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**Aboriginal Students' Perceptions of School
T.W. MAXWELL, BRIAN HANSFORD, TONY BENNETT**

**Indigenous Peoples' Extended Family Relationships:
A source for classroom structure
DOUGLAS JAMES SMITH**

**Kuwait Connection:
An international training experience
GLEN A. ESKEDAL, JAAFAR BEHBEHANI**

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EDITORIAL

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' EDUCATION AND OTHER FIELD STUDIES

The nature and objectives of the education of indigenous people has been a subject of study in Canada for quite some time, and a considerable body of literature has been developed in that area. Several Canadian universities have notable programs in Native and Northern Education, and McGill University has been the site of one of the best known of these programs. It is, then, with some interest that we read of research relative to indigenous education in Australia, New Zealand, and several locations in North America.

In this issue, we are publishing the findings of a study done by Maxwell, Hansford, and Bennett, in Australia, relative to Aboriginal students' perceptions of school. The authors make a distinction between traditional and nontraditional Aboriginal students and this makes for an interesting perspective when doing research with indigenous or native peoples. Their study draws some interesting parallels between Australian and Canadian education of native peoples.

Their paper is followed by a study of indigenous peoples' extended family relationships. The author, Douglas James Smith, explores how the nature of extended family relationship has potential in designing new classroom structures. In a sense, Smith's study is somewhat cross-cultural in that he draws on exciting and informative anecdotal material from several indigenous cultures to make his point.

Following these culture-based studies, Eskedal and Behbehani report on an extensive project in Kuwait. Their task has been that of setting up and developing a graduate program in mental health counselling at Kuwait University as a follow-up need to the prevalence of posttraumatic stress disorder resulting from the Iraqi invasion of that country. Their

report gives an insight into the dynamics involved when two university communities in separate countries work cooperatively to set up a much needed education program.

School board elections is not a frequently published topic in scholarly journals. Massicotte's paper on school board elections in Quebec is well documented and examines the topic in a clear, concise manner. He not only raises questions about why there is such low voter turnout for these Quebec elections, but, in addition, makes some substantial proposals on how to increase the electoral turnout.

We conclude this issue with a field-based study in arts teacher education. Prof. Andrews, of Ottawa University, examines the effectiveness of a partnership program with students who had obtained teaching experience within one year of graduation. The students who participated in on-campus activities with expert teachers report the benefits they experienced in this program.

W.M.T.

ABORIGINAL STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF SCHOOL

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ABSTRACT. This study, conducted in a secondary school in an isolated Australian town, focused on Aboriginal students' perceptions of their lives in schools and classrooms, and on their teachers and their aspirations. This allowed a consideration of aspects of cultural differences between school and non-traditional Aboriginal community culture. The data were gathered from interviews based upon a questionnaire, three "snapshots" being taken over a period of three to four years. Observational data were also collected. As a result of 130 interviews, students were seen to have a vocational orientation to life in school though they did not perceive that they had high self-esteem, especially the boys. Teachers' interpersonal characteristics were admired and their professional qualities identified, but their expectations were perceived to be somewhat different from students' peers. Students were seen to have unrealistic aspirations. While there was some evidence of culture shock, some students saw the school as being a haven. Specific methodological problems are identified.

RÉSUMÉ. Cette étude menée dans une école secondaire d'une petite ville isolée d'Australie se penche sur les perceptions que les élèves aborigènes ont de leur vie à l'école et en classe ainsi que de leurs professeurs et de leurs aspirations. Cela a permis d'étudier divers paramètres des différences culturelles entre la culture scolaire et la culture non traditionnelle de la communauté aborigène. Les données proviennent d'entrevues fondées sur un questionnaire, trois "clichés" ayant été pris sur une période de trois à quatre ans. On a également recueilli des données fondées sur l'observation. Après avoir analysé les résultats de 130 entrevues, on a pu constater que les élèves avaient une orientation professionnelle face à la vie à l'école, même s'ils n'étaient pas conscients d'avoir beaucoup d'amour-propre, surtout les garçons. Les élèves admiraient particulièrement les caractéristiques inter-personnelles des professeurs et leurs qualités professionnelles, même si leurs attentes sont perçues comme différentes de celles de leurs camarades. On a constaté que les élèves avaient des aspirations peu réalistes. Même s'il existe certaines preuves d'un choc culturel, certains élèves perçoivent l'école comme un havre de paix. Ils inventorient également quelques problèmes méthodologiques.

Most days his class teaches him bush language:
the tracks of the goanna, the following of native bees,
which bits of flying fox are best to barbecue -
today, because it is hot they are letting him
earn his keep teaching them English. The syllabus
suggests verb forms, as if their mastery
could give back something to these dispossessed.
Patiently they listen, their dark eyes clouded
by the complex mystery of the usurping tongue:
"I sit; I am sitting," he says, and writes it up
with a stub of rationed chalk for them to copy,
"Now you write some." Their heads bow over the page.
He watches them as their pencils slowly scratch:
the ringer from Brunette Downs who twice a year
drank his cheques in a whirlwind week of booze,
but last year tried to unscrew a copper's head;
the courteous elder who killed his promised bride
by drowning her, for her taste for younger men;
the burly youths from Groote and Gove for whom
imprisonment is a rite of passage. Sometimes, as now,
he feels nervous and alien, preparing to feign
indifference to: "I rob, I am robbing; I lie, I am lying."
But one black diffident hand goes up half-way
to volunteer: "I dream, I am dreaming; I cry, I am crying."
(Scanlon, 1996)

Scanlon suggests something of the major dilemma that Aboriginal students face and that is

[b]eing Aboriginal involves retaining an Aboriginal world view: doing, thinking and believing in Aboriginal ways. But being successful in the higher levels of white culture roles involves some very un-Aboriginal ways of doing things. (Harris, 1989, p. 3)

It is reasonable to assume that for minority populations school would be the most significant site for learning such un-Aboriginal ways of doing things. Pumpa (1992) put it this way: "The school is a pervasive agent which explicitly and implicitly transmits the values of its middle-class culture"(p. 38). But for people like Christie (1989), the school is the particular site of the destruction of traditional Aboriginal identity and traditional Aboriginal education. Beside this rather radical stance, Watts (1982) has reported "a most inadequate data base for informing of school policies and processes" in Aboriginal education. Even as recently as 1987, Eckermann echoed these comments and pointed out that educators were "very much at the learning/experimental stage" in developing strategies that are appropriate or successful with Aboriginal

students. Such observations are disconcerting and make the Christie stance credible. In fact the relations between indigenous Aboriginal people and federal and state governments in Australia have been problematic since white settlement (Kaplan & Eckermann, 1996, p. 7-10). They point to culture shock and its related stress and anxiety as major factors in Aboriginal early lives in schools (pp. 12-21).

The process of colonial control and settlement has led many to recognize the immense impact of western culture on Aboriginal people. The distinguished social scientist C.D. Rowley observed in 1986:

[A]s the second century of white settlement draws to a close ... the full weight of western capitalism has been felt in the large reserve areas in the far north and centre [of Australia]. As you go from any capital of any state towards the centre or the far north, the colonial relationship between settler and indigine becomes more visible. In the metropolis it is likely to be lost to the casual observer as the Aborigines once in the central slums have moved out to better housing. . . . The further you go beyond the city boundary the more obvious is the long-standing relation of town to fringe dwellers. In the final stages you go deep into areas marked by social relationships from the colonial past. (13-14)

Broadly, traditional Aboriginal people live in the remote and far north of Australia (tribal and mission Aboriginals) and generally they have schools with specially designed curricula. Non-traditional Aboriginals live on the fringes of or in the towns and are more markedly influenced by Western culture. School-aged non-traditional Aboriginal children attend schools where the curriculum is essentially mainstream. Urban Aboriginals may be characterized as those in the cities and the large towns essentially integrated into the white population. Here schooling is again mainstream.

Such categories of people are convenient for descriptive purposes and although non-traditional Aboriginal people (the focus of our study) may appear to "live like whites, there is a wide general misunderstanding of the extent of their distinctively Aboriginal social organisation and culture" (Eades, 1984, 27). We need to explore the arguments of researchers like Eckermann (1987) more fully if we want to unravel the relationships between cultural backgrounds and schooling. Eckermann (1987) points to the importance of not only establishing whether valid differences between cultural groups exist, but also of considering at the same time the possibility that generalizations may mask differences within cultural groups. Her more recent work has centred around the

notion of cultural safety. "Cultural safety . . . is the need to be recognised within the [institution] and to be assured that [it] reflects something of you, . . . your language, your customs, attitudes, beliefs and preferred ways of doing things" (Eckermann et al., 1994, p. 215). Cultural safety is desirable in so far as acceptance of such cultural preferences by those in power will assist in the cognitive and other development of Aboriginal students.

The inadequacies referred to by such researchers as Watts (1982) and Eckermann (1987) are slowly being overcome. There is little doubt that the work of Fanshaw (1976), Jordan (1984), Folds (1987), and Gutmann (1992) does improve our level of understanding regarding the Aboriginal child in schools and classrooms. However, an examination of Australian educational literature indicates that many studies about teaching and teachers adopt what might be termed a generic cultural perspective. In a number of these studies, Aboriginal students probably were part of the samples used, but their data are summated with that from students of other cultural minorities and the majority culture.

As far as the Aboriginal minority is concerned, Fanshaw (1976) considered the "personal and professional characteristics" required for effective teaching of non-tradition-oriented adolescent Aboriginals. Personal characteristics hypothesized included "warmth and friendliness", "demanding", "stimulating", and "responsible and organised". He went on to argue that teachers should have "a positive attitude to Aboriginals" as well as a mastery of appropriate content and sound knowledge of Aboriginal students together with knowledge of appropriate teaching techniques. Teachers should be prepared to act as a role model. These kinds of characteristics are supported by Guider (1991) who quotes a number of studies in support of his contention that

a warm and demanding style is effective with Aboriginal students because it suits their cultural and personal needs. There is an emphasis on the building of positive relationships . . . which enhance an Aboriginal child's chances of affiliation with the school. Warm demanders are also better motivators. (Guider, 1991, p. 29)

In recognition of the cultural needs of Aboriginal students there has been a call for employment of Aboriginal people as trained teachers. For instance, the House of Representatives Select Committee on Aboriginal Education (1985, p. 14) recommended a target of 1000 trained Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander teachers in Australian schools by 1990. According to Australian Bureau of Statistics data there were 541 primary and secondary teachers who described themselves as Aborigi-

nal or Torres Strait Islanders in the 1986 census and 877 in the 1991 census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1997).

Despite the research pointed to above and the definite interest in education by Aboriginal people, particularly education which takes into account the Aboriginal perspective (Schools Commission 1975, in Fanshaw, 1976), there have been a number of reports since which indicate that schools have not been places where Aboriginal children find success. For example, the Senate Select Committee (1976, p. 139, in McChonnochie, 1982, p. 17) found "to date the school system has failed Aborigines very badly by its inappropriateness and inadequacy". However the House of Representatives Select Committee on Aboriginal Education (1985, p. 3) observed ten years later that "there have been significant improvements . . . in the participation of Aboriginals in the development and delivery of Aboriginal education programs at all levels, though much remains to be done". Included in what needs to be done is the improvement of poor participation rates in secondary schooling of Aboriginal students (p. 8). More recently, while there has been a steady increase in the participation rate of Aboriginal people in the compulsory years of schooling (6 - 15 years in Australia) (DEET, 1994) there is still "an estimated 25% or more of those who start secondary school [who] leave before the end of Year 10" (DEET, 1994, p. 13). Furthermore in 1993, 33% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students who began secondary school were still attending in Year 12, compared to 76% of other Australians (DEET, 1994, p. 14). These data and the issues raised above indicate problems of significance for Aboriginal students in secondary schools¹.

It is important to see this case study of an Australian non-traditional Aboriginal school as part of the immense and diverse literature relating to the education of indigenous persons in many parts of the world. For example, recent Canadian studies have focussed on the negative self-concept of aboriginal students (Wright & Taylor, 1995; Bosacki, 1995), instructional preferences (McAlpine & Taylor, 1993), instructional materials (McAlpine & Weston, 1996), culturally inappropriate styles of teaching (Chisholm, 1994), the pedagogy of healing (Regnier, 1994), improving educational environments (Danziger, 1992), and study habits (Hurlburt, 1991). In New Zealand, studies have been completed on action research and Maori education (McPherson, 1994). In Micronesia a study has been completed on ways in which indigenous culture can transform formal Western schooling (Flinn, 1992). A South African study (Olen, 1992) has been undertaken that focussed on the use

of books and media for South African students. Inappropriate psychometric research has been the focus of an Australian based study that compared effects on Australian Aboriginal students and Navajo students (McInerney, 1992).

The authors of the current study contend that each of these studies adds to the emerging understanding of aboriginal or indigenous education. However, it is also likely that an individual study may have a greater meaning and potential impact for the specific site or subgroup of indigenous persons.

THE STUDY

In many ways the current study of Aboriginal students from Years 7 to 12 complements the research of Gutmann (1992) who conducted an interview study with 71 Aboriginal students from three urban primary schools regarding their perceptions of schools and teachers. The major objective for the current study was the gathering of data about non-traditional Aboriginal secondary students' perceptions of schooling, especially as these elucidate differences between aspects of non-traditional Aboriginal community and school cultures. The three exploratory questions used to guide this study were as follows:

1. How do Aboriginal students describe their lives in schools and classrooms?
2. How do Aboriginal students describe their teachers and the process of teaching?
3. What aspirations do Aboriginal students have concerning life after schooling?

Design and methodology

The initial approval to carry out this study was based on a methodology that included a survey questionnaire but, as explained earlier, these items were adapted to form the basis of an interview schedule. The questionnaire was an adaptation of one that had been successfully used in a series of case studies in New South Wales high schools (Baker & Proudford, 1989). It contained a number of Likert-type and open-ended items (see appendix A). These items focussed on the following four areas: plans following the completion of schooling, descriptions of teachers, the processes of teaching, and life in schools and classrooms. Data were also obtained about parental employment and educational

backgrounds. During the process of reviewing the questionnaire, senior teachers at the school strongly advised that in order to achieve full and accurate responses students' reading should not be relied on. We then decided to use the questionnaire as a structured interview schedule.

Two researchers went into the first interviews intending to monitor the interview process. What was found, not surprisingly, was that as they became familiar with the language of the students they were naturally "translating" the written wording of the questionnaires. Striving to achieve a language that the students used (Eades, 1984) and yet maintaining the integrity of the items was important. These translations were checked out at the first morning tea break, at lunch, and again after the first day. Agreement was arrived at and the wording was noted on a master questionnaire. These notes were used as the basis of training for interviewers at subsequent data collection periods.

The three interview series more accurately provide snapshots of this school over a period of time. The responses of students obtained during interviews were recorded on separate questionnaire sheets. This can be relatively simple with closed questions, but with open-ended questions, where verbatim responses are required, the interviewers' task was quite demanding. It was also quite difficult to use Likert-style items in an interview setting. There was a balance to be achieved between asking each item and repeating the five responses that were possible so that the process was intelligible but not boring or repetitive. Usually a place was found in breaks in responses that allowed the Likert responses to be repeated. The student could also see the item and the responses written on the page. This assisted many, most of whom were reasonable readers.

The rapport developed during the first data collection assisted in the subsequent periods. The senior author was present at all three interview periods of two days each, while Bennett and an assistant were present to collect data at two periods and the third researcher and another assistant collected data during one period. None of the interviewers were Aboriginal. Interviews tended to last from 10 to approximately 25 minutes and in some interviews with rather shy students limited data were collected. All student interview data were coded and entered into a computer data base. The data gathered by student interviews were augmented by observational data, key teacher interviews, and the collection of resources such as newspaper articles. Questions of a closed or Likert type were analysed by means of simple descriptive statistics, and open-ended responses and other data by means of content analysis.

Ethical judgment is required when reporting data as a result of collecting observational and associated data. The researchers obtained information as a consequence of working around the site and interacting with personnel outside the structures of formal data collection that was extremely useful. However, valuable data we judged that would breach reasonable standards of confidentiality and privacy have been excluded. Discussions in the staff room did shed light on aspects of school and classroom life. Specific incidents in the community were also related that adversely affected the working of the school and teaching in classrooms but if reported would potentially infringe upon confidentiality. Reporting such data may have enhanced this study; it also had the potential to embarrass and hurt individuals associated with the school, and to identify the school.

Sample

The sample for interview was determined by the number of students attending school on the particular days. Since we interviewed over two days, on each occasion we were able to pick up absentees of the first day if they were present on the second. The interpretation of these data from the three snapshots included significant overlap of students from the first to the second and then from the second to the third interview periods. However the difficulty of tracking students was not resolved, largely because of the high absentee rate, especially of the boys. School administrators attributed the extent of absenteeism during the data collection to a series of disturbances in the local community, particularly in the third period. The secondary student population varied between 60 and 85 students over the four years of the study. In the secondary section of the school, just under 100% of the student population were Aboriginals. While it might appear that the present school in many ways represented the contention of Heitmeyer and O'Brien (1992) and Harris (1989) that Aboriginal students should have their own school, they were referring to contexts in which there are traditionally oriented groups.

Initially, a conscious decision was made not to use the senior school (ages 17 and 18) as part of the first data set because there were very few senior students. Also, the school teachers advised us that they would be too difficult to find to administer the questionnaire. But then in the second visit, there was an opportunity and greater numbers. The decision was taken to use the questionnaire as a questionnaire on the basis

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that these students could read sufficiently well. Only one student was not really able to provide data and this questionnaire was discarded.

TABLE 1. Sample by Gender and Year Level (numbers of students) and Students "Interviewed" (%) by Data Collection Period.

	Data Collection Period		
	1	2	3
Male	12	20	13
Female	26	33	26
Year 7	10	14	13
Year 8	15	12	8
Year 9	8	10	8
Year 10	4	9	6
Year 11	-	4	4
Year 12	-	4	-
Not given	1	-	-
Response rate	63%	62%	54%

A total of 130 interviews took place. In the first data collection the average age of students was 13.8 years, in the second collection 15 years, and in the third, 14 years. A breakdown of the year level and gender of the students is reported in Table 1. During our three visits to the school a convenience sample of from 50% to a little over 60% of all students was interviewed.

RESULTS

The background data regarding the site and the school community are presented first. These are followed by data under headings that correspond to the research questions stated earlier in this article.

Site

The data for this study were collected from a New South Wales state central school (primary and secondary sections administered together) located in a rather isolated, though not remote, inland rural setting. The site could be described as unusual since the school students were almost exclusively non-traditional Aboriginals in contrast to the community which has only a majority of Aboriginal people. In terms of curriculum, staffing, and basic resource provision, the school was inte-

grated into the mainstream school system. Teachers were expected to modify the curriculum to a certain extent to cater to different student populations, especially in years 7 to 10. The school community is such that the school received assistance from a number of federal social justice programs. Aboriginal families in the community were clearly not traditionally oriented. The almost exclusive Aboriginal enrolment had not eventuated due to any school or departmental policy.

It is important to appreciate that the particular school was considered "not an easy one to teach at" and that the annual turn over of teachers was extremely high. The majority of the teaching staff was inexperienced and the researchers heard talk from some teachers of "moving to coastal areas" when they got the opportunity. Although the context is somewhat different to that of the current study, Folds (1987, p. 36) describes something similar in the situation of more traditional Pitjantjatjara schools as one in which "severe staff turnover problems are cyclic as batches of teachers serve their time in the settlement schools before moving into country or metropolitan ones." It is also important to note that there was a number of community disturbances in and around the town which had an effect upon the research as well as an impact upon the students' schooling. The local economy was dependent on agricultural activities, which in turn was reliant on climatic conditions. Given the nature of the small town, opportunities for part-time student work were restricted. Some part-time seasonal work was available on the large agricultural holdings. In fact, the availability of work for adults was extremely limited.

The secondary organization of the school was typical of most secondary schools in New South Wales in terms of its structure. The school timetable was based on centrally determined subjects and these were taught in 40-minute periods by teachers organized in subject departments. There was a principal and school executive (supervisory teachers) to manage the whole school, that is both primary and secondary. Classrooms have a traditional look about them though Aboriginal pictures and artifacts can be seen about the school. Although the teacher turnover has been high there was a concerted attempt by teachers to learn about cultural differences. This was expressed, not only in the artifacts that are found about the school, but also in the choice of materials and teaching practices. On entry to the school, whether in the earlier dilapidated buildings or the purpose built ones, it was evident that different conceptions of time and space operate.

While school bells ring students appeared to come and go almost at will. Teachers in the secondary section of the school were non-Aboriginal although there were Aboriginal support people in the school.

As just indicated, the school changed sites during the study. In the first data collection period, the school was housed in a rather dilapidated set of buildings. The second and third data collections occurred at a new, spacious and air-conditioned school, adjacent to but separate from the town's College of Technical and Further Education (TAFE) on the same campus. In developing this new site, the educational authorities hoped that the improvement in physical plant would help in the facilitation of increased educational opportunity for students, especially in the follow-through to TAFE from secondary school.

School community

It is important to depict the students' family backgrounds and the setting in which they live. Family size for students in this study was larger than the national average, varying between five and six siblings. Students' knowledge of parents' schooling was sketchy. Where it was known, all parents had completed primary school but between ten and 20% of mothers and five and 10% of fathers had completed secondary school. A number of students indicated that they did not know the education levels completed by their parents. Generally speaking, the parents of these students worked in nearby towns or villages or they were at home. The villages were rather small and working parents depended on agricultural activities for their existence, however, twelve to 20% of mothers' and a 25 to 40% of fathers' work location was not known. There appeared to be a number of possible explanations for this lack of response. In some instances, the parents did not work, while in others it seemed that the students did not know if their parents worked. By far the most common response about the nature of mothers' work could be summed up as "home duties". Additionally, in 1991, 20% and, in 1994, 10% of mothers were doing TAFE courses. Other work mentioned included cleaner, community health worker, shop assistant, and Aboriginal educational assistant. The range of work carried out by fathers included farm hand, agricultural labourer, truck driver, council worker, fencer, and handy man. Of those that were employed, a significant number held positions with the Community Development Employment Project (CDEP), a national employment program for Aboriginal people. Nationally, approximately 26% of Aboriginal workers are employed in a CDEP. About one third of students were unable to

say how their father was employed. It is worth noting that in 1994, the Australian Bureau of Statistics reported (p. 49) that Aboriginal unemployment in the relevant ATSI region was approximately 50%, which compares unfavourably with the national unemployment rate of 38% for Aboriginal people and the national average of less than 10% for the population as a whole. With such high unemployment and dependence upon welfare it is not surprising that tensions were evident in the community. It is also not surprising that the school community was affected by these tensions. In particular, teachers were often placed in stressful classroom and playground situations, these increasing as the tensions in the small community rose. Teachers were constantly challenged to understand the context in which they found themselves.

In our study we were unable to talk to parents or observe parenting practices but our analyses of the following data are assisted by the knowledge of culturally accepted parenting practices of non-traditional Aboriginal parents identified in research by Kaplan and Eckermann (1996). In their study of non-traditional Aboriginal preschool children's behaviours which possessed a culturally safe environment, they found that non-traditional Aboriginal early childhood behaviour is characterized by:

- (1) boisterous physical activity, (2) boisterous, noisy use of Aboriginal rather than standard English, (3) physical touching, sharing, and cuddling, (4) teasing and mild physical aggression between the same sex peers and relatives, (5) expectations of touching and cuddling from the adults, (6) withdrawal from an interaction which has become boring or stressful by simply walking away, and (7) noncompliance with adult instructions unless the child wishes to comply.

We assume, as do Kaplan and Eckermann (1996, pp. 12-13), that such behaviours are evident precisely because they are encouraged by their parents while other behaviours are discouraged. Dissonance between elements of culture which underpin the above behaviour and the corresponding elements of culture of the school can cause culture shock for non-traditional Aboriginal students, they argue (p. 15ff), especially in non-Aboriginal middle class schools, including secondary schools such as the one in the present study, where teachers are likely to have problems with boisterousness, withdrawal, and noncompliance in particular. On the other hand, a culturally safe school is likely to be one in which the teachers understand the cultural up-bringing patterns of non-traditional Aboriginal parents.

The township is within 20 minutes driving time from a reasonably larger town whose prosperity was based upon agriculture (though there had been extended periods of drought during the study), and in this town there have been episodes of serious race-related incidents contemporaneous to the students' childhood and adolescence. There were also racist incidents within the township and incidents within the Aboriginal community. Some were reported in the local newspaper. The incidents were inevitably the subject of discussion in the teachers' staff room.

Life in school and classrooms

Not surprisingly there was a range of views that students expressed about their life at school.

1. **Describing life in school.** The students were read a number of statements about life in schools and asked to indicate which best describe their life in schools. Over the three data collections a fairly consistent pattern of responses was obtained. Three descriptive statements were highly rated at each data collection period: "teachers help me do my best", "learning is a lot of fun", and the work done in school "is a good preparation for my future." The next most highly rated description related to a perception that the things learnt in school "will help me in my adult life". Thus three of these statements have a strong future-vocational sense to them. There is also an implied cultural sensitivity on the part of teachers.

Another three descriptive statements were consistently given a lower ranking in students' views about life in schools: "feeling important" and others "looking up to you" or "thinking a lot of you". Despite the appreciated interpersonal qualities of teachers (see below) it is apparent that the students interviewed generally did not rank statements about themselves relatively highly, though this may well be a general feeling (shared by teenagers?) rather than one that can be limited, or attributed, to the school context. The move from the older buildings to the modern integrated site did not attract any significant comment from students, nor was there any apparent change in opinions from the first to the second and third series of interviews in this regard.

2. **What outcomes are important in school?** The students were shown a list of outcome statements from schooling and asked to identify the most important and least important of these statements. Based on a frequency count, the rank of these items for the first and third data

TABLE 2. Perceived importance of educational purposes
(Rankings: 1st and 3rd periods)

Statement	1st	3rd
• Getting the marks needed for a job	1	1
• Learning about jobs and career opportunities	2	2
• Learning basic skills for life	3	3
• Obtaining personal satisfaction from my work	4	5
• Working at things until I get problems solved	4	3
• Learning how to work and get on with others	6	6
• Understanding the general principles and ideas behind what I study	7	6
• Developing an understanding of other people	8	9
• Developing my interests and personal qualities	8	6
• Learning new and challenging things	10	9
• Being able to work independently	11	11
• Learning to accept people who think and act differently	12	12

collection periods indicated a high level of consistency across the time of the study (Table 2).

An interpretation based upon the curriculum orientations of Kemmis, Cole, and Suggett (1983) indicates that the higher ranked statements are congruent with the vocational and neo-classical orientation to the curriculum. For example, the first two statements are clearly vocational in purpose. This is supportive of the future-looking, job-seeking student thinking mentioned above. They may also reflect the emphases of the teachers in the school and may be less congruent with non-traditional Aboriginal cultural customs and practices in this community. A number of the lower ranked statements are consistent with the liberal-progressive orientation (Kemmis, Cole, & Suggett, 1983) such as "developing my interests and personal qualities". These may again reflect in-school emphases rather than being culturally determined.

3. Subjects liked by students. Student answers to "which subjects do you like most?" produced an array of possibilities. Perhaps it is not surprising that virtually every subject taught at the school received some support as a "liked" subject. In the first data collection, the three most "liked" subjects were English, science, and art. Art, English, and physical education (PE) topped the list in the second data collection and art, music, and physical education in the third data collection. As art appeared in each of the three most "liked" subjects lists there is consistency here and to some extent for English and physical education. However, it is difficult to assess how the students interpreted "liked"

and in the opinion of the researchers this judgement was most likely linked to teacher popularity (cf. Fanshaw, 1976; Guider, 1991). This assessment is based on the fact that during this phase of the interview, a particular subject would be identified and then to this was added a comment about "the teacher being terrific", or something similar, and hints at the importance of the teacher as role model. It is also possible that the nature of these subjects, i.e., movement and/or creativity, lend themselves to the learning styles of the students and reduce the influence of ethnocentricity of teachers from non-Aboriginal cultures (Ministry of Education, Victoria, 1986, p. 34). They also lend themselves to alternative forms of assessment (Ministry of Education, Victoria, 1986, p. 22). It is noticeable that the higher status subjects of science and maths were not evident in their choices.

4. Advice to a new student. The students were asked what advice they would give a new pupil who wanted to be happy and successful at the school. In seeking students' views of this kind it was the researchers' intentions to gauge what the students thought was important to get in the life of the school, derived from their own experience and using their own language, that is, to get student descriptions of aspects of the culture of the school. There was a range of suggestions put forward, the most common of which included: "go to school every day", "do all the work teachers give you", "be friendly", "help others", "obey teachers and rules", "no swearing", "get to school on time", and "work hard and you will get what you are working for". Some other advice also often given included "play football", "don't show off", "get in with the bigger kids", "get along with others", and "ignore bad people". Perhaps the former set of advice could be interpreted as students advising students about "the system" (the assumptions of schooling). The latter set of responses relate more to the assumptions concerning students' relationships. Taken together there is evidence here of advice about cultural practices within the school, ones that students chose to highlight to new entrants.

Teachers and teaching

The Aboriginal students at this school expressed quite interesting views about teachers and teaching.

1. What makes a good teacher? All students were asked to think of a person they thought was a good teacher and then identify the things (attributes) that made this person a good teacher. Firstly, many students spoke about what might be termed the supportive aspects of a good

teacher. These students used such terms as "friendly", "helpful", and "understanding" to describe their good teacher. These findings support Guider's (1991) and Fanshaw's (1976) characteristics of favoured teacher characteristics which included warmth and building positive relationships. Compared to primary schools, in secondary these attributes are harder to develop when class movement based upon set times is the norm and where each student can have up to eight different teachers on any day. Additionally, the reality in this school setting was that very few teachers remain very long to get to know students, though there were notable exceptions. The next most frequently cited attribute of the good teacher could be described as eschewing the "growliness factor". Students described good teachers as ones who "don't yell", "don't growl at you", and "are not grouchy". It appears that these interpersonal qualities were highly appreciated by these Aboriginal students in teachers and it was these interpersonal qualities that Aboriginal students thought of first in describing a "good teacher". They are consistent with the regime of up-bringing that Kaplan and Eckermann identified. Other attributes identified were "joking around", "listens to you", "explains well", and "knows a lot of things". There were of course descriptors that could be considered as rather different. These included "pretty", "being a footballer", "tall", "lets us read books", "lets us do homework in class", and "talks about things at the weekend", all of which could be considered typical of any children of this age. These attributes contrast to the qualities that were identified from a list from which students were asked to rate teacher professional qualities.

2. Teacher professional qualities. The students were shown ten statements regarding the professional qualities of teachers and asked to indicate on a rating scale how important each statement was. In each of the three data collections the same five statements, although in somewhat different order, were identified as being the most important qualities of teachers. These five statements were:

- Good control in classrooms.
- Explains slowly and carefully.
- Good knowledge of subject.
- Well organized course.
- Makes you work hard.

These qualities can be interpreted as being consistent with the Guider (1991) and Fanshaw (1976) findings that Aboriginal students appreciate a demanding style of their teacher. Qualities that were relatively less important, though still appreciated, included teachers having "a real

interest in you as a student" and "an interesting way of presenting things".

3. What do teachers want students to do in classrooms? When asked to indicate what teachers considered important aspects of classroom life, two responses stood out from each data collection. The students thought that teachers want them to be quiet most of the time, and to answer questions. These appear to be at variance with the Eckermann and Kaplan (1996) description of parenting practices of many non-traditional Aboriginal people. Children are given a relatively much greater range of freedom and control by parents than could be expected of students by classroom teachers. "Students showing enjoyment for the subject" was also a fairly common response. The students also believed that teachers were very concerned about "achievement levels", but by way of contrast, the students thought that their friends were more concerned about whether they were happy at school and "treating other students well". There was thus a dichotomy of expectations; those of their teachers and the Aboriginal students' adolescent peers.

Student aspirations

Generally speaking, getting a job or continuing their education was a high priority of the majority of Aboriginal students'. Staying on at school till Year 12 was also an aspiration expressed by more than 33% of students interviewed. In reality a small number of students actually stayed on till Year 12.

1. Leaving School. Some consistent patterns were evident when the researchers asked students to indicate when they planned to leave school, when they thought their parents and their teachers would like them to leave school, and when they thought the majority of friends would leave school. From 50 to 66% of students thought that they would stay at school until Year 12. These students also indicated that it was their belief that 66% of their teachers and over 75% of parents would prefer them to stay on at school until they had completed Year 12, though approximately 10% of the sample did suggest their parents would not be concerned if they did not complete secondary school. By way of contrast, in the first data collection, 66% of students thought that their friends would leave by the end of Year 10 with none staying on till Year 12. By the third data collection time 25% believed that their friends would stay till Year 12 and 33% would leave by Year 10. While the trend was positive, there is, nevertheless, a disparity between students' assessment of their own future and that of their friends. It is

likely that the students were expressing a hope in staying on and that it would be good for them if they did. The more realistic position appears to be closer to Aboriginal students' perceptions of their friends' behaviour.

2. Activity after school. For approximately 50% of the students, getting a full-time job was important after leaving school. A further 20% would like to get a full-time job, but one that enabled them to do some part time study. A further 30% indicated a preference to study full time. However, there were trends in the data. While around 50% wanted a job, the trend was for students to look less for a job full time over the three data collection periods (60%, 53%, 44%) and more toward full-time education (13%, 23%, 33%), presumably TAFE. Note that after the transfer to the new school, the TAFE was adjacent and between eight (first collection period) and four (third collection) mothers were TAFE students. At the second period of data collection there were mature age students enrolled in the secondary section of the school. From the students' responses, it was also clear that they were aware that the obtaining of "good marks" really determined what you could do after school. In terms of the type of work these students would like to do, teaching (consistently about one-fifth of students), and shop assistant were the most popular. Being a mechanic, a nurse, or a hair dresser were also popular choices. Taxi driving, panel beating, veterinarian assistant, musician, bank assistant, and a sportsman were also mentioned. Student job aspirations were, to some degree, different from the jobs that their parents were employed in (see above) and were also markedly different from the kinds of occupations that might be expected from students brought up in middle-class Australia.

There was evidence of a gender split in the responses regarding the future. A review of our summary notes about students' attitudes as they were interviewed indicated that many boys said they didn't know what they wanted to do, and they more often than not said it with an air of hopelessness. In contrast the girls tended to have an air of liveliness in their choices, and in their voices, when they talked of their job aspirations.

The contrast between earlier findings about the vocational nature of schooling and the realities of leaving school could be put down to the former being some kind of fantasy. But this interpretation would be a misunderstanding if Eades' (1984) view on non-traditional Aboriginal people's attitude about the future is correct. Eades advises that the expression of a future intention can be taken to mean that it is intended

at the time of speaking but that what happens in the meantime may well change this. In other words the future is "always conditional" (30). There is not a strong sense of commitment that might be expected when a non-Aboriginal makes the same statement. It is likely that the interpretation of hopes about getting jobs and the kinds of jobs desired could be interpreted in much the same way.

DISCUSSION

The results on family background indicate that the families of Aboriginal students in this study were located in the lower socio-economic status (SES) grouping of workers. While this tells us quite a lot in general terms, it is also clear that the families in this setting were in difficult circumstances, many receiving financial support of some kind and many suffering from the recent downturn in the economy and the effects of the drought. This was confirmed through the relatively high level of federal assistance given the school. Consistent with the low SES grouping, we found that parents' levels of education were low and family size was relatively large. The impact of these variables on schooling is well documented. Some students were unable to say what job their father did and it was evident that some did not know where their father was. Again, this is common in some Aboriginal families. In addition, the community suffered from infrequent but sometimes quite disturbing events that precipitated rivalries among Aboriginal people and between Aboriginal people and others. There is evidence that these incidents impacted significantly on students' school life.

In relation to the Aboriginal students' views about life in schools and classrooms, there is a probable dilemma: students said that they valued what was available but did not themselves feel valued. It may be that the latter is a not a cultural phenomenon but a developmental one. Learning was fun and teachers were helping them. In their terms, or perhaps in the terms of their teachers, they were doing things that were important; being in school gave them credentials ("marks") to get work when they left school. Yet if you look at the kind of subjects the students liked (art, English, and physical education), they were not the kinds of subjects that would likely lead to work in this particular setting. In contrast, if you look at what student aspirations were, some of the jobs (teacher, mechanic, hairdresser, sportsperson) were those that required reasonable marks in relatively academic subjects. But there was also a range of jobs mentioned (e.g., cotton chipper [cutting out weeds between cotton plants], social security) that required little or no

academic qualifications, and often these were the kinds of jobs mentioned, especially by the boys. Students, particularly girls, tended to aspire to work that was different from their parents. The choice of these occupations indicates the impact of Western culture upon Aboriginal teenagers.

Within their experience and culture, job choice for non-traditional Aboriginal teenagers in this community is quite small. The reality was that very few Aboriginal adults in this drought ravaged town had work. Few Aboriginal students would remain till Year 12. There was a relative hopelessness here that seemed to have been reflected in some of the students' own responses, especially the male students. Also the students didn't feel important. However, when you look at the advice given to new students at the school a different picture emerges, one of school as a place that you need, and can "get on". Students rated relations among peers more highly than to getting on in school the way their teachers preferred. It is highly likely that these militate against future success in areas that the students themselves identify that they desire success (gaining a job). At the same time, school is a place where some students are happy or at least comfortable, especially in opportunities for relationships and to achieve. For many, school had become a place where consequences are predictable.

In the students' own terms, teachers' interpersonal skills were seen to be important. Many Aboriginal students in this study did not like teachers who were growly or grouchy. They liked teachers who were friendly and helpful. It might be thought that these selected attributes are no different from those of adolescents from other cultural groups. But it was the intensity and consistency of the comments and the indications of the ways in which the lack of favoured attributes got in the way of the students' relations with these teachers, and presumably of learning, that was quite striking. It has to be remembered that many students identified strong professional qualities such as good control, knowledge of the subject, and making them work hard as high in their ratings for teachers. They also rated their own teachers as, by and large, having these qualities when they pointed out their teachers not only wanted them to be quiet and to enjoy the subject but also to achieve highly. But these professional qualities were not amongst those freely nominated by students as teacher attributes that they liked. Instead they nominated qualities associated with warmth in relationships, and this is not surprising given their upbringing and what they were dealing with outside the school.

Getting on in school often meant getting good marks and most of the students saw themselves, but not their peers, as going on to Year 12. The reality of this school was, however, that few would remain until they were 18, though by the second and third visit to the school there were more students in Year 12, some of whom had returned to school, even as adults. Another reality was that we were advised to interview rather than administer a questionnaire, in part based upon students' overall relatively poor reading abilities. Yet "good marks" were important it seems. The majority had high aspirations. Perhaps these inconsistencies can be explained by a private desire overwhelmed by a public reality. There is certainly scope for more research here.

We also interpret some of these data as indicative of culture shock (when "well established habits no longer have expected consequences" [Bochner, 1982, in Kaplan & Eckermann, 1996, p. 16]). Indeed the absenteeism, the withdrawal and aggression, especially the advice of students to new students to conform to the assumptions of schooling, are sufficient evidence for future work to explore Kaplan and Eckermann's notion of *prolonged* culture shock, that is, a culture shock that remains through primary into secondary school. A positive line would be to problematize the assumption about non-traditional Aboriginal parenting and explore its relation with the culture of the school. Having said that however, it is likely to be too simplistic to ascribe difficulties to culture shock as there is evidence from this study to indicate that some non-traditional Aboriginal students at this school were, or at least had become, culturally safe and for these students it is likely that school acts as a form of haven from the dissonance outside the school grounds. Students were at least aware of what was needed to succeed inside and outside the classroom and expressed appreciation of the work that the teachers were doing, including especially the interpersonal skills of some of the teachers.

CONCLUSIONS

In this study of a non-traditional Aboriginal secondary student population taught by well thought of non-Aboriginal teachers in a country township, there is a range of issues that have been identified, including methodological ones. We have been able to report about aspects of culture clash that writers such as Pumpa (1992) have identified. For example, we have been able to identify the cultural advice that older students would give to new students. We also noted a form of cultural safety for some students in the school, expressed in terms of relations

that they had with peers and some teachers, and we noted as well the vocational orientation of the students and the school. As Eckermann (1987) has indicated, we also found that students did vary in their attitudes to such things as the ways that they described their lives in school, their aspirations, and the ways that they perceived their teachers. We found for example that boys' views about the future job alternatives were relatively less optimistic than girls and that the boys appeared to be at least more resigned to their situation.

Student views about school had a vocational orientation that was in stark contrast to the realities of their daily existence. They, especially some girls, expressed hope in terms of their ideas about the outcomes of schooling and the ways that their teachers were attending to their needs. They had advice that was relevant to new students in the school. The students perceived that parents and teachers were on the whole supportive of them staying on till Year 12 though it is probable that the students knew that this was unlikely. We were able to interview more than 50% of the student population over two days on three different occasions but those that we did not interview were absent on both days and this high absenteeism confirms other findings (House of Representatives Select Committee on Aboriginal Education, 1985, p. 8).

Although the kinds of aspirations that these students expressed contrast to the realities that these students know, it is evident that teachers seemed important to the students. The kinds of qualities that they freely admire appear to be those associated with interpersonal skills rather than teachers' professional skills. Students readily recognized the teachers' demands for involvement in the learning process. Taken together, these data confirm the work of Guider (1991) and support Fanshaw's (1976) work.

Despite the skills of the teachers in attempting to engage these students in the life of the school, too few found it exciting and interesting. To many it was a tolerable place to be, with some subjects, teachers, and friends making it so. Many secondary Aboriginal students in this school perceived the purpose of the school as largely vocational or neo-classical and this is somewhat consistent with their own orientation and that of many secondary school teachers. This perspective is evident in rating exam marks, activities that would help them in adult life, and learning about job opportunities. It is possible that the data may reflect students' desire to tell us what they thought we wanted to hear. Finally we were also surprised that, especially in the second data collection, there was

no mention of the impact of the move to the new school buildings only months before.

The extent to which the current study of non-traditional education has meaning for other countries involved in Aboriginal or indigenous education is difficult to assess. Each country and possibly educational site has its own set of social, cultural, and political problems and these are, in part, determinants of what occurs in the educational process. Some countries would not have the type of non-traditional Aboriginal school reported in this study, and in Australia such schools are not common. The researchers have reported data based on a series of snapshots from a particular site. Undoubtedly, some aspects of the reported data are unique to the particular site.

There are several methodological matters of interest associated with this study. It is common wisdom, for example, to rely upon the knowledge of those at the research site for advice. In seeking such advice we were both helped and hindered. The move to interview was, in retrospect, essential. We did, however, do some quick footwork as we developed interview techniques to obtain quality data based on the questionnaire. This was especially the case in the development of appropriate language and in the subsequent training of researchers. These events underline the importance of piloting techniques, something that our research budget would not allow. We traded upon our experience and intuition to modify the language used in the questionnaire. The process was considerably assisted by allowing the students to see the questionnaire on which we were writing and on which we recorded responses. Generally speaking we would not employ this strategy again unless it was necessary because of the large number of questions that must be asked in using this technique. The researchers were aware that the move from the questionnaire to an interview schedule and the inability to more fully try out the process does not reflect an optimum methodological stance. However, the obtaining of permission to access such a site and the difficulties associated with the site do impact on the reality of field research. There are of course other methodological questions that could be raised. For example, the fact that the researchers were not of Aboriginal origin and the possibility of response bias arising from the nature of some items could be explored further.

The context of the study was also crucial. Teachers were on edge and community relations were at a low point, particularly during the last data gathering period. Such methodological and contextual difficulties

almost certainly preclude the inclusion of parents' views given the time and scope of the present study, something that a future study of this kind could gainfully consider. The data were gathered, under somewhat trying circumstances, and this was precisely the circumstances that led us to this site. But through it all the students were cooperative and noticeably positive about aspects of their school. The difficult community situation that the students and the teachers faced provided a reason for some students to be absent but we would say that for others it provided an impetus for others to be at school. Exploration of the notion of a cultural haven would be productive in settings such as the one that we have described. Research into the nature of prolonged culture shock in settings like these and others, where non-traditional (and urban) secondary students are enculturated, will assist in unravelling the dilemma cited in the beginning of this paper. Educators in Australia need to know more about Aboriginals' dreaming and the sources of their crying.

NOTE

1. Formal pre-tertiary education in New South Wales is organized into primary (approximately age 5 to 12) and secondary sectors (13 to 18).

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INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' EXTENDED FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS: A SOURCE FOR CLASSROOM STRUCTURE

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ABSTRACT. This paper explores the nature of indigenous extended family relationships and determines its potential for designing new classroom structures in bicultural schools. The nature of indigenous family relationships is illustrated from the works of a Cree-Saulteux author, a UN human rights lawyer, a Pueblo education consultant, a Maori policy writer, and the writer's own experience in a Maori bicultural school using family-based relationships. All contributors advocate examination of indigenous family relationships as a source of educational reform. The children in the family-based bicultural classes had fewer late, absent, and dropout behaviours than comparable students in mainstream classes.

RÉSUMÉ. Cet article analyse la nature des relations dans les familles élargies autochtones et détermine le potentiel que cela présente de concevoir de nouvelles structures scolaires dans les écoles biculturelles. La nature des relations dans les familles autochtones est illustrée par les oeuvres d'un auteur cri-saulteux, un avocat des droits de l'homme de l'ONU, un conseiller en éducation de Pueblo, un rédacteur de politique Maori et la propre expérience de l'auteur dans une école biculturelle Maori fondée sur les rapports familiaux. Tous les collaborateurs affirment que l'examen des relations dans les familles autochtones est une source de réforme scolaire. Les enfants des classes biculturelles fondées sur les rapports familiaux affichent un moins grand nombre de comportements de retard, d'absentéisme et de décrochage que les élèves comparables dans les classes du courant dominant.

Despite many recent changes in the educational processes of indigenous children, the majority still receive their education in traditional mainstream classrooms. In these classrooms, children are selected for particular rooms based on age and grade. A single teacher controls them, and parents, other community adults, and siblings have little influence or involvement in their education (Hampton, 1995; Schaefer, 1987). As well most of these classrooms are structured to value individuals who will be able to stand on their own two feet and compete in

the world. Indigenous values and the interpersonal relationships that arise from these values such as cooperation, connectedness, and interdependence receive little emphasis in these contexts. Indigenous children from these classrooms frequently have negative self-image, poor attendance, and less social and academic success (Erickson, 1987; McCarthy, 1990; Trueba, 1988).

Educators frustrated with these results ask: How were indigenous children taught in traditional cultures? Is there a different social structure that provides a better fit for indigenous students? Are there programs available that expand outwards from central indigenous values through to indigenous social processes such as extended family relationships?

Although a few inner-city schools are developing family groupings in classrooms, programs based on key indigenous values and extended family relationships are minimal. The purpose of this paper is to explore the nature of indigenous extended family relationships and determine its potential use for designing new classroom structures. The author of this paper aspires to communicate better understanding between cultures.

BACKGROUND

The exploration of indigenous, school-based family structures should be placed within the wider context of indigenous peoples' dilemmas. After years of representation by indigenous peoples to overcome cognitive imperialism, the United Nations declared 1995 to 2004 as the Decade of World Indigenous People (Battiste, 1996). "Cognitive imperialism denies people their language and cultural integrity and maintains legitimacy of only one language, one culture, and one frame of reference" (Battiste, 1996, p.17).

The **Cultural Restoration of Indigenous Peoples** (a summer institute, held at Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, July 1996) was part of a United Nations supported incentive. Its purpose was to create an understanding of processes leading to cultural oppression and then articulate a process for healing or restoring the cultures and languages of oppressed people. The Institute came into being because "cultural restoration is an emerging and urgent global, interdisciplinary, and multicultural issue" (Battiste, 1996, p.14). The intensive ten-day program included author readings, accompanied by artistic performance and exhibitions to complement the lectures, discussions, and talking circles. The broad range of indigenous viewpoints varied by location, occupations, gender, and age. Contributions were made by Australian-Aborigine, Maori,

Hawaiian, and North American indigenous people who were associated with the arts, education, law, medicine, and politics. Moreover, indigenous female voices were strongly articulated and the art work of indigenous children and prisoners was displayed. The speakers shared strategies to ensure the rights of indigenous peoples to have authority over their own affairs and to recognize the legitimacy and viability of their values and institutions. The outcomes from the Institute are important to all people who value justice and human rights, and are concerned with damage to the environment and the loss of indigenous knowledge.

As a white, middle-class, male teacher-educator, coming to grips with a lifetime of interactions with indigenous people, this institute offered me a fresh opportunity to examine indigenous school and teacher-education reform within the wider scope of the humanities. Indigenous connections to law, linguistics, medicine, spirituality, and the arts were explored. The variety of disciplines represented and the various modes of expression captured my thoughts and excited my feelings. One emotional example is when my own intended comments froze in my throat after a participant masking her face with a bandanna announced that she was on the barricade and I was the enemy. I chose to express myself in writing instead of speech. The ten-day experience enabled me to link four contributions to the theme of indigenous peoples' extended family relationships with my investigation of this topic in New Zealand. This theme of indigenous peoples' extended family relationships and its relationship to classroom structure will be developed in the two parts that follow.

First, this paper traces the nature of family relationships discussed by four indigenous people: a Cree-Saulteaux author, a United Nations indigenous rights lawyer, a Pueblo educational consultant, and a Maori educational policy writer. These institute speakers represented indigenous people from many lands. They spoke of their need for healing, creating remedies for healing, indigenous knowledge as a source for healing, and protecting and respecting indigenous knowledge. They developed the theme that family relationships, in need of repair, are based on community beliefs about child-rearing, and personify inter-relatedness. They promote the development of a pedagogy to overcome loss of language, learning, and family unity.

Second, the paper presents discoveries from my own experience in a bicultural school founded on Maori values with family-based, social relationships. My description of the program is based on interviews with

parents, trustees, teachers, and an administrator as well as observations in four bilingual classrooms, the staff room, a summer camp, and a student assembly. I provide examples of the web of family-based relationships within the school. I chose the bilingual classes following a *New Zealand Education Gazette* (19 Feb., 1996) report. In a Maori language survey of six cities in the Auckland and Wellington regions, the Gazette researchers found that Maori parents, when asked about their preference for Maori as the medium of instruction, "56% opted for a bilingual primary school model" (p.1).

PART I.

INDIGENOUS FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS: PERCEPTIONS FROM SASKATCHEWAN, AFRICA, NEW MEXICO, AND NEW ZEALAND.

Below are excerpts from four speeches given at the Cultural Restoration Institute which I have selected and annotated. They were chosen to highlight the importance of family relationships among indigenous peoples. The sequence shows family breakdown, notes possible causes, and suggests reasons why family relationships are essential to indigenous education reform.

Prison, passion and pride

Janet Acoose, a Saskatchewan author, who highlights the need to revitalize family relationships, asks for understanding and solutions to family breakdown. She illustrates the dilemma faced within her own family over several generations, shares her pain, and pleads for a better future for the next generation. She says:

One time I went to see my brother. He was in a penitentiary for murder. And he said to me, 'You know there are some people here from the university and I wanted to ask them if they knew you. I wanted to say my sister is a lecturer at the university, do you know her?' And he said, 'but I didn't think that would be very good, because I thought that I would bring shame on you and dishonor'. That's the everyday. I still have uncles and cousins who get in trouble everyday. It's hard to go through seven years of university with trouble everyday, thinking you're doing something for your people — your family, the ones closest to you. So you have to ask yourself, what am I doing this for? It doesn't seem to be doing any bloody good.

The thing I want to say about healing is this: my brother and my relatives can get out of prison any[day], and [get] all the self-help programs in the world that the prison programs have to offer. But they don't do any bloody good because they come out to the same sick environment that they grew out of. What do they do? Bring them back to the same environment. It's

not just our community, it's other communities, its mainstream society. We're affected by it.

Things affected us. People influenced us. Significant institutions influenced us. The thing I know about is my family and how I grew up. I talked about the communities I grew up in, the residential school I attended, the abuse I saw. Not in my generation only, but in my parents' generation, in my koochums' generations and in their parents' generation. Yes the things that happened to us have not been nice. They're not polite to talk about.

But we will encourage our children to grow up healthy. We have to look outside ourselves, our communities and institutions like this where we can teach people to be proud of who they are. (Acoose, 1996)

This Cree-Saulteaux speaker portrays her personal tragedy, making us understand how mainstream institutions have devastated indigenous families for over four generations. Unless changes are made institutions will continue to destroy families. Acoose challenges us to create healthy environments for current and future generations of indigenous children.

Child-rearing, relationships, and world view

The next excerpt shows the importance of child-rearing involving the extended family and community illustrated in an African setting. Barsh says:

The first stage is developing respect. Respect is a difficult word to translate. In indigenous languages it is closer to love and intimacy, not awe or fear but. . . what we learn by being cuddled, cooed over, and enjoyed by other people. It's learning to do that with your younger siblings and with other people as a child. It is an important developer of relationships.

Barsh (1996) explains an indigenous model of the world. In it children are close to other human beings and secure in relationships that they can depend on. A well-loved African bush child is compared to the child who has to fight for love from her parents, who is isolated from kin and community in a city environment. Barsh is struck by what the different children look like.

In the bush, the three-year old [children] are bright, seeing, creative, full of enthusiasm, and at the same time respectfully listening to what adults were saying. The children were building their world, their values from their kin around them. They were building a very rich and happy world of all of this knowledge of relationships with people they love.

But as soon as you got to town, the kids were looking down. Well nourished, but they had lost something. In principle, they were the same society, the same culture, the same clans living in this very stark alien

environment with depressed unhappy parents who had lost their reason for living. The kids were frightened because all the love around them had dissipated. All that was left were objects. . .

Fundamental to understanding what to do through relationships with children is recognizing the tremendous differences in the way in which child rearing shapes children's view of the world. It affects their ability to deal with trauma, their resilience, their ability to get through it, to find a path out. And ultimately, as adults, how they will treat each other and treat their own children. (Barsh, 1996)

Barsh (1996) calls for family and community involvement in child rearing, a call which has implications for parenting, training, and nurturing in daycare and early childhood programs. It has implications too for support of single parents, and parental involvement in pre- and primary schools.

An ecology of indigenous education

Cajete (1996), a Pueblo, advocates an educational process founded upon traditional tribal values, orientations, and principles, while simultaneously using the most appropriate concepts, technologies, and content of mainstream education. He summarizes (Cajete, 1996) "an ecology of indigenous education," using the phrase "we are all related" (p.164) to show how the context of North American Indian education is wider than mainstream education because it includes the physical, spiritual, mythical, and social worlds.

In his elaboration of these multi-dimensional contexts he demonstrates that the relationship among these worlds is the cornerstone for tribal, community, and personal identity. The community is also the place for teaching, learning, expressing feelings, being connected, and for developing intimate social structures that build human relationships. He suggests that elders and siblings should also act as teachers and that the techniques of teaching are nothing without the essence of the family. Finally he concludes that it is in "the day to day practice of life through community relationships that found community spirit and lay powerful foundations for the indigenous values of vision, purpose, reciprocity, support, and benefit" (p.174).

Protecting and respecting indigenous knowledge

Maori educator Graham Smith (1996) reiterates the notion that indigenous family structure is a key element in rebuilding indigenous education. He notes that the three pillars of Maori school reform are to

alleviate the loss of language and culture, alleviate the learning crisis, and develop schools as family units.

Smith describes how the reforms in New Zealand education arose from Maori parents who wanted to reverse the Maori crisis statistics related to school dropouts, and the number of Maori youth who filled jails and overflowed health care facilities. Additionally, the parents wanted to overcome the deficit theory which proposed that Maori people are the problem. In his presentation, Smith identified six intervention elements for educational policy reform: (1) that they support parents' rights to have a say and take action in the education of their young; (2) that they maintain their distinct identity, culture and language; (3) that they train Maori teachers and use teachers and elders to maintain cultural and language traditions; (4) that they mediate socio-economic and home difficulties; (5) that they design classrooms and schools after an extended family structure; and (6) that they base all their plans, action and vision on Maori values.

Several outcomes arose from Smith's reform principles. They promised in New Zealand a collective responsibility for education. The children in the school were everyone's responsibility. Parents agreed to come to meetings and help with the cultural development of all children. Siblings were responsible for assisting their family members and peers. Moreover, discipline was a shared responsibility among students, teachers, parents, and elders.

Consequently, language nests (pre-school Maori language nurseries) developed. Based on Maori values, language, and culture, they provide total immersion preschool programs for children from eighteen months to five years. They give Maori youngsters an opportunity to retrieve and support their language and culture. From these language nests Maori-oriented primary schools developed which included both immersion and bicultural models. Similar programs at higher levels of education are increasing across New Zealand because the graduates from these language nests, and their parents, want to continue the culturally sensitive pattern of schooling. These school choices appear to be one of the more successful attempts to reflect indigenous peoples' aspirations, traditions, and needs.

Applying the stories: A beginning of healing

What can we conclude from the narratives of the four indigenous contributors? All four advocate that educators examine indigenous family relationships as a source for educational reforms. Specifically, as

one indigenous adult, Janis Acoose, looks back from the raw edges of her current experience, educators share her understanding of the breakdown of the indigenous family and the urgent need for institutional change that would restore the balance of family relationships. The next commentator makes us realize how differences in child-rearing practices affect a child's view and ultimately an adult's view of the world and ability to cope with the challenges of life. This discussion underscores the importance of community and kin involvement in the nurturing of pre-school children. It suggests that educators need to provide more than food and shelter in pre-schools.

Cajete (1994), in his talk and writings, beckons us to "Look to the Mountain." He wants us to focus on the big picture, to consider multiple layers of relationships, and to return to an indigenous ecology of education. He advocates that educators consider, as contexts for education, the relationships among the spiritual, mythical, physical, and social realms. He wants indigenous children to establish their tribal, community, and personal identity by recognizing that they are related to all things. He considers that the community is the best place for learning and teaching, that elders and peers should share in teaching, and that the family structure is an essential element of education. These ideas are particularly useful for developing curriculum themes.

The final contributor, Graham Smith, reviews the aims, interventions, and outcomes of Maori programs. He echoes other indigenous peoples' calls for restoration of indigenous language, culture, learning, and family unity. These policies and practices are appropriate starting points for other indigenous groups initiating culturally based programs.

Part two of this paper, a case study of a bicultural and bilingual program, shows what the family-related results, causes, curriculum, and policies of part one look like in actual practice. Research methods are outlined, then classroom observation notes are used to show how various elements of indigenous extended family relationships portrayed in the institute narratives of part one play out in four bicultural classrooms.

PART 2.

EXPLORING THE NATURE OF A MAORI BICULTURAL PROGRAM THROUGH CLASSROOM OBSERVATIONS

To support the ideas presented in part one above, I present case study findings of a Maori bilingual primary school (Smith, D., 1996). The school reflects the needs and principles enunciated by the four contributors in part one. Bilingual in this context means that the children in four classrooms of this ten-room school receive and practise Maori in

their morning activities and instruction. In the afternoon, instruction is in English. Moreover, a Reading Recovery (Clay, 1972) program operates to assess and provide individual tutoring for students who have trouble reading English. This program alleviates parents' fears that receiving instruction in Maori inhibits their offsprings' level of English. While afternoon instruction is primarily in English, speakers use Maori when natural opportunities arise.

To gather data for this case study the school administrator, a school trustee, two parents, other adults, a student teacher, four mainstream teachers, two language aides and the four bilingual teachers were interviewed. They shared perceptions based on continuing close contact and actual experience in teaching bilingual classes. I documented classroom relationships by observing language aides and bilingual teachers using Maori language and culture. Instruction about Maori culture arose naturally from the class interactions and groupings as much as from the content of the curriculum. Culture was what they were doing, rather than sharing ideas from books (Barsh, 1996).

The four bilingual teachers initially welcomed me into their classrooms for a half day (four half-days). These initial visits were followed by one to two hour-long follow-up observations. As well, informal observations continued in the staff room, on the playing field, and at a camp-site. The interview and observation data were tape recorded, transcribed to a computer disc, then collated and analyzed for emerging themes. All participants read copies of the manuscript describing their program. They provided edits and interpretations during several drafts of the paper.

Elements of family relationships that have been carried over into the structure and interaction within classrooms are described in my observations below.

Class placements

On the surface these children appear to be assigned to classrooms according to age and grade. The new entrants and year ones gather in one end of the rectangular room. However, a second group of year twos and threes occupy the other end of this open area classroom. Several times a day the classes combine for peer reading and writing or other shared work. As well, at the start of each morning, one of the classes leaves the building to join another older group. For example, the year fives link with the new entrants and year ones for oral Maori. They say morning prayers and exchange morning greetings with all children and adults present.

Assuming family identities

The children call each adult aunt or uncle. Adults use respect in responses to the children.

Shared teaching responsibility

Then each child recites his or her personal genealogy. If children waver, they get help from a peer, sibling, aide, teacher or other adult. A brother may whisper over a sister's shoulder or a teacher takes a child by the hands to rehearse the information until the child is ready to turn and deliver.

Developing self-identity

Each person present recalls the name of his or her tribal leader who led their group across the ocean, the name of the canoe, the mountain, river, or other distinguishing tribal land features, and then the chronology of members of their family tree.

Cooperation and gender roles

Children work cooperatively and learn from each other. The children practise an action song. An inexperienced male singer glances sideways at his peer, trying to find the precise beat to slap his chest, stomp his feet, or stick out his tongue. Similarly a female neophyte models her finger fluttering, eye-rolling, and hip twisting from a nearby colleague. The leader also leads cooperatively, either accompanying the singing with a guitar behind the performers or exhorting individuals while in the rows of dancers.

Family relationship models

Other family relationships are observed. A mother on her way to work slips in to consult with the teacher. Her toddler is scooped up by an older sibling who leaves her school work to embrace the infant. Two women preparing instructional material are introduced, by the teacher, as partners to a student teacher and the male, year-four teacher. Then he gives story readings with his own two-year-old on his knee. He informs me that he wants to model positive parenting and family unity to members of his class who come from broken homes.

A teacher consults with an aide regarding teaching decisions. The aide suggests what is culturally appropriate. She also mothers a frightened

new entrant, tells an origin myth, and facilitates Maori vocabulary practice between pairs of students.

Parents' contributions

Parents contribute to the school by acting as trustees, becoming members of a school support group, leading after-school programs, or taking other roles. For instance, at the seaside camp fathers erect tents, arrange bedding in a sheep-shearing shed, and lead a group to gather sea-urchins; mothers prepare meals, bandage bleeding feet, and retrieve stragglers from the showers. They also benefit from the school. They practise computer applications while preparing instructional materials as part of their task force work. A few parents complete young offender sentences by doing school maintenance. They are a visible, participating, friendly presence in the staff room and other parts of the school.

DOES THE BICULTURAL SCHOOL PROGRAM FULFILL THE AIMS, INTERVENTIONS AND OUTCOMES OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE?

This paper does not address how Maori culture connects and fits into mainstream culture nor does it discuss the role of the non-indigenous researcher as a builder of bridges between two cultures. Those thoughts will require further exploration in another paper.

This paper shows how the Maori bicultural program fulfills many intentions of indigenous peoples stated in Part 1 of this paper. In response to the call to put Maori children in settings where they can build their world and values from their kin around them, Maori parents envisioned and operated the first language nests as a way of restoring Maori language and culture at the child-rearing stage. As these fledglings became five years of age, their parents and other Maori parents pressured the government to create Maori schooling at the K-6 level. Several schools are now offering bicultural programs at the middle and secondary levels. A bicultural program starts with strong parental pressure leading to the need to determine parents' and extended family members' wishes about schooling.

Some limited power shifted from government to the indigenous parents after the New Zealand government initiated site-based management that provided each school with a lump sum of money to cover all their needs. School staffs, trustees, and parents could establish a priority for

bicultural schools if they wished. With the finances established, they could select indigenous values such as respect, love, and reciprocity as foundations for their program. If the members of the school community could commit themselves to these values they became collectively responsible for the success of the program.

They made the use and acquisition of Maori language the first priority. The second choice was culture. They selected Maori-based curriculum and a Maori-based process of organizing classrooms and schools to enact the culture. Like the Cree-Saulteaux sister who wanted a change in the same sick environment for her jailed brother (Acoose, 1996), they wanted to transform the mainstream classroom structure to simulate the relationships within an indigenous extended family. They achieved their goal by grouping family members together and by placing older with younger children. These arrangements provided for sibling and peer teaching. In addition they fostered the family relationships by modeling with their own family members, and by giving kinship titles to all adults in (aunt, uncle).

Cultural traditions, language, and interactions were supported by employing elders as language aides and training Maori people as teachers. Parents were also welcomed and encouraged to be participants in the classes. All these indigenous adults were viewed as positive resources able to inform, inspire, support, and enhance student self-esteem.

The outcomes of these classes for increasing family unity and academic achievement will need monitoring over several years to determine the ultimate success of the program. Similarly the level of Maori language acquisition and development of thematic units involving the multiple worlds of Cajete's (1994) ecology of indigenous education will require further scrutiny. The school principal, however, has reported fewer late, absent, dropout and transient students from the bilingual classes than in comparable mainstream classes. These children attained positive identity and social success. In the words of the Reading Recovery teacher who provided individual tutoring for these students "the children have spirit and are happy with themselves." Educators who want their indigenous students to share identity as a people and care about each other and their world might consider using this family-structured, bicultural model. Let the arms of a family reach out to encircle your students.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

I am a non-indigenous teacher educator with nine years experience supervising and instructing indigenous and mainstream students at the undergraduate and graduate level. For 27 years I interacted with indigenous people as a high school teacher, community theater playwright and director, and Peigan friendship board member. I offer these ideas in the hope of creating more equitable and successful schooling for indigenous people. (smithd@duke.usask.ca)

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KUWAIT CONNECTION: AN INTERNATIONAL TRAINING EXPERIENCE

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ABSTRACT. This paper describes the cooperative process of developing a counseling program in the nation of Kuwait, following the Iraqi invasion and resulting psychological stress experienced by many of the people there. The report describes the role of the counselling staff of Suffolk University (Boston) in providing the expertise in setting up an intramural master's degree program in mental health counselling. The evident need for the program stemmed from the observation that a significant number of the population was suffering posttraumatic stress disorder following the Iraqi occupation. This alerted the nation to the need for developing a counsellor training program in their universities.

RÉSUMÉ. Cet article décrit le processus coopératif d'élaboration d'un programme de consultation au Kuweït, après l'invasion de l'Iraq et le stress psychologique ressenti par de nombreux habitants de ce petit pays. Ce rapport décrit le rôle des orienteurs de l'Université Suffolk (Boston) qui ont contribué à l'établissement d'un programme de maîtrise intra-muros en conseils de santé mentale. Le besoin d'un tel programme est issu de l'observation qu'une partie importante de la population souffrait d'un stress post-traumatique après l'occupation iraquienne. C'est ce qui a fait comprendre au pays le besoin d'élaborer un programme de formation des conseillers dans ses universités.

Kuwait is a small desert nation in the Middle East that was invaded on August 2, 1990, and annexed by its much larger northern neighbor, Iraq. It has the third largest petroleum reserves in the Middle East, following Saudi Arabia and Iraq. The state of Kuwait covers only 6,880 square miles and has a population of 1.75 million, of whom approximately 670,250 are Kuwaiti (PACI, 1994) and is situated at the north-eastern tip of the Arabian Peninsula, on the shore of the Persian Gulf. Like Iraq, which borders on the north and northwest, and Saudi Arabia on the south and southwest, Kuwait has a Muslim Arab cultural heritage (Brosnahan et al., 1994; Robison, 1993).

Aftermath of the Gulf War

Many people associate this small Middle East country with an oil sheikdom and the multinational effort in ending the military invasion by the Iraqi President, Saddam Hussein. It is the psychological results of this invasion that will be addressed in this paper, as well as a cooperative effort in developing a master's program in counselling in Kuwait.

Following the February 26, 1991, liberation of Kuwait after a seven month occupation by Iraqi troops, Kuwait was in a state of crisis resulting from psychological trauma and material and economic devastation. Iraqi forces set fire to more than 600 Kuwaiti oil wells, terrorized the population (thousands of citizens were taken hostage or killed), stole Kuwaiti bank reserves, looted the National Museum, and shipped stolen consumer goods back to Iraq. This occupation and associated psychological trauma, typically experienced as posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (American Psychiatric Association, 1994), was not limited to those who were subjected to imprisonment and torture. Many individuals suffered from the loss of family members, financial distress, and threats to their basic security needs.

The psychological sequel of war and other forms of trauma have been systematically studied since the beginning of this century. A characteristic pattern of psychopathology develops as a result of severe trauma, namely PTSD. The development of PTSD is not limited to premorbid vulnerability. The triggering event in a situational context is sufficient to precipitate PTSD symptoms equally in otherwise normal individuals (van der Kolk, McFarlane, & Weisaeth, 1996).

Immediately following the war several studies of selected groups of Kuwaitis demonstrated that a large percentage of people in these groups experienced PTSD symptomatology. Of those subjects studied, the rate of PTSD was 64% among victims of torture (Al-Hammadi, 1992), 68% in returned prisoners of war (Al-Zamil & Al Mithen, 1992), 86% among the hospitalized populations (Staehr & Staehr, 1991; Staehr, Bourisli, Boejholm, & Staehr, 1993), and 66% in small, apparently randomized samples (Al-Hammadi, 1992). Staehr et al. (1991, 1993) also found that an additional 21% suffered from clinical depression and 15% from a range of unspecified disorders in the absence of PTSD.

Eighteen months after the war, in 1993, a geographically stratified random sample of the Kuwaiti population was studied to determine the

nature of specific traumas and the psychological consequences of the seven-month occupation (Al-Hammadi, Staehr, Behbehani, Staehr, Aref, Al-Turkait, & Al-Asfour, 1993). The sample was comprised of 566 families (N=2856), including 139 families of martyrs, prisoners of war, and persons physically injured (N=946). Almost half of those who remained in Kuwait during the war went into hiding for reasons of personal safety at various periods during the occupation. Other reported traumas included having witnessed violence (48.5%), having been taken hostage or detained (6.2%), being tortured (5.5%), and sustaining injuries (1.0%). A significant number of Kuwaitis had experienced more than one trauma during the Iraqi occupation.

Posttraumatic stress disorder psychopathology was assessed in 23.4% of adults (Al-Hammadi et al., 1993). This study would suggest that approximately 60,000 adults in Kuwait had a posttraumatic stress disorder, with varying degrees of severity. The prevalence of PTSD in this study was in excess of that found in the general population without war-related traumatic experiences. The Hopkins Symptom Checklist (SCL-25), a non-specific measure of psychiatric morbidity, indicated that 48.5% of this population was experiencing significant levels of distress.

Al-Hammadi et al. (1993) also examined the level of psychopathology in children. The data demonstrated similarly high levels of distress although the pattern is somewhat less specific. On the Rutter scale, 40.6% of the children had scores suggestive of probable behavioral and emotional disorders. This percentage demonstrates rates of symptoms 2-3 times those normally seen in epidemiological studies. On the Impact of Event Scale, the mean was lower than that of the adults but indicated significant levels of intrusive memories and avoidant behaviors. These reported levels of distress are important as they impact the long-term effect on the children's personality development (Yule & Williams, 1990).

Other studies conducted on children have used more comparable epidemiological methods although they used randomized samples within school populations. A study of a stratified sample of 2781 children conducted during the first year after the liberation found that 52% of the children had moderate or severe PTSD (Eisa & Nofel, 1993). This population of children exhibited high levels of trauma exposure in the form of torture and/or the death of a relative. The studies by Al-Hammadi et. al. (1993) and Macksoud and Nazar (1993) on Kuwaiti children do not allow comparisons. In fact, Macksoud and Nazar did not demonstrate that any specific type of trauma accounted for the

posttraumatic distress in the symptoms, but that rather, the general experience of threat and associated fear may have been an important variable in understanding the psychological response of children (Pynoos & Nader, 1989).

The pervasive sense of helplessness and threat experienced by most of the population due to the violence and arbitrary nature of the repression used by the Iraqi troops was the contributing factor to the high levels of distress. Unlike many populations that have experienced time-limited events, such as natural disasters, this population was subjected to seven months of traumatic stress. Although the occupation has ended, the traumatic memories and nightmares of many people continue to affect their lives (Kuterovac, Dyregrov, & Stuvland, 1994; McFarlane & Girolamo, 1996). It is generally reputed that more than six hundred Kuwaiti prisoners of war are currently being held in Iraqi jails (Sallam, 1996).

In summary, international politics notwithstanding, these studies provide an insight into the widespread exposure of the Kuwaiti population to a variety of very distressing experiences and human rights abuses sufficient to create an atmosphere of general fear and threat. The consequences of these traumas are having a lasting effect on the health and adjustment of the Kuwaiti population. The available evidence suggests that people with significant patterns of post-traumatic distress will be more susceptible to subsequent non-war-related traumas (Marsella, Friedman, & Spain, 1994; Meichenbaum, 1994). With the exception of the research of Parson (1990) in his work with African American veterans following the Vietnam War, there has been a dearth of systematic comparisons of therapy outcomes or processes among PTSD victims from distinct ethnocultural groups using accepted experimental design procedures (e.g., alternative therapies, control groups, outcome measures).

Kuwaiti response to post-war psychological devastation

In response to this psychological devastation The Social Development Office, under the auspices of the Amiri Diwan Office, was established in June 1992. The mandate of this office was to mobilize financial and technical resources to minimize the social and psychological impact of the Iraqi aggression on Kuwait. Key aspects of this mandate were the creation of five community centers (mental health clinics) oriented toward identifying the citizenry in need of psychological services, the

provision of individual and family treatment, research and follow-up studies, public information, and consultation services.

Training experience

The Social Development Office of Kuwait, in an effort to train mental health counsellors to meet the heavy demand for psychological services, contracted with Suffolk University to provide a graduate program in Kuwait leading to a Master of Science degree in Mental Health Counseling. At the present time there is no other opportunity for graduate study in Kuwait in the area of counselling or psychology. This two-year comprehensive extramural program, replete with a 450-hour internship and thesis requirement, began in November, 1994. The course curriculum was developed as a compromise between what is typically offered by the University in Boston and what the Kuwaiti administrators felt would best serve the needs of the country. Courses specific to the psychological testing of children and trauma were included in the curriculum to supplement the standard complement of courses. Additionally, a thesis requirement was added should a select number of graduates consider, at a later time, doctoral programs abroad. The final course selection was as follows: life-span development, methods of research, counselling theory and practice, psychological diagnosis, psychological testing, advanced psychological testing, interpersonal skills laboratory, group counselling, seminar in posttraumatic stress disorder, internship, and thesis seminar. Course content was predicated upon the themes of trauma and PTSD symptomology with case examples, assessment, and treatment strategies and thesis research reflecting this orientation to remediation.

Twenty Kuwaiti students, six men and 14 women, ranging in age from 24 to 46, primarily with undergraduate degrees in psychology, were selected for this innovative program. Many of these students had experienced personal trauma resulting from the devastation of the war in the form of death of a spouse, family members in prisoner of war camps, the witnessing of torture, and financial loss. Competition for this program was keen. It required previous satisfactory academic performance, work experience, and individual interviews.

Prior to beginning the on-site program in Kuwait, ten graduate faculty members were selected for this project and received a comprehensive orientation to the essential cultural rules and roles shaping the thinking and behavior of the students. This training involved meetings, discus-

sion, printed material, and suggested reading. Despite this thorough orientation, replete with the proper etiquette for drinking Kuwaiti coffee, cultural taboos of not touching with the left hand and not exposing the soles of one's shoes while seated – to name a few – most were not prepared for what the faculty jokingly called "Kuwait time". This phenomenon, perhaps not unique to the Middle East, was a common source of frustration among a faculty steeped in the structured ways of Western time-limited productivity. Professional survival dictated a mellowing of absolute deadlines and negotiation often became the order of the day. The Kuwaiti's relaxed mind set may represent the merchant mentality of the culture where terms and conditions are negotiated and deadlines are founded on good intentions at the time of the encounter. Ultimately outcomes were achieved in keeping with the Kuwaiti style of behavioral dynamics.

Although Arabic is the official language of Kuwait, English is widely understood. Simultaneous translation from English to Arabic has expedited the learning process for those students less familiar with the English language. Each graduate course was comprised of thirty hours of instruction during a two-week period. After the faculty member returned to the States, selected local psychologists held evening review classes during the next month to assist in comprehensive integration of the course material. Exams and papers were completed after the review classes and mailed to the States for evaluation. This process was repeated for each of the ten didactic courses. Internships in the community mental health clinics were under the supervision of four Kuwaiti psychologists and were typically conducted in the Arabic language. These psychologists, who were in private practice and worked at Kuwait University in either the psychology department or the medical school, meet individually and as a group with a representative of the University to review the requirements for the internship, standardize the supervision experiences, and to develop procedures for student evaluation. In addition to the generic mental health focus of this internship experience, there was an emphasis on PTSD assessment and treatment. Dynamic emotional themes of the trauma experience, resultant taxing of personal resources, and an awareness of the transference and countertransference dynamics of force and destruction, identification, confrontation with death, helplessness, anger, loss, survivor guilt, and voyeurism were central to the internship supervisory experience (Wilson & Lindy, 1994). The majority of the clients who presented for treatment at the community clinics reported PTSD related symptomology.

Of special interest to the reader are the cultural ramifications of such an international undertaking. Kuwait is a constitutional monarchy ruled by the Al-Sabah family. Life in the Gulf revolves around the Islamic religion. Kuwait is a Muslim nation, with a court system based on a combination of civil and Islamic law. The call to prayer five times each day, along with the observance of the major religious holidays (Mohammed's birthday, Ramadan, Eid Al-Fitr, Eid Al- Adha, etc.), impact the mores and folkways of this Middle East country (Brosnahan et al., 1994; Robison, 1993).

Clearly Kuwait and its neighboring states favor the male gender with respect to status, power, and lifestyle. This appearance of gender bias is beginning to change (Al-Mughni, 1995) and counsellors would generally expect to work with clients of either gender. There is a move among the general population toward higher education for all persons, and traditional gender role prescribed behaviors are in transition. The human services professions (medical and psychological) are highly valued in Kuwait and are attracting more women than men to their ranks. This gradual evolution will continue to move in the direction of gender parity and role neutrality in the professions. This role transition is beginning to spread to other aspects of Kuwaiti life which, as with the Western cultures of thirty years ago, will evolve to a more gender neutral society. This evolving role of women as providers of mental health services is appropriate within this culture and the teachings of the Koran and contrasts with the prevailing Western culture's perception of the passive role of Middle East women.

An unusual challenge to the faculty, trained in Western European models of psychotherapy, was the transposing of these Western concepts into appropriate Kuwaiti treatment modalities, techniques, and strategies. Surprisingly, with slight cultural modification, traditional counsellor training approaches were transferable within the context of this country where close family interaction is at the core of cultural life. An example of this modification is that group counselling is renamed group training as a way to minimize the appearance of personal disclosure outside of the family system. Additionally, the Koran is often used as a therapy reference to encourage change and adaptation to events and experiences beyond one's control.

There was attrition from the original student class of twenty. Four were dismissed for academic reasons and three elected to discontinue for personal reasons (marriage, pregnancy, death in family). It is the expectation that the majority of the students will have completed the pro-

gram by May, 1997, and will attend the regular University commencement exercises in Boston. The graduates of this program will continue to be employed by the Social Development Office in Kuwait and will provide essential psychological services in one of the five community mental health clinics. These services will include psychological testing, diagnostic assessment, individual counselling, family and group counselling, consultation, community education programs, research, and follow-up studies. The focus on PTSD, along with appropriate assessment and treatment strategies, will contribute to the post-invasion healing of this recovering nation. There is an expectation that a select few of the graduates will, with government sponsorship, be encouraged to seek doctoral study abroad.

Summary

Following the liberation of Kuwait on February 26, 1991, the government has dedicated itself to the complete physical restitution of Kuwait City to its pre-invasion appearance. This major reconstruction effort has continued without interruption and is near completion. The ambience of the city has the appearance of mercantile activity, but the psychological effects of the war, less amenable to government intervention, continue to plague the population. Families continue to cope with personal and financial loss. Approximately 600 people are being held in prison camps in Iraq and many experience trauma-related psychological symptoms. The government is responding to these less obvious by-products of war and Suffolk University feels honored to be a small part of this psychological reconstruction activity.

With respect to program evaluation and development, currently there is a proposal under consideration to repeat the two-year mental health counselling master's degree program with slight modification that would enhance program continuity. The Social Development Office and the student participants have appreciated the opportunity to develop the necessary clinical skills to serve the burgeoning needs of the citizenry. Should the program be replicated the internship experience will require more structure and scrutiny to maximize consistency among supervisors with respect to counselling competencies. There is also consideration given to assigning a full-time University faculty person to coordinate the program in Kuwait, and there is discussion regarding the offering of selected transferable doctoral level courses in Kuwait for program graduates who are considering advanced training abroad.

The faculty has found that the Kuwaiti people are gracious, proud of their national heritage and appreciative of the personal and professional resources provided by this atypical training venture. This training experience has provided a lesson in the universality of humankind and a renewed respect for the culture and traditions of this unique Middle East country.

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COMMENT ACCROÎTRE LA PARTICIPATION AUX ELECTIONS SCOLAIRES?

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RÉSUMÉ. La participation aux élections scolaires québécoises est constamment inférieure à 20%. Cet article examine de façon critique divers moyens de l'accroître, à la lumière des recherches de science politique sur la participation électorale. On y conclut qu'une réforme du processus de préparation des listes électorales aura un effet marginal. D'autres réformes proposées, tout en garantissant le résultat recherché, comportent des effets secondaires qui risquent d'être mal acceptés par une portion importante du public: c'est le cas du vote obligatoire, de l'exclusion du corps électoral des non-usagers, et de l'implication directe des partis politiques provinciaux dans les élections scolaires. L'introduction du vote par correspondance et surtout la tenue simultanée des élections scolaires et municipales paraissent les voies les plus prometteuses pour atteindre l'objectif sans susciter de levée de boucliers.

ABSTRACT. Turnout at school board elections in Québec is lower than 20%. In this article, the author reviews critically, in view of the political science literature on electoral turnout, various reforms options which might be introduced in order to increase that figure, and what their impact would be. Better registration procedures will likely have a marginal impact. Other proposals like compulsory voting, the disfranchisement of those who are not parents of children enrolled in schools, or the direct involvement of provincial parties in school board elections, will likely be conducive to higher turnout, but would imply side effects the public seems unlikely to accept. Voting-by-mail, and holding municipal and school board elections on the same day, emerge as the best prospects for increasing turnout at the latter level at minimal cost.

Les élections scolaires sont le parent pauvre des études électorales, au Québec comme aux Etats-Unis (Milton, 1983). Les écrits en science politique sur le sujet sont peu nombreux en comparaison des masses de travaux dont on dispose sur les élections fédérales et provinciales, et dans une moindre mesure municipales. Les politologues n'ont qu'une seule excuse à offrir, mais peut-être en est-ce une bonne: leur manque

d'intérêt pour les élections scolaires ne fait que refléter celui de l'ensemble de la population!

Il est clair en effet que le talon d'Achille des commissions scolaires est le peu de participation que suscite leur élection. En 1994, on estime que seulement 17% des électeurs se sont déplacés dans les circonscriptions où il y avait scrutin (Beaulieu, 1995, p. 10). Les adversaires des commissions scolaires invoquent régulièrement ce phénomène pour soutenir que ce niveau de gouvernement est superflu. Sans prendre parti dans le débat sur la survie même des commissions scolaires, le présent article postule qu'elles continueront d'exister en tant que structures électives distinctes, et explore les moyens qui permettraient de susciter une participation électorale accrue.

La faible affluence observée aux élections scolaires paraît au départ refléter un problème beaucoup plus profond, soit le désintérêt général de la population et des élites politiques pour le niveau scolaire lui-même. Le problème n'est pas simplement, en termes familiers, que l'on court après les électeurs: on court après les candidats. Lors des élections de 1994, les trois cinquièmes des postes de commissaires d'école ont été pourvus sans scrutin, puisqu'un seul candidat briguaît les suffrages. Dans un nombre heureusement très petit de cas (14 sur plus de 2200), il a même fallu, en l'absence de tout candidat, combler les postes au moyen d'une nomination par le ministre (Beaulieu, 1995, p. 13). Aux niveaux supérieurs de gouvernement, l'élection d'un candidat sans concurrent, fréquente au siècle dernier, fait aujourd'hui figure de lointain folklore, puisque les derniers cas remontent à 1939 aux élections provinciales québécoises, à 1957 au niveau fédéral et à 1929 aux élections provinciales ontariennes. Le poste de commissaire scolaire paraît peu convoité et donc peu important, à moins qu'il ne constitue le dernier trésor caché et méconnu dans un univers politique généralement très compétitif.

Un regard sur la tendance à moyen terme, il est vrai, offre un mince espoir: en 1980 (Boyer, 1988, p. 34), plus des trois quarts des commissaires scolaires catholiques furent élus sans concurrent (82% dans les régions rurales), contre "seulement" les trois cinquièmes aujourd'hui. Réelle, la progression n'a rien de fulgurant. Une ventilation régionale des résultats pour 1994 indique que dans les régions fortement urbanisées, et possiblement porteuses d'avenir, comme Montréal-Centre et Laval, moins de 40% des postes ont été pourvus de cette façon. Ailleurs, le taux "d'acclamation" varie de 57% à 75%.

Ce constat suggère que l'ambition de hausser le taux de participation électorale se heurte à des obstacles qui dépassent de loin la procédure électorale proprement dite. Les recherches comparatives suggèrent d'ailleurs que celle-ci ne constitue qu'un facteur parmi d'autres, et pas nécessairement le plus décisif. Elles insistent plutôt sur l'importance que revêt l'élection étudiée pour les citoyens (*electoral salience*): ceux-ci se déplacent lorsqu'ils ont le sentiment que l'enjeu en vaut la peine et qu'ils peuvent y changer quelque chose, et dans le cas contraire restent chez eux (Franklin, 1995, p. 231-232).

La faiblesse relative du taux de participation observé aux élections fédérales canadiennes – 28^{ème} rang sur 33 pays démocratiques durant les années 80 – a attiré l'attention de la Commission Royale sur la réforme électorale dont le rapport a été remis au début de la décennie. Cette Commission a suscité dans la communauté universitaire un effort de recherche important qui a abouti notamment à synthétiser de façon utile les facteurs qui sont empiriquement associés à une participation élevée (Commission royale, 1991, p. 52).

La Commission identifie deux catégories de facteurs: les facteurs *institutionnels*, tenant aux lois, et les facteurs reliés aux caractéristiques socio-démographiques des citoyens, que nous qualifierons d'*individuels*. Il est plus facile de changer les lois que les individus, et la deuxième série de facteurs échappe largement à l'action au moins immédiate du législateur.

FACTEURS INDIVIDUELS DE LA PARTICIPATION

Les recherches menées dans les divers pays (Bennett & Bennett, 1986; Mishler & Clarke, 1989) portant sur le profil et les caractéristiques socio-démographiques des électeurs qui participent le plus aux élections, produisent des résultats convergents. Ce sont en général des personnes mariées, nées au pays, jouissant d'un revenu élevé et occupant bien sûr un emploi, professionnels ou cols blancs, dont l'âge et l'instruction dépassent la moyenne. Typiquement, comme le résume la Commission Royale, "les jeunes étudiants célibataires sans affiliation religieuse vivant en Colombie Britannique affichaient un taux de participation électorale d'environ 40% seulement. Par contre, les personnes mariées, d'âge mûr, instruites, de profession libérale, de religion protestante ou catholique et habitant l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard sont susceptibles de voter dans une proportion d'environ 90%" (Commission Royale, 1991, p. 63). Ces constats sont intéressants, mais ne sauraient guère inspirer une réforme

à moins que l'on n'envisage, à la blague bien sûr, l'importation massive et sélective de nouveaux résidents en provenance d'une autre province! Les études comparatives récentes tendent à minimiser les facteurs individuels et à souligner l'impact des institutions sur le comportement des électeurs (Jackman, 1987).

FACTEURS INSTITUTIONNELS

Les facteurs institutionnels associés à une participation élevée sont d'inégale importance. Sont clairement d'ordre macro-institutionnel l'existence d'un mode de scrutin proportionnel, le fait que la sélection des gouvernants résulte du choix direct des électeurs plutôt que de compromis post-électoraux, le caractère monocaméral du Parlement. La liste des facteurs micro-institutionnels inclut le caractère obligatoire du vote, la tenue du scrutin le dimanche, et l'existence de mécanismes permettant aux électeurs de voter par anticipation. On pourrait y ajouter des listes électorales complètes et fiables et le vote par correspondance.

Certains des facteurs institutionnels identifiés par la Commission sont à l'évidence peu pertinents dans le domaine scolaire. C'est le cas par exemple du mode de scrutin proportionnel. D'autres sont déjà incorporés dans notre système électoral scolaire, sans faire une bien grosse différence à en juger au résultat: par exemple, la tenue du scrutin le dimanche ou le vote par anticipation.

Le vote obligatoire

Le vote obligatoire constitue la première solution institutionnelle qui vient à l'esprit. C'est aussi la plus radicale. La loi ferait du vote aux élections scolaires un devoir civique et prévoierait des sanctions pour les abstentionnistes ne pouvant invoquer d'excuse valable. En Australie et en Belgique, par exemple, la loi électorale prévoit la préparation par les autorités, après chaque scrutin, d'une liste des abstentionnistes. Ces personnes sont individuellement contactées par la suite et invitées à justifier leur abstention. L'absence de justification valable entraîne automatiquement l'imposition d'une amende (Australie, Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918, art. 245; Belgique, Code électoral, art. 207 sq).

Cette solution atteindrait tout probablement son but. Les pays qui ont rendu le vote obligatoire sont aussi ceux où les taux de participation, de l'ordre de 90% ou plus, sont les plus élevés au monde. En Australie, la participation était bien plus faible avant cette réforme. Inversement,

l'abolition aux Pays-Bas du caractère obligatoire du vote en 1967 a été suivie d'une baisse appréciable de la participation (Crewe, 1981, p. 240). Dans son étude comparative de 37 démocraties, Franklin (1995, p. 226) reconnaît l'importance de ce facteur.

Le vote obligatoire n'existe ni au Québec, ni ailleurs au pays, et n'y a jamais existé (Qualter, 1970, p. 172). Son efficacité est fonction de l'application des sanctions dont il est assorti. On peut se demander quelle serait la réaction, surtout s'ils étaient très nombreux, des citoyens sommés de payer des amendes pour s'être abstenus lors d'élections scolaires. Pour sa part, la Commission Lortie a conclu après ses audiences que le public réagirait mal à une telle innovation (Commission royale, 1991, p. 59). On peut en effet penser que l'abstention est un droit tout autant que le vote, qu'elle permet à une fraction de l'électorat de manifester son manque d'intérêt pour un processus, et constitue à ce titre un message valable adressé à la classe politique.

De meilleures listes électorales?

Plusieurs études de science politique (Powell, 1982, p. 113; Landers, 1988, p. 85; Powell, 1986) suggèrent que des listes électorales incomplètes gênent la participation. Les réformateurs politiques américains attribuent fréquemment au système d'inscription volontaire sur les listes électorales l'exclusion de millions de personnes légalement qualifiées, et y voient l'une des causes majeures de la participation proverbiallement faible typique de ce pays. Plusieurs personnes négligent de s'inscrire ou sont découragées de le faire par la complexité des démarches à effectuer, quitte à découvrir le jour du scrutin qu'elles sont privées de leur droit de vote.

Bien que supérieur au système américain d'inscription volontaire, le processus de préparation des listes électorales au niveau scolaire en vigueur en 1994 laissait certainement à désirer. L'article 39 de la Loi des élections scolaires prévoyait que le président d'élection dressait la liste électorale entre le 90^e jour et le 45^e jour précédant celui du scrutin. Cette liste pouvait être dressée à partir de la liste provinciale la plus récente, mais le président d'élection pouvait prendre "toute autre mesure nécessaire" pour dresser la liste.

Dans les faits, les officiers d'élection locaux ont eu recours à une grande variété de sources. Sur 141 commissions scolaires, 35 seulement ont utilisé la liste provinciale, 22 la liste fédérale, 2 la liste municipale, alors que 5 autres ont procédé à un recensement spécial. Quarante-six autres

commissions scolaires ont utilisé plus de deux sources, et pas moins de 31 ont utilisé plus de deux sources (Beaulieu, 1995, p. 24).

L'introduction en 1995 d'un registre électoral provincial permanent destiné à être utilisé aux niveaux municipal et scolaire devrait apporter plus d'uniformité à cet égard. Mais peut-on en attendre un redressement de la participation électorale? Il est dangereux ici de transposer au Québec une problématique typiquement américaine. Aux États-Unis, l'inscription volontaire des électeurs aboutit à l'exclusion de près de 30% des individus en âge de voter. Aucun indice sérieux ne permet d'affirmer qu'un nombre équivalent de personnes aient subi le même préjudice aux élections scolaires québécoises: bigarrées, les procédures utilisées ont tout de même produit un total de 4,649,000 électeurs (Beaulieu, 1995, p. 10), soit à peine 5% de moins que les 4,893,000 figurant sur les listes provinciales dressées à la même époque. On peut penser qu'une liste électorale permanente aurait tout au plus un effet positif marginal sur la participation scolaire. Les chiffres l'indiquent en effet clairement: l'immense majorité des personnes qui n'exercent pas leur droit de vote au niveau scolaire sont pourtant légalement inscrites sur la liste.

Réserver le droit de vote aux seuls parents d'élèves?

Jean-Pierre Proulx (1995, p. 6) a suggéré d'accroître la participation électorale en réservant aux seuls parents d'élèves le droit de vote, autrement dit en retranchant des électeurs plutôt qu'en ajoutant des votants. Cette idée repose sur la présomption, plausible, que les électeurs non parents d'élèves votent en très petit nombre mais grossissent artificiellement l'abstention par leur seule présence sur les listes électorales. Il y a aussi la présomption, plus discutable, que ce type d'exercice ne concerne que les usagers.

Cette approche risque de se heurter au slogan *No Taxation without Representation* et de ne pas être acceptée par plusieurs des intéressés, voire de susciter des recours judiciaires. La *Charte des droits et libertés de la personne* du Québec n'interdit pas à première vue de retirer aux non-usagers le droit de voter aux élections scolaires, puisque son article 22 ne garantit le droit de vote qu'à "toute personne légalement habilitée et qualifiée". Cette rédaction suggère que le législateur a toute latitude pour définir le droit de vote, par voie de soustraction aussi bien que d'addition.

La *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* pourrait présenter un obstacle plus sérieux, puisqu'elle est clairement supérieure en autorité aux lois ordinaires. L'exclusion du corps électoral des juges, des déficients mentaux et des détenus a été déclarée inconstitutionnelle par les tribunaux entre 1988 et 1991. Le droit de vote garanti par l'article 3 de la Charte ne vaut que pour les élections fédérales et provinciales, mais non pour les élections municipales (Hogg, 1992, p. 998) et donc, peut-on conclure, pas non plus au niveau scolaire. Portés à donner au concept de droit de vote une portée étonnamment large, les tribunaux canadiens ont jusqu'ici refusé d'en étendre l'application à d'autres scrutins que les élections fédérales et provinciales. Mais cette question particulière n'a jamais été soumise aux tribunaux, et il ne faut pas sous-estimer, surtout dans le domaine électoral, la créativité des plaideurs et des juges, s'ils sont aiguillonnés par des groupes de pression efficaces et motivés.

Instaurer le vote par correspondance?

Diverses procédures spéciales permettent d'accroître le taux de participation: vote par procuration, vote par anticipation, vote par correspondance. La première est mal vue et peu utilisée au pays, la seconde existe déjà dans la loi québécoise, et à en juger aux chiffres, a peu fait pour redresser la participation. La troisième est en vigueur aux niveaux fédéral et provincial, mais non aux autres niveaux. Jean-Pierre Proulx (1995, p. 11) a proposé l'introduction du vote par correspondance au niveau scolaire, non à titre subsidiaire et exceptionnel comme c'est le cas aux niveaux supérieurs, mais comme mode de votation ordinaire et habituel. Cette procédure permettrait à l'électeur de faire l'économie d'un déplacement au bureau de scrutin – et à l'Etat de faire l'économie des frais reliés au fonctionnement de tels bureaux – et lèverait ainsi un obstacle gênant le vote.

L'utilisation du vote par correspondance à titre de procédure *unique* de votation est rarissime dans le monde. Toutefois, l'expérience de l'Oregon incite à croire que l'espoir de Proulx est fondé. Cet Etat de l'ouest américain serait le premier à prévoir l'utilisation exclusive du vote par correspondance pour les élections primaires visant un poste fédéral pourvu par l'ensemble des citoyens de l'Etat. Lors d'une élection primaire sénatoriale tenue en décembre 1995, le taux de participation a grimpé de 38% à 55%.¹ Les responsables du scrutin ont alors fait observer qu'il s'agissait du taux de participation le plus élevé dans l'Etat en 35 ans. La

participation a atteint 66% lors de l'élection sénatoriale partielle du 30 janvier 1996 (Ornstein & Keisling 1996, p. 47).

On peut prévoir que la généralisation du vote par correspondance suscitera la méfiance parmi la classe politique et les organisateurs d'élection. Méfiance irraisonnée peut-être, car les précautions techniques qui entourent cette procédure aux niveaux supérieurs réduisent la probabilité de fraude, sans l'éliminer totalement. Mais s'il est plus facile de contrôler les éventuels abus engendrés par une procédure lorsque celle-ci est utilisée par seulement 3% des électeurs, on comprend que la généralisation de cette procédure à l'ensemble du corps électoral en inquiète certains.

Reste que la possibilité de voter par correspondance est empiriquement associée à des taux de participation plus élevés (Franklin, 1995) et qu'il y a tout lieu de croire qu'elle lèverait, pour un nombre de citoyens difficile à chiffrer, l'obstacle que représente l'obligation de se déplacer en personne pour se rendre dans un bureau de scrutin.

Faire coïncider élections scolaires et municipales?

On pourrait tenir les élections scolaires en même temps que d'autres élections mieux courues, et compter sur l'effet d'entraînement de ces dernières. Un tel jumelage aura probablement pour effet de hisser le taux de participation scolaire à un niveau plus élevé, les électeurs prenant "tant qu'à y être" le temps de voter pour un conseiller scolaire après s'être déplacés pour élire un député ou un conseiller municipal.

Les recherches comparatives appuient fortement cette intuition (Lijphart, 1997, p. 8). Les élections biennales au Congrès américain attirent un nombre de votants invariablement plus élevé lorsqu'elles coïncident avec les présidentielles, scrutin significatif par excellence (Flanigan & Zingale, 1987, p. 14). Aux Etats-Unis, le découplage des élections présidentielles et locales aux Etats-Unis coïncide historiquement avec la baisse de la participation électorale à ce dernier niveau (Boyd, 1981). Dans l'Etat de Floride, où les électeurs choisissent leurs conseillers scolaires en même temps et par le biais du même bulletin de vote que leur gouverneur d'Etat et leur sénateur fédéral, la participation au scrutin scolaire est à peine inférieure à celle que génère le scrutin sénatorial, et bien supérieure à celle que suscitent les élections scolaires tenues distinctement (Milton, 1983). Comparant les statistiques de participation électorale aux niveaux national et local dans plusieurs pays, Robert Morlan (1984, p. 462) a constaté que l'on vote en moins

grand nombre au municipal dans presque tous les pays examinés. Seule exception: la Suède, où la coïncidence des élections législatives et locales produit, d'une façon qui n'est tout probablement pas accidentelle, des taux de participation presque identiques (de l'ordre de 85% en moyenne).

Il est difficile au Canada d'arrimer les scrutins scolaires à ceux tenus aux niveaux supérieurs à cause de l'existence à ces niveaux du droit pour l'exécutif de dissoudre les assemblées avant le terme de leur mandat. Mais on pourrait voter en même temps aux niveaux municipal et scolaire. A environ 60% aux élections de 1994, le taux de participation municipal n'est pas mirobolant, mais dépasse appréciablement celui enregistré au niveau scolaire. Cette solution permettrait aussi de réaliser des économies appréciables quant à la préparation d'une liste électorale et aux opérations de scrutin.

Cette option comporte le désavantage possible de noyer les enjeux proprement scolaires dans des préoccupations d'ordre municipal. Pourtant, à en juger aux résultats, les électeurs américains, lors d'élections présidentielles et législatives tenues simultanément, font très bien la différence entre les deux types d'enjeux puisqu'ils choisissent fréquemment un président républicain et un Congrès démocrate. On peut penser que nos électeurs seraient capables d'en faire autant, pour peu que la campagne scolaire soit animée.

Impliquer les partis provinciaux au niveau scolaire?

Au rebours du mythe qui veut que les citoyens participent d'autant plus aux décisions que celles-ci se prennent à un niveau de gouvernement plus proche d'eux, les élections locales dans la plupart des pays suscitent dans les faits une participation moindre que les élections nationales. Pourtant, en Europe occidentale, on enregistre au niveau municipal des taux de participation plus qu'honorables, et bien plus élevés qu'en Amérique du nord: 59,8% en Irlande, plus de 70% en France, en Allemagne et dans les pays scandinaves (Morlan, 1984, p. 462).

Les auteurs qui se sont interrogés sur ce phénomène concluent que l'implication des partis nationaux dans les élections locales stimule appréciablement la participation électorale à ce dernier niveau. Aux enjeux proprement locaux s'ajoute alors la lutte entre les forces politiques nationales qui se "réchauffent" en fonction des scrutins à venir. Les élections locales font figure de tests dont la signification dépasse le cadre de la municipalité ou de la commission scolaire. Durant les

années 80, Margaret Thatcher avait l'habitude de ne déclencher des élections, habituellement en mai, qu'après avoir fait soigneusement analyser les tendances révélées par les élections municipales tenues quelques semaines plus tôt. Les élections municipales françaises et allemandes retiennent habituellement l'attention en fonction des tendances qu'elles révèlent quant à l'état des rapports de force partisans et au résultat prévisible des élections nationales à venir. Aux États-Unis, le public participe en plus grand nombre aux élections locales (Morlan, 1984, pp. 463-4; Alford & Lee, 1968, p. 810) ou scolaires (Milton, 1983) lorsque les partis politiques s'y impliquent. Le déclin de la participation aux élections locales américaines depuis les années 30 coïncide avec la popularité croissante à ce niveau des élections sans partis politiques et de la formule non partisane du *council-manager plan* (Karnig & Walter, 1983).

La loi québécoise permet à des candidats briguant les suffrages dans au moins le tiers des circonscriptions d'une commission scolaire de se regrouper en "équipes", ce qui semble une disposition assez originale par rapport aux lois scolaires en vigueur dans les autres provinces canadiennes. Le phénomène semble pour le moment peu répandu: il n'y avait d'équipes en 1994 que dans 15 commissions scolaires sur 135, situées pour la plupart en milieu montréalais (15 autres commissions n'ont pas répondu au questionnaire sur ce point) (Beaulieu, 1995, p. 41). À l'instar des partis municipaux, de telles équipes n'ont aucun lien, au moins formel, avec les formations politiques évoluant à des niveaux plus élevés, bien qu'il soit de notoriété publique que certaines équipes aient des affinités idéologiques et organisationnelles avec un parti provincial.

Plusieurs conséquences, désirables et moins désirables, pourraient surgir de l'implication des partis provinciaux dans les élections scolaires. Au positif, elle produirait un plus grand nombre de candidatures et offrirait à l'électorat un choix plus réel. Le scrutin scolaire jouirait d'une visibilité accrue dans les médias et susciterait un plus grand intérêt. Le risque n'est pas négligeable, par ailleurs, de noyer les enjeux scolaires dans un test partisan à l'échelle provinciale, d'installer aux postes de commissaires des individus qualifiés plus par leur affiliation politique que par leur compétence, mais dont la présence était nécessaire pour compléter une équipe. Les mêmes arguments sont fréquemment avancés contre l'implication – ouverte – des partis provinciaux au niveau municipal, où malgré la présence de plus en plus routinière de partis municipaux, l'on chérit toujours l'image de gouvernements locaux composés

"d'administrateurs" plutôt que de politiciens. Cette façon de voir a des racines encore plus profondes dans le domaine scolaire, qu'on jugeait jadis devoir être soustrait aux tentacules de la politique partisane, voire de l'Etat lui-même.

Peut-être en effet les conséquences de l'implication directe des partis provinciaux seraient-elles trop drastiques à ce stade-ci. Tout ce que la science politique peut suggérer, c'est que cette implication contribuerait tout probablement à augmenter la compétition politique et la participation au niveau scolaire, et que la réalisation de ce dernier objectif pourrait bien être l'une des conditions de la survie des commissions scolaires elles-mêmes.

CONCLUSION

On voit que la problématique de la participation électorale scolaire est complexe. Il ne manque pas de recettes pour l'accroître. Il y a peu à attendre d'une liste électorale permanente. D'autres remèdes, tout en garantissant le résultat recherché, comportent des effets secondaires que beaucoup jugeront indésirables: c'est le cas du vote obligatoire, de l'exclusion du corps électoral des non-usagers, ou encore de l'implication directe des partis provinciaux dans le scrutin. Les voies les plus prometteuses sont l'introduction (à titre subsidiaire) du vote par correspondance, et surtout le jumelage des élections scolaires et municipales. Ces mesures permettraient d'augmenter substantiellement le taux de participation scolaire, qui devrait néanmoins demeurer passablement inférieur à ceux enregistrés aux niveaux supérieurs.

NOTE

1. "Oregon. Your vote is in the mail", *The Economist*, 9 Dec. 1995; *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, 1995, p. 3755.

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ASSESSING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF A COLLABORATIVE APPROACH TO PROGRAM DELIVERY IN ARTS TEACHER EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT. This inquiry examined the effectiveness of a partnership program in arts teacher education with students who had obtained teaching experience in school settings within one year of graduation. Participants in the study indicated that engaging in classroom-based activities in the on-campus program with expert practitioners increased their level of confidence and willingness to teach the arts in their own classrooms. They found that role playing classroom situations and examining the theoretical basis bridged the gap for them between university classes and their field experiences in the first year of teaching. Above all, beginning teachers recommended learning fewer skills with more in-depth activities in teacher education rather than attempting to learn a quantity of concepts not fully understood or a quantity of skills not adequately mastered.

RÉSUMÉ. Cette étude porte sur l'efficacité d'un programme de partenariat dans la formation des professeurs d'arts avec les étudiants qui ont fait leur stage d'enseignement dans une école une année après l'obtention de leur diplôme. Les participants à cette étude ont déclaré que le fait de participer à des activités en classe dans le cadre du programme sur le campus avec des professeurs aguerris a contribué à accroître leur niveau de confiance et leur volonté d'enseigner les arts dans leur propre classe. Ils ont constaté que le fait d'interpréter des situations scolaires et d'analyser la base théorique a contribué à combler le fossé entre les cours universitaires et leurs stages pratiques durant leur première année d'enseignement. Mais par-dessus tout, les professeurs débutants recommandent d'apprendre un moins grand nombre d'habiletés avec des activités plus approfondies dans le domaine de la formation des enseignants plutôt que d'essayer d'apprendre une quantité de concepts qu'ils ne comprennent pas entièrement ou une quantité de compétences qu'ils ne maîtrisent pas parfaitement.

Many educational organizations and government ministries are undergoing significant restructuring to meet the needs of a modern society (Small, 1994; Watson & Allison, 1992; Wise, 1992). These institutions are reframing school curricula: they are emphasizing generic skills rather

than subject disciplines; and they are moving away from objectives to outcomes-based learning in an attempt to encourage holistic and global thinking. Consequently, there is a re-organization of the curriculum into broader program areas, such as math, science and technology, or the arts (dance, drama, music, and visual arts), and the fostering of multidisciplinary approaches (Ontario), integrated programming (British Columbia), and cross-curricular outcomes (Saskatchewan). In addition, organizations are seeking the support of external stakeholders, such as school boards, teachers' federations, and education ministries, in the development of new programs. Their involvement has assisted faculties to effectively shift the focus of teacher education to a client service orientation; that is, one that is more responsive to the needs of the teaching profession and the aspirations of students (Gurney & Andrews, 1995).

With the implementation of *The Common Curriculum* (1993, 1995) and the recognition of the arts as a core area of the Ontario school curriculum, classroom teachers are expected to deliver instruction not only in music and visual arts, but also dance and drama (Andrews & Gurney, 1993).¹ To assist teacher-candidates acquire this expertise, a team of arts professors was organized at a faculty of education in an urban university to ensure that the students were exposed to a high level of expertise in each discipline. All candidates received an equal amount of instruction in dance, drama, music, and the visual arts, and additional instruction in curriculum planning, evaluation, and integration in the arts. The year-end program evaluation revealed a high level of satisfaction with the multidisciplinary arts course that is implemented by the use of a collaborative delivery model involving university faculty and field personnel (Andrews, 1995a). Students indicated that they improved their knowledge base in the arts, their confidence level and teaching effectiveness increased, and their comfort level engaging in arts activities increased after taking the course. Further, they indicated that they grasped the theoretical elements of the arts, the teaching strategies and resources were useful, the format of the course was conducive to their learning, and they were motivated to obtain more expertise in the arts. To improve and develop the curriculum, further study was required. For this purpose, this inquiry² was conducted to determine: (1) what aspects of the collaborative delivery system enhanced teaching effectiveness in the field; (2) how effectively the theory-practice dichotomy of the university-field partnership was addressed; and (3) what changes could be implemented to improve program delivery.

BACKGROUND

Currently, there are different models of delivery for arts courses utilized in faculties of education. Further, there is no agreement on the instructional skills that should be taught within the context of such programs (Wilkinson, Emerson, Guillaumant, Mergler, & Waddington, 1992). However, progress has been made in developing interactive strategies for this purpose (Andrews, 1990, 1993, 1995b, 1996a, 1996b). Overall, specialists continue to promote comprehensive discipline-based or interdisciplinary approaches (Lehman & Sinatra, 1988), and generalists tend to prefer multi-arts, interdisciplinary arts, or integrated arts approaches (Wilson, 1994). The specialist approaches were designed by music educators (competency-based) and visual arts educators (discipline-based), but these models have not been universally adopted by dance and drama educators (Dorn & Jones, 1988). The generalists often differ in their definitions of the "arts" and in their application. For example, multi-arts may refer to any combination of visual arts, crafts, music, industrial arts, creative writing, drama, and dance. These may be implemented in different ways, for example, through expressive activities, critical analysis, or socio-cultural study (Wilson, 1994).

The research in Ontario focused on teacher education in the arts is limited to a number of reports prepared by professional associations, school boards, and universities. The Forum for Arts and Media Education, a consortium of university professors and arts teachers and consultants, reported in *Teacher Education in the Arts* (FAME, 1985) that the major problems in preservice and inservice programs were limited hours allocated to arts instruction and the need to address the practice-theory dichotomy between the field and university.

Notoriously in Ontario the time limitations on pre-service and inservice arts programs for teachers are very restricting. At the pre-service level in consecutive programs, the time available to train generalist teachers is quite insufficient. (pp. 6-7)

and . .

Unless practice teachers, supervising teachers, faculty members work closely together the practice-teaching process cannot be adequate. (p. 67)

To address these two central problems the writers of the report recommended that faculties of education increase the hours allocated to the arts, and that they adopt a workshop methodology where professional artists and clinical professors participate in the delivery of the courses. Further, they suggested raising standards by limiting enrollments to

candidates with an arts background, equating practical experience to academics for admission, and including studio time in teacher education.

Four years later, a survey of 44 school boards in the Central Ontario Region undertaken by the Arts Curriculum Centre found that boards identified the arts as a top priority in their programming (arts Curriculum Centre, 1989). In response to this finding, the Arts Education Council developed an Action Plan intended to support pre-service and in-service programs. The project established criteria for quality instruction, identified strategies to improve communications between field and university personnel, and promoted integrative (elementary) and specialized (secondary) approaches to the arts (AECO, 1991). That same year educators, professional artists, and school board administrators meeting at an Arts Work Conference in Toronto recommended to the Ontario Ministry of Education that all school boards should develop an arts policy for their schools and all teacher education programs should include dance, drama, music, and visual arts, as well as integrative activities (Wilkinson, Emerson, Guillaumant, Mergler, & Waddington, 1992).

The most comprehensive report on arts teacher education in the province was commissioned by the Arts Education Council of Ontario, and it involved Ministry personnel, university professors, school board administrators, and classroom teachers. Information was gathered on student admissions, staff strength, program duration and content, curriculum integration, and institutional commitment to the arts (outlined in detail in Wilkinson, Emerson, Guillaumant, Mergler, & Waddington, 1992). Overall, the Arts Education Council found that only two faculties of education have articulated a philosophy of arts instruction for their programs. It was also found that contact hours range from no preparation to very few hours; not many arts education professors have doctorates (20%); and no arts expertise is required of the associate teachers who supervise the practical. However, several faculties were taking steps to address the arts through restructuring, and others were actively exploring new methods of integration and cross-curricular applications.

Efforts to reform teacher education curricula have not significantly influenced either the teaching-learning process in classrooms or professional culture in schools (Fullan, 1993). Nor have attempts at reform significantly improved the linking of theory to practice (Cole & McNay, 1989; Wideen & Holborn, 1986). Research has demonstrated that the

theory-practice dichotomy can be bridged through collaboration between schools and universities (MacPhail-Wilson & Guth, 1983; Roueche & Baker, 1986). Indeed university-field partnerships that are successful are guided by a collaboration that has grown from the needs of the clients (Bennis & Nanus, 1985). On this basis a collaborative system of delivering the arts in teacher education was developed. A common course outline was developed for six on-campus and two on-site classes; a faculty professor assumed responsibility for curriculum planning, evaluation, and integration in the arts; and four clinical professors with expertise in dance, drama, music, and visual arts assumed responsibility for instruction in their respective areas.

The curricular framework for the design of the partnership course was developed from the four broad topic areas generic to dance, drama, music, and visual arts: form, meaning, function, and communication (refer to *The Common Curriculum*, 1993 & 1995). Form refers to the elements of a work of art and the way these elements are organized to create an entity; and meaning focuses on describing, interpreting, and evaluating an artistic product. Function emphasizes understanding the socio-cultural dimensions of the arts in society; and communicating requires active involvement in the creative process and a knowledge of that process.³ The curriculum planning component of the course focused on designing lessons using the elements of each arts discipline (form). The workshops emphasized active involvement in the arts through creating and performing (communicating) and were delivered by expert dance, drama, music, and visual arts educators from local school boards. The evaluation component of the course examined issues which involved making artistic judgments, describing and rationalizing one's interpretations, and providing assessments to students, parents, and administration (meaning). The integration component examined the similarities and differences among the arts disciplines, the role of arts within society and within different cultures, and the relationship of the arts to the overall school curriculum (function). Formative evaluation involved small groups of teacher-candidates developing a lesson plan and delivering it in a simulated and interactive setting. Summative evaluation for the course consisted of a group project which involved selecting a theme and writing an integrated arts unit (two lessons each of dance, drama, music, and visual arts). This final project was intended to demonstrate the students' ability to plan and deliver arts curricula and understand artistic form, function, meaning, and the creative process.

METHODOLOGY: A NATURALISTIC APPROACH

Rationale

A naturalistic approach was adopted in this study as this approach offered the principal investigator the opportunity to obtain an in-depth understanding of why the collaborative system enhanced the teacher-candidates' confidence, comfort level, and teaching expertise (as outlined in Andrews, 1995a), and in what ways the course could be effectively designed, developed, supported, and adapted. Much research on curriculum improvement focuses on documenting the realities of development and implementation for the purpose of generating more effective ways of using and extending the program (Harris, Bell, & Carter, 1981; Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Patton, 1986). A closeness to the program is necessary which is more defensibly developed within a qualitative paradigm, that is to say: "The qualitative-naturalistic-formative approach is especially appropriate for programs that are developing, innovative, or changing, where the focus is on program improvement, facilitating more effective implementation, and exploring a variety of effects on participants" (Patton, 1987, pp. 18-19).

Participants

When the principal investigator administered the year-end program evaluation (March, 1994), sixteen teacher-education candidates (i.e., 12% of the students completing program evaluations) expressed an interest in providing further input into the program after they had obtained additional teaching experience.⁴ These volunteers were asked to participate in the study the following academic year after they had obtained teaching experience in the field (June, 1995) by undertaking a telephone interview with structured questions. It is recognized that these individuals may have had strong reasons, either for or against, the course delivery. However, this was a qualitative study designed to gather in-depth data on the effectiveness of the course on improving their learning and identifying obstacles that blocked learning. Hence a keen interest in participation was advantageous for engendering a thickness of data (Kratwhol, 1993).

Interview questions

The program evaluation, a survey with additional open-ended questions (refer to Andrews, 1995a), was developed from a pool of generic questions utilized in the teacher education program to develop the year-

end program evaluations. Additional items were also included to address issues (i.e., level of comfort, theory-practice dichotomy) raised in the report on preservice education in the arts (Wilkinson, Emerson, Guillaumant, Mergler, & Waddington, 1992). The initial review questions were pilot-tested with 10% of the student population who made substantial revisions, particularly in refining the questions by clarifying theoretical concepts. The interview questions for this study were based on the program evaluation questions but the questions were reworked to elicit data on the perceived effectiveness of the arts course for improving instruction in the schools (refer to Appendix 1).

Procedure

Of the sixteen 1994 teacher education graduates contacted in May of 1995, two declined to participate in the study, thereby reducing the number to fourteen (i.e., 10% of those completing the program evaluations). Of these, all taught the arts during the 1994-1995 school year: three had full-time teaching positions; one had a part-time position; eight had supply contracts; and two were not currently teaching, but taught on a supply basis as needed.

The telephone interviews were administered by a research assistant in June of 1995 and not by the principal investigator (who was also the faculty professor who organized the course). Participants returned the consent form, and indicated a date and time when it was convenient to undertake the interview. Background information and telephone interview questions were provided beforehand, and the research assistant scheduled the interviews and recorded the data.

Analysis of data

The data obtained through the structured telephone interviews was analyzed and synthesized to determine: (1) what aspects of the collaborative delivery system enhanced teaching effectiveness; (2) to what extent the theory-practice dichotomy of the program was alleviated; and (3) what changes could be implemented to improve the design and delivery of the course. The interview questions focused on the personal effect of key dimensions of the design and delivery of the collaborative program in their teaching career. These dimensions were initially identified in the initial program evaluation (Andrews, 1995a) and integrated into the interview questions (refer to the words in bold in Appendix 1). These dimensions include a conceptual knowledge of the arts; comfort in engaging in arts activities; confidence to teach dance,

drama, music, or visual arts; the ability to relate concepts to practical activities and to identify aspects of a course impacting on personal learning; the motivation to obtain additional expertise; the willingness to reflect on personal growth; and the ability to critically evaluate one's personal teaching effectiveness. During the analysis, the researcher considered the teacher-candidates' perceptions of each of these dimensions on their personal learning and teaching effectiveness. The data was synthesized to determine those aspects of instruction in teacher education that can be beneficial for enhancing teaching, integrating theory and practice, and improving personal arts learning.

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

Enhancement of beginning teachers' teaching effectiveness

The teachers indicated that their own teaching effectiveness in the arts was primarily enhanced by the increased knowledge and confidence gained through participation in the course. The visiting professors "made it straight forward and we became more confident to teach." The hands-on experience built confidence in various areas and as one teacher stated: "helped us get over our inhibitions." The practitioners brought real-life experiences to the university classroom that helped with the delivery of arts lessons – warm-up exercises, managing groups, and pacing lessons. As a consequence, as one teacher noted, "they helped me to help others."

It would appear that the involvement in classroom-based activities engendered a "can do" attitude that motivated teachers to introduce the arts in their own classrooms. For example, one teacher indicated that in watching the visual arts demonstrations by her peers, she recognized that one did not need to be an expert in a discipline to be a teacher: "I could do it too!" Further, the lessons gave them an opportunity to participate as a child in a classroom setting, achieve the doable, and realize that all of us have talents. The opportunity of role-playing the children's engagement in arts activities set the stage for teacher-candidates' own learning, and encouraged them to transfer their arts experiences into their own classroom. For example: "I used a lesson from the arts workshops and it went over so well that my credibility with the students was established and the rapport set for the rest of my practicum."

The participants also indicated that it was the range of roles that they were expected to play that increased their awareness of a wide range of possibilities and thereby enhanced their own teaching effectiveness. They were involved in the course by role-playing students, participating in group projects, creating and presenting lessons, simulating classroom experiences, and re-creating a wide range of scenarios: this "participation promoted effectiveness." Above all, these course experiences led one teacher to the realization that: "If you teach properly, you really enjoy it."

The theory-practice dichotomy of university-field relationships

The beginning teachers indicated that the arts team – a university professor responsible for the theory supported by field personnel – achieved an effective blend of theory with practice. To them the theory was quite relevant to the practice as the specialists made the connection. As one teacher indicated: "I have a better understanding" because the fit of theory and practice was quite well done. Overall, the teachers felt strongly that it was the presence of the visiting professors and the expertise they brought to the course that bridged the gap that too often exists between the university and the schools: "I could see it done. . . . practice it as a student. . . . I knew the outcome." Teachers indicated that their practicum went easier with the repertoire of lessons made available: "I definitely used ideas from the program and my teachers were impressed by my creativeness." Further, this has carried over into their new teaching careers: "I was able to implement drama and visual arts, and it got me thinking about ways to connect the four areas – dance, drama, music, and visual arts."

Course improvement

Overall, the teachers interviewed indicated that the collaborative arts course was effective for enhancing their own teaching effectiveness and motivated them to include dance, drama, visual arts, and music within their own classroom curriculum. The major concern was the lack of time (which reflects the constraints of an eight-month program with a 30-hour arts course), and most felt the course could be predominantly improved by increasing the hours in the course so that more time could be spent in each of the disciplines.⁵ There was less concern with learning more skills in the four areas, but rather with learning fewer skills well with a wide variety of activities to support them. There was also the opinion expressed that students should be required to demon-

strate competence in each of the four disciplines via small assignments as opposed to a group unit assignment and presentation, where there was a tendency to focus on what one does best (to obtain the highest marks). Another alternative would be to tie the assignments to the practicum to ensure that students did in fact practice teach in each of the four disciplines. The most recurring comments emphasized the involvement of the practitioners in making the course work so effective for their personal learning: "don't remove the four specialists, extend the program but have the teachers in a class more – that way the lessons could be tried and practiced." They admit they would like more: "a good taste of everything!"

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Summary of the findings

The partnership with external stakeholders in the delivery of a teacher certification program appeared to have significant benefits for the teacher-candidates in this case, not only during the preservice program but during their first year of classroom teaching. The beginning teachers perceived that their confidence and teaching effectiveness was enhanced by their increased knowledge of the arts and personal comfort level engaging in arts activities. For them, the theory-practice dichotomy was overcome by role-playing classroom situations and examining their theoretical basis. Above all, the beginning teachers were less concerned with the amount of skills in each discipline they had to learn, than with the need to learn fewer skills supported by a wide variety of activities; that is, a quality of arts learning rather than a quantity of arts skills.

Implications for teacher education

The results of this inquiry are drawn from a small sample and focus on in-depth interviews and analysis of beginning teachers' experiences teaching the arts in their first year. Further replication studies are currently in progress to verify the findings.⁶ However, these preliminary results have implications for the arts in teacher education and can be used to guide curriculum development in this area. These implications include:

1. Participation in practical subject-specific activities engenders confidence and a willingness to transfer these activities into a classroom setting.

2. The balance of subject expertise, theory, and generalist instruction (planning, evaluation, and integration) within the context of an arts course appears to have significant benefits for the students' personal learning and their willingness to teach the arts in their own classrooms.
3. Partnerships with field personnel can be highly effective in arts teacher education as specialists bring practical applications directly into the university classroom. Conversely, universities provide teacher-candidates with the theoretical framework for examining and improving practice.
4. Faculties of education will need to adjust their programs to recognize that the arts represent a core area of the school curriculum, and they must re-adjust faculty structures to enable partnerships to operate effectively. Further, they must provide budgets so that additional staff can be hired (i.e., tenure-track, secondments, part-time) and resource materials purchased to effectively deliver an interdisciplinary program.
5. Faculties of education and boards of education need to examine the expectations for elementary teachers and identify a realistic knowledge base and achievable skills in the arts, and develop professional development programs that support this learning.

APPENDIX I

Student-Teachers' Telephone Interview Questions

Current status: full-time; part-time; supply; other?

During the telephone interview, the discussion will focus on the following questions:

Course Delivery:

1. How did the presence of visiting professors increase your knowledge of the arts?
2. Did this knowledge increase your confidence to teach the arts? How?
3. When you taught an arts lesson, in what ways did you feel that the workshops enhanced your teaching effectiveness?
4. Are you more comfortable with the notion of teaching the arts in your classroom? Why?
5. Do you have any suggestions with respect to the delivery of the arts education course?

Course Design:

6. What aspects of the course, for example, assignments, projects, team learning, etc., promoted your personal learning in the arts? Explain.
7. Did the theory-practice relationship developed in the lectures and workshops make sense to you? Please comment.

8. Did the course curriculum (objectives, teaching strategies, and resources) relate to your practicum experience? Please describe.
9. Are you motivated to acquire more expertise in teaching the arts as a result of the course. Why? or Why not?
10. Do you have any suggestions with respect to the organization of the arts education course?

Thank you for participating in this study. Your assistance is very much appreciated.

NOTES

1. The revised version of *The Common Curriculum: Policies and outcomes, grades 1-9* appeared in 1995 and remains in effect as official Ministry of Education and Training policy for the Province of Ontario. The arts have retained their importance as a core area of the provincial curriculum.
2. This inquiry was supported by a research grant by the Faculty of Education of the University of Ottawa which provided for the services of a research assistant.
3. The term "communicating" was changed to "creating" in the latest version of *The Common Curriculum 1995*.
4. Subsequently, the hours in the arts course were increased from 30 to a full course of 39 hours within the teacher education program.
5. The return rate for the arts program evaluation was 56.6%. The return rate is representative of each certification program within the elementary panel: 68 of 118 in the primary/junior on-campus program (57.6%); 34 of 62 in the junior/intermediate on-campus program (54.8%); and 32 of 60 in the primary/junior on-site program (53.3%). Consequently, the overall return (56.3%) is an acceptable sample size (Krathwhol, 1993).
6. The replication study entitled "Re-assessing the effectiveness of a collaborative approach to program delivery in arts teacher education" is currently in progress.

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BOOK REVIEWS

RONALD WILLIAM MORRIS. *Values in Sexuality Education: A philosophical study.* Lanham (MD), New York, London: University Press of America (1994). 111 pp. C\$38.95 (paper). ISBN 0-8191-9557-X.

How can sexuality education facilitate, support, and critically assist persons in their search for moral integrity and coherence? Morris, p. 84

The value of sexuality education is determined by its capacity to be celebrational, hospitable, meaningful, and life-enhancing. Morris, p. 93

Do we teach values in sexuality education? Whose? Do we remain neutral? The answers to these questions differ with each generation and sometimes with each area of the country. Ronald Morris, in his *Values in Sexuality Education*, has brought great clarity and understanding to the debate. In Part I he takes us through the earlier struggling years of educators trying to find the right place for dealing with the subject of sexually transmitted diseases, and presents the pro's and con's of what was considered a breakthrough in the subject – the Values Clarification Approach. Morris also brings us through the other hopeful approach launched in the '60s, namely Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development, and, again, sets out both how Kohlberg advances the cause, and where his contribution was found wanting. The twenty or so years of implementing these two approaches has allowed their shortcomings to surface and be duly documented. More was needed.

It is here that Morris makes his ground-breaking contribution to the field. In Part II of his work he places the issue of values in human sexuality where it belongs – in the ongoing process of human development. And the theory that Morris finds most receptive to a holistic approach to sexuality education is Robert Kegan's Theory of Human Development, a theory that grows out of a synthesis of Piaget's work on

intellectual development, and Erikson's work on psychosocial development. Kegan's main thesis states that meaning-making is foundational to human development. It is that which underlies "the cognitive and affective, as well as the individual and the social." Kegan's approach is spiral rather than linear, and recognizes the need for integrating the new or the important into what he calls "cultures": "mothering culture" in infancy, the "culture of mutuality" in adulthood (six stages altogether). These cultures are "holding environments" which give meaning to our experiences. Morris examines the sexual and moral themes of each stage and identifies both the sexuality that is developing and the opportunities present for fostering values in sexuality education.

As the subtitle of the book – *A philosophical study* – shows, this is not a "how to" for sexuality education courses. Yet it is a must for both teachers in the classroom and those teaching teachers since it brings great clarity to the field and gives a framework within which they can proceed with confidence in this very important but complex field of human development. In Chapter 6 (Educational Principles and Issues Arising) Morris puts forward the important role that the narrative and storytelling can play in the classroom. He also presents Kegan's six stages with accompanying suggestions as to Modes of Teaching and Educating in Sexuality Education. It is here that teachers will find helpful hints in designing their courses.

Those involved in directing the young, whether in the classroom or the pastoral setting, will find Morris's text a lucid and comfortable read, based on a reference bibliography of some fourteen pages. At the present time Morris's *Values in Sexuality Education* appears to be the book that will carry the teachers of this field into the new millennium.

LEO PURCELL *McGill University*

BARBARA LEVINE (EDITOR). *Works About John Dewey: 1886–1995*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press (1996). 526 pp. Cloth: US\$49.95 ISBN 0-8093-2056-8; Paper: US\$24.95 ISBN 0-8093-2058-4.

*Language, fourth dimension of the mind,
Wherein to round square things are curled;
Or turn unbroken inside out;
Firm certitudes melt to doubt,
And doubtful things, a fertile seed
Tho not existent, pregnant breed*

intellectual development, and Erikson's work on psychosocial development. Kegan's main thesis states that meaning-making is foundational to human development. It is that which underlies "the cognitive and affective, as well as the individual and the social." Kegan's approach is spiral rather than linear, and recognizes the need for integrating the new or the important into what he calls "cultures": "mothering culture" in infancy, the "culture of mutuality" in adulthood (six stages altogether). These cultures are "holding environments" which give meaning to our experiences. Morris examines the sexual and moral themes of each stage and identifies both the sexuality that is developing and the opportunities present for fostering values in sexuality education.

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*Falsities of those who say sooth,
Lush growing I' the crops of truth -
Simple to turn Men's minds about
Peasant to prophet, philosopher to lout,
Making wise the humble, and sage a fool,
Stones to gods, and heaven t'earth's footstool.*

John Dewey was born in 1859 in Burlington, Vermont, and died almost a hundred years later, in 1952, in New York City. A brief historical pause causes one to reflect on the world time frame that paralleled Dewey's life. Over an epoch of incredible reshaping, Dewey experienced personal change from candlelight to rocketry! He was born in rural New England near Lake Champlain and would have been a seven-year-old lad at the end of the American Civil War. Two years later, if he had noticed at all, Canada was created via the British North America Act, and he would have marked the passing of Queen Victoria in 1901 as a forty-two year old scholar at the University of Chicago. The war-to-end-all-wars saw him as a fifty-nine year old senior professor at Columbia University in New York, and he witnessed the end of the second great world conflict as a respected world traveled consultant.

While it is clearly beyond the scope of this short review to comment on Dewey's academic and/or professional life, it is nonetheless interesting to note and to remind ourselves that he had an extensive and varied academic career. He received his bachelor's degree from the University of Vermont in 1879 and his doctorate in 1884 from John Hopkins University. For the next four and a half decades, he held teaching positions at the University of Michigan (1884-1888; 1889-1894), the University of Minnesota (1888-1889), the University of Chicago (1894-1904), and Columbia University (1904-1931).

As well, Dewey traveled extensively and lectured in such diverse countries as China, Japan, Mexico, Turkey, and the Soviet Union. Additionally, he was a member of many "fact finding" committees and reported on the international scene. Finally, Dewey was a most prolific writer with over 100 books to his credit, and his collected works comprise some forty volumes (thirty-seven of text with three accompanying indices) as released by the Dewey Center at Southern Illinois University.

To attempt to characterize John Dewey as an 'educator' or a 'philosopher' or a 'psychologist' is to demean this Renaissance individual. Dewey's intellect cannot be pigeon-holed so narrowly or so conven-

iently. He wrote extensively and profoundly in many interrelated areas, such as, ethics, philosophy, logic, truth, psychology, aesthetics, religion, war, economics, politics, and, of course, education.

It is understandable that Dewey should continue to be a contemporary catalyst for action and debate. He had a long and productive career and his written material has been catalogued and made easily available to the professional community. Further, many of his books are still in print and dozens of various kinds of collections are in circulation. One gauge of how extensive and far reaching his impact is, is to examine the recently released and up-dated volume entitled *Works About John Dewey: 1886-1995*. This is actually the third such index, the others appearing in 1974 and 1978 under the title *Checklist*, but this edition has been creatively expanded and far exceeds the previous two in extensiveness, accuracy, and ease of use. *Works About* is an indispensable guide for anyone who even has the most passing interest in the ideas and philosophies of John Dewey. No compilation can include everything, and so some choices have had to be made in regards to this volume. Therefore, the editor notes that unpublished material (dissertations, public presentations, etc.) has been excluded as well as articles and documents that can be quite easily accessed via ERIC (Educational Resources Information Centre). Notwithstanding these deliberate and necessary omissions, this impressive 526-page compendium is broken into four distinct sections:

- by far the largest, the first section contains over 5000 individual entries listing books and articles about John Dewey. This tabulation is arranged alphabetically by author. Additionally, reviews of works about Dewey immediately follow the work reviewed. (pages 3-436)
- the second section is a compilation of reviews about Dewey's works. Dewey's books are listed alphabetically by title and the reviews immediately follow. (pages 465-489)
- the third section is a listing of all of the authors and editors who have written about Dewey and whose works are noted in *Works About*. As each listing is appropriately coded, it is quite easy to locate specific authors who have commented upon Dewey. (pages 465-489)
- the final section is a 'Title Key-Word Index' that lists the key words from most titles and subtitles of works that are noted in the other sections. (pages 491-526)

The stanza that opened this review is part of an untitled poem by John Dewey that was written sometime after World War I, only "discovered" by accident, and not publicly acknowledged until after Dewey's death. This poetic musing (see Boydston [Ed.], *The Poems of John Dewey*, 1977) are somewhat of an enigma as Dewey himself seems not to have mentioned them and, furthermore, he left them at the back of his desk, apparently forgotten, at the University. What compelled Dewey to write poetry and why did he apparently ignore such an intimate personal experience? While *Works About John Dewey: 1886-1995* will not answer these particular literary questions, it will, on the other hand, prove to be an invaluable resource that will bring the writings of thousands of individuals who share a Deweyan commonality to one's finger tips.

Works About is a required reference book for every education library and for every professional educator. John Dewey was a major figure who had an important impact upon the educational scene in North America. Many of his ideas are still current to this day and have clearly stood the test of time. His attempts to reinterpret Aristotle and Plato to a modern and rapidly changing society bear reconsideration by contemporary educators and philosophers. Dewey was a visionary who attempted to bring quality and ethics to the most important of professions — teaching. *Works About John Dewey: 1886-1995* provides a solid and indispensable base of selected material that will allow interested individuals to increase their professional understandings of the ideas of John Dewey and, at the same time, engage in a personal voyage of rediscovery.

JON BRADLEY McGill University

RICHARD FULKERSON. *Teaching the Argument in Writing*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English (1996). 184 pp. \$19.95 (NCTE members \$14.95). ISBN 0-8141-0190-9.

Richard Fulkerson's *Teaching the Argument in Writing* is an unusual argumentation text in many aspects. It clearly targets high school and college teachers, not college students, as its audience and it is a very readable book. These two aspects alone make it worth investigating.

Fulkerson's voice is strong throughout, from the opening pages where he clearly positions himself as a teacher of argumentation and informal logic at the undergraduate and graduate levels. He tells us about other specific aspects of his life and ways that he engages in argumentation

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that might not traditionally be thought of as argument, and he follows this up in the introduction and first chapter where he uses nontraditional argumentation forms, such as an extended dialogue, to argue that all discourse is actually one form of argument or another.

This is an unusual opening for a book on argumentation, and some might say that he undercuts his own title by so doing. However, Fulkerson's approach suits his purpose of helping teachers become "more committed to the teaching of argumentative writing and more confident about how to teach and respond to it." He achieves this well in a book which is very readable, well organized, founded on a deep understanding of argumentation theory, and littered with specific examples from the writing of his own students. The book is thus relevant and easy for busy professionals to use as and when they need it, for it is possible to read the book in just a few sittings, cover to cover, or to use it as a source for helping solve difficulties that the teaching of written argument presents. Fulkerson assumes audience familiarity with procedures for teaching writing as an extended activity and he assumes little or no familiarity with argumentation theory. These two assumptions guide a very consistent approach throughout the volume and make it an especially valuable book for teachers.

The book includes succinct instruction on well accepted strategies of writing western argument, with chapters devoted to the Toulmin model of argument, general argumentation strategies and four chapters devoted to arguing different types of claims. He also gives attention to material fallacies and fallacious use of statistics and in each of these chapters makes extensive use of student examples to demonstrate the kinds of difficulties students have and how a teacher can help students understand the nature of their difficulties. This is, of course, what most books on argumentation do through the extensive delineation of taxonomies of argumentation. The great difference is that Fulkerson's purpose is to make this theory easily accessible to busy professionals. He succeeds well, giving the novice in argumentation theory an introduction to concepts but then foregoing a detailed traditional exploration of those concepts in favour of very practical application of them, always in terms of helping the teacher respond to written argument as well as his own guide, the STAR guide, for testing the substantiation of claims.

The book obviously serves a need and serves it so well, that my only regret is that attention is not given to issues surrounding audience, particularly when students now come from many different cultures and

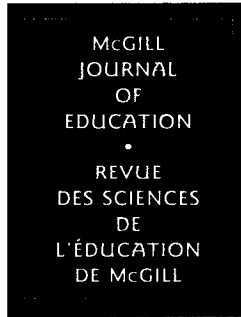
themselves carry many different assumptions and interpretations. These issues are articulated in my edited volume, *Perspectives on Written Argument* where various chapters demonstrate that argument operates best in contexts of connectedness and community, that argumentative processes are learning processes, that in argumentation it is important to maintain the tension of difference for as long as possible rather than seeking closure or resolution too quickly, and that the acknowledgment of difference is a way to maintain relationship and community. Fulkerson would agree with these tenets, I am sure. However, many authors in *Perspectives on Written Argument* would stress that writers from different cultures, whether those be racial or ethnic or gendered or sexual orientation, might well attribute different degrees of legitimacy and validity to different grounds, authority, relevance, and the like. These become thorny teaching issues for classroom teachers who are trying to acknowledge and support students from different cultures while at the same time trying to help them become critical thinkers. As a white female academic at a university located near Toronto, a large metropolitan center with significant numbers of people from many different cultural and language backgrounds, this is of central concern to me.

However, I am still taken by Fulkerson's book which serves well the intended audience and I would recommend that the book be in every English department. The only qualifier is that every department also seek other volumes which will speak to cultural pluralities unacknowledged by traditional approaches to western argumentation.

DEBORAH P. BERRILL *Trent University*

REFERENCE

Berrill, D.P. (1996). *Perspectives on Written Argument*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.



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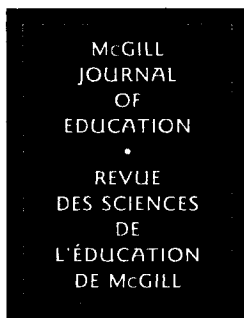
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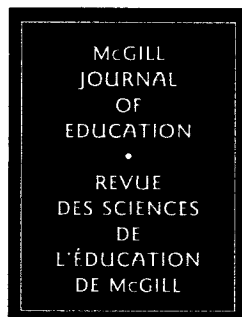
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