Nigeria has increasingly suffered a declining trend in female enrolment (gross ratios) at its first and second levels of education following SAP [See note 3] in 1986 (Babalola, Lungwangwa and Adeyinka, 1999), yet the World Bank has not considered it necessary to push relevant reforms, through its loan monies, to the country.

Developments between 1999 and 2001

Nigeria experienced unbroken military rules between December 31 1983 and May 29, 1999. During this period, four prominent dictators (Mohammed Buhari, 1983-1985; Ibrahim Babangida, 1985-1993; Sunny Abacha, 1993-1998; and Abdul-Salam Abubakar, 1998-1999) ruled the country in such a way that there was an increasing strained relationship between Nigeria and the international community. In spite of this, the World Bank, as explained above, still managed to support education in the country to some extent. However, on the 29th of May 1999, Nigeria joined the club of democratic countries of the world and therefore, gained a global acceptability. The World Bank showed a renewed interest in financing the country's education systems. The Olusegun Obasanjo civilian government quickly invited the World Bank and other donor organizations to assist in the funding of the collapsing systems of education. Therefore, the World Bank, working in conjunction with the Federal Government, came up with some initiatives, one of which was titled "Nigerian Universities System Innovation Project." The project was meant to reform the university system in line with the demands of globalization and the open market economy.

Nevertheless, there was tough resistance from the academic community to the involvement of the World Bank in financing education in Nigeria. According to *The Newslite*, (a bulletin of the Academic Staff Union of Universities, ASUU, Volume 3, Issue 1, March, 2001), ASUU, for in-

stance, believes that the Obasanjo's government was making an attempt to foster the World Bank's neo-colonial agenda on education in Nigeria in general and Universal Basic Education (UBE) in particular. This 'intellectual colonization' was not acceptable to ASUU, because foreign donors that dictate and control the content of research fund a major proportion of academic research in Nigeria, and what have emerged are funders' research programs, not research set by Nigeria's national goals. ASUU further argued that most Nigerian researchers spent a lot of time making international linkages and networking to legitimize them as deserving recipients-agents of the donors. In fact, ASUU saw the involvement of the World Bank in Nigerian education, through projects such as the "Nigerian Universities System Innovation Project," as a violation of autonomy rights and political-intellectual sovereignty. In one of its memoranda (dated November 14, 2000) to the Minister of Education in Nigeria, ASUU alleged that the Minister was being a sales agent to the World Bank to take over the control of Nigeria's knowledge-capital just as the World Bank and the IMF have taken over the economy through the Structural Adjustment Programme. Consequently, the World Bank has been forced to hold back its initial zeal to finance innovations in Nigerian education, at least for now.

There is a lesson for the international donors from the recent resistance from the academic community to the World Bank's initiative in Nigeria. Those who feel that their interests will be adversely affected may stop reforms, particularly if these critics are well informed and organized to mobilize confrontation.

Conclusion

From the above discussions, the over thirty-year World Bank lending for education in Nigeria has yielded a minimal outcome. Sub-sector and geographical inequities as well as borrower-lender differences in educational priorities and curricula have characterized the projects. Moreover, there have been evidences of insincerity in the Bank's commitment to project effectiveness and sustenance, particularly with respect to those education investments that were meant to disburse foreign capital to Nigeria. In a similar vein, the Bank has been unrealistic in its knowledge-base strategy of development in the sense that most of the technical foundations of the Bank's projects in Nigeria were based on Washington's views rather than on domestic stakeholders' inputs. This has led to many project failures, especially in contract enforcement, which in most cases, were immediately hidden from the World Bank.

As suggested by Babalola, Sikwibele and Suleiman (1999), if Nigeria must use World Bank funds, efforts must be made to ensure equity, efficiency and effectiveness in loan management. There is need to improve local analytical

capacity, so that individual communities can set and defend their own educational priorities and manage the funds efficiently, effectively and equitably. Nigeria, however, has a pro-active role to play by providing a loan-friendly environment, introducing loan-attracting reforms in education, improving its knowledge-based negotiation strategies and by becoming more transparent and result-oriented in its project management. All these should be done with the country's interests and values in mind.

NOTES

1. The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was initiated by the IMF/World Bank to correct the structural defects of most of the developing economies that applied for the IMF loans. Conditions for obtaining a loan from the IMF include reducing public expenditure and also devaluing currencies. These measures, when applied in Nigeria, have had a negative impact on every government institution, including education. The implementation of the SAP had devastating effects on public expenditure on education, the purchasing power of teachers, quality of education, access to education and the gender gap in the provision of education at all levels. Between 1984 and 1988 for instance, Nigeria experienced about an 8 % reduction in the share of education in the national budget and public spending per student fell by 32.96%. Consequently, there were, in most years, downward trends in the gross enrolment ratio, female participation in education, completion rate and performance in international examinations
2. Nigeria is one of the countries in West Africa that was colonized by the Europeans and fought in the first and Second World Wars. The Second World War had a profound effect on Africa as a whole and on Nigeria in particular. Many of those who fought in the second war brought back nationalist and anti-racist ideas with them and fought for independence from colonial authorities. Unlike most countries in the Americas and Asia, Nigeria and most African Countries attained independence with no bloodshed. Yet Africans are very careful not to permit neo-colonialism under any guise, even in education loans.
3. Indonesia III was the first World Bank Project to support book production for the use of primary school pupils in Indonesia. The cost structure of the Nigerian Primary Education Project closely reflected that of the Indonesia Project. The World Bank started granting loans to primary education in 1970 and started the Indonesian project in 1973. Because it was a successful experiment, the World Bank adopted the project as a model after which other subsequent projects would be based. Since 1973, the World Bank has gradually shifted from civil works such as construction of schools, colleges and administrative buildings to input financing designed to improve the quality and the administration of education in general and primary education specifically. The tilt is now towards aid for textbooks, teacher training, and laboratory equipment, learning assessments, examination systems, educational administration, technical assistance and research.
4. After Sir Eric Ashby.

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LE TRIBALISME CHEZ LES ÉLÈVES DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE AU CAMEROUN

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RÉSUMÉ. L'étude analyse les données tirées d'une enquête réalisée par questionnaire auprès de 2308 élèves de l'enseignement du Cameroun. Elle évalue le niveau de tribalisme ou de rejet des camarades des ethnies différentes chez les élèves et recherche les relations pouvant exister entre ce tribalisme et les variables personnelles, psychologiques, relationnelles et contextuelles. Les analyses des fréquences, des tableaux de contingence avec le test du chi deux permettent d'affirmer que 15 à 40% des élèves sont tribalistes. Le tribalisme bien qu'il ne soit pas généralisé est plus accentué chez les filles que chez les garçons; il varie avec les provinces et s'accroît du premier au second cycle, des milieux multi-ethniques aux milieux mono-ethniques. Il augmente avec le statut social des parents, les migrations scolaires, la mauvaise qualité des relations avec les camarades et le niveau d'estime personnelle. Moins les élèves réussissent à l'école, plus ils sont tribalistes. Plus ils sont tribalistes, moins ils réussissent. Moins ils ont confiance en eux-mêmes et sont ouverts, plus ils sont tribalistes.

TRIBALISM AMONG SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN CAMEROON

ABSTRACT. The study analyses data drawn from a survey conducted through a questionnaire administered to some 2308 students of secondary schools in Cameroon. It assesses the level of tribalism and students' rejection of classmates from other ethnic groups; it also investigates the possible relationship that can exist between this tribalism and personal, psychological, relational and contextual variables. The analysis of frequencies, cross-tabulations with the chi-square test, show that 15% to 40% of students are tribalist. Although it is not generalised, tribalism is more marked among female students than among male students. It varies from one province to another and increases from the lower classes to the upper classes, from multi-ethnic communities to mono-ethnic ones. It increases with parents' social status, students migrations from one school to another, poor relations with classmates and the level of self esteem. The less the students succeed in school, the more they are tribalist. The more tribalist they are, the lower their performance at school. The less open and confident they are in themselves, the more they are tribalist.

Introduction

Le Cameroun, Afrique en miniature, est un pays multi-ethnique qui compte plus de 250 groupes ethnolinguistiques qui se partagent l'espace national au moment de la formation de l'Etat. Les conflits ethniques ou tribaux fréquents sont jusque-là régulièrement maîtrisés. Sous le régime autoritaire du parti unique régnait une apparente accalmie générale. Depuis l'avènement de la démocratie (Akindes, 1996) avec l'instauration du multipartisme et des libertés publiques, les populations et les groupes ethniques et tribaux s'expriment et manifestent ouvertement, par des opinions et des actes, leurs sentiments. Le tribalisme s'est développé en sens inverse de la volonté déclarée d'intégration nationale qui contraste avec la croissance des revendications ethniques (Ake, 1967 ; Collectif *Changer le Cameroun* ; 1992).

La population du pays s'est accrue, limitant les espaces exploitables disponibles dans plusieurs régions du pays. Les migrations internes successives inhérentes à la nature humaine se sont amplifiées, générant des problèmes complexes de cohabitation et d'intégration. Ces migrations sont liées aux pressions démographiques et à celles de l'autorité traditionnelle, aux conflits locaux, au nomadisme et à la transhumance, aux possibilités d'emploi ou d'activités économiques, à la colonisation organisée des zones fertiles mais sous-peuplées, à la recherche des établissements scolaires. Ces ingrédients sont parfois à la source des tensions ainsi que l'explique Hengue (1993) :

Dans ces contextes, la compétition pour l'espace ressource, la gestion de l'autorité, les divergences socioculturelles, les préjugés tribaux, les complexes, les jalousies et les frustrations . . . peuvent devenir source de tensions.

Le tribalisme est devenu un problème national et même mondial en raison de ses implications dans la conquête de l'espace et du pouvoir, dans la distribution des emplois, des richesses et des services sociaux. Les discriminations pour ne pas parler de ségrégations ethniques sont courantes dans tous les milieux et mettent en péril l'unité et la cohésion nationales. Les guerres sont de plus en plus tribales à l'intérieur des frontières nationales. La crise économique qui implique la rareté des ressources et la pauvreté généralisées a suscité chez les individus et les groupes, la peur et l'anxiété; celles-ci favorisent le repli sur soi, l'exclusion de l'autre, la recherche et la désignation sans preuve du bouc émissaire; c'est ainsi que la crise économique est attribuée à l'incivisme fiscal des Bamilékés¹ ou à la mauvaise gestion de l'administration par les Bétis.²

Les principaux acteurs de la société actuelle et future sur les plans économique, social, culturel et politique sont passés ou passeront nécessairement par l'enseignement secondaire. Les élèves de ce niveau d'enseignement sont aujourd'hui les observateurs discrets des comportements sociaux. L'enseignement secondaire général est une composante importante du système éducatif camerounais. Il est offert en sept ans dans les lycées et collèges publics et privés de la classe de sixième ou form 1 à la classe terminale pré-

universitaire ou upper 6. Les clientèles scolaires à ce niveau sont surtout constituées d'adolescents dont plusieurs quittent précocement leurs études aux différents paliers pour s'engager dans la vie sociale. Or, la vie se prépare à l'école et l'école elle-même est la vie. Les tensions ethniques qui ont lieu dans la société actuelle peuvent se manifester à l'école dans l'administration, dans les relations professionnelles et sociales, mais aussi dans les comportements des élèves. Comment les élèves de l'enseignement secondaire cohabitent-ils dans leur diversité ethnique ?

Il nous semble nécessaire de mener des investigations sur le degré de tolérance que les élèves ont vis à vis de leurs camarades des ethnies ou tribus différentes (Breton, 1981). Il s'agit aussi de savoir si les attitudes tribales ou ethnocentriques des élèves varient avec la composition ethnique du milieu où est situé l'établissement scolaire, le sexe, les cycles d'études secondaires, la province, le secteur d'enseignement, le système scolaire francophone ou anglophone. Il s'agit également de vérifier si le tribalisme des élèves est fonction des croyances religieuses, de la réussite scolaire, de l'estime personnelle, de la confiance en soi, de la qualité des relations avec les camarades, de l'esprit d'ouverture et des migrations scolaires.

La pertinence de l'étude tient au fait que les valeurs à promouvoir dans la société doivent en priorité être introduites et développées dans les esprits des jeunes à travers l'éducation. Si le tribalisme se répand dans la société et que l'on veut l'éliminer ou en atténuer la portée, on doit commencer à l'école, d'abord en protégeant les élèves des mauvais exemples d'actes tribalistes, ensuite en apprenant aux jeunes les avantages de la tolérance et de la coexistence pacifique avec les groupes différents. Pour développer une action pédagogique contre le tribalisme à l'école, ce qu'est aussi l'éducation à la paix, il faut d'abord savoir si les jeunes sont tribalistes, localiser cette attitude, en déterminer l'intensité et ensuite savoir à quelles caractéristiques personnelles, relationnelles, psychologiques et contextuelles celle-ci est associée.

Position du problème

Les discriminations ethniques qui étaient jusque-là considérées comme des délits et réprimées, sont aujourd'hui exhibées sans peur et sans honte, même en milieu scolaire avec le recrutement, le traitement et la gestion des personnels éducatifs et des élèves sur des bases tribales. Elles sont non seulement tolérées, mais traduites dans les actions publiques et les actes officiels. Le tribalisme s'est officialisé dans la gestion de l'autorité par la modulation des droits et devoirs des citoyens selon leur origine et s'est généralisé sous des formes diverses dans la vie privée comme dans le service public¹. Les préjugés (Cornaton, 1998) véhiculés par le sens commun, la presse et les activistes de la politique amplifient ce sentiment dans les esprits en fonction des intérêts immédiats ou espérés. Les données disponibles

(Tsafak, 2000) montrent que les élèves ont une perception très élevée du népotisme et des discriminations dans la société ambiante ; c'est ainsi que 75,2% des élèves du secondaire sont inquiets de ne pas connaître les gens bien placés pour les aider à trouver un emploi. 64,4% des élèves sont inquiets de ne pas accéder à un emploi existant à cause de leur origine. Face à cet environnement, les élèves ont-ils développé des attitudes tribalistes ou ont-ils au contraire réagi par des attitudes de tolérance et d'acceptation des autres? Se sont-ils repliés sur eux-mêmes, sur leur milieu d'origine ou sont-ils ouverts? Ont-ils développé des solidarités primaires fondées sur la famille, le village et la tribu ou l'ethnie? Les regroupements des élèves sur les bases régionales ou ethniques ont pignon sur rue, surtout avec la libéralisation du mouvement associatif. Tout en régénérant les cultures et les identités nationales, ils ne sont pas moins les germes des lobbies de revendications ethniques. Si les élèves de l'enseignement secondaire sont tribalistes, ce tribalisme est-il lié au caractère multi-ethnique de leur milieu de vie, à leurs croyances religieuses, à leur réussite scolaire, à la peur de ne pas réussir dans les études, à leur estime personnelle, à la confiance qu'ils ont en eux-mêmes, aux relations avec les camarades, à l'ouverture d'esprit ou aux migrations scolaires ?

L'objectif de la présente étude est d'abord d'évaluer le degré de tribalisme ou d'ethnocentrisme chez les élèves de l'enseignement secondaire au Cameroun en le décrivant à travers la composition ethnique du milieu de vie, le sexe, le système, le cycle et le secteur d'enseignement, le statut socio-économique indiquant le niveau de pauvreté ou de richesse des parents, la croyance religieuse, la province de fréquentation scolaire, variables qui jouent en même temps le rôle de contrôle. Notre souci n'étant pas seulement de décrire le tribalisme, mais aussi de l'expliquer, l'objectif de l'étude est ensuite de savoir si ce tribalisme a une relation avec la réussite scolaire, la peur de ne pas réussir dans les études, l'estime personnelle, la confiance en soi, la qualité des relations avec les camarades, l'esprit d'ouverture, les migrations scolaires, le népotisme ou l'inquiétude de ne pas connaître les gens bien placés pour accéder un emploi, l'inquiétude de ne pas trouver un emploi à cause de son origine.

Hypotheses

- 1) Plus les élèves sont tribalistes, moins ils réussissent dans les études.
- 2) Plus les élèves sont tribalistes, plus ils ont peur de ne pas réussir dans leurs études.
- 3) Plus les élèves sont tribalistes, moins ils s'estiment personnellement.
- 4) Plus les élèves sont tribalistes, moins ils ont confiance en eux-mêmes.
- 5) Plus les élèves sont tribalistes moins bonnes sont leurs relations avec les camarades.

- 6) Plus les élèves sont tribalistes moins ils sont ouverts.
- 7) Plus les élèves changent d'établissement scolaire, moins ils sont tribalistes.
- 8) Plus les élèves sont tribalistes, plus ils sont inquiets de ne pas connaître les gens bien placés pour les aider à trouver un emploi.
- 9) Plus les élèves sont tribalistes, plus ils sont inquiets de ne pas accéder à un emploi existant à cause de leur origine.

Cadre théorique

Le tribalisme est l'attitude de celui qui valorise dans ses idées et ses comportements, au mépris de toute objectivité, ce qui appartient à sa tribu en même temps qu'il dévalorise ou rejette ce qui appartient aux autres. Les victimes sont souvent les allogènes, les étrangers, les faibles, ceux qui sont différents, les minorités ou les majorités dominées par le pouvoir des armes ou de la richesse. Selon Moukoko Priso (1993),

C'est un comportement social ou un ensemble de comportements sociaux, consistant à donner, réellement ou simplement par manœuvre, la priorité à ce qui apparaît comme l'intérêt de sa seule ethnie par opposition à l'intérêt de la communauté multi-ethnique. . . . dans une situation donnée en vue d'objectifs déterminés.

L'ethnocentrisme est un concept créé pour désigner le repli sur l'ethnie ou la tribu, le provincialisme ou l'étroitesse d'esprit. C'est d'après Adorno (1950) cité par Moscovici, (1984, p. 456) :

une tendance de l'individu à être centré ethniquement, à accepter de façon rigide ceux qui lui sont semblables par la culture et à rejeter ceux qui sont dissemblables. On suppose ainsi qu'une personne ethnocentrique a des préjugés contre tous ceux qui sont étrangers ou différents d'elle, y compris ceux qui sont de son groupe, mais déviant.

La multiplicité des ethnies au Cameroun donne l'occasion aux élèves de côtoyer les camarades différents par la naissance, les traits physiques, la langue nationale, les coutumes et les manières de vivre, d'agir et de réagir; ce qui offre des opportunités pour mesurer le degré de tolérance ou d'ethnocentrisme ainsi que les variables qui le causent ou en sont les conséquences. Les conventions internationales, en particulier la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme de 1948 (Tsafak, 1991), la Convention des Nations Unies de 1989 relative aux droits de l'enfant (1991) condamnent le racisme et le tribalisme. Les organisations internationales encouragent de plus en plus des activités d'éducation à la paix, à la compréhension, à la tolérance et à l'amitié entre les peuples, les groupes raciaux et ethniques. L'UNESCO a fait adopter en 1960 par les pays membres, la Convention concernant la lutte contre la discrimination dans le domaine de l'enseignement (1991) ; celle-ci inclut toute distinction, exclusion, limita-

tion ou préférence qui, fondée sur la race, l'ethnie, la tribu, la couleur, le sexe, la langue, la religion, l'opinion politique ou toute autre opinion, l'origine nationale ou sociale, la condition économique ou la naissance, a pour objet ou pour effet de détruire ou d'altérer l'égalité de traitement ou de chances en matière d'enseignement.

Le tribalisme comme le racisme est un vice (Mafeje, 1971) ; c'est aussi une attitude, une prédisposition acquise; il n'est pas inné. Les élèves acquièrent les attitudes tribales dès le milieu familial et ensuite à l'école ou entre les deux selon la fréquence des comportements tribaux et leur degré d'exposition à ceux-ci. Il suffit de s'entretenir avec les enfants des écoles maternelles et primaires aujourd'hui pour se rendre compte que certains identifient déjà leurs camarades par leur tribu d'origine en exprimant les préjugés acquis à leur endroit. C'est surtout dans la vie active que les conflits d'intérêt et les jeux politiques exacerbent les comportements et les actes tribaux. Nous présumons par conséquent que le tribalisme à l'école concernera une forte minorité d'élèves, sera d'une intensité modérée et variera avec les milieux de vie.

Le tribalisme a des facteurs qui le déterminent, l'encouragent et même l'amplifient. Les élèves croyants qui sont dans le cadre de cette étude essentiellement les chrétiens et les musulmans seront moins tribalistes que les non croyants en raison de leurs doctrines qui prêchent la morale sociale, l'amour du prochain et la tolérance. Les Lettres pastorales des évêques reviennent avec insistance sur la condamnation de tribalisme ambiant (Esua, 2000).

Le tribalisme a aussi des conséquences sur les autres attitudes et les comportements. L'intelligence est une réalité collective. L'élève tribaliste, à cause de son étroitesse d'esprit favorisée par le refus de collaborer avec les camarades des ethnies différentes, aurait des ressources intellectuelles limitées pouvant affecter ses performances scolaires. Les élèves tribalistes auraient tendance à s'estimer forts et à avoir confiance en eux-mêmes. En effet, le repli sur soi est souvent signe d'un sentiment d'autosuffisance ; on refuse de traiter avec l'autre parce que l'on pense que l'on n'a besoin de personne d'autre pour réussir. L'élève tribaliste n'aurait donc pas peur de ne pas réussir dans ses études parce qu'il croit être sûr de lui; il a le complexe de supériorité vis à vis des autres. La qualité des relations avec les camarades est mauvaise à cause des préjugés liées au tribalisme qui favorise les discriminations dans les contacts. Logiquement, la personne tribaliste est repliée sur les proches et n'a pas tendance à s'éloigner de son terroir et des siens. Les élèves qui ont cette qualité auraient tendance à ne pas accepter d'aller étudier ou travailler hors de leur région d'origine. Comme l'élève commence généralement à étudier dans les établissements de proximité, celui qui est tribaliste changerait moins d'établissements scolaires que celui qui ne l'est pas, sous réserve qu'il soit lui-même à l'origine du changement.

Méthode

La population de l'étude est constituée des élèves des établissements d'enseignement secondaire général des dix provinces du Cameroun estimée à 450 000. Le système éducatif camerounais formel comprend l'enseignement maternel d'une durée de 2 à 3 ans, primaire de 6 ou 7 ans, secondaire de 7 ans et supérieur pouvant durer jusqu'à 8 ans. L'enseignement secondaire est général, technique ou professionnel. L'âge officiel pour fréquenter l'enseignement secondaire général varie de 11 ans à 21 ans ; toutefois, plusieurs élèves observés dans la présente étude dépassent cette limite. L'étude utilise les données collectées par questionnaire sur un échantillon de 2308 élèves des classes du premier cycle, cinquième, form 2 et du second cycle, terminale et upper 6.

La variable dépendante principale de l'étude est le tribalisme ou l'ethnocentrisme. Pour connaître le degré d'intolérance ethnique ou de rejet des autres, nous avons mesuré les comportements des élèves vis à vis de leurs camarades provenant des autres ethnies. Les indicateurs du tribalisme retenus sont unidimensionnels puisque les élèves qui acceptent de partager un banc en classe avec les autres tendent également à accepter de partager la chambre et le groupe d'étude avec les autres; ils tendent un peu moins à partager la vie commune avec un camarade d'une autre tribu ou ethnie. Il s'agit donc d'une échelle construite à partir de quatre indicateurs de distance sociale démontrés unidimensionnels (r de Pearson varie de .18 à .42) qui traduisent les réactions des élèves par l'acceptation parfaite, nuancée ou le refus catégorique de quatre éventualités qui leurs sont proposées. Si vous aviez la possibilité de choisir, accepteriez-vous de partager le banc, la chambre, le groupe d'étude, la vie commune en vous mariant avec une personne d'une autre tribu ou ethnie différente de la votre. L'élève devait réagir par *oui tout à fait*, *oui difficilement*, *non jamais* à chacune de ces propositions (Voir q3 en Annexe). Ces comportements commandés par la tribu ou l'ethnie sont considérés comme des indicateurs valides de tribalisme chez les élèves. Les réponses ont été codées de sorte qu'une valeur élevée de la réponse corresponde à un degré élevé de tribalisme. La pertinence de l'échelle tient au fait que le tribalisme se manifeste sur un continuum relatif; il n'y a pas des élèves tribalistes et ceux qui ne le sont pas; chacun se situe à un degré plus ou moins élevé de cette attitude.

Les résultats scolaires sont mesurés par la moyenne générale obtenue à quatre tests de performances scolaires subis en français, anglais, mathématiques et éducation civique. Les coefficients de fidélité *alpha* vérifiés varient de .61 à .92. L'auto-évaluation ou estime personnelle normative indique si les élèves considèrent que leurs résultats scolaires les classent relativement parmi les meilleurs, les moyens, ou parmi les élèves moins bons. L'auto-évaluation ou estime personnelle absolue indique si les élèves s'estiment très forts, forts, moyens, faibles ou très faibles au regard de leurs

résultats scolaires actuels. Les élèves ont répondu à la question de savoir s'ils ont très peur, peur ou pas du tout peur de ne pas réussir dans les études. Ils ont aussi réagi par *tout à fait d'accord*, *d'accord*, *pas d'accord* et *pas du tout d'accord* à la proposition suivante: je doute de mes chances de réussir dans la vie. La réponse est une mesure de la confiance en soi. Ils ont aussi apprécié la qualité des relations avec leurs camarades dans l'établissement scolaire.

L'esprit d'ouverture est une échelle combinant les réponses des élèves à sept propositions: il est préférable de choisir un emploi près de ses parents; quand on a un problème, on ne peut se confier qu'à un parent pour avoir de l'aide; quand on en a la possibilité, on ne peut employer qu'une personne de la famille ou de la tribu; chacun doit étudier dans sa région d'origine, travailler où il est né, travailler dans sa région d'origine, voyager pour voir comment vivent les autres (Voir q26 en Annexe).

Quant à la religion, les élèves ont été invités à dire s'ils pratiquent le catholicisme, le protestantisme, l'islam, une autre ou aucune religion. La profession du père, de la mère, le niveau d'instruction du père et de la mère, le confort de la maison de la maison où vit l'élève ont servi pour construire un index de statut socio-économique des parents. Les questions utilisées sont jointes en Annexe.

Les données ont été traitées avec le programme SPSS pour micro-ordinateur (Statistical Packages for Social Sciences for Personal Computer). Les pourcentages sont utilisés pour apprécier dans le détail, les distributions de fréquences des autres variables. L'ethnocentrisme, le népotisme, l'étroitesse de vue sont ainsi successivement décrits ainsi que la distribution du tribalisme selon la composition ethnique du milieu, le sexe, le système et le secteur d'enseignement, le cycle d'étude, le statut socio-économique, la religion et la province de fréquentation scolaire. Les coefficients de corrélation, le chi carré de Pearson sont utilisés pour tester la signification des relations étudiées et comparer les différences de tribalisme entre les différents groupes au niveau de probabilité .05. Les résultats observés sont suivis d'une interprétation.

Résultats descriptifs

1. Tribalisme et ethnocentrisme chez les élèves du secondaire

En considérant les réactions des élèves individuellement, il se dégage de l'enquête (Tableau 1) que 15,6 % des élèves ne veulent pas partager un banc avec un camarade d'une autre ethnie ou tribu. Ils sont presque autant, soit 14,3% qui n'accepteraient pas de partager le groupe d'étude avec les élèves d'une ethnie différente. Jusqu'à 39% de élèves ne partageraient pas la chambre et 36 % la vie commune en se mariant avec un camarade d'une tribu différente si cette éventualité s'offrait à eux. Partager une chambre ou partager la vie commune en se mariant avec un camarade d'une autre

ethnie ou tribu sont des comportements qui engagent l'intimité de l'individu; ils obtiennent les réactions négatives plus nombreuses des élèves que partager le banc ou partager le cadre d'étude. Bien que la littérature ne nous fournisse pas des références en la matière, nous pouvons conclure que le tribalisme existe chez les élèves de l'enseignement secondaire.

TABEAU 1 : Réactions des élèves de l'enseignement aux indicateurs de tribalisme

Indicateurs: Partager	1 Banc*	2 Chambre	3 Groupe d'étude	4 Vie Commune
Réactions	%	%	%	%
1. Oui tout à fait	84,4	61,0	85,3	63,9
2. Difficilement	10,3	26,3	11,1	25,6
3. Non jamais	5,3	12,7	3,6	10,5
4. Sans réponse	3,3 (N=76)	4,9 (N=114)	4,2 (N=96)	4,7 (N=109)
Total	100,0 (N=2308)	100,0 (N=2308)	100,0 (N=2308)	100,0 (N=2308)

* 1. Partager un banc, 2. Partager une chambre, 3. Partager le groupe d'étude, 4. Partager la vie commune en se mariant avec un camarade d'une autre tribu.

Si les élèves de l'enseignement secondaire avaient l'occasion d'employer une personne, 10,5% seraient tout à fait d'accord, 16,7 % seraient d'accord; en tout 27,2% seraient au moins d'accord qu'ils n'emploieraient qu'un membre de leur famille ou de leur tribu; mais 72,2% ne le feraient pas et rejettent cette attitude tandis que 6,3% réservent leur réponse (Tableau 2). Si on considère cet indicateur, on pourrait affirmer que plus d'un quart des élèves du secondaire sont tribalistes ou ethnocentriques; ce qui n'est pas négligeable quand on sait qu'il s'agit essentiellement des jeunes de moins de 20 ans. Cette proportion atteint même presque 40% sur la partage de la chambre. Les élèves qui tendent à soutenir la proposition sont ceux qui tendent également à se situer au niveau supérieur de l'échelle de tribalisme. Cette relation statiquement significative est une preuve de la validité de l'échelle de tribalisme.

TABEAU 2 : Le népotisme chez les élèves de l'enseignement secondaire

Quand on en a la possibilité, n'employer qu'un parent ou un membre de la tribu			Peur de ne pas connaître les gens bien placés pour obtenir un emploi futur		
1. Réactions des élèves	F	%	1. Réactions des élèves	F	%
2. Tout à fait d'accord	228	10,5	2. Tout à fait d'accord	504	24,8
3. D'accord	360	16,7	3. D'accord	603	29,6
4. Pas d'accord	637	29,5	4. Pas d'accord	428	21,0
5. Pas du tout d'accord	937	43,3	5. Pas du tout d'accord	501	24,6
6. Sans réponse	146	6,3	6. Sans réponse	272	11,8
Total	2308	100,0	Total	2308	100

Les élèves pensent que l'on doit compter sur ses relations pour avoir un emploi. En effet, 75,4% des élèves ont peur de ne pas connaître les gens bien

placés pour accéder à un emploi (Tableau 2). Mais cette peur est indépendante de l'attitude tribaliste puisque les proportions des élèves tribalistes se répartissent presque également entre les différents niveaux d'inquiétude (19 et 20%) ; ce qui ne permet pas de confirmer la huitième hypothèse.

TABEAU 3 : 7 autres indicateurs du tribalisme, de l'ethnocentrisme ou de l'étroitesse de vue

Indicateurs Réactions	1*		2		3		4		5		6		7	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Tout à fait d'accord	437	20	537	23	937	43	1031	48	1227	56	1059	49	30	1,3
2. D'accord	661	28	637	28	637	30	676	32	793	37	776	36	30	1,3
3. Pas d'accord	673	31	502	22	360	17	271	13	93	4	209	10	693	31
4. Pas du tout d'accord	468	21	514	22	228	10	164	8	61	3	111	5	1500	67
5. Sans réponse	119	5	118	5	146	6	166	7,2	134	5,8	153	6,6	55	2,4
Total	2239		2190		2162		2142		2113		2044		2253	

*1 : Choisir un emploi près de ses parents ; 2 : Se fier uniquement à un parent pour avoir de l'aide quand on a un problème ; 3 : N'engager qu'un parent ou un membre de la tribu ; 4 : Étudier dans sa région d'origine ; 5 : Travailler où on est né ; 6 : Travailler dans sa région d'origine ; 7 : Voyager pour voir comment vivent les autres.

Les différents autres indicateurs du tribalisme ou de l'ethnocentrisme mesurant le repli sur soi ou l'étroitesse de vue montrent que les élèves sont généralement ouverts et tolérants du point de vue de l'ethnocentrisme. Si plus de la moitié des élèves sont d'accord qu'il est préférable de choisir un emploi près de ses parents et un peu moins approuvent l'affirmation que, on ne peut se fier qu'à un parent pour avoir de l'aide quand on a un problème, seulement 20% d'entre eux approuvent que chacun doit étudier dans sa région d'origine, seulement 7% sont d'avis que chacun doit travailler là où il est né et 15% que chacun doit travailler dans sa région d'origine. Lorsque les élèves sont invités à se prononcer sur la proposition qu'il est bon de voyager pour connaître comment vivent les autres, c'est pratiquement à l'unanimité soit 97% qu'ils marquent leur accord, 67% l'approuvant tout à fait, c'est-à-dire sans réserve (Tableau 3). S'agit-il seulement du désir de voyager ou du besoin de s'ouvrir sur les autres ?

2. Le tribalisme chez les élèves dans les villes multi-ethniques

Le tribalisme se manifeste par le repli sur soi, mais aussi par le refus de l'autre et de la différence. Or, on n'accepte ou ne rejette que celui que l'on connaît. Le tribalisme à l'école ne peut être mieux apprécié que chez les élèves qui côtoient ceux d'une ethnie différente. Bien que la plupart des lycées et collèges se situent dans les chefs-lieux des départements à composition

ethnique multiple, nous allons étudier le phénomène plus particulièrement dans les villes de Douala, Yaoundé et Nkongsamba qui ont la réputation d'être parmi les plus cosmopolites ou pluri-ethniques au Cameroun. Elles ont depuis l'indépendance abrité le plus grand nombre d'établissements scolaires. Une étude de Marguerat (1972) montre justement que vers les années 1970 déjà, les populations dites autochtones ne représentaient que 10% de la population à Douala et à Kumba, 15% à Yaoundé, 6% à Nkongsamba, 14% à Mbalmayo, 26% à Kribi. La tendance jusqu'à présent dans les agglomérations et les grandes villes est la concentration des populations provenant de plusieurs ethnies différentes. Pour favoriser la tolérance ethnique ainsi que l'unité et même l'intégration nationales (Ake, 1967), les populations ont été encouragées dans le passé sous l'ancien régime, à cohabiter, à partager les activités sociales et à résoudre ensemble les problèmes communs.

Les élèves des villes cosmopolites sont plus disposés à partager le cadre d'étude et la vie commune avec les autres que dans le reste du pays. Dans les grandes villes cosmopolites, seulement 8% des élèves de l'enseignement secondaire refusent de partager le banc, 10% le groupe d'étude alors que dans le reste du pays, ces pourcentages sont respectivement de 17 et 15%. Les pourcentages sont à peu près les mêmes quand il s'agit de partager la chambre (41 et 39%) et vie commune (37 et 36%) respectivement dans les villes à population multi-ethnique et dans le reste du pays (Tableau 1). Sur l'échelle de tribalisme à trois niveaux, 35,4 % des élèves du secondaire se situent au niveau supérieur alors que dans les villes cosmopolites, ils sont un peu moins, soit 32,3% (Tableau 5). Cette différence bien que faible de façon générale est particulièrement prononcée quand on considère l'indicateur de la cohabitation à l'école. Il apparaît des analyses que le tribalisme est plus accentué dans l'ensemble du pays que dans les villes à grande composition ethnique.

3. Le tribalisme selon le sexe chez les élèves du secondaire

TABLEAU 4 : Attitude tribaliste des élèves selon le sexe au secondaire

Tribalisme Sexe	1 Bas		2 Moyen		3 Elevé		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1. Garçons	533	46,3	421	36,6	197	17,1	1151 100
2. Filles	245	36,1	381	39,8	231	24,1	957 100
3. Sans réponse							200
Total	878		802		428		2108

$$X^2 (2 \text{ dl}) = 27,3 \text{ p} = .000$$

Sur une échelle de tribalisme à trois degrés, 24,1% des filles se situent au niveau le plus élevé contre 17,1% de garçons; au niveau le plus bas, la logique se maintient puisque 46,3% des garçons contre 36,1% des filles sont

très peu tribalistes (Tableau 4). On peut conclure que les filles de l'enseignement secondaire semblent être plus tribalistes que les garçons.

La relation entre le tribalisme et le sexe est significative au test de chi carré; elle est plus forte dans les villes à grande composition ethnique avec une différence de 15,7% entre garçons et filles que dans le reste du pays avec une différence de 8.6%. On peut constater respectivement dans le reste du pays et dans les villes cosmopolites, que les filles (40,2% et 39,7%) tendent à être plus tribalistes que les garçons (31,6% et 24%). Le test du chi carré est significatif dans les deux sous échantillons (Tableau 5). L'écart d'attitude est plus accentué quand il s'agit de partager la chambre que lorsqu'il s'agit de partager la vie commune en se mariant.

TABLEAU 5 : Tribalisme des élèves selon le sexe: reste du pays et villes cosmopolites

Niveau de tribalisme Sexe	Reste du Cameroun					Villes cosmopolites *				
	1 Bas	2 Moyen	3 Elevé	Total		1 Bas	2 Moyen	3 Elevé	Total	
	N %	N %	N %	N		N %	N %	N %	N	
1. Garçons	475 46.3	227 22.1	334 31.6	1026		58 46.4	37 29.6	30 24.0	125	
2. Filles	302 36.7	192 23.2	332 40.2	826		43 32.8	36 27.5	52 39.7	131	
Abstention				178					22	
Total	777 42.0	419 22.6	556 35.4	1852		101 39.5	73 28.4	82 32.3	256	
	$\chi^2 (2 \text{ dl})=20,2 \text{ p}=.001^{**}$					$\chi^2 (2 \text{ dl})=8 \text{ p}=.01$				

* Douala, Yaoundé et Nkongsamba. ** χ^2 : Chi carré ; dl : degrés de liberté ; p : seuil de signification.

4. Le système d'enseignement

Si les élèves les plus tribalistes représentent 20,4% dans chacun des deux systèmes, ceux qui sont les moins tribalistes sont plus nombreux dans le système francophone, soit 42,7% que dans le système anglophone, soit 36,2% (Tableau 6). Le tribalisme varie peu avec le système scolaire

TABLEAU 6 : Tribalisme et systèmes d'enseignement

Tribalisme Système scolaire	1 Bas		2 Moyen		3 Elevé		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%		
1 Francophone	740	42,7	641	37,0	353	20,4	1734	100
2 Anglophone	142	36,2	170	43,4	80	20,4	392	100
3. Sans réponse							182	
Total	882		811		433		2126	

$\chi^2 (2 \text{ dl})=6,6 \text{ p}=.03$

5. Le cycle d'étude

Les élèves du premier cycle de l'enseignement secondaire (Tableau 7) ont des attitudes tribalistes plus accentuées (30%) que ceux du second (7,6%). Les élèves qui se situent au niveau le plus élevé de l'échelle de tribalisme

sont trois fois plus nombreux au second qu'au premier cycle de l'enseignement secondaire.

TABLEAU 7 : Tribalisme et cycles d'enseignement

Cycles	1 Bas		2 Moyen		3 Elevé		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1 ^{er} Cycle	336	28,6	479	40,7	361	30,7	1176
2 ^{ème} Cycle	546	57,5	332	14,9	72	07,6	950
Sans réponse							180
Total	882		811		433		2126

$$X^2 (2 \text{ dl})=248,3 \text{ p}=.000$$

6. Le secteur d'enseignement

Le tribalisme ne varie pas avec le secteur d'enseignement. Fréquenter l'enseignement privé ou public n'affecte pas l'attitude tribale des élèves (Tableau 8).

TABLEAU 8 : Tribalisme et secteur d'enseignement

Secteur	1 Bas		2 Moyen		3 Elevé		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1 Public	675	41,7	615	38,0	328	20,3	1618 100
2 Privé	207	40,7	196	38,6	105	20,7	508 100
3. Sans réponse							182
Total	882		881		433		2126

$$X^2 (\text{dl})= .15 \text{ p}=.92$$

7. Le statut socio-économique des parents

Le tribalisme s'accroît régulièrement avec le niveau de statut socio-économique de la famille d'origine des élèves (SSE) du niveau bas (17,3%), moyen (20,4%) au niveau élevé (24,4%). L'attitude tribaliste est donc fonction de l'origine sociale des élèves. Les enfants issus des familles pauvres sont moins tribalistes que ceux des familles aisées (Tableau 9). La liaison est significative au test du Chi carré. Des quatre indicateurs du statut social, le plus corrélé avec le tribalisme et donc le plus déterminant est la profession de la mère avec un coefficient de corrélation r de .64; les autres ne sont même pas significatifs.

TABLEAU 9 : Tribalisme et statut socio-économique des élèves

SSE	1 Bas		2 Moyen		3 Elevé		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1 Bas	365	45,5	298	37,2	139	17,3	802
2 Moyen	214	38,9	224	40,7	112	20,4	550
3 Elevé	136	39,0	128	36,7	85	24,4	349
4. Sans réponse							606
Total	715		650		336		1702

$$X^2 (4 \text{ dl})=12.4 \text{ p}=.01$$

8. La religion pratiquée par les élèves

Sans que les différences soient significatives, on peut noter que le tribalisme est moins élevé chez les élèves qui ne pratiquent aucune religion (17%), que chez les pratiquants des autres religions (19%) que chez les protestants (20%), que chez les musulmans (21%) et que chez les catholiques (24%). La relation n'est pas significative (Tableau 10). Le tribalisme n'est donc pas tout à fait fonction de chacune des religions pratiquées par les élèves du secondaire. Une comparaison globale montre que les non croyants sont toutefois moins tribalistes (17%) que les croyants (23%).

TABLEAU 10 : Tribalisme et religion des élèves

Tribalisme Religion	1 Bas		2 Moyen		3 Elevé		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1 Catholique	67	44,7	47	31,3	36	24,0	150
2 Protestant	400	40,6	387	39,3	198	20,1	985
3 Musulman	268	43,2	222	35,7	131	21,1	621
4 Autres	80	36,0	99	44,6	43	19,4	222
5 Aucune	52	43,7	47	39,5	20	16,8	119
6 Sans réponse							211
Total	867		802		428		2097

9. Tribalisme et province de fréquentation scolaire

Les provinces sont présentées selon les proportions des élèves du secondaire se situant au niveau élevé, moyen et bas de l'échelle de tribalisme (Tableau 11). Les critères de comparaison sont les valeurs extrêmes: élevé et bas. Il y apparaît que le tribalisme varie de façon significative avec la province de fréquentation scolaire. Dans l'ordre décroissant de tribalisme élevé, les provinces qui ont le pourcentage élevé des élèves tribalistes sont le Sud-Ouest, l'Ouest, le Nord-Ouest, le Centre, le Sud, le Littoral, l'Est, l'Adamaoua, le Nord et l'Extrême-Nord. La proportion des élèves tribalistes est trois fois plus grande dans la première qui est le Sud-Ouest que dans la dernière province qui est l'Extrême-Nord. Dans l'ordre décroissant de tribalisme bas ou nul par contre, les provinces qui ont les proportions des élèves les moins tribalistes sont le Nord, l'Extrême-Nord, l'Est, du Littoral, le Sud, de l'Ouest, le Centre, le Sud-Ouest et enfin l'Adamaoua. Ces données de l'enquête pourraient être validées par l'observation des comportements ethniques des élèves en milieu scolaire. Compte tenu des fortes migrations en particulier scolaires, les élèves qui fréquentent un établissement proviennent souvent des ethnies très variées; on ne saurait donc associer nécessairement les comportements des élèves étudiés à l'ethnie symbole de la province.

TABEAU 11 : Tribalisme et province de fréquentation scolaire

Tribalisme Provinces	1 Bas		2 Moyen		3 Elevé		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1 Adamoua	80	16,5	74	43,0	18	10,5	172
2 Centre	132	36,9	142	39,7	84	23,5	358
3 Est	83	44,6	75	40,3	28	15,1	186
4 Extrême-Nord	96	51,1	74	39,4	18	9,6	188
5 Littoral	93	43,9	82	38,7	37	17,5	212
6 Nord	109	57,7	61	32,3	19	10,1	189
7 Nord-Ouet	71	31,3	97	42,7	59	26,0	227
8 Ouest	85	37,8	75	33,3	65	28,9	295
9 Sud	61	43,3	25	36,9	28	19,9	141
10 Sud-Ouest	72	31,6	79	34,6	77	33,8	228
11.Sans réponse							182
Total	882		811		433		2126

$$X^2 (18 \text{ dl})=6,6 \text{ p}=.03$$

Vérification des hypothèses

10. Les résultats scolaires

TABEAU 12 : Tribalisme et réussite scolaire

Tribalisme Réussite scolaire	1 Bas		2 Moyen		3 Elevé		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%		
1 Echec	74	40,0	716	386,6	397	21,4	1856	100
2 Réussite	139	51,5	95	35,2	36	13,3	270	100
3. Sans réponse							182	
Total	882		811		433		2126	

Les hypothèses 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 et 9 vérifiées sont d'abord présentées; les hypothèses 2, 7 et 8 non concluantes sont ensuite examinées. Comme l'affirme la première hypothèse, les élèves qui échouent tendent à être plus tribalistes (21,4%) que ceux qui réussissent (13,3%). De même, 40% des élèves qui ne réussissent pas leurs études sont peu ou pas tribalistes contre 51,5% pour ceux qui réussissent. La relation entre le tribalisme et la réussite scolaire est significative au test du Chi carré (Tableau 12); elle est plus forte au premier qu'au second cycle. Sur le plan de la symétrie et de la séquence causale, il est plus logique de dire que les élèves tribalistes tendent à échouer plus que ceux qui ne le sont pas ou le sont moins que de soutenir le contraire. En effet, l'attitude est stable et la réussite ou l'échec ponctuels.

11. L'estime personnelle

La troisième hypothèse est testée par deux indicateurs de l'estime personnelle. S'agissant d'abord de l'estime personnelle normative, les élèves qui estiment se situer parmi les moyens compte tenu de leurs résultats scolaires, sont moins tribalistes (17,2%) que ceux qui estiment se situer tant parmi les

élèves au-dessus (23,1%) que parmi ceux au dessous de la moyenne (23%) du groupe. Ils sont également plus nombreux que les autres parmi les moins tribalistes (43,3%). La relation est significative au test du Chi carré, mais pas dans le sens de l'hypothèse émise. En d'autres termes, les élèves qui s'estiment moyens sont les moins tribalistes (Tableau 13).

TABLEAU 13 : Tribalisme et estime personnelle normative

Tribalisme Estime de soi normative.	1 Bas		2 Moyen		3 Elevé		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1 Au dessous la moyenne	92	17,1	99	39,9	57	23,0	248
2 Moyen	432	43,3	394	39,5	171	17,2	997
3 Au-dessus de la moyenne	355	40,7	316	36,2	202	23,1	873
4. Sans réponse							190
Total	879		809		430		2118

$$X^2 (4 \text{ dl})=12,8 \text{ } p=.01$$

S'agissant ensuite de l'estime personnelle absolue, les élèves qui s'estiment moyens compte tenu de leurs performances scolaires sont moins nombreux à être tribalistes (17,1%) que ceux qui s'estiment faibles (18,7%) et encore moins que ceux qui s'estiment forts (26,5%). Les élèves moyens sont moins tribalistes que ceux qui sont soit forts, soit faibles; la différence entre les faibles et les moyens est légère mais statistiquement significative dans l'ensemble (Tableau 14).

TABLEAU 14 : Tribalisme et estime personnelle absolue

Tribalisme Estime de soi absolue	1 Bas		2 Moyen		3 Elevé		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1 Faible	27	36,0	34	45,3	14	18,7	75
2 Moyenne	432	41,1	483	37,8	218	17,2	1277
3 Fort	267	35,4	287	38,1	200	26,5	754
4. Sans réponse							202
Total	870		804		432		2106

$$X^2 (4 \text{ dl})=33,2 \text{ } p=.000$$

12. La confiance en soi

Les élèves sont nombreux (45%) à douter de leurs chances de réussir dans la vie. Plus ils manquent de confiance en eux-mêmes, plus ils sont tribalistes. Conformément à la quatrième hypothèse, la proportion des élèves qui sont tribalistes s'accroît continuellement et régulièrement (14, 20, 24 et 26%) des élèves qui ont une très forte à ceux qui ont une très faible confiance en soi. La relation est statistiquement significative au test du Chi carré (Tableau 15).

TABEAU 15 : Tribalisme et confiance en soi

Tribalisme Confiance en soi	1 Bas		2 Moyen		3 Elevé		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1 Très forte	275	50,5	196	36,0	74	13,6	545
2 Forte	249	40,8	240	39,3	121	19,8	610
3 Faible	223	35,7	228	38,4	143	24,1	594
4 Très faible	107	34,9	122	39,7	78	25,4	307
5 Sans réponse							252
Total	854		786		416		2056

$$X^2 (6 \text{ dl})=37,6 \text{ } p=.000$$

13. La qualité des relations avec les camarades

Comme l'a prévue la cinquième hypothèse, les élèves qui déclarent avoir de mauvaises relations avec leurs camarades au sein de l'établissement sont significativement plus tribalistes (30,2 %) que ceux qui disent en avoir de bonnes avec eux (19,5 %). Il s'agit d'une relation symétrique puisqu'on peut également dire que les élèves qui sont tribalistes tendent à avoir de mauvaises relations avec leurs camarades (Tableau 16).

TABEAU 16 : Tribalisme et qualité des relations entre élèves

Tribalisme Relations	1 Bas		2 Moyen		3 Elevé		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1 Mauvaises	53	29,1	74	40,7	55	30,2	182
2 Bonnes	819	42,6	728	37,9	374	19,5	1921
3 Sans réponse							205
Total	872		802		429		2103

$$X^2 (2 \text{ dl})=17 \text{ } p=.000$$

14. L'esprit d'ouverture des élèves

La sixième hypothèse est testée par deux variables dont la première, l'ouverture sur l'environnement ou sur l'extérieur n'est qu'un indicateur de la seconde l'esprit d'ouverture. L'ouverture est mesurée ici par la distance entre le milieu d'origine et le milieu extérieur où l'élève aimerait bien vivre ou travailler après ses études. Il apparaît de façon claire et significative que moins les élèves sont ouverts, plus ils sont tribalistes (Tableau 17). En effet, 17,7 % des élèves qui veulent, après leurs études, vivre hors de leur province d'origine sont tribalistes contre 28,8% pour ceux qui veulent rester dans le département dont ils sont originaires. On note également que la proportion des élèves qui sont peu ou pas du tout tribalistes croît au fur et à mesure qu'ils s'ouvrent du département (29,5%) vers la province (35,2% et hors de la province (46,2%).

TABLEAU 17 : Tribalisme et ouverture sur l'extérieur

Tribalisme Ouverture	4 Bas		5 Moyen		6 Elevé		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%		
1 Département	70	29,5	641	37,0	85	28,8	295	100
2 Province	157	35,2	190	42,6	99	22,2	446	100
3 Hors province	613	46,2	479	36,1	235	17,7	1327	
4 Sans réponse								
Total	857		792		419		2062	

$$X^2 (4 \text{ dl})=42 \text{ p}=.000$$

En prenant l'échelle synthétisant les indicateurs de l'esprit d'ouverture, les données confirment que, plus les élèves ont un esprit ouvert sur l'extérieur par rapport à leur milieu, moins ils sont tribalistes. On observe ainsi que 11,5% des élèves très ouverts, 22,6% des élèves ouverts et 32,4% des élèves pas ouverts se situent au niveau le plus élevé de l'échelle de tribalisme. Le tribalisme s'accroît quant l'esprit d'ouverture décroît (Tableau 18). Symétriquement, on peut soutenir que plus l'élève est ouvert, moins il est tribaliste.

TABLEAU 18 : Tribalisme et esprit d'ouverture

Tribalisme Esprit d'ouverture	4 Bas		5 Moyen		6 Elevé		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%		
1 Très ouvert	433	53,5	283	35,0	93	11,5	809	100
2 Peu ouvert	288	8,7	289	38,8	168	22,6	745	100
3 Pas ouvert	93	22,9	182	44,7	132	32,4	407	100
4 Sans réponse							447	
Total	814		754		393		1961	

$$X^2 (4 \text{ dl})=133 \text{ p}=.000$$

15. L'inquiétude de ne pas accéder à un emploi à cause de son origine

Dans le sens de la neuvième hypothèse, les élèves peu ou pas inquiets sont plus nombreux à être très tribalistes (21,8%) que les élèves inquiets de ne pas accéder à un emploi existant à cause de leur origine (17,6%). Le test chi carré est significatif (Tableau 19). Il apparaît donc une relation significative entre le tribalisme et l'inquiétude de ne pas accéder à un emploi existant à cause de son origine.

TABLEAU 19 : Tribalisme et inquiétude de ne pas accéder à un emploi à cause de son origine

Tribalisme Inquiétude de ne pas accéder à un emploi	1 Bas		2 Moyen		3 Elevé		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%		
1. Peu ou pas inquiets	455	40,4	425	37,7	246	21,8	1126	100
2. Très inquiets	331	44,9	265	36,6	148	20,4	737	100
3. Sans réponse							445	
Total	786		701		376		1863	

$$X^2 (2 \text{ dl})=6,05 \text{ p}=.04$$

16. Les migrations scolaires

TABLEAU 20 : Tribalisme et migrations scolaires selon le cycle de l'enseignement secondaire

	Premier Cycle						Deuxième Cycle							
Tribalisme Migrations	Bas		Moyen		Elevé		Total	Bas		Moyen		Elevé		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%	N	%	
1 Aucune	15	62,5	5	20,8	4	16,7	24	157	63,8	79	32,1	10	4,1	246
2 Une fois	18	28,1	22	34,4	24	7,5	64	113	51,4	95	32,2	12	5,5	220
3 Deux fois	74	29,5	109	43,8	66	26,5	249	164	58,6	95	33,9	21	7,5	280
4 Trois fois +	229	27,5	337	40,5	267	32,1	833	110	55,0	62	31,0	28	4,0	200
5 Sans réponse							141							51
Total	336		473		361		1170	544		331		71		946
X ² (6 dl)=18 p=.00							X ² (6 dl)=25,6 p=.000							

$$X^2 (6 \text{ dl}) = 18 \text{ p} = .00$$

$$X^2 (6 \text{ dl}) = 25,6 \text{ p} = .000$$

De façon générale, alors que 5,2 % seulement de ceux qui n'ont pas encore changé d'établissement scolaire sont tribalistes, jusqu'à 28,6 % de ceux qui en ont changé trois fois et plus le sont. Selon la septième hypothèse, le tribalisme tend à croître de façon régulière notamment chez les élèves du premier cycle, avec le nombre des changements d'établissement scolaire. La relation est statistiquement significative tant au premier qu'au second cycle (Tableau 20). On peut signaler toutefois qu'au premier cycle, changer une seule fois d'établissement correspond au plus faible niveau de tribalisme (7,5%). Au second cycle, le tribalisme ne varie pas de façon aussi prononcée qu'au premier avec le changement d'établissement scolaire.

17. La peur de ne pas réussir dans les études

Contrairement à la deuxième hypothèse émise, la peur de ne pas réussir dans les études n'est fonction de l'attitude tribaliste. Les élèves qui déclarent avoir très peur (19,0%), peur (20,4%) et n'avoir pas du tout peur (20,6%) de ne pas réussir dans les études sont également tribalistes (Tableau 21). Le test statistique du chi carré n'est pas significatif. La tendance observée va dans le même sens que la relation entre le tribalisme d'une part, la confiance en soi et l'inquiétude de ne pas accéder à un emploi à cause de son origine d'autre part

TABLEAU 21 : Tribalisme et peur de ne pas réussir

Tribalisme Peur de ne pas réussir	1 Bas		2 Moyen		3 Élevé		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1 Très peur	262	40,7	259	40,3	122	19,0	643	100
2 Peur	312	43,0	265	36,6	148	20,4	725	100
3 Pas du tout peur	290	40,8	274	38,6	146	20,6	710	100
4. Sans réponse							230	
Total	864		798		416		2078	

$$X^2 (4 \text{ dl}) = 2,3 \text{ p} = .68$$

Interprétation et discussion des résultats

Suivant les indicateurs utilisés, 15 à 40% des élèves de l'enseignement secondaire ont des réactions qui traduisent des attitudes tribalistes. Une proportion significative des élèves seraient prêts à refuser bien des choses à leurs camarades uniquement à cause de la différence de leur origine ethnique. Bien qu'il n'y ait pas de données de référence disponibles, on peut affirmer que le degré de tribalisme chez les élèves du secondaire est important et mérite une attention. La grande majorité des élèves terminent leurs études après le secondaire et s'insèrent dans la vie active ; ceux d'entre eux qui sont déjà tribalistes le seront probablement dans la vie active si rien ne change leur attitude actuelle.

Sur le plan contextuel, les élèves fréquentant les établissements situés dans les milieux à population multi-ethnique comme Yaoundé, Douala et Nkongsamba sont moins tribalistes que ceux vivant dans les autres localités du pays. Les élèves habitués à côtoyer les personnes différentes ou à partager les activités avec les camarades d'ethnies différentes – ce qui est généralement le cas dans les grandes villes – les tolèrent mieux que ceux qui vivent dans les milieux mono-ethniques. Les élèves acceptent plus que les autres le partage du cadre de travail plus directe et vécue; mais en ce qui concerne la cohabitation et le partage de la vie commune y compris le mariage plutôt envisagé que réel et actuel, le refus est presque le même dans les villes pluri-ethniques que dans les reste du pays.

Si les élèves du premier cycle sont plus tribalistes que ceux du second, c'est sans doute parce que, venant de l'école primaire plus locale que l'établissement secondaire, ils ont peu d'expérience des contacts avec les personnes d'origines ethniques différentes et ont peur ou sont méfiants de l'inconnu. La plus longue expérience scolaire des élèves du second cycle a peut-être favorisé chez eux la tolérance ethnique et l'acceptation des autres.

La différence entre les deux systèmes d'enseignement fréquentés se situe, non pas au niveau du tribalisme, mais plutôt de la proportion des élèves peu ou pas du tout tribalistes qui avantage les élèves du système francophone. Les élèves fréquentant le système scolaire anglophone ont le sentiment ou le complexe d'une minorité linguistique au Cameroun, cela peut expliquer la faible acceptation de l'autre. Cette même interprétation peut être donnée à la position des élèves des provinces anglophones du Sud-Ouest et du Nord-Ouest ; elles sont classées en première et troisième parmi les dix sur le plan du tribalisme. Les élèves qui fréquentent les établissements scolaires de la province de l'Ouest sont classés en deuxième position et ceux fréquentant les établissements de la province du Centre en quatrième ; les premiers sont caractérisés par un sentiment de majorité opprimée ou exclue, les deuxièmes ont l'expérience des tensions ethniques fréquentes qui susciteraient des comportements de revanche des différents groupes en présence. L'identité

ethnique des répondants aurait pu permettre de connaître la distribution du tribalisme dans les multiples ethnies au Cameroun; ce qui ne peut pas être montré dans l'état actuel des données disponibles.

Le tribalisme ne varie pas entre les élèves des secteurs public et privé. On se serait pourtant attendu à ce que le secteur public placé sous l'autorité directe de l'État ait les élèves les moins tribalistes. L'intégration nationale que prônent les pouvoirs publics justifiait l'affectation fréquente des enseignants d'un coin du pays à un autre alors que la même mobilité régionale n'existe pas dans les établissements scolaires privés. Le facteur intégrateur a disparu. Aujourd'hui, la tendance est l'affection et la nomination de chaque enseignant dans son milieu d'origine.

Il n'apparaît pas de différence significative de tribalisme entre les élèves des religions catholique, protestante, musulmane et autre. Cependant, ceux qui ne disent appartenir à aucune religion sont curieusement moins tribalistes que les croyants, semant le doute sur la fonction de tolérance, d'intégration et de cohésion sociales qu'on leur reconnaît ici. La relation trouvée reste toutefois faite et devrait être vérifiée avec d'autres échantillons. Peut-on affirmer que l'appartenance à une religion spécifique limite l'ouverture vers l'autre et favorise l'exclusion?

Sur le plan des caractéristiques personnelles liées au statut, les filles tendant à être plus tribalistes que les garçons, notamment quand il s'agit du partage de la chambre. Le contrôle de la relation entre le sexe et le tribalisme par les différentes variables de l'étude ne modifie pas la liaison établie et par conséquent ne laisse apparaître aucune relation conditionnelle. Il est fort possible que les jeunes filles aient pu, par excès de pudeur, percevoir davantage le partage d'une chambre avec une personne de façon générale comme un comportement négatif au lieu de privilégier dans leur compréhension de la question, la notion de tribu. En outre, les filles sont généralement moins ouvertes que les hommes. Des analyses plus approfondies pourraient permettre une meilleure interprétation de la différence de tribalisme entre garçons et filles.

Les élèves tribalistes tendant à être plus nombreux à échouer tandis que ceux qui le sont moins ou pas du tout tendent à être plus nombreux à réussir dans les études secondaires. Dans l'éducation, la morale et la technique font fusion; le tribalisme qui se caractérise par l'exclusion et le manque de communication, peut entraver le processus d'apprentissage.

Les élèves issus des parents de statut socio-économique élevé sont plus tribalistes que ceux issus des parents de statut bas; on se serait pourtant attendu à une relation contraire. D'autres variables extérieures devraient être introduites dans la relation pour expliquer pourquoi les enfants issus des milieux aisés tendent à être plus tribalistes que ceux qui proviennent des milieux socio-économiques modestes. L'explication de ce résultat n'est pas

évidente d'autant plus que les données montrent que l'esprit d'ouverture est également distribué entre les élèves des différents niveaux de statut socio-économique. Ce résultat peut avoir une tentative de double interprétation. D'abord, le tribalisme concerne particulièrement les personnes conscientes des intérêts économiques, sociaux et politiques qui engagent davantage les couches aisées de la société ; cela justifie une certaine opinion qui veut que le tribalisme au Cameroun soit attisé par ceux qui possèdent l'argent et le pouvoir politique pour protéger leurs intérêts égoïstes. Ensuite, les populations modestes, surtout rurales, sont limitées à leur milieu local et ne sauraient détester les autres ethnies qu'elles ne connaissent pas et avec lesquelles elles ne sont en contact. Ceux qui prêchent la tolérance et le partage sont plus ceux qui ne possèdent rien ou peu que les biens nantis.

Sur le plan relationnel, on constate que plus les élèves sont tribalistes plus mauvaises sont les relations avec les camarades. En effet, celui qui n'est pas tolérant ou rejette ses camarades ne peut qu'avoir de mauvaises relations avec eux. L'élève tribaliste est peu sociable en général et avec ceux qui sont différents de lui en particulier. Cette conclusion conduit à suggérer d'encourager les clubs et associations fondés sur des intérêts autres que tribaux et en même temps renforcer au sein des établissements scolaires, la justice et l'équité qui sont souvent des sources des divisions, des haines et des conflits entre les jeunes. La violence dans les établissements scolaires n'est pas ouverte, elle couve cependant puisque 9% des élèves disent avoir de mauvaises relations avec leurs camarades d'établissement.

Les élèves qui changent fréquemment d'établissements scolaires tendent également à être tribalistes. Nous pourrions être ici en face d'une relation symétrique comme la précédente; on peut se demander si c'est le fait d'être tribaliste qui pousse à changer d'établissements ou au contraire, ce sont les migrations scolaires qui favorisent le tribalisme. Il est logique de penser que le changement fréquent d'établissement est une recherche constante d'adaptation scolaire ; le tribalisme peut en être la cause; mais pas la conséquence.

Plus les élèves sont ouverts, moins ils sont tribalistes. Ce résultat est extrêmement important et indique que pour lutter contre le tribalisme, il faut intégrer les populations et non les séparer; à force d'être ensemble, elles finissent par surmonter leurs différences, à se tolérer et à s'accepter; d'où les politiques d'intégration pratiquées par certains pays d'immigration. La possibilité pour les élèves de voyager ou de séjourner et d'étudier dans les milieux ethniques différents des leurs peut ouvrir l'esprit et favoriser l'acceptation des autres et partant, l'intégration nationale.

Sur le plan psychologique, plus les élèves manquent de confiance en eux-mêmes, plus ils sont tribalistes; autrement dit, les élèves qui doutent de leurs chances de réussir dans la vie ont tendance à être tribalistes. Ils le sont parce

qu'ils ne peuvent pas compter sur tout le monde, mais seulement sur les proches de la famille ou de la tribu qui ne sont pas partout pour les aider. Manquer de confiance en soi et être tribaliste, c'est comme si l'élève attribuait aux personnes différentes de lui et qu'il déteste, la cause du doute qu'il a de lui-même. Il faudrait donner aux élèves la dignité nécessaire afin qu'ils croient en leur valeur personnelle pour être moins tribalistes; la relation pédagogique valorisante, la confiance en l'élève et l'octroi des responsabilités peuvent y contribuer.

Plus les élèves s'estiment forts ou faibles, plus nombreux ils sont tribalistes. Est-ce à dire que les élèves qui s'estiment faibles ou surtout forts sont si égoïstes qu'il rejette les autres ? Pourquoi les élèves qui se croient forts sont-ils plus tribalistes que les autres ? Est-ce par orgueil tribal qu'ils se croient au-dessus des autres élèves ? L'attitude des élèves qui s'estiment forts est la même que celle des élèves des milieux socio-économiques aisés et explique que le tribalisme sert à protéger l'être ou l'avoir. D'autres investigations pourraient le vérifier.

La peur de ne pas réussir dans les études et la peur de ne pas connaître les gens bien placés pour aider à trouver un emploi ne sont pas liées au tribalisme. Elle traduit simplement la connaissance objective de l'existence du népotisme. Par contre, l'inquiétude de ne pas accéder à un emploi à cause de son origine décroît avec le niveau de tribalisme des élèves, autrement dit, les élèves tribalistes sont ceux qui ont le moins peur de subir les discriminations dans la recherche d'un emploi. Il devrait donc exister un lien entre le fait d'être tribaliste et l'assurance d'accéder à un emploi malgré son origine.

Une des limites de cette étude est de ne pas avoir identifié les ethnies des répondants. Cette omission correspond à une tradition qui exclut l'identification des citoyens par leur ethnie, y compris pendant les recensements démographiques même si dans la pratique, les décisions politiques, économiques, sociales et administratives ont toujours une connotation ethnique légitimée par le principe des quotas. En outre, les indicateurs des comportements considérés comme tribalistes (q36a à q36d; q26c en Annexe) auraient dû être plus nombreux pour une plus grande validation de l'échelle de tribalisme construite ; mais nous considérons les quatre utilisés comme assez significatifs.

Conclusion

Les élèves de l'enseignement secondaire camerounais sont tribalistes; ce tribalisme qui est le fait d'une forte minorité varie selon les indicateurs utilisés. Il est plus marqué quand il s'agit de se marier avec un camarade d'une ethnie différente que lorsqu'il s'agit de partager le groupe d'étude. Le tribalisme est moins accentué, particulièrement chez les garçons dans les grandes villes multi-ethniques que dans le reste du pays. Les filles semblent plus tribalistes que les garçons.

Le tribalisme chez les élèves est fonction des régions de fréquentation scolaire. Il est plus marqué chez les élèves fréquentant les établissements scolaires du Grand Sud et Ouest que du Grand Nord Cameroun. Cette variation provinciale du tribalisme ne correspond pas nécessairement à la variation ethnique. La faiblesse du tribalisme dans les villes à forte composition ethnique autorise à penser que le brassage des élèves par l'ouverture des établissements aux échanges des élèves en plus des actions visant à limiter les pratiques de caractère tribal autour des élèves sont parmi les mesures susceptibles de le juguler. Le pourcentage des élèves tribalistes sans être alarmant est suffisamment significatif pour susciter des mesures préventives en milieu scolaire si la volonté des autorités dirigeantes est de promouvoir l'intégration nationale.

Quand à l'esprit d'ouverture, si près de la moitié des élèves du secondaire préféreraient choisir un emploi près de leurs parents ou se fier uniquement à ces derniers pour avoir de l'aide quand ils ont un problème, par contre, l'immense majorité d'entre eux désapprouve les propositions que chacun doit étudier ou travailler où il est né ou dans sa région d'origine. L'indice d'ouverture élaboré à l'aide de ces indicateurs est négativement relié à l'échelle de tribalisme; moins les élèves sont ouverts, plus ils sont tribalistes. Le tribalisme est expliqué pour une bonne part par le nombrilisme ou étroitesse d'esprit de ceux qui ont cette attitude. Les personnes qui sont ouvertes aux autres prennent conscience de la diversité des hommes et des manières de vivre et par conséquent deviennent plus tolérantes des différences ethniques qui pour les personnes fermées, sont plutôt un scandale. On constate en Afrique du Sud que le racisme régresse à mesure que les communautés blanches et noires se connaissent. Les élèves devraient par conséquent avoir plus de possibilités de s'ouvrir aux autres par des voyages, des camps d'adolescents, des séjours dans les différentes régions du pays. À la lumière des réactions des élèves, on se rend à l'évidence que les pratiques actuelles qui consistent à affecter les fonctionnaires en priorité dans leurs régions d'origine sont contraires à la volonté d'unité et d'intégration nationales et ne pourront guère être appréciées par les générations futures plus ouvertes pour étudier et travailler loin de leur terroir et plus disposées à s'intégrer à des communautés différentes. Aucune enquête n'a d'ailleurs été faite pour savoir ce que pensent les travailleurs de cette tendance à la limitation au niveau du village d'origine, de leur capacité de servir.

Le tribalisme chez des élèves du secondaire est modéré, contrastant la fréquence et l'intensité des querelles ethniques qui caractérisent la société adulte actuelle. Mais il est une attitude qui traduit par son existence même, une absence de cohésion et un potentiel de germes d'explosions futures. Les actes et les conduites pouvant l'aiguiser, qu'ils viennent des dirigeants, des enseignants, des élèves eux-mêmes ou d'ailleurs doivent pour cette raison être découragés à l'école et autour de l'école afin que le système éducatif, au

lieu d'être un foyer de la désintégration, soit plutôt le creuset de l'intégration nationales. Les multiples guerres tribales qui sèment l'horreur et la désolation partout en Afrique sont des faits qui devraient inciter à lutter contre le développement du tribalisme dès les milieux scolaires par l'équité, la tolérance et le brassage. Les jeunes se sentent moins concernés par les distinctions ethniques que les adultes.

NOTES

1. Les Bamilekés constituent un des groupes ethniques du Cameroun caractérisés par le dynamisme sur le plan économique et l'omniprésence dans les activités industrielles et commerciales.
2. Les Bétis sont un des groupes ethniques du Cameroun caractérisés par une forte scolarisation et une omniprésence dans l'administration publique.
3. On peut citer à titre d'exemple, l'Arrêté N° 010467/MPT/DC du 04 Octobre 1982 portant application du Décret N° 82/407 du 07 Septembre 1982 instituant les quotas réservés aux originaires de chaque province, mais qui sont dans la pratique, les quotas ethniques dans les recrutements aux fonctions et services publics et la Constitution de 1996 distinguant explicitement les droits des citoyens autochtones et de ceux des citoyens allogènes.

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ANNEXE

EXTRAIT DU QUESTIONNAIRE DES ÉLÈVES: ETUDE SUR L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE AU CAMEROUN

6. Depuis le début de vos études secondaires,
combien de fois avez-vous changé d'établissement scolaire ?
- Aucune fois 1
 - Une fois 2
 - Deux fois 3
 - Trois fois et plus 4

22. Compte tenu de la plupart de vos résultats scolaires vous vous estimez:

- Très fort 1
- Fort 2
- Moyen 3
- faible 4
- Très faible 5

25. Indiquer dans quelle mesure chacun des points suivants vous inquiète lorsque vous envisagez la recherche d'un emploi futur. (Encerclez un seul chiffre par ligne).

(1) Beaucoup ; (2) Assez ; (3) Un peu ; (4) Pas du tout

- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) Ne pas être suffisamment formé | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| b) Ne pas connaître les gens bien placés pour m'aider | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| c) Ne pas être informé des emplois qui existent | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| d) Ne pas accéder à un emploi existant à cause de mon origine | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| e) Ne pas trouver du tout un emploi | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| f) Le nombre de chômeurs qui cherchent actuellement un emploi | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

26. Les opinions des gens varient sur différents sujets. Dites jusqu'à quel point vous êtes d'accord ou en désaccord avec chacune des propositions suivantes: (Encerclez un seul chiffre par ligne)

(1) Tout à fait d'accord ; (2) D'accord ; (3) Pas d'accord ; (4) Pas du tout d'accord

- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) Il est préférable de choisir un emploi près de ses parents | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| b) Quand on a un problème, on ne peut se fier qu'à un parent pour avoir de l'aide | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| c) Si l'on a l'occasion d'engager (d'employer) quelqu'un, c'est toujours mieux d'engager un parent ou quelqu'un de sa tribu | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| d) Chacun doit étudier dans sa région d'origine | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| e) Chacun doit travailler là où il est né | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Le tribalisme chez les élèves de l'enseignement secondaire

- f) Chacun doit travailler dans sa région d'origine
- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|
- g) Il est bon de voyager pour voir comment vivent les autres
- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|
- h) Je doute de mes chances de réussir dans la vie
- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|
36. Si vous aviez la possibilité de choisir, accepteriez-vous de partager:
(Encerclez un seul chiffre par ligne).
- (1) Oui tout à fait ; (2) Difficilement ; (3) Non jamais
- a) le banc avec un camarade d'une autre ethnie ou tribu
- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 |
|---|---|---|
- b) la chambre avec un camarade d'une autre ethnie ou tribu
- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 |
|---|---|---|
- c) le groupe d'étude avec un camarade d'une autre ethnie ou tribu
- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 |
|---|---|---|
- d) la vie commune en vous mariant avec une personne d'une autre tribu ou ethnie
- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 |
|---|---|---|
39. Quel est le niveau d'étude le plus élevé atteint par votre:
(Encerclez un seul chiffre par colonne).
- | | a) Père | b) Mère | c) Tuteur |
|--|---------|---------|-----------|
| • N'a jamais été à l'école | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| • Etudes primaires | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| • Etudes secondaires 1er cycle | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| • Etude secondaires 2e cycle | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| • Etudes supérieures, grandes écoles, Université | 5 | 5 | 5 |
41. Quelle est la profession la plus semblable à celle de votre:
(Encerclez un seul chiffre par colonne).
- | | a) Père | b) Mère | c) Tuteur |
|---|---------|---------|-----------|
| • Ne travaille pas, chômeur, ménagère | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| • Cultivateur, éleveur, ouvrier | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| • Employé de bureau, technicien | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| • Fonctionnaire de la catégorie D et C | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| • Fonctionnaire de la catégorie B, Commerçant | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| • Fonctionnaire de la catégorie A, cadre moyen | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| • Cadre supérieur, Haut fonctionnaire | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| • Professeur d'Université, Avocat, Médecin, Directeur de grande entreprise, Hommes d'affaires | 8 | 8 | 8 |
42. Vos parents ou votre tuteur ont-ils chez eux les choses suivantes:

(Encercler un seul chiffre par ligne).

	Oui	Non
a) Une maison en dur	1	0
b) Un réfrigérateur	1	0
c) Une Bibliothèque (livres)	1	0
d) Une voiture	1	0
e) Un poste radio	1	0
f) Un téléviseur	1	0
g) Une moto	1	0
h) Un branchement d'eau potable à la maison	1	0
i) Un branchement d'électricité à la maison	1	0
j) Une salle d'étude pour les enfants	1	0

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SOME KEY ISSUES IN AFRICAN TRADITIONAL EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT. Against a background discussion of the concept and general purpose of education, this article examines some key issues in African traditional education, namely its philosophical foundations, content and methods, strengths and weaknesses. The philosophical foundations of African traditional education are the five principles of preparationism, functionalism, communalism, perennialism and holism. We have highlighted the physical, social and spiritual content of African traditional education and the practical method of teaching and learning. The strengths and weaknesses of African traditional education are discussed and the attention of readers directed to possible areas for further study.

PRINCIPAUX ENJEUX DE L'ÉDUCATION TRADITIONNELLE AFRICAINE

RÉSUMÉ. Avec en toile de fond le concept philosophique et le but général de l'éducation, cet article analyse certains des grands enjeux de l'éducation traditionnelle africaine, à savoir : les fondements philosophiques, le contenu et les méthodes, les points forts et les faiblesses. Les fondements philosophiques de l'éducation traditionnelle africaine sont les cinq principes du « préparationnisme », du fonctionnalisme, du communalisme, de la pérennité et de l'holisme. Nous avons mis en lumière le contenu physique, social et spirituel de l'éducation traditionnelle africaine et la méthode pratique et communautaire d'enseignement et d'apprentissage. Les points forts et les faiblesses de l'éducation traditionnelle africaine sont analysés par rapport à la société contemporaine. Nous terminons cet article en attirant l'attention du lecteur sur d'éventuels domaines d'études plus approfondies.

Introduction

Before the introduction of Western civilization into Africa, education in the continent was purely indigenous. So much has already been written on traditional African education that we only need to summarize existing literature (Majasan, 1967 and 1976; Fafunwa, 1974; Mwanakatwe, 1968; Ocitti, 1973; Snelson, 1974; Tiberondwa, 1978; Adeyinka, 1993; Adeyinka

& Kalusa, 1996; Kalusa, 2000.). Most recent works on new perspectives in African education, *vis-a-vis* the role and impact of Christian missions from the West, include those of Coetzee and Roux (eds.) (1991) and Makgoba (1999). With the penetration of the Christian missions from the fifteenth century, Western culture – notably British and French – had begun to move into various parts of the continent. The Christian missions brought with them ideas from Western culture that culminated in the introduction of formal education, with its emphasis on literary and purely academic work. African parents readily accepted this new education and they began to send their children to the schools fashioned after the European curriculum to learn; they gradually set aside the kind of education, holistic, lifelong, and utilitarian, which they themselves had received. However, the valuable nature of African traditional education has been realized to the extent that today, the call in most African societies is for a return to the indigenous education system, albeit in a modified form. We acknowledge that in the indigenous education of the various communities there were considerable cultural and historical differences. Our concern in this paper, however, is the presentation of the common core of values in African traditional education. Our argument is that an education that has the input of all members of the community, and prepares each individual for a particular profession or occupational activity, should be the norm in many African societies today.

Objectives

The objectives of this paper are to briefly:

(1) Examine the concept of education; (2) Give a sample of definitions from various perspectives; (3) Discuss the contents, philosophical basis and methods of African Traditional Education; (4) Highlight the weaknesses and strengths of African Traditional Education; and, (5) Direct the attention of readers to possible areas for further investigation.

The concept of education

Education is “the process of cultural transmission and renewal,” the process whereby the adult members of a society carefully guide the development of infants and young children, initiating them into the culture of the society. For infants and young children, education often takes the form of indoctrination, that is, the process of compelling the child to ‘eat’ or ‘play’ or do his/her homework at particular times of the day. In the training or upbringing of children, a measure of freedom is allowed so that they can have the opportunity of learning at their own rate and behaving in their own particular ways, provided their learning processes and general behaviour do not present a wide departure from the accepted social standards and conven-

tions of their society. Freedom is therefore a relative term and the extent of freedom a person enjoys depends largely on the culture of the society to which he or she belongs and the values which that society upholds. Hence, what society "A" values as freedom may be condemned as an act of indiscipline by society "B". For example, the kind of freedom which some parents in the Western world allow their children and wards,¹ such as calling elders by their names, is seriously condemned in African traditional society (Adeyemi, 2001).

The word **education** is derived from two Latin words. The first one is **educare** (*educare, educavi, educatum*), a first conjugation verb, meaning "to bring up," "to rear," "to guide," "to direct," "to educate" (Marchant and Charles, n.d., p. 186; cf. Little, Fowler & Coulson, 1968, p. 584). From this Latin origin, we infer that education is the process of bringing up children by adult members of the family and the society, a process of rearing children, a process of guiding, directing and educating children. However, the process of bringing up, rearing, guiding, directing and educating is not limited to children. Adolescents in post-primary educational institutions and adults in post-secondary institutions (such as students in universities) also need guidance and directing. Further, the tasks of "bringing up," "rearing," "guiding," "directing," and "educating" are more than the school alone can offer. All adult members of the society are concerned with all these tasks and in that way complement the efforts of the school. From this clarification, we infer that education is bigger than schooling because education takes place within and outside the school. Indeed, schooling can get in the way or disrupt a person's education, as in the epigram of Sir George Bernard Shaw, the Irish dramatist and critic, who once declared that "schooling had interrupted his education."²

The second Latin word from which **education** derived is **educere** (*educere, eduxi, eductum*), a third conjugation verb, meaning "to draw out," "to lead out," "to raise up," "to bring up," or "rear a child" (Marchant and Charles, n.d., p. 186). From this latter derivative, a more comprehensive definition of education emerges: education becomes the slow and skilful process of extracting the latent potentialities of comprehension and dedication, in contradistinction with indoctrination, which simply means "the implanting of a ready-made set of unexamined concepts in the child's mind." In other words, education appears to be the exact opposite of indoctrination, for, while the concept of education embraces the idea of freedom of selection, the concept of indoctrination excludes the idea of freedom and lays emphasis on an unquestioned acceptance of a ready-made set of dogmas, for example, the political dogmas in a totalitarian state (such as Prussia under Joseph II or Russia under Catherine the Great) or the religious doctrines of some Christian Churches or Muslim societies.

As in the case of *educare*, the tasks implicit or explicit in the meaning of *educere* are more than schools alone can give. All members of the family, the peer-group, the age-grade organization, community leaders, the church, the mosque, the shrine or other place of worship, the school and the mass media have their distinctive roles to play. Little, Fowler and Coulson must have thought along this line when they defined education as:

1. The process of nourishing or rearing; the process of bringing up (young persons); the manner in which a person has been brought up.
2. The systematic instruction, schooling or rearing given to the young (and, by implication, to adults) in preparation for the work of life. Also the whole course of scholastic instruction which a person has received (Little *et al.*, 1968, p. 584).

Therefore, we see that education could refer to both the process of training and the product or result of training. A society embracing an alien culture would therefore normally be expected to adopt the process of education introduced by the alien group and the use that should be made of the beneficiaries or products of that education. Apart from our interpretation of the ideas implicit and explicit in the Latin origins given above, there are some other definitions of education which may be of interest in the context of our discussion.

Sample definitions

Literature on philosophy of education is replete with a variety of definitions of the word "education." While some scholars define education as "the transmission of life by the living to the living," others define it as "the acquisition of the art of the utilisation of knowledge" (Whitehead, 1962). James Majasan, a renowned Professor of Philosophy of Education at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, defined education simply as "the art of learning" (Majasan, 1967) and emphasized the relevance to development of indigenous education in Africa (Majasan, 1976). To Carter Good (1959, p. 191), education is "the art of making available to each generation the organized knowledge of the past." Oladele Taiwo (1964, p. iv), in the preface to his book entitled *Agencies of Education*, defined education as "the total efforts of a community to raise its economic, social and political standards of life." Other relevant definitions of education include those by Snelson (1974, p. 1) who presented education as "a condition of human survival, . . . the means whereby one generation transmits the wisdom, knowledge and experience which prepares the next generation for life's duties and pleasures"; and Lane (176, p. 1, quoted in Kelly, 1991, p. 7) who defined education as "the transmission of wisdom, knowledge, experience and skills." George Hegel offered a somewhat complex definition. According to him, education is "a progressive perfection of humanity from a simple, uncultivated, primitive mind, through the hard discipline of labour and toil

to the consciousness and exercise of its freedom" (Hegel, 1807, translation by Baillie, 1949, p. 807)). This implies that education is a gradual development of the body and mind from infancy to adulthood. Related to Bloom's taxonomy, it implies a progressive development of the cognitive, affective and psychomotor domains (or areas) of knowledge. Henry Msango, in a lecture to a group of Distance Education students at the University of Zambia in 1997, defined education as "the process of disseminating ideas from generation to generation," which is in line with Carter Good's definition above.

In a recent work, Adeyinka (2000, pp. 19-20) defined education as "the process of transmitting the culture of a society from one generation to the other, the process by which the adult members of a society bring up the younger ones."

It is, indeed, a three-stage process. First, a generation inherits the culture of the society from the older generation. Then, they change that culture, for better or for worse – or, we could say, they modify the culture they inherited and adapt it to their own situation: the political, social and economic situations of their time. Finally, they pass on the modified culture to the generation following them. As the society becomes more highly urbanised and detribalised, particularly in an age of science and technology, the process of education becomes more complex. Education could be seen as the process of interaction between the guardians and the seekers of knowledge. It could be seen as a dialogue between the men and women with ideas and skills and the adolescents and young adults seeking to acquire and develop those ideas and skills, knowledge that they need to earn a living in an age of computers, science and technology. Education today is more than what the schools, colleges or universities alone can give. Industry, the mass media, the internet and related sources of learning in society are intended to complement institutionalized education; and, as we now live in a new century, the 21st century, no person would be deemed to have been truly educated if he or she is not computer-literate. Further, he or she should be able to tap information through the electronic media, to complement whatever information has been obtained in the formal classroom situation.

From the above, it is clear that education can be defined in various ways. Indeed, there are as many definitions of education as there are educational philosophers, scholars or students. There could even be more, because a single person can define education in more than one way and it is clear from the illustration given above and from the works of Jerome Bruner that one's conception of education changes as one grows older. The way a student in a college of education defines education, for example, would be different from the way he would define it when he enrolls for a degree course in a university.³ We change our minds or develop our ideas every day. Education

therefore leads to a change in behaviour and it is clear that the development of the individual is the ultimate goal of all education. We may now offer a general statement on what the purpose of education is, or should be.

The general purpose of education

According to Adeyinka (1993), the purpose of education is to enable an individual to:

- (1) Position himself /herself in the society into which s/he has been born to live; (2) explore the world and find his/her own place in it; (3) cultivate good habits and develop the right attitude to life and work; (4) develop as a good citizen; (5) develop his/her potentialities to the full so that s/he could acquire knowledge and training in a profession and so earn a good living.

These ideas are implicit in Brian Crittenden's paper on "Aims, intentions and purposes in teaching and educating," where he argued that the school and the society should play complementary roles in education. The school offers only the literary and academic component of education. Initiation into the culture of the society and the development of good character and socially acceptable behaviour are more than the school alone can give. The aims and objectives, goals and means of reaching them are usually stated in the school's curriculum or subject syllabuses, but the aims and intentions of community-wide education are implicit in the societal expectations of individual members. That is why the wider community has to complement the efforts of the school. We can therefore understand Crittenden's contention that a person could live all his/her life without receiving purposeful education, particularly where aims and intentions are not clear from the start and efforts are limited to the acquisition of book knowledge alone (Crittenden, 1974, pp. 46-51). No wonder Adeyemi (2000) argued for a well-rounded education that would enable citizens live together purposefully in a dynamic global community. This concept of purposeful living is embedded in the following cardinal goals of African traditional education identified by Fafunwa (1974, p. 20):

- (1) To develop the child's latent physical skills; (2) To develop character; (3) To inculcate respect for elders and those in position of authority; (4) To develop intellectual skills; (5) To acquire specific vocational training and to develop a healthy attitude towards honest labour; (6) To develop a sense of belonging and to participate actively in family and community affairs; (7) To understand, appreciate and promote the cultural heritage of the community at large.

The identified principles listed above have far reaching implications for the formal education of today. Translated into modern curriculum and pedagogical theories and practices, the cardinal principles are largely similar to the goals, contents, methods and evaluation techniques of the modern day

institution, although the *modus operandi* may be different. For instance, the seven traditional objectives can be categorised into the cognitive, psychomotor and the affective domains as found in modern day curricular practice. The first objective relates to the psychomotor development of the child through physical participation such as traditional games. The second, third, fifth, sixth and seventh traditional goals of education closely relate to the affective domain of modern day education. The fourth goal is directly related to the cognitive domain. When closely studied, some of the goals may fall into two or more of the domains of educational objectives as categorised by Bloom (1968), depending on how one examines them.

The traditional education of African children is briefly summed up in the words of Kenyatta (1961) while describing the educational system of the Gikuyu (also spelt Kikuyu) people of Kenya:

... it will be found that education begins at the time of birth and ends with death. The child has to pass various stages of age-groupings with a system of education defined for every status in life. They aim at instilling into the children what the Gikuyu call "otaari wa mocie" or "kerera kia mocie," namely, educating the children in the family and clan tradition. Apart from the system of schools which has been introduced by the Europeans, there is no special school building in the Gikuyu sense of the word: the homestead is the school. . . . This is one of the methods by which the history of the people is passed from generation to generation. (pp. 99-100)

This traditional system of education is similar in other African countries. In Nigeria, Ghana, Tanzania and Malawi, traditional education of youngsters involves intellectual, physical and attitudinal training in order to develop fully into acceptable adults in the society. In addition, different kinds of games, including wrestling and running, training for healthy living, cooking, dressing, hunting, farming, carpentry, training to become a smith, drumming, dancing, marriage counselling and critical thinking form part of the traditional curriculum at different stages of the life of the youth. Even on becoming an adult, and after the usual rights of passage, the average African continues to learn from traditional education through a lifelong process. This process fosters unity and citizenship in the African man's or woman's immediate environment.

One fascinating example of unity in the traditional sense is illustrated from the *Igbo* culture of Nigeria in Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (1958) while describing how a man, Okonkwo pleaded for communal unity at a feast hosted by him for his kinsmen:

A man who calls his kinsmen to a feast does not do so to save them from starving. They all have food in their own homes. When we gather together in the moonlit village ground it is not because of the moon. Every man can see it in his own compound. We come together because it is good

for the kinsmen to do so. . . . I fear for you young people because you do not understand how strong is the bond of kinship. You do not know what it is to speak with one voice. (p. 118)

This picture of the importance of unity in the traditional community, in conjunction with other expected norms of the society in the past such as honesty, loyalty, bravery, mental and physical wellness, proper hygienic behaviour, exemplary leadership, responsibility and accountability, suggest that all these goals had existed before the advent of Western education. In the developing countries of Africa, such as Ghana, Malawi, Nigeria, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, etc., institutionalized education seems to aim at promoting national unity and international understanding. Some of the aims in African education also include the removal of economic and social poverty, hunger, disease, squalor, illiteracy, ignorance, electoral malpractice, etc; training for citizenship, health improvement, vocational competence, industrial and commercial development and adult literacy; creating a society with high moral standards; and producing adequate or human resources, for economic development. We may stress the point that from the point of view of African societies today, the greatest problem seems to be that of producing and utilizing high-level human-resources to enable the various countries to meet the challenges of the 21st century, especially in the areas of science and technology, transformation and management of change in education, and so on. Therefore, the future aim of education in every African country is, or should be, the advancement of knowledge and the development and utilization of appropriate skills that would lead to national economic recovery and progress.

In the developed countries, such as those in Western Europe and North America, a central aim of education now seems to be the initiation of youth into a new world of learning, ideas, knowledge, thought and imagination, particularly the acquisition of new knowledge in science and technology. Western countries have passed through the age of discovery and inventions. What education aims to achieve now appears to be the preparation of youth for the utilization and preservation of existing products of science and technology; the understanding, handling and enjoyment of the fruits of the labours of their predecessors. If you want X, press Y (where X could mean a variety of human needs, ranging from information on how to operate a complex photocopying machine or boot the computer, to the use of the vending machine to obtain snacks, tea, coffee or coca-cola; and Y for the specific button to press in each case). This seems to be a major type of orientation that youths are now exposed to in the developed countries. In other words, a primary aim of education in the developed countries is to make young people computer-literate and to relate this knowledge to whatever else they do. However, the situation in many African countries is much

more complex, especially the challenge of moving from past to future types of work and expectations.

Philosophical foundations or principles of African traditional education

Like any effective system of education, customary education in Africa was based on sound philosophical foundations. These foundations or principles have been rightly identified by Ocitti (1971) as preparationism, functionalism, communalism, perennialism and holicism. The principle of preparationism, which underlined both formal and informal educational practices, implied that the role of learning and teaching was to equip boys and girls with the skills appropriate to their gender in preparation for their distinctive roles in the society. Pre-colonial education, even in the most centralized and stratified societies, was gender-based, with boys and girls receiving that kind of education which enabled them to fulfil socially defined masculine and feminine responsibilities respectively. Male education thus produced farmers, warriors, blacksmiths, rulers and other male-dominated occupations from which women were excluded. On the other hand, female education was predominantly designed to produce future wives, mothers and home-makers. The principle of preparationism further meant that male and female education prepared its recipients to adjust to the community and to play a useful role in it. Children developed a sense of obligation towards the community and grew to appreciate its history, language, customs and values. This is perhaps one of the greatest attributes of indigenous education as opposed to Western education which tended to alienate young Africans from their cultural heritage (Kelly, 1991).

Related to the principle of preparationism was the principle of functionalism. With few exceptions, if any, traditional educational practices in pre-colonial African societies were predominantly utilitarian (Ocitti, 1971). It was a participatory kind of education in which people learned through imitation, initiation ceremonies, work, play, and oral literature. In this way, the learner was productive as he/she learned and was smoothly integrated into the community: the gap which today exists between study and the world of work was absent in pre-colonial society. Indeed, there was no unemployment in African traditional societies.

The third principle of African indigenous education was communalism. In African traditional education, all members of the society owned things in common and applied the communal spirit to life and work. Children belonged to the community and every member of the community had a stake in their upbringing. For example, if a child misbehaved while the parents were not present, any other adult member of the community could discipline and correct him/her on the spot. Clearing, planting and harvesting were done in a group, on a shift basis for example; a group could clear Mr.

A's farm on one day and move on to clear Mr. B's farm on the following day. The process was repeated during planting and harvesting seasons and during the building of huts. There was also in practice the thrift and credit system whereby individual members of the community contributed fixed amounts in cowries⁴ at regular intervals, to be collected by a member of the group at a time. For example, if Mr. A collected the group's contribution at the end of one week, it would be Mr. B's turn to collect it at the end of the following week. This was a form of compulsory saving for all adult members of the community, and the money collected in bulk could be used for a worthwhile venture, such as buying farm products for sale in the local market.

Perennialism constituted the fourth philosophical foundation of indigenous education. Most traditional communities in Africa perceived education as a vehicle for maintaining or preserving the cultural heritage and *status quo*. This partly explains why traditional teachers discouraged pupils from experimenting with the unknown and imposed heavy sanctions on those who tried to do so. In short, education in indigenous African communities was conservative in nature. Because of this, it had only a little progressive influence in the minds of young people (Snelson, 1974; Ocitti, 1973; Adeyinka and Kalusa, 1996).

The fifth philosophical foundation of customary education was holism or multiple learning. It is true that in economically, socially and practically advanced societies like the Zulu, Ashanti and Nupe, there was a high degree of specialisation in learning. However, as earlier noted, few African societies developed to that extent. In the latter societies, education provided little or no room for specialisation, but equipped both boys and girls to undertake a multitude of occupations that required related skills. Among the Acholi of Uganda, for example, a boy who was taught to construct a house was also expected to learn related lessons like the geography of the building site with regard to the source of water, geology and location of neighbouring villages. He was also expected to possess knowledge of the right types of trees and grass for construction of walls and for thatching (Ocitti, 1971). Similarly, a child destined to become a fisherman, as already noted, learned not only to catch fish but also to preserve and market it; to make and mend nets; to manufacture canoes and to erect temporary fishing huts. The holistic nature of customary education enabled young people to acquire a variety of skills that made them productive in many ways. A male individual in most non-literate communities could, therefore, embark on a variety of occupations without difficulty. He could work as a builder, farmer or fisherman. A woman worked as a gardener, housewife and cook, besides being a caretaker and nurse to her children.

The content of indigenous education

The content or subject matter of traditional educational systems emanated from the physical, social and spiritual situations of pre-colonial African societies. The physical environment influenced the content of the curriculum in that what was taught was meant to assist the child to adjust and adapt to the environment in order to exploit and derive benefit from it. As Castle (1966, p. 40) argues, "Whether the child's habitat was dominated by mountain, plain, river or tropical forest, he had to learn to combat its dangers and to use its fertility." To come to terms with the physical environment, the growing child learned about landscape, the weather and also about both plant and animal life. As the child grew, he/she learned to understand the uses of both plants and animals in his locality, in addition to the taboos associated with them.

The physical situation further influenced what practical skills the child learned in order to prepare him or her for future responsibilities. Boys and girls who lived in fishing areas, for example, learned such skills as were required to catch, preserve and market fish, and manufacture and mend fish-traps, nets and canoes. In wooded areas, like the north-eastern part of Zambia, where the "cut and burn" system of agriculture was the mainstay of the economy, children from the age of six acquired much knowledge of trees and their household uses (Rodney, 1972). In either way, the educational practices of each society were influenced by the physical environment and were meant to prepare the learner to live and work in and profit from the given environment.

If the physical situation had a bearing on the subject matter, so did the social environment. The survival of most traditional communities was to a large measure dependent upon a network of reciprocal relationships that knit the family, clan and tribe together. Traditional educational systems were meant to reinforce such relationships. It is therefore not surprising that parents and other adults in the community ceaselessly gave their children instruction in social etiquette that upheld reciprocal ties. Children were taught to respect elders, to appreciate their social obligations and responsibilities and above all, to subordinate their individual interests to those of the wider community (Ocitti, 1971; Snelson, 1974; Tiberondwa, 1978; Mwanakatwe, 1968).

The content of traditional curriculum also derived from the spiritual environment. In pre-colonial Africa, where every event (like the birth of a child, death, sickness, flood or drought) was accorded spiritual significance, education tended to focus on religious teaching or instruction. Young children received instruction on the influence of both malevolent and benevolent spirits, and purification practices; they were also taught the value of propitiating the spirits to avert such disasters as sickness, death and pestilence. It

may indeed be argued that a greater portion of indigenous education in Africa centred on religious training. Religion played a key role in the life of children and adults alike: it provided a rallying point for the community and backed up socially-accepted values and norms such as honesty, generosity, diligence and hospitality (Castle, 1966; Ocitti, 1971). The contents of traditional African education are intimately tied to their cardinal goals, as identified by Fafunwa (1974, pp. 9, 20-49).

Method of African traditional education

As is true today, a wide range of teaching methods prevailed between and within non-literate societies in Africa. In societies like the Nupe and Ashanti of West Africa, amongst whom education was a highly specialised activity, formal means of teaching were common and professional teachers existed. Such teachers taught a pre-determined body of knowledge in an organised sequence over a period of time, sometimes lasting many years. They also received payments in kind from parents of their pupils, although these were usually called 'gifts.' Professional teachers were used in training young children in diplomacy, medicine, hunting, copper- and iron-manufacturing and other specialised occupations. Both theoretical and practical approaches were employed in teaching, with pupils being encouraged to recite poems, riddles and songs, etc. "Schools" and "classes" were usually held in secluded places or at the king's or chief's palace. The graduation of pupils from such "schools" took place after they had sufficiently mastered their courses; it was often marked by feasting, ceremonial dancing and rejoicing (Tiberondwa, 1978).

In pre-colonial Africa, initiation ceremonies were common in both centralized communities and those that were acephalous – without a central chief or leader. The initiation activity enjoyed a high degree of formalism: it was characterised by teaching and learning of pre-determined material in a specific physical setting where there was a clear-cut distinction between pupils and teachers (Rodney, 1972; Tiberondwa, 1978; Datta, 1984). As in the training of young people for specialised occupations, initiation ceremonies lasted for varying periods. Among the Poro society in West Africa, for example, initiation schooling went on for as long as five years while the Tonga of Zambia initiated their female children over a period of between six weeks and four months (Datta, 1984). In either case, initiation ceremonies were meant to offer specific instruction in a wide range of areas, including farming, weaving, fishing, diplomacy, history and mothercraft. Female initiates underwent physiological, social and moral education to become capable mothers and wives. On the other hand, male children who were initiated were trained to become defenders of their villages and good providers for their families (Kalusa, 1998). In most societies which practised initiation ceremonies, the end of the initiation itself was marked by circumcision for

boys and clitoridectomy for girls which in turn symbolised the transition of the initiated from childhood to adulthood (Kenyatta, 19618; Datta, 1984; Rodney, 1972). Initiation practices were widespread and have been documented among such diverse ethnic groups as the Sidamo of Ethiopia, the Masai of Kenya and Tanzania, the Nandi of Kenya, the Tonga of Zambia and the Zulu of South Africa (Datta, 1984).

In the majority of non-literate African societies, however, the greater portion of education was informal. As Rodney (1972, p. 261) argues, this kind of education was acquired by children "from the example and behaviour of elders in the society." Under this system of education, methods of teaching were less highly structured and the line between the teacher and the pupil was thin. Learning was by initiation, observation and repetition of what parents and other adults did and encouraging the young to do it. It was also done through oral literature and play. These enabled boys and girls to learn about the history of their tribe and enhanced their mental development. They also acquired such qualities as perseverance, self-control, courage and endurance. In this informal way, children developed an aptitude to perform their masculine and feminine roles.

It is important to stress that in societies where education was largely informal, parents were predominantly responsible for teaching their children. They inculcated good manners, norms and values into their offspring, using their household as the "school." This household education covered practical skills and continued as long as the child lived with his/her parents. The educational efforts of parents were supplemented by the efforts of the other adults in the community. All elders in the society were expected to play mother and father roles in teaching, scolding, advising, rewarding and punishing children in the village or community (Blackmore and Cooksey, 1980; Tiberondwa, 1978). Among the Banyaruguru of Western Uganda, an adult who showed no interest in the education of the young people in the community was regarded as inimical to the community. He or she was often branded a witch (Tiberondwa, 1978). This observation, which also applies to many other societies in Africa, denotes that the task of teaching and bringing up children in pre-colonial communities was a collective responsibility.

Weaknesses and strengths of African traditional education

A major shortcoming of African traditional education is that it focused almost exclusively on the clan or tribe and hardly prepared its recipients for outside contact. Practically, this meant that the skills and knowledge possessed by a given ethnic group could not be easily transmitted to another tribe (Tiberondwa, 1978). Moreover, the absence of literacy implied that the accumulated knowledge and skills could not be preserved in a written form. This prevented the transfer of the same from one locality to another

and from one generation to the next. Many wise Africans have died with their own wisdom.

A close examination of traditional methods of teaching further reveals that customary education was wanting or deficient in this area. Tiberondwa (1978) has rightly observed that among some tribes in pre-colonial Uganda, for example, there was too much reliance on inculcation of fear and punishment as a means of teaching. Among the Ankole, "slow learners and offenders were killed to discourage slow learning and scare young people from committing similar offences" (Tiberondwa, 1978, p. 10). This means of teaching could only produce learners who, out of fear, were obedient and submissive. They committed to memory ideas that they did not understand and the values they had no right to question. Indigenous education thus tended to kill the spirit of initiative, innovation and enterprise, all of which are (or should be) promoted by modern education in Africa.

In spite of its shortcomings, traditional education was an effective way of preparing young people for their future. It was a successful means of maintaining the economic, social and cultural structures and stability of the societies in which it was practised. Without doubt, indigenous education prepared both boys and girls to come to terms with the physical, social and spiritual world of their time; it also prepared them for the world of work. Pre-colonial education was effective because no able-bodied person in traditional African society was unemployed (Kaunda, 1966). Children were trained in skills that made them become productive and useful to themselves and to the society. Similarly, the absence of social tension (which today manifests itself in various crimes and divorce rates) points to how successful indigenous education was in promoting and enhancing sound human relations within pre-colonial African societies. Through traditional education, young people acquired a communal rather than an individualistic outlook. Education was instrumental in helping people to subordinate their personal interests to those of the wider community and to appreciate the values, norms and beliefs of their society. Thus, indigenous education prepared children to play their roles in the family, clan and the tribe as a whole.

Pre-colonial education should further be credited for its enormous capacity to preserve cultural heritage. In precolonial Africa, education served as an important tool for preserving and passing on time-tested skills, customs and knowledge from generation to generation. It was indeed through their education that young people learned to appreciate and value the heritage of their forebears: their language, norms and such attributes as chastity, honesty, diligence, valour, hard-work, generosity and hospitality. Once children understood and appreciated their cultural heritage, they too passed it on to their offspring who in turn did the same to their own children. In this way, the continuity of the tribe's pattern of life was assured.

Conclusion

African traditional education focused on the training and skill development of the individuals in various local communities. It enabled every member of each community to be gainfully employed. It had its foundation in the five principles of preparationism, functionalism, communalism, perennialism and holism. Its content was based on the physical, social and spiritual environments of the time. There was no clearly defined method of instruction and no standardised method of testing the learners for the purpose of graduation and certification as is the case in the present-day educational institutions. The content of instruction and the duration of learning or apprenticeship were generally determined by the master. A major problem in the practice of education in pre-colonial Africa was the inability of the people to write and keep records, which would have enabled local teachers and master-craftsmen and herbalists to preserve their wisdom and knowledge for the use of the younger generation. Since the knowledge concerning many professions remains undocumented, it is high time for Africans to document the cognitive aspect of their professions in black and white. A situation where a master in a profession dies with his knowledge should not be allowed to continue. A typical example is illustrated when a traditional doctor dies without documenting the various herbs used to heal the sick.

Nevertheless, traditional education served the overall needs of traditional African societies, because learning generally involved training on the job and everybody was gainfully employed. In spite of the introduction of Western education into Africa, aspects of African traditional education exist everywhere. The introduction of a common curriculum for non-formal education in Africa and the standardisation of evaluation practices leading to the award of 'certificates' and 'diplomas' to those apprentices who successfully complete their training is an area that should be of interest to educational practitioners in Africa. To a large extent, traditional education embraced the idea and practice of indoctrination. For the present-day learners in Africa, it is necessary to introduce the idea of reflective thinking, to lessen the fear associated with the teaching and learning environment in the traditional school. To this end, Adeyemi (1998) has called for the inclusion of the examination of an issue-oriented curriculum in the indigenous education of the African learner. Finally, a balance should be struck between the practice of the traditional and modern day education in a continuing attempt to produce a well-rounded citizen. In other words, we are calling for a merger of what is good in African traditional education with the good aspects of the formal education of the Western type. We see as an appropriate balance, or "ideal" for the contemporary world, a synthesis of the traditional and modern cultures, that is, a mingling of what is considered good and beneficial in the African traditional system with the practicable, useful, and equitable components of institutionalized education in the

present-day, urban/industrial societies. This is the direction that education in both developed and developing countries should take. However, this synthesis of cultures continues to be a major challenge in the context of many contemporary African societies, where politicians often perpetuate the status quo in order to remain in power. A desirable goal would be for them to work with other social groups to bring the people they are governing to new levels of knowledge and skill, through the blended educational approach we have explored above.

Suggested areas for further investigation

In this paper, we have discussed some key issues in African traditional education, focussing on the philosophical foundations, content and methods, weaknesses and strengths. Scholars in each African country may want to investigate the principles, content and methods of education in their respective countries before the coming of the Christian Missionaries and Colonial Administration. It would be especially valuable for future research if each aspect could be investigated in turn, and with a concern for its possible relevance or adaptation to contemporary social realities.

NOTES

1. In African traditional society it was a usual practice for parents to have guardianship of other children whose parents were poor or dead. In Africa, such children in the care of foster parents are commonly referred to as "wards."
2. Quoted in Majasan 1967. 1976, p. 103.
3. In Nigeria, a college of education is lower in status than a university. It offers three-year programmes for secondary school graduates, leading to the award of the Nigerian Certificate in Education (NCE) in subjects taught in the secondary schools. The NCE is an equivalent of GCE (Ordinary Level) plus professional training for teaching (which includes teaching practice), normally at the junior secondary school level. NCE holders are eligible for admission to Nigerian universities for 2-3 year academic programmes, leading to the award of the Bachelor's degree in Education (BEd), the Bachelor of Arts degree in Education (BA Ed) or the Bachelor of Science degree in Education (BSc Ed)].
4. Cowries were small white shells used as currencies in traditional African society for the purchase of goods and services before the introduction of British paper money and coins (Pounds, Shillings and Pence) during the colonial era. They were used to complement the 'trade by barter' system, whereby farmers and craftspersons exchanged their products for other goods and services they needed.

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PERSPECTIVES

THE COLONIAL MIND IN POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT. This article links my personal experience as a First Nations doctoral student to Paulo Freire's teachings on oppression. The spirit of his writing has inspired me to work toward transformational change. I also draw on other discussions of colonialism including the writings of Edward Said. I explore, in the Canadian context, what I refer to as the "colonial mind." The colonial mind is exhibited in relationships and produces polarized behaviours that result from superior – inferior stances. Oppressive attitudes and actions are often unconscious, unintentional, and trans-generational. The First Nations student must identify oppression within academic institutions and the cultural oppression that exists in both general society and academic institutions. Both forms of oppression, institutional and cultural, exhibit similar features and grow from the same root of superior - inferior dynamics. Freedom from oppression, both cultural and institutional, requires the individual to (a) identify the beliefs that support oppressor/oppressed dynamics; (b) identify the actions and attitudes that perpetuate oppression and; (c) exert the will to change personal behaviours in relationships with others. The perspective in this manuscript does not represent a voice for all First Nations people; rather, this is a personal perspective based on my experience as both a student and a teacher.

L'ESPRIT COLONIAL DANS L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPÉRIEUR

RÉSUMÉ. Cet article établit un lien entre mon expérience personnelle d'étudiante autochtone de doctorat et les enseignements de Paulo Freire sur l'oppression. L'esprit de son ouvrage m'a incitée à vouloir des changements en profondeur. Je m'inspire également d'autres analyses du colonialisme, notamment des écrits d'Edward Said. Dans le contexte canadien, j'étudie ce que j'appelle « l'esprit colonial ». L'esprit colonial se manifeste dans les rapports humains et aboutit à des comportements polarisés découlant de positions de supériorité-infériorité. Les actes d'oppression sont souvent inconscients, involontaires et se transmettent de génération en génération. L'étudiant autochtone doit cerner l'oppression au sein du milieu universitaire et l'oppression culturelle qui existe à la fois dans la société en général et dans le milieu universitaire. Les deux formes d'oppression, institutionnelle et culturelle, présentent des caractéristiques analogues et découlent de la même

dynamique supériorité-infériorité. Pour se libérer de l'oppression, aussi bien culturelle qu'institutionnelle, l'individu doit a) préciser les croyances qui favorisent la dynamique oppresseur-opprimé; b) cerner les actes et les attitudes qui perpétuent l'oppression; et c) être animé du désir de modifier des comportements personnels par rapport aux autres.

Introduction

My purpose in writing this paper is to critically examine the impact of what I will call "the colonial mind" on post-secondary education and on First Nations people attempting to gain higher education in Canada. "Colonialism," in this paper, refers to the dehumanizing process in imperialism where those "new lands" and inhabitants were considered subjects of the Crown. Concerning both colonialism and imperialism, literary and cultural critic Edward W. Said (1993) states: "Both are supported and perhaps even impelled by impressive ideological formations that include notions that certain territories and people require and beseech domination. . . ." I will suggest in this paper that the ideological formations were concepts founded on the delusion that the European race was superior to First Nations races in Canada. These acts of racial domination were oppressive acts and continue to impact the First Nations population in Canada today.

The *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, (1996) presents the following disturbing statistics: 11% of Aboriginals achieved high school graduation as compared to 18.9% non-Aboriginal; 2.6% Aboriginals attained a university degree, as compared to 11.6% non-Aboriginal. These alarming statistics indicate that, although both First Nations and non-First Nations students struggle in the education system, First Nations students are not attaining the same education levels as other Canadian students. Cultural domination over First Nations culture in Canada through colonialism is not only evident in education but also in the socioeconomic rates of: 28.6% of the total Aboriginal population receiving social assistance (41.5% on-reserve) compared to 8.1% non-Aboriginals receiving social assistance (Report of the Royal Commission, 1996, p.168).

The colonial mind is based upon historic and Eurocentric beliefs of superiority that subjugated First Nations people and made them wards of the government. The colonial mind justified appropriating First Nations hereditary lands and resources for the colonialists' material gain with the resulting social and economic crisis in the First Nations population in Canada today. Colonialist thought rationalized annihilation of such people as the Beothuk and deemed the inhabitants of the land 'savages,' 'heathens' and 'pagans' in need of domination with the intent of 'civilizing' the uncivilized. Indeed it was only in 1949 that First Nations were recognized as provincial citizens and gained the right to vote in British Columbia

elections compared to “white” women receiving the vote in 1917 (Mathias & Yabsley, 1996). Such colonialist assertions of superiority justified the appropriation of lands, and legislation determining jurisdictional authority over an entire people, exiling them and their future generations to dependency, low socio-economic and sub-human status.

These colonialist dynamics are, however, not only a historical fact; their effects are still with us today. Threads of colonialist values and beliefs are woven into our current education system. Brazilian educator and philosopher, Paulo Freire (1995) describes oppressive education in the dominant society as a banking concept where:

The interests of the oppressors lie in changing the consciousness of the oppressed, not the situation which oppresses them; for the more the oppressed can be lead to adapt to that situation, the more easily they can be dominated. (p.55)

Like all students, First Nations people struggle with oppressive structures in education, but they must also struggle with cultural oppression, as evident in such legislation as the *Indian Act* of 1867.

My own childhood life experience consisted of attempting to reconcile what I understood to be cultural differences between my mother and father. Although cultural differences certainly existed between my parents, today I understand that my English mother and Tsimshian father were trapped in colonialist beliefs. In Canadian society my mother, with her European inheritance, was considered superior to my First Nations father.

My purpose in developing a critical analysis of behaviours associated with the dynamics of colonialist thought or the colonial mind have arisen out of my experience in a family of differing cultures and many childhood attempts to reconcile those parental differences. My experience as an academic in a society that perpetuates colonialist thinking, albeit unintentionally and unconsciously, has also provided an abundance of patterned behaviours to examine.

The existence of colonialist thought in education is not a new concept. I hope to build on the works of writers such as Legal Council land claims expert, Thomas Berger (1991), Lakota academic and critic, Vine Deloria Jr. (1997), literary and cultural critic, Edward Said (1993), and historian Paul Tennant (1990). In particular I will examine the following components of the colonial mind in education: (a) the underlying philosophy of colonialist thought; (b) the colonial mind and First Nations; (c) the academy and the colonial mind; and (d) freedom from the colonial mind. The first factor identifies the nature of the colonial mind in the colonization of Canada, the second, the double bind of oppression experienced by Aboriginals in the

academy. The third examines the colonial mind in educational structures and methods, and the fourth is a proposed framework for implementing change which includes "other" ways of knowing and educating.

It is my hope that identifying oppressive, self-defeating, and violent behaviours will provide a bridge to understanding in order to facilitate transformational change.

1. The philosophy of the colonial mind

The definition of colonialist thinking used in this paper comes from Edward Said (1994), who connects colonialism with imperialism when he states "the vocabulary of classic nineteenth-century imperial culture is plentiful with words and concepts like 'inferior' or 'subject races,' 'subordinate peoples,' 'dependency,' 'expansion,' and 'authority.' Colonialist thought, which Said (1994) refers to as "imperialist culture"(p.9), was obvious or overt, as cited in the above nineteenth-century vocabulary, as well as covert, in the sense that the prejudice and racism were veiled in presumed good deeds by Europeans expecting "savages" who required domination to become "civilized" savages. Both well-intentioned acts and acts of domination have been founded on the delusional belief that the European race was and is superior to the indigenous nations of Canada. The belief of superiority is termed delusional because history indicates that assumed racial superiority is used to justify annihilation, war, and acts of violence rather than to promote enlightenment and inclusion. The prejudiced belief of superiority over First Nations peoples was, as Berger (1991), Fisher (1992), and Tennant (1990) suggest, connected to the appropriation of lands and jurisdiction over these lands. For example, Thomas Berger (1991) quotes Trutch, Governor James Douglas' successor:

The Indians have really no right to the lands they claim, nor are they of any actual value or utility to them, and I cannot see why they should either retain these lands to the prejudice of the general interests of the colony, or be allowed to make a market of them either to the Government or to Individuals. (p. 143)

Trutch's conclusion here, that First Nations people have 'no right to the lands they claim, nor are they of any actual value or utility to them' was based upon the belief that First Nations people were of inferior, sub-human status in relation to Europeans, as amplified here in Robin Fisher's (1992) writings:

Some colonists, like the journalist Donald Fraser, may have found that they had 'taken a fancy to these Indians'; but more would have agreed with John Coles, a rancher, who wrote that jailing an Indian for being a vagabond was absurd since they were 'all vagabonds with a very very few exceptions.' For the prejudiced individual among the colonists every aspect of the Indians and their society seemed to confirm their inferiority. (p.89)

Paul Tennant (1990) also reveals the prejudice toward First Nations people:

By the late 1880's there was unanimity among provincial politicians concerning the Indian question. Regardless of their faction or federal party loyalties, they believed the white myth that Indians had been primitive peoples without land and ownership, and they accepted the white doctrine that extension of British sovereignty had transformed an empty land into unencumbered crown land. In the provincial view, the surviving Indians were *mere remnants of an irrelevant past* with neither the right nor the means to influence their own unhappy future. (p.52) (My italics)

Finally, Edward Said (1996), in his paper on decolonizing the mind, writes the following:

All writers, intellectuals, and citizens necessarily confront the question of how as people living and working in one culture they relate to other cultures. Never has this been more of a challenge than during the post-imperial period when the rise of nationalism has stimulated a more acute sense of ethnic difference and particularity. So long as England ruled India, for instance, the native elites in Delhi and Calcutta who were educated in British schools were taught that the English language, European culture, and the white race were inherently superior to anything that the Orient might produce by way of languages, cultures, or human species. (p. 92)

These early authors clearly outline core attitudes and beliefs that still exist today in First Nations/non-First Nations relations in Canadian society. For example, Andrew Coyne writes the following in his Commentary in the *National Post*: "But when the whole [the entire First Nations land question argument] is based on a legal and historical fiction – that aboriginal people were and are sovereign nations – it is long since time for a rethink" (March 8/2000). Coyne's rejection of the existence of First Nations as a people with distinct social and political structures who maintained sovereignty over their hereditary lands is an example of colonialist thought, as outlined previously by Tennant (1990) and Berger (1991). In fact, the European demonstration of power, authority and control over First Nations culture based on the belief of inherent superiority was exerted through warfare, larger numbers, a new technology that increased the pace of social evolution, and eventually government policies and legislation over First Nations peoples and their hereditary lands.

The current debate among politicians, academics and the media provides an abundance of examples of the colonial mind in process in the new millennium. For example, the current opposition to the Nisga'a treaty perpetuates the historical message that First Nations people were nomadic hunters and savages, without fixed territories and a formalized government and therefore having no jurisdictional rights over ancestral lands.

This argument has been presented by lawyer, Melvin H. Smith, journalist Andrew Coyne, federal opposition leader, Preston Manning, and the current Liberal provincial leader Gordon Campbell, all who have argued against the Nisga'a Treaty. These cases and positions reveal justification of appropriation of First Nations lands and resources. For if the land was unencumbered, vast, and available, and if there were no governments other than provincial and federal, then there is no need for treaties or resolution or reconciliation for lost land and culture, and there was no injustice in the first place. The colonial mind repeatedly demonstrates the inability to extend the self beyond rigid, narrow, egotistical bias and inherited prejudices. The colonial collective self, that is, the unified belief of inherent superiority, remains of utmost importance and the colonial collective self remains the supreme icon for an advanced people. This inability to move out of the self and into another way of perceiving the world is similar to infant development, where the child perceives himself as the centre of the universe. This immature mind requires developing beyond materialism to co-existence and co-operation. To move from immaturity toward maturity requires education, teaching through dialogue, the desire to change, as well as application of the will to learn, and, most importantly, to change transgenerational oppressive behaviours.

2. *The colonial mind and First Nations*

Colonialist thought includes both covert and overt behaviour. Both share the belief that the European race is superior to the First Nations of Canada, and so contribute to the continuation of colonialist thought in Canada. It is covert functioning of colonialist thought that I am most concerned with in this paper. Covert in this article means veiled unintentional or involuntary concealment of oppressive, offensive, or abusive behaviours. These offensive or abusive behaviours are not easily distinguished or differentiated from good intentions. Covert, with reference to my paper, means the veiling or concealment of colonialist thoughts and beliefs that First Nations are an inferior culture. Another meaning that supports and enhances the meaning of covert functioning is cited in Paul Pedersen's (1995) article regarding unintentional racism. The term "covert colonialist thought" parallels Pedersen's term 'unintentional racism,' unintentional because the individual is unaware or not conscious of the socially and culturally learned assumptions that motivate racist behaviour. For example, covert racist behaviour in the academy could include First Nations liaison and coordinator positions that do not have the authority to effect change in the curriculum content or policy procedures of the university or college. These positions are often short term, low funded positions and commonly labeled "token positions" initiated as a political move to appease the minority. Overt racism is less prevalent but does exist. For example, in my experience

of several lectures in Canadian History in 1974, the professor claimed that the Indians were dirty savages in need of change. Although this is an example of extreme racism that left me stunned and ashamed, similar cases exist for other First Nations students.

Colonialist thought, then, consists of intentional and unintentional racism. There is, however, a third behaviour that perpetuates colonialist thought in Canada, and that is the behaviour of the passive observer. The passive observer is defined by S. Bhikkhu (1997) when he describes the subtle arrogance of "what can I do?" This attitude is connected to "thinking that "I" can do something alone, a terrible illusion that cripples [many Buddhists.]" The passive observer in the colonial collective is bonded to the belief of superiority and is unable to initiate work with others to create social change. To be a passive observer is in effect to support the continuation of the coloniser/colonised relationship: if one is passively observing injustice, then one is not confronting the offensive and oftentimes destructive behaviours inherent in colonialist thought.

The experience of oppression for First Nations students is a double bind: they must fight the oppression that other students struggle against – the superior position of the professor over the student – as well as the dominance of "white" culture over the First Nations' culture. The projection of the belief of European superiority over First Nations students was practised in the residential schools in particular. In these schools, children were raised by the school, in partnership with the Christian church in and the federal government. Students' language and customs were prohibited and they were often forced to speak English only, an extreme example of cultural domination.

These attitudes, however, continue to exist today in the academy. For example, Vine Deloria Jr. (1997) writes concerning anthropology, "It is, and continues to be, a deeply colonial academic discipline, founded in the days when it was doctrine that the coloured races of the world would be enslaved by Europeans, and the tribal peoples would vanish from the planet" (p.211). In academic society more than any other society, the racism that Deloria writes about is often unconscious. For the integrity of the academy is in investigating with an objective mind; however, the student and the academic institute develop within larger society. The mind is conditioned throughout generations to believe that the Eurocentric educational process is superior to any other educational process, and this delusional belief of inherent superiority in turn perpetuates oppressive behaviours in institutes where learning and open-mindedness should occur. Academic society in Canada is rooted in a colonial history of cultural oppression of First Nations peoples in the appropriation of lands and resources. Thus, the struggle for

First Nations students involves identifying oppression in the education system and oppression in the larger society.

The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) states "there is a gap between the culture of the home and that of the school" (p. 438). This gap is created by the belief of inherent superiority of European descendants over First Nations descendants which resulted in "eurocentric educational practices ignor[ing] or reject[ing] the world-views, languages, and values of Aboriginal parents in the education of their children" (M. Battiste, 1995, p.viii). The Report goes on to state, "What we find most disturbing is that the issues raised at our hearings and in interveners' briefs are the same concerns that Aboriginal people have been bringing forward since the first studies were done" (p. 440). Lack of desire to change academic curriculum and attitudes toward First Nations in terms of methods of education for First Nations people is an example perpetuating the ignorance connected to the oftentimes unconscious and unintentional but nevertheless damaging belief of First Nations inferiority. The documented lack of response evident in the numerous studies listed in the Report (p. 568) would indicate that change in academic society is not a simple matter of revision. It is one of ongoing dialogue between cultures which will support both the understanding required for change, and the direction for ongoing change.

3. *The academy and the colonial mind*

Paulo Freire (1995) defines the beliefs and behaviours that exist within the dominant education system as oppressive. Education, a component of society that we all encounter and one in which society's values are perpetuated, is a vehicle where change and transformation can occur and then have an impact on the governing bodies of society such as law, politics, business, and social interaction. In pursuit of identifying and supporting an educational system that respects cultural diversity, it is necessary to examine how the colonial mind functions in the academy.

Freire (1995) identifies conventional education as a banking concept where the teacher possesses supreme authority and knowledge and the student is an empty vessel waiting to be filled with knowledge by the teacher, where the teacher gives and the student receives. This relationship between educator and student is evident in the general implementation of courses at the college and university level. For example, my eldest son is registered in a Canadian university department of engineering. He explained his frustration with one course where he understood the goal of a particular lesson but, based on his experience with computers, he suggested an alternative method of reaching that goal. His suggestion was refused on the grounds that the course outline designated specific methods for accomplishing the goals and these methods did not include his suggestion. Perhaps the instructor was

unfamiliar with the alternative method my son was suggesting and was not willing to disclose his lack of knowledge, or perhaps the instructor was simply not willing to accept alternative methods. Whatever the reason, the rigid format of the teacher being the supreme authority is oftentimes presented in unconscious and conscious ways and is typical of the superior/inferior relationship that dominates university relationships. Freire (1995) suggests that in this relationship both the student and the teacher are oppressed. The teacher is not encouraged to disclose his or her lack of knowledge in different areas, because a lack of knowledge would seem to weaken the credibility of authority in this particular system. The teacher is then conditioned into a position of being the authority on the subject and therefore restricted in his or her relationship with the student. For example, the teacher loses credibility if he or she discusses lack of knowledge in an area of subject expertise, and is therefore restricted in how he or she discusses the subject matter.

Attitudes of superiority/inferiority are not limited to the professor/student relationship. These dynamics also occur between faculty members where, for example, one professor may have instructed a specific course for a number of years and then be unable to go on with it. The temporary instructor is often expected to continue presenting the class with the same focus as the full-time instructor rather than redesigning the course in a way that is congruent with the substitute's beliefs and strengths. Tensions also exist where faculty members do not openly support each other's particular interests as instructors but sometimes openly criticize colleagues, even implying that their colleagues use inferior teaching methods. This adversarial behaviour unconsciously conforms to the superior /inferior relationship dynamic characteristic of an oppressive system.

Tensions also exist between students when they divide themselves into specific groups. These groups usually represent those who conform to those values and beliefs that are oppressive in academic society, those who rebel against it or display non-conformity, and minority groups who attempt to learn outside of these two major groups.

Generally, academic society functions in ways similar to the colonial history of Canada in that the behaviours all originate and function within the delusional belief of superiority. The beliefs focused around the projection of superiority often prevent the instructor from extending beyond a limited world view and into a broader understanding of the realities of the student, other cultural systems, and historical perspectives in order to assist the student in reaching beyond a limited understanding. The projection of superiority connects with S. Bhikkhu's (1997) discussion on power when he identifies coercive power and influential power in relation to coercion and violence. Bhikkhu (1997) states:

If we look deeply into our own urges and habits of using power over others, which we can observe fairly easily, it comes down to a desire to control. That desire comes from a sense of a self that wants something from others. Out of that wanting we project and create self, and that self is an inner tool for control . . . structural violence has its roots in this attempt to control – individually, interpersonally, in groups such as families, and in larger social structures. (p. 39)

The desire to have power over another, or coerce, is stated here as the symptom of the desire to gain control. This power is currently exhibited in First Nations relations with larger society in the attempt to settle the land question and in the relationship of the professor and the student. In both larger society and academic society, individuals are conditioned into this toxic and delusional definition of power and authority. This conditioned oppressive behaviour does not have the ability to extend beyond the designated boundaries of authority as discussed previously, and therefore lacks flexibility in observing the world from other cultural perspectives. Current understanding in the academy about other ways of knowing and demonstrating knowledge is at an elementary level. Dilthey (1976) writes, "In this elementary understanding we do not go back to the whole context of life which forms the permanent subject of expressions. Neither are we conscious of any inference from which this understanding could have arisen." The primary belief in the superiority of the schooling framework and content prohibits instructors from examining learning from another cultural perspective. The instructor is unable to analyze the academy in the whole context of the world learning; rather, he or she is confined to Eurocentric philosophies and learning methods.

The professor, having been conditioned to the values and beliefs of the academic system of superior/inferior, is now in the position of oppressor. Herein lies difficulties not only for the First Nations students but for all students attempting to attain higher or deeper levels of understanding in their particular areas of interest. For if the objective in an oppressive system is to dominate and control through exercised superiority, then the student becomes the object of oppression, colleagues become competitors, and learning for the student is competitive, complex, chaotic, and confusing. The student must struggle against the oppression or conform to the belief that the academic framework is superior to other methods of learning, and to value this framework above any other framework. Any models that do not support or conform to the academic model are rationalized as inferior, primitive, illegitimate knowledge. For example, if the information is not written, it is not valid; if an individual does not have a degree, his or her methodologies are questionable.

4. Freedom from the colonial mind: Freedom from oppression

Freedom from the colonial mind is simultaneously freedom from oppression, for the acts of colonization in Canada were oppressive acts. They can also be defined as violent acts, according to Pilisuk and Tennant (1997), Femi and Rothberg (1997), and Sivaraksa, Bhikkhu and Rothberg (1997). These authors connect violence to what Buddhists name the three poisons: greed, hatred, and delusion. As discussed previously, the will to gain coercive power is oftentimes a desire for control, which in the colonial mind is historically based upon the delusion of superiority which justifies greed and gaining control over First Nations peoples and their hereditary land base. According to Paulo Freire (1995), the act of oppression is similar to projection where:

the oppressed are regarded as the pathology of the healthy society, which must therefore adjust these 'incompetent and lazy' folk to its own patterns by changing their mentality. These marginals need to be 'integrated,' 'incorporated,' into the healthy society that they have 'forsaken.' (p. 55)

In psychotherapy, projection is defined as a defense mechanism protecting the oppressed from their powerlessness to change others. From a Buddhist perspective, projection protects the delusion of superiority and control. The understanding of academic society in relation to First Nations was outlined by Dilthey (1976) as elementary in that the colonial mind is an egocentric mind that needs to extend outward, beyond the known to the unknown, toward the uncertainty of relationship with another world view.

In academic society, acquisition of knowledge is for personal gain, for initiation into academic society, and for perpetuating rather than transforming self-defeating behaviours in the superior/inferior relationships. Once a student has demonstrated conformity to the written, verbal, and non-verbal communication standards of the academy, he or she is initiated into the society, and having completed the highest degree, is then qualified to become a professor, one who then professes the values and beliefs of the system and of their particular area of study.

Freedom from the oppressive behaviours within the systemic framework of the academy, however, requires individual professors and students to acknowledge cultural and social differences and their personal response to those differences. Ultimately, it is in differences in world view and in the controversy regarding those differences that one is able to seize the opportunity to clarify personal and cultural perspectives, and ideally, to broaden personal knowledge by viewing the world from another cultural perspective.

The outlined defensive mechanisms, such as projection, denial, delusion, and the will to coerce and control would indicate in the psychotherapeutic model that the journey to change is not a simple, easy journey; where there are strong, generational defenses, there is great vulnerability in the admis-

sion of a generational delusion. If an individual has been raised and conditioned in the delusion of superiority and has faithfully upheld the generational delusion, to come out of the delusion is an act of loss, as well as betrayal of the generations before. Initially, people conditioned in the delusion of superiority may believe, upon enlightenment, that they have wasted their years living a lie; therefore, the cost of emerging from the delusion may be too high for some and they may choose to hear but not change. Others may examine the cost of turning upon oppression and although the cost is high, the desire for freedom is stronger. Others may choose to remain in the delusion that oppression creates because they are not willing to risk a new definition of power and authority. The outcome of transformation from oppression to freedom is ultimately the decision of the individual.

The belief of superiority over the other that exists in colonialist and academic society is transgenerational in that the behaviours continue from one generation to the next without analysis, evaluation, and transformation at the personal and institutional level. Family therapist, Virginia Satir (1988) outlines closed family systems and relates these systems to beliefs related to behaviours that are passed from generation to generation.

These beliefs include:

- People are basically evil and must be continually controlled to be good.
- Relationships have to be regulated by force or by fear of punishment.
- There is one right way, and the person with most power has it.
- There is always someone who knows what is best for you (p. 132).

Satir (1988) goes on to state that these beliefs "reflect the [closed] family's perception of reality" (p.132). She outlines the rules to support these beliefs as: (a) "Self-worth is secondary to power and performance"; (b) "Actions are subject to the whims of the boss" and; (c) "Change is resisted" (p. 132). This definition of a closed family system is applicable to academic society and to the colonialist mind in Canada for in both societies there is the will to control the other for the benefit of self. The self in this system is not in a place of peace or rest; indeed, the self in the closed or oppressive system is always in need of improvement.

Satir (1988) goes on to define the open system: (a) "Self-worth is primary; power and performance, secondary"; (b) "Actions represent one's beliefs"; (c) "communication, the system, and the rules all relate to each other" (pp. 132-133). The shift from a closed system to an open system requires a change process. In this educated change process, defining the earlier relationships as dysfunctional, self-defeating, closed, imbalanced, delusional, disrespectful, or whatever term is appropriate, comes before working towards

new relationships that will lead to personal enlightenment, respect for the other, and transformation.

In family psychotherapy, the first step to an open family system is to pay attention to the conflict and the beliefs and values that support that conflict, to identify and accept emotions as an integral part of the self, to recognize that emotions are an important dynamic in self-analysis, to dialogue with the other in a respectful way regarding conflicting realities, to examine beliefs in relation to behaviours and finally to exercise the will to change.

Freedom from oppression in academic society is similar to family therapy in the transformation of generational patterns that are oppressive and offensive. Transformation requires education concerning the dynamics of oppression so that individuals can: (a) acknowledge that the system is closed and oppressive; (b) identify the behaviours that support oppression, that is, their personal contribution to the continuation of oppression through their behaviour with self and others; (c) evaluate their belief concerning personal worth in relation to self, others, and work; (d) evaluate their belief concerning power, and (e) access spiritual and psychological teachings that support personal transformation. Only through bringing to consciousness the unconscious beliefs that support oppression can change and transformation begin; also, only through practise of immediacy and the will to change and connection with others in the will to emerge from oppression to freedom can individual transformation begin.

My own desire for freedom from oppression in post-secondary education comes, first, from my personal experience of oppression as a student, and, second, from my experience as the oppressed First Nations in Canada. The third factor is my desire to emerge from victimization to the freedom of exploring self in relationship with others and the will to exercise respect in relationship with self and others. From my father's Tsimshian heritage, I understand that oppression is due to spiritual imbalance and requires the assistance of the healer to retrieve those lost, fragmented parts of self so that balance will be restored. From my mother's Christian teachings, I understand that oppression is about lack of faith in the Supreme Creator of the Universe and the existence of that power in my life and in the lives of others; it is also about the self-deification delusion that I alone possess the powers to create change around me.

Oppression is a very complex and widespread dynamic in human societies; acknowledgment of the destructive powers of oppression is the first step to transformation from a closed, oppressive system to an open, respectful system. The transformation of oppression in post-secondary education takes place when individuals have a will to change in relationship with others, and hold a belief in the power of freedom within self first, and in others second.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

I wish to acknowledge Frances Ricks and Carol Stuart for their dialogue on this topic. And I would like to express my gratitude to Michael Roth and Donald Rothberg for their critique of this manuscript.

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PATRICIA VICKERS is from the village of Kitkatla, Tsimshian First Nation, on the northwest coast of British Columbia. She is a Registered Clinical Counsellor and currently in her practice she is focusing on the areas where psychotherapy and First Nations healing intersect.

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BOOK REVIEWS

GRACE FEUERVERGER. *Oasis of Dreams: Teaching and learning peace in a Jewish-Palestinian village in Israel*. New York & London: Routledge (2001). 208 pp. C\$34.95. (ISBN 0415-92939-3).

Grace Feuerverger's book *Oasis of Dreams: Teaching & Learning Peace in a Jewish-Palestinian village in Israel* is a beautifully woven qualitative investigation of a cooperative community in Israel. Her study explores the bicultural, binational, and bilingual initiatives that have been taken in a village society called Neve Shalom/Wahat Al-Salam¹ that was founded in 1972.

This exploration is embedded in the matrix of the dynamics of meaning-making through language and cultural awareness. Whether in the elementary school or in the "School for Peace" conflict resolution program in Neve Shalom/Wahat Al-Salam, Feuerverger's participant/observer status is one of a particularly poignant subjectivity. Although she is herself a non-Israeli Diaspora Jew, the project is like a homecoming to her since she shares with her participants her own reflective narrative as a child growing up in a multicultural and multilingual home in Montreal, "psychologically scarred and tormented by the events of the Holocaust."

She acknowledges that the shaping and the construction of that story, an in-depth ethnographic examination of the teaching approaches at Neve Shalom/Wahat Al-Salam 'experimental school in Israel, are necessarily filtered through the multiple lenses of her own life story. Yet she also succeeds in pulling together the multiplicity of socio-linguistic, multilingual and multicultural theories of language learning and of values in education that are exemplified in that great experiment.

Feuerverger weaves her quilt with a rich spectrum of sources ranging from writings on narrative and autobiography, to ethnographic and qualitative research, to socio-linguistic research, to research on moral education, to writings on multicultural and multilingual education, to theories of language learning. She does not leave a stone unturned in terms of the integrity of her qualitative methodology and the choice of her tools. She is a researcher who is not only concerned about, but also fully aware of the

complexity and tenuous nature of the terrain she is exploring. Her awareness of her own subjectivity was a very good safety mechanism in a project that could have had many land-mines in it; the political and structural problems in which that 'Oasis' (as she rightly entitles it) is situated are hugely complex.

As a Palestinian Canadian researcher, I was very intrigued by (and in awe of) her courage in undertaking a project of such magnitude. The school/village she investigates is certainly like an oasis in the midst of a political reality that is far from transparent to the outside world. Since she is of Jewish heritage, she was constantly struggling to create a balance between distancing herself and yet acknowledging her implication as participant/observer in ethnographic research that involved both Israelis and Palestinians. I believe her brilliance as a researcher shines through her utilization of that awareness; I agree with her that her emphasis on reflexivity in ethnographic research is successfully congruent with many contemporary qualitative researchers. This is one of the strengths of the book. Among many other authors, she quotes Robert Coles (1997) who refers to the "stubborn subjectivity" with which the road to objectivity is paved. (2000, p. 186)

Feuerverger presents an in-depth look into a pedagogy of *peace and emancipatory discourse*, and intersperses discussions on language awareness and meaning-making, bilingual, multilingual, and biracial theories with a description of the project, and portraits of teachers and students. The interplay of narratives in the book ranges from the description of the school's programs, teachers, and students to her commentary on the dialogues and conversations amongst students in the *conflict resolution program* of the School for Peace. The multiplicity of reflective and critical pedagogical sections, and the interweaving of ethnographic material with academic theory makes the book a very enriching read.

The sections carry equal weight in terms of the overriding themes of her investigation, and she generally succeeds in capturing the mood of the school, as well as the confluence of pedagogical perspectives in this ambitious experiment. Feuerverger is keen on capturing the existential, emotional, and moral dilemmas of her participants, dilemmas that reflect the agonizing realities the participants live with on a daily basis. Although the school director and teachers may not themselves be aware of the magnitude of the implications of their work, she certainly lends credence to their efforts with her exposure.

The pedagogical and cultural perspectives guide the researcher and highlight to the reader the nooks and crannies where the gems of insight reside. These perspectives are very sound and represent the highest points of interest in current research in those areas. For example, using narrative itself as a tool for investigation, as well as recognizing its importance in knowl-

edge and meaning-making, is a major trend in research in the areas of curriculum and instruction, moral education, as well as second language and language teaching in general. Many philosophers and educational psychologists now espouse the use of narrative; it supports a paradigm shift from an absolute God's eye view of the world, to an embodied human moral imagination. This shift necessitates authentic involvement in exploratory, reflective, and critical evaluation of action, relationships, and communal well being (Johnson, 1993). The deconstruction of the dominance of the empirical paradigm in research makes Feuerverger's book all the more important.

However, there are areas in the book that could have been immeasurably enriched by the collaboration of a Palestinian co-researcher of equal status. For example, the sections entitled 'Deconstructing the Discourse of Victimhood' and 'The Specter of the Holocaust Revisited' could have benefited from a clarification of, and commentary on, the structural and political realities of Palestinian life on the ground both in Israel and in the Occupied Territories. Also, in the discussion of what Israelis term 'The War of Independence' of 1948, there was not enough insight where the Palestinian reality of the 'Al-Nakbah'² of 1948 was concerned.

At one point, she quotes Edward Said on the questions of Jewish Diaspora (p. 90). I found it remarkable, and perhaps unfortunate, that she did not quote this foremost Palestinian American writer and eminent literary critic on the multiplicity of issues that arise in the text that relate to Palestinian feelings about identity, home, dispossession and Diaspora.

However, Feuerverger's thorough documentation of the feelings of Palestinian students redresses the imbalance. She quotes a Palestinian student, Temada, as saying the following words in the context of discussing the social injustice in the Occupied Territories: "It's about time that we Palestinians are able to show our anger about the situation. When I think about what is going on in the Territories, and I have relatives there who are suffering daily – I want to scream." (2000, p. 106)

Feuerverger's research does a great service to the quest for peace because it is a unique attempt to document highly problematic emotions. It presents authentic negotiations between participants who are encouraged to abandon any fixed views of the other and to search for a common ground in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In that sense it is ground-breaking and refreshing research in academia.

Palestinian and Jewish participants who, in her own words, are located paradoxically at the margins and the center of history and ideology, are transparent in her text as diametrically opposed subjectivities that had to be restructured into a meaningful present. In all that, she sees language as the viable tool through which the process of re-creation and healing will take place:

In language we inhabit, construct, and extend realities. . . . Language is what permits our being to be, to occur, to be explored, carried out and carried on...where...our historical, cultural, and personal identities are not simply formed, but more significantly, performed. Language calls out for a voice, a body. Such a summons propels us beyond the limited refrain of instrumental speech and writing into song, dance, and dream. (p. 94)

In a subject as heated and contentious as the Palestine/Israeli conflict, issues are complex and volatile. The whole terrain is fraught with conceptual mind traps since the confluence of religion, politics, culture, language, and mythology form the bedrock of argument and war. A researcher cannot tread on one part of the soil without affecting the other.

Perhaps Feuerverger's next project will involve the collaboration of a Palestinian co-researcher; then it might not suffer from the minor drawbacks that this review has alluded to. She would then be able to render a more comprehensive perspective and her interpretations would be more inclusive of the contexts in which all participants' contributions are embedded.

Feuerverger's research is marked by intellectual rigour, by integrity, by passion and enthusiasm, and clearly by idealistic aspirations. Her contribution is great. She has succeeded in highlighting a very important project, one that could possibly propel future similar efforts. She has brought the attention of the academic world to a forgotten community that is in its own small way making a great contribution to the emancipatory pedagogy of peace. Feuerverger has done a marvelous job and must be congratulated.

SAMIA COSTANDI *McGill University*

NOTES

1. Wahat Al-Salam means literally in Arabic 'oasis of peace'.
2. Al-Nakbah means catastrophe and is the term used by Palestinians to describe their dispossession in 1948.

MAUREEN DALY GOGGIN (Ed.). *Inventing a Discipline: Rhetorical scholarship in honor of Richard E. Young*. Urbana, IL: NCTE (2000). 480 pp. US \$ 34.95 (NCTE members \$28.95). (ISBN 0-8141-2375-9).

The essays collected in the volume *Inventing a Discipline: Rhetorical Scholarship in Honor of Richard E. Young*, edited by Maureen Daly Goggin, reflect on Young's important contributions to pedagogy, research, and scholarship on invention in the field of rhetoric and composition. The essays also offer a partial genealogy of the field. The volume presents an impressive collection of scholarly essays written by former students of Young and participants in his National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) seminars. As Goggin

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notes in the Introduction, "the best way to pay tribute to . . . [Young] is through a collection of rigorous scholarly articles that explore vital questions concerning literate practices – that is, multiple, complex, interdependent reading and writing practices" (p. xv). Following the principles of Young's scholarship, this collection provides teachers and scholars with heuristics that may help them to develop a new rhetoric that will reflect the complexities of multiple literacies in this time of rapid technological development.

The essays in the collection are organized according to the fourth maxim of Richard Young's tagmemic rhetoric: "*A unit of experience can be viewed as a particle, or as a wave, or as a field.* That is, the writer can choose to view any element of his experience as if it were static, or as if it were dynamic, or as if it were a network of relationships or part of a larger network [*italics in the original*]" (Young, Becker, and Pike, p. 122).

The first section, "Field: Reflections on the past, present, and future of the discipline," unites essays that explore the discipline of rhetoric and composition within larger historical and systemic contexts. Charles Bazerman's essay opens this section and provides a comprehensive review of the history of the development of the field of composition. Bazerman concludes that a new rhetoric of literacy needs to be flexible enough to address the issues of electronic literacy and the diversity of rapidly changing modes of communication.

In her essay, Maureen Daly Goggin analyzes the history of freshman composition in the US. In her analysis, she applies the theory of the self-reinforcing mechanism (SRM), which helps us to understand how and why some inefficient mechanisms become accepted and reproduced in society. Goggin uses the SRM theory to explain why American education seems to be "locked" in a system that "continues to keep instruction in and about literate practices marginalized, that remains impervious to the growing rich body of scholarship and research on literacy and rhetoric" (p. 55). The essay concludes by stating that freshman composition appears far too profitable for universities to risk changing. Goggin suggests that rather than attempting to reform the existing system, it may be more productive to develop an alternative program grounded in recent theoretical developments, a program that will place discursive practices in the centre of education.

Following Goggin's argument, Joseph Petraglia, in his essay, observes that the evolution of educational theory creates a new space for rhetoric education. He reviews theories of social constructionism and situated cognition to arrive at the conclusion that their superiority over traditional transmission theories of education seems assured. A rhetorical approach to education, says Petraglia, views learning as the argumentative processes that involve teachers, students, and their social contexts. He concludes by

questioning the existing place of rhetorical training in American education and proposing a move towards a new curriculum that would allow rhetoric and composition instructors to put the new rhetoric education at the forefront.

The second section of the collection, "Wave: Temporal and spatial explorations of rhetorical theory and practice," offers theoretical, historical, and empirical investigations of specific rhetorical theories and practices. Winifred Bryan Horner's essay provides a brief but detailed review of the emergence of the new rhetoric from the classical rhetoric. Horner highlights the particular emphasis Young placed on the revival of the ancient art of invention in rhetoric as an aid to writers. Horner then stresses the need for the same attention to be paid to two other offices of rhetoric that did not receive much of Young's attention: memory and delivery. Horner addresses the phenomenon of "external," or "cultural," memory – the memory distributed in our technologically advanced society and stored in books, libraries, and computer databases. It becomes apparent from the argument presented in this essay that this external memory is blended with invention. At the same time, delivery blends with the character of the speaker/writer while the message becomes more and more separated from the speaker/writer as the technology advances. Horner's essay poses questions that invite educators to become involved in the dialogue about the use of modern technology and the role of rhetoric in the rapidly changing world.

To complement Horner's question about the place of memory and delivery in the new rhetoric, the essay by Lee Odell and Karen McGrane addresses the issue of visual rhetoric and the effect of the integration of graphics in texts. In their analysis of the use and role of visual rhetoric in three distinctly different texts, Odell and McGrane refer to the findings obtained by the researchers in the area of technical communication. The authors explore the role of visual rhetoric in reader interaction with texts. Odell and McGrane observe that visual elements may constitute arguments and, therefore, have an epistemic value. They conclude by suggesting that it is the responsibility of teachers of rhetoric and composition to help students make informed choices and "make use of all communication resources that exist in our culture" (p. 234).

In her essay devoted to the discussion of scientific genres, Carol Berkenkotter laments the lack of instruction that science students in American Universities receive in the genres and registers of scientific English. Berkenkotter notes that in the United States, "the institutionalization of written English language instruction in English departments (rather than in applied linguistics programs) has meant that the attention to linguistic form and semantics that Vygotsky saw as crucial to written language instruction has not materialized" (p. 280). She suggests that the English for Special Purposes (ESP)

approach used in English as a Second Language classes for non-native speakers may be used to develop native-speaking student awareness of rhetorical conventions of scientific disciplines. While Berkenkotter's suggestion to integrate explicit instruction in the teaching of discipline specific genres in academia may be contested by some prominent Canadian scholars (c.f. Dias, Freedman, Medway & Paré, 1999), the issues of discipline specific instruction she raises in the essay are significant and need to be addressed by educators and scholars alike.

The third section of the collection is titled "Particle: Pedagogical application of rhetoric." The essays in this section discuss situated explorations of pedagogies in specific programs and courses. Three of the four essays in this section present various contemporary views of the Writing Across the Curriculum (WAC) programs in the United States.

Thus, Sam Watson explores the ideology and the goals of the WAC movement while Mike Palmquist's essay presents a detailed review of the development of network support for WAC in the US. Palmquist provides a description of the network support for a writing centre at Colorado State University as an illustration for his argument in favor of the network support for WAC programs. He supplies figures that illustrate assignments supported by the writing centre. One of the engineering report assignments presented in Fig. 16.4 states "The Project Report for this class requires you to work as an engineer in a design group. Your instructor will be the 'Project Manager,' acting as a mediator between you and the 'client'. . ." (p. 390). It is somewhat surprising to see simulated assignments included in this volume, among the studies firmly grounded in the notions of the new rhetoric and situated learning. It does not seem convincing that the thinness of the rhetorical context of simulated assignments may provide students with rhetorical cues that will allow them to make appropriate rhetorical choices. The inclusion of such controversial assignments in the collection may mislead new teachers of rhetoric and composition.

Continuing the discussion of WAC programs in American universities, Greene and Nowacek analyze several studies conducted in the context of WAC programs. They conclude that the best predictor of student future ability to reason and write within a discipline is the task the students set themselves rather than assignments prescribed by an instructor. Green and Nowacek suggest that the role of teachers in the modern world becomes to teach students to analyze and interpret rhetorical situations and make informed rhetorical choices in different disciplines rather than to prescribe ways to approach specific assignments.

These and other essays published in *Inventing a Discipline* capture the discipline of rhetoric and composition in the process of constructing itself, or, as Goggin aptly puts it, they demonstrate "rhetoric and composition in action"

(p. xxi). Despite some methodological and theoretical questions that arise in connection with arguments and examples presented in several essays, it is clear that *Inventing a Discipline: Rhetorical Scholarship in Honor of Richard E. Young* makes a timely and significant contribution to the contemporary understanding of the field of rhetoric and composition. The collection deserves a wide readership, particularly among teachers and scholars in the field of rhetoric and composition.

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ELLEN ROSE. *HyperTexts: the language and culture of educational computing*. London, ON: Althouse Press (2000). Pp. 210. \$ 24.95. (ISBN 0-920354-48-3).

Every generation, it seems, believes that it invented sex and “the” technology. *HyperTexts: the language and culture of educational computing* by Ellen Rose, reveals nothing about the former but attempts to shed light on how “the” technology – the digital content, use, and production of computer based education – is wrapped in a discourse that is permeated by social, ideological, and political structures and values. Rose uses a poststructuralist interpretation of various “texts” produced by ‘technologists’. She states that it is not her contention to adopt a position as either an advocate or a detractor of educational computing. However, it is clear early on in her book that she sees the current practice of educational computing to be, in effect, old wine in new bottles. To Rose, it is nothing more than an updated, slicker version of power-structures and social beliefs that limit the potential of new technologies to truly inform and reform educational practices.

That education is a value laden enterprise is undeniable, even if this insight is frequently neglected in research that focuses on content and delivery. Poststructuralists maintain that what we teach (the content) is implicitly a symptom of what is valued that “needs” to be taught. At the same time, how it is taught, by whom and with what tools (the delivery) is equally important. *HyperTexts* is situated in the continuing debate about the values that underlie the relationship between knowledge and power. Dismissing the notion of neutrality or innocence in digital technologies, Rose presents a

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critique of our acceptance of computer based learning and instruction as a sort of Trojan Horse of cultural norms, values, and desires that serve to reinforce existing power structures. The problem she raises is not about the effectiveness of the computer technology as teaching content, but rather its effectiveness in teaching "colonizing" values and practices that are frequently hidden or masked in the discourse around assessment and evaluation. As a poststructural work, *HyperTexts* is unapologetic about its activist goal of prompting a heightened awareness leading to more conscious choices of educational practices.

Poststructuralists believe, as do many educational, social, and cognitive psychologists, that language in use is an indicator of structures of thought. Meaning making is a discursive activity that either explicitly or implicitly reproduces the basic social, political, and ideological values in place in that society. In other words, no human enterprise is neutral, including scientific research, educational research, and, as mapped out in this book, educational technology. Further, any artifact or program produced in a society acquires value through the construction of meaning afforded by the discursive practices in that society. Thus, the classroom is a microcosm of larger sociopolitical values, and the production, adoption, and use of computer technologies mirrors the larger context in which digital meaning is made.

Much of the force behind poststructuralist inquiry is the notion of "problematizing," adopting a reflective and critical look at the commonplace, at tacit and habitualized practices. Turning the mundane into the exotic is, according to Rose, assisted by techniques instituted by Foucault, Derrida, and Lacan, such as looking at the edges of cultural practices and deconstructing the semiotic associations.

HyperTexts: the language and culture of educational computing investigates educational technology through the texts produced in advertising, popular culture, film, jokes, policy making, and software and instructional design, and researchers and educators including Papert, Minsky, Tapscott, and Negroponte. This indirect probe of the technology through the discourse surrounding it is in line with the subversive nature of poststructural inquiries. Poststructuralist interpretation has a forensic feel, as the researcher tracks and investigates who benefits from the phenomenon in question, who profits financially, culturally, or politically in its production. In essence, Rose's interpretation of meaning as the construction and reconstruction of power provides the lens through which educational technology is explored in her book.

Rose distances her critique of educational computing from the proponents and detractors of educational computing who emerge from more scientific backgrounds, whose work she dismisses as argumentative theoretical posturing, resting on positivist claims. She maintains that we must "find new ways

of apprehending. . . . educational computing as a cultural phenomenon." Instead, she focuses on the language and meaning woven into cultural tracts. Her aim is to "understand the assumptions, interests, and desire lodged behind those claims," and to "illuminate the way language constructs our understandings of educational computing, as well as such fundamental concepts of learning, knowledge, and education."

She does this by amassing a collection of cultural texts that she cites as "being the most influential over the years." The book presents what are, in effect, four zones under her rubric of educational computing: information technologies in general, educational computing, the production process of computer learning software, and the educational policies of McKenna's New Brunswick.

She begins with what she describes as the cultural desires inherent in the modernist attachment to technologies. A gloss of films, jokes, and other texts from popular culture coalesce around the fantasy surrounding space travel and automata. Rose infers a cultural bias towards technological determinism and scientific progress leading to a technocracy that betrays a colonial impulse.

This underlying mind set is played out in the tales society tells about educational computing. Here, Rose uses an analysis of popular films, advertisements, and publications to argue that the so-called benefits of classroom computer use are nothing more than cultural "wishes". In particular, she describes notions of interactivity, motivation, and individualization, life-long learning, and job preparation as symptoms of cultural values rather than computer assets.

Based on her experiences as an instructional designer and project manager, Rose launches into an inquiry into the workplace setting in which much educational software gets constructed. She tracks the original process of individual authorship and artistry of software design to its current large scale team practices and production model that has its roots in the military and is defined by its appeal to efficiency and scientism. A central feature of this chapter is her finding that the paper trail of decision making and documentation, such as the flow chart, are inscriptions bearing "the modernist language of progress, colonialism, and utopian dreams".

Her final chapter centers on revealing the power structures in the texts surrounding the adoption of technological mechanisms as educational and employment strategies in McKenna's New Brunswick in the latter part of the 20th century.

HyperTexts raises some interesting issues that are hard to argue against. Foremost is the assumption that there are no innocent or neutral technologies. There are especially no neutral words. Texts always reveal more about the cultural mindset of the people who produce and use them than the surface meaning represented. Rose is most successful when she suggests tools with which to deconstruct and interpret meaning making, but she is less successful with many of her own attempts. Thus, I found her discussion of how we have come to confuse "individualism" and "individuality" insightful. On the other hand, her finding that advertisements are optimistic illusions overstates the obvious.

Some of my criticism of *HyperTexts* revolves around the rather disingenuous manner in which it shields itself from the very criticism it lodges against its subjects. Thus, Rose's claims to deconstruct the jargon surrounding educational research is wrapped in terms that only a poststructuralist can understand: "colonizing impulse", "symptoms", "interrogates", "valorized".

Where she finds a conspiratorial motivation behind the conflation of terms such as "the computer calculates", (the shorthand for the person uses a computer to calculate), I could question her divorcing of authorship from text in the very way she "interrogates text". Also, the entire poststructuralist preoccupation with treating culture as disease ("symptoms") or captives ("interrogates") gets tiring after a while.

But even more fundamental is her claim that the texts in question are representative of the culture she intends to investigate. She doesn't examine the discourse of the detractors to technology with the same scrutiny; in fact she avoids mentioning any of the substantial research which has filtered to even the popular channels, that has cast a more sober or at least questioning look at the technology. Her choices of texts produced by selected authors is further compromised by the dates in which these texts were written. Many of her critical entries are from the 60's and 70's, a fatal error when dealing with a moving target such as technology. She would have had to use more current texts to prove that the same attitudes "valorized" in the earlier tomes are still in play.

Why these texts and not others? She claims, in one unsubstantiated sentence, that these sources were the most influential. Apart from the chapter on McKenna, the reader has no way of assessing the influence of these texts, who precisely the texts seek to influence, and the extent of the influence on the culture of educational computing. In fact, Rose's research position is rather vague in defining the "culture" of educational computing. It is not clear whether it is society or her own interpretation that claims IT to be a monolithic empire.

Because the aim of her book is to provoke and agitate for further debate, she seems more concerned with the impact of her approach than the strength of her inferences. Yet I wonder whether Rose's conclusions tell the reader, as she said in her preface, "what it really means to learn with a computer".

JANET BLATTER, *McGill University*

LIORA BRESLER & CHRISTINE THOMPSON (Eds.) *The Arts in Children's Lives: Context, culture, and curriculum*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers (2002). 256 pp. US\$77.00 (hb). (ISBN 1-4020-0471-0). US\$27.50 (pb). ISBN 1-4020-0554-7.

Let me start this review with a confession. I had hoped that I could skim the text, get the gist of the ideas, write the review quickly and move on to the rest of the pile of unfinished tasks that clutter my desk. Alas, the plan went awry. The book is just too interesting to skim. Not only is it timely and educationally important; the writing is almost uniformly invitational and eloquent. I had to pause and ponder frequently, and often found myself saying, "My students should read this." In part, this was because the general tenor of discussion confirms what I tell my students in art education; there is nothing like reinforcement after all. And sometimes I have wondered what others are saying to their students. This book reassures me that many of us are indeed addressing the same issues and using similar language to do so, even when our disciplines are different. Indeed, for me, one of the rewarding features of this book is that I found examples relevant to my own field, art education, within the chapters on music, dance, literature and drama education. Perhaps I should have expected this, but I did not. Our separate disciplines do have their own vocabularies and emphases. Familiarity with one does not automatically provide insight into the others. This book, however, does have plenty to offer anyone who is open to the suggestion that the arts are, or should be, part of basic education; and perhaps a skeptic or two might be persuaded as well.

The book is divided into three sections – context, developmental theory, and curriculum content and pedagogy. Taking their cue from music, the editors have begun the text with a prelude in lieu of a preface; and each section is introduced with an interlude. The main body of the text consists of fifteen chapters, each written by a different author, many of whom will be familiar to readers of the various disciplines represented. In this short review I cannot comment on each of the chapters. I will, however, try to give a general sense of the text as a whole, as well as some of the dominant and interlinked ideas and pleasurable highlights.

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In the *Prelude* the editors remind us that in education across the curriculum the emphasis is on meaning making, that symbolic language is central to early learning, and that the arts share these concerns. In other words, in certain fundamental respects that have to do with intellectual and interpretive activity, the arts have a similar focus to the rest of the curriculum. The arts are not peripheral.

The first section, *Context*, addresses the explicit and implicit ways in which arts education is influenced: by the artistic cultures in our communities, by teachers and parents, by informal and formal learning environments, learning theories, and so forth. The first author, Karen Hamblen, sets the tone for the rest of the section. Her argument is that for arts education there are three influential learning settings, or contexts – professional arts communities, schools, and the locale of everyday experience. Each milieu operates under different constraints, customs and expectations. But each has something to offer the arts, something that often escapes arts education because the differences aren't noted. She says, "Unless . . . school art incorporates *principles* applicable to other art contexts, children may be losing contact with their own art worlds as well as access to the art of professionals" (p. 14). She offers the example of copying. This is generally frowned upon in schools, from grades 1 – 12; yet at the professional and local levels it occurs continuously. Interestingly, she feels that pre-school may have lessons from which the later grades might borrow.

Some examples from later sections in the text illustrate Hamblen's point. As Christine Thompson's delightful chapter from Section II makes clear, at the pre-school and kindergarten levels we encourage children to socialize and learn from each other. It's largely an oral community, and imitation is an excellent teacher. Further, everyday problem solving is context-specific, experiential and opportunistic. These are all features that rightly belong in art education classes – but often don't appear there. Similarly, Liora Bresler's chapter from Section III points clearly to the gaps between contexts and the ensuing loss to art education. For example, many teachers still cling to the idea that self-expression is the mainspring of art education (a stance not supported in this text). In the classes she observed, however, Bresler cites a specific lack of personal expression. She states, "Expression requires attention and involvement. . . . Without knowledge and personal investment, artwork was dutiful at best, sloppy and meaningless at worse (sic). . ." (p. 172). Thompson's and Bresler's chapters are testaments to Hamblin's claims.

Where Hamblin addresses art education specifically, her arguments are taken up by Bruno Nettl on behalf of music education. His chapter is all that academic writing should be but often isn't – eloquent, warm and gently humorous. Nettl is interested in how a musical tradition is transmitted. He is convinced that because of the pervasiveness of music people learn the

elements and values of their culture through music. In other words, music is a key component of the context for cultural absorption. Then Nettl turns the idea around. He asks, "How do the elements and values of a culture affect the learning of music?" Having asked the question, he goes on to examine the teaching styles in different cultures, for example, in the West, in India and Iran. In communities where the written tradition is strong, this has led to kinds of music quite different from that produced in oral cultures. While this might seem obvious, Nettl's point is that there is a recent growth of interest in the music of other cultures and considerable sharing of musical traditions. This focus on "otherness" and diversity is in keeping with current educational emphasis on plurality. Music helps to exemplify those lessons.

In a similar vein, Brent Wilson discusses the drawings of children from different cultures. He notes that once children advance beyond certain more or less universal stages of the drawing the human figure, the drawings take on the influences of their culture. Wilson makes a compelling argument with his investigation of Japanese children's non-school drawings. He notes, for example, that in Japan there exists a huge industry referred to as "*manga*". These are what we in North America would call comics. In Japan the industry is so pervasive that children develop *manga* clubs (*zines*), and much of their own drawing shows the direct influence of the comic graphic style. Wilson maintains that, for these children, the meanings inherent in their drawings are dependent upon a tension between artistic traditions and the child's reality. If so, then the *manga* phenomenon can tell us something, not only about the children, but also about the society of which they are a part. Wilson points to the woodcuts of Hokusai as the origin of *manga*. But those traditional figures have evolved in ways we might not have expected. For example, the current *manga* generally depict females with saucer-sized Caucasian eyes and blond hair, sort of a Japanese version of the Barbie doll. Wilson argues that the Japanese people have become so aware of the American influence upon their lives that "the doll-like figures represent 'the Japanese' and 'the other' simultaneously" (p. 45). Further, the *manga* exemplifies a "pervasive elaborate system of shared images that carry meaning, beliefs, values and understanding" (p. 48). Thus does the *manga* provide a means of exploring what it means to be Japanese. This surely is no insignificant phenomenon; and the children's interest in emulating the *manga* style in their own drawings is testament to its power. Wilson concludes his chapter by reminding us that such drawings bear no relation to what the children do for school art. This begs the question of the relations between the settings that Hamblin raises at the beginning of the text.

If the *manga* can be considered as a form of popular culture apprenticeship in Japan, in another chapter Minette Mans addresses a more traditional form of apprenticeship. She examines song and dance education in Na-

mibia, as it has been maintained until recently. She sees the traditional practice as an informal induction into the moral and philosophic systems of Namibian society. Mans notes, "Namibian orature has tended to emphasize pragmatism and holism, along with a very real sense of society and its connection with the spiritual world" (p. 73). Thus does the musical world reflect cultural practice, values and beliefs. In an oral society such beliefs and practices evolve slowly, from master to apprentice, and within the context of the local community. Mans notes with regret that modern, western-influenced education, with its emphasis on bureaucracy and uniform delivery, has resulted in much less knowledge of local song and dance.

Section II, on developmental theory, continues the pluralistic flavour of the first section; that is, it covers several of the arts disciplines, and some of the work looks beyond North American education. The final chapter in this section, for example, by Schifra Schonmann, examines drama education in Israel. His notions of tension, aesthetic distance, and young children's abilities to grasp complex and abstract issues such as self-esteem, and to perform acts of critical thinking, complement the other chapters well and seem to bring the section full circle. I say this because the section begins with an examination of literature and its cultural (as opposed to biological) development, by Kieran Egan and Michael Ling. Their views are inclusive of all the arts. They state, for example, "the arts . . . are the fundamental means with which we find and experience ourselves and the world" (p. 94). Nonetheless, they move literature to the foreground with a large claim: "The story was perhaps the most important of all social invention. . . ." (p. 92). They then proceed to explain how stories, as concrete and experiential as they are, permit us to address notions that help to connect us with our communities; such notions are abstractions – good and evil, security and fear, solitude and company. The story has, then, an essential underlying binary structure. In turn, this structure has three features. The first, abstraction, I have just mentioned. The other two are affect, and expandability to anything that can be organized in terms of affective concepts. I was particularly struck by this analysis. It corresponds to what I try to do in art education; that is, I try to get my students to understand that to convert any theme successfully into an art lesson they must search out and find a way to represent concretely the affective component. Thus are abstractions such as solitude made experiential; and it is difficult to suggest solitude without at the same time implying its opposite. With this emphasis on abstraction these authors oppose the more common notion that in teaching we should move from the familiar to the unfamiliar. Instead, they recommend a metaphoric leap. Other authors in this volume, such as Daniel Walsh, argue precisely the opposite; that is, he reinforces the notion of familiar to unfamiliar. Readers will have to decide for themselves whether to move from one side of the fence to the other.

The third section focuses on the interplay between content and pedagogy. Again, the section is inclusive. It covers visual art, poetry, and video, a nod in the direction of evolving technology in the classroom. To conclude this review, however, I will confine my remarks to discussion of Susan Stinson's chapter, *What we teach is who we are: The stories of our lives*. She captures eloquently what it means to be a teacher in the arts. Moreover, her description provides a model that could be adopted much more widely across the curriculum. Stinson achieves this through her focus on values. She states, "... recognizing our values and visions is not enough if we are to go beyond the habitual to the intentional in teaching. . . ." (p. 155). She goes on to emphasize the need for questioning and reflection. "Without such questioning, teaching who we are can mean ignoring the needs of our children and the context of our communities" (p. 155). In other words, teaching, like art education, is not primarily about self-expression. It's about sharing in a common goal, a search for meaning. In the arts, this is achieved through heightened awareness, not only of our surroundings, but also of our individual responses to them. As Stinson observes, this requires personal commitment, or engagement, along with creativity and skill development. To these requirements must be added an awareness of social context. Individual response and even creativity, by themselves, lead to solitary existence. Humans are meant to be social beings, to be responsible to themselves and others, to share and celebrate their humanity. What Stinson is describing here is an aesthetic orientation to life itself. It is Dewey's concept of unity, directed not to art but to teaching. I'll close with one last quotation, one that I think sums up the aspirations of the whole text, and one I hope readers will take away with them:

Taking the opportunity to think about meaningful moments in our lives, those that come to exemplify something we believe, helps us become more conscious of our visions and values. Asking ourselves questions about our values and visions gives us the opportunity for professional growth.

BOYD WHITE, *McGill University*

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