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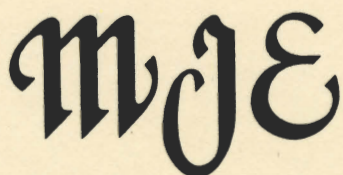
Reginald Edwards

Curriculums Plural: English at the English CEGEPs

Arnold Keller

Education, Dissent, and Freedom of Speech

Jamil Salmi



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Editorial

Teacher Education: Where we've been and where we are going

As we move toward the end of the end of the century and the year 2000, it is of some importance that we reflect on the theory, history, and practice of education during the past one hundred years or more. In this issue, Professor Reginald Edwards has made a splendid contribution on this topic by tracing the history and development of normal schools, summarizing critical developments in France, the United States, Britain, and Canada – all of which ultimately had some influence on teacher education, not only at McGill University, but throughout Canada and the United States. In Edwards' paper, we are treated to a fascinating account of how diverse movements and persons of many backgrounds contributed to the eventual founding of the Macdonald Chair of Education and McGill's Faculty of Education.

Brief summaries will give the reader an overview of the range of education topics addressed in this issue.

Novice school teachers often have their share of troubles in the first year of teaching, but not many of us can imagine the hardships experienced by young John Fowler, in 1890, when he began his teaching career in the hill region of Kentucky, as presented here by Professor William Talley. We can not help but be impressed by this young teacher's resourcefulness.

Professor Arnold Keller gives a comprehensive review of the steps taken by the English-language CEGEPs of Quebec in formulating an English curriculum. Through interviews with key persons and an examination of the *cahiers* through the years since 1969, he presents a critical analysis of the English curriculum which could be more aptly called "curriculums plural."

Perhaps in few fields today is there as much self-examination as that of the role of women in leadership positions in universities. Professor O'Keefe reviews the literature on the status and characteristics of women in the field of university administration in the United States and, at the same time, proposes the need for similar research on women leaders in Canadian universities.

In recent years, there have been many greatly publicized accounts of human rights violations in various countries. Many of these violations were directed against students and other intellectuals. Dr. Salmi, of the World Bank, examines the contradictory responses of governments when cited by Amnesty International for their treatment of dissidents, especially those persons who fight for freedom of speech.

Finally, a paper by Professor Downer and one by Professor Duquette deal with educational research. Downer reviews the literature on what factors (both content and process) are responsible for constituting effective schools. Professor Duquette reports on a research project, sponsored by the University of Ottawa, on the evaluation of practice teaching. This research, conducted in the field, attempts to identify barriers to effective practice teaching and to propose new procedures for the supervision of practice teaching.

W.M.T.

Theory, History, and Practice of Education: Fin de siècle and a new beginning

Abstract

The history and development of normal schools is traced through a summary of events that transpired in France, the United States, Britain, and Canada. The author examines the roots of several systems of teacher training and identifies specific institutions (normal schools) that played an important role in bringing to McGill University key persons interested in the training of teachers. Much of the article is devoted to linking the diverse influences that culminated in the establishment of the McGill Normal School, the Macdonald College for Teachers, and the Macdonald Chair of Education. While the article outlines the history of McGill's role in teacher education in Quebec and Canada, it also gives a broad perspective on the history of normal schools in Europe and North America, and their influences on teacher education today.

Résumé

L'histoire et le développement des écoles normales est retracée par un résumé des événements qui se sont produits en France, aux États-Unis, en Grande-Bretagne et au Canada. L'auteur analyse les racines de plusieurs systèmes de formation des maîtres et se penche sur certains établissements (écoles normales) qui ont contribué à faire venir à l'Université McGill des personnes clés s'intéressant à la formation des maîtres. Une bonne part de l'article est consacré aux diverses influences qui ont abouti à la création de la McGill Normal School, du Macdonald College for Teachers et de la Chaire Macdonald des sciences de l'éducation. Si l'auteur dresse l'historique du rôle joué par McGill dans la formation des maîtres au Québec et au Canada, il propose une vue d'ensemble plus étendue de l'historique des écoles normales en Europe et en Amérique du Nord et de leurs incidences sur la formation des maîtres telle qu'elle est dispensée aujourd'hui.

One hundred years ago in Washington, DC, in 1891, W. T. Harris, the Commissioner for Education in the Department of the Interior, authorized the issue of *Memorandum No. 8* of that year entitled "The Rise and Growth of the Normal School Idea in the United States." This was but two years after the New York College for the Training of Teachers obtained a state charter, and eight years after the School of Education at the University of Chicago established the *School Review*. In England in the same year, 1891, school fees were abolished.¹ Meanwhile in Montreal, Sir William Dawson, who in 1857 became the first Principal of the McGill Normal School which was set up in the old High School on Belmont Street, in addition to being the Principal of McGill, was within one year of retirement, to be succeeded as McGill's Principal, after an interval of two years, by Sir William Peterson. Strands from these diverse sources were so intertwined as to effect the demise of the McGill Normal School; the establishment of the School for Teachers at Ste. Anne de Bellevue, and the appointment of its first head, George H. Locke, as professor of the History and Principles of Education; and the creation of the Macdonald Chair of Education, located on the McGill Campus, and the appointment of its first Professor, J. A. Dale.

As the title and contents of *Memorandum No. 8* of 1891 indicate, the term, Normal School, was in general use in America by the end of the nineteenth century. In fact, so established had the name become that in virtually all countries, save the United Kingdom, institutions for the training of teachers for public elementary schools are referred to, in texts published in English, as normal schools.² The nineteenth century usage of the term normal school has clouded for the late twentieth century a clear understanding of the origin and development of the term and the institutions so designated.

Historical Development of Normal Schools

The term "normal school" is the English version of the French *école normale* which may have gained credence from Sarah Austin's translation of the "Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia" which Victor Cousin presented to the French Minister of Public Instruction and Ecclesiastical Affairs in 1831. In this translation she replaced the term *écoles normales* with the expression "primary normal schools (*Schullehrer Seminarien*)."³ In like manner, French texts and encyclopedia, writing of the United States, call their *écoles normales* "normal schools" but "*en Angleterre, les écoles normales d'instituteurs et d'institutrices sont appelées 'training colleges'.*"³

Developments in France and the United States

The legal use of the term *école normale* in France first appeared in a law of October 30, 1794, approved by the National Convention (1792-1795), the successor of the Constituent Assembly and Legislative Assembly of earlier years. Educational historians have inferred the existence of the idea in Rolland's

Report (1768) which "proposed a national system of education to replace both the schools of the Jesuits and those of the Brothers of the Christian Schools," and "a higher normal school to train teachers for the Colleges (secondary schools),"⁴ and in Mirabeau's (1789) proposal for "The Organization of a National Lycée."⁵ Incorporated with these ideas has been the proposition of Condorcet (1791) that teachers for each grade of school should be prepared in the school above.⁶ This proposition would require that a school exist higher than the lycées, to prepare teachers for the lycée, and saw its fulfillment in Lakanal's bill submitted to the National Convention for the creation of a national normal school. The original *école normale*, "where citizens of the Republic already schooled in the useful sciences should be taught to teach", engaged distinguished teachers such as Laplace, Lagrange, and Berthollet, but was open only from January to May 1795, after which the trainees were to return, each to his own district, and there open new *écoles normales*, though apparently none was established.⁷ Commenting upon this phase, Cubberley, writing in the early twentieth century with twentieth century nomenclature, said of it, "a normal school, though, it hardly ever was."⁸ Its later resurrection under a decree of Napoleon of March 17, 1808,⁹ would see it more properly described as an *école normale supérieure*. This latter decree established *un pensionnat normal* for three hundred young persons who were to be trained in the art of teaching the arts and sciences – i. e., for teaching in the lycées. It was to this *grande école* that Victor Cousin, then 18, went in 1810. He was later to become *un répétiteur* or tutor there, and later still, the professor of philosophy and director. As Compayré indicated, the failure of the first *école normale* was not too tragic – it was an example which had been given, and the name for it had been found, in Lakanal's words – "*Ecoles normales – parce que ces écoles doivent être le type et la règle de toutes les autres.*"¹⁰

The 1794 decision of the National Convention "to create in Paris an *école normale* where citizens of the Republic already instructed in the useful sciences should be taught to teach" raises several issues: that individuals could be trained to become teachers; that teachers should have received training; and by whom and under what terms should training be provided, if indeed it were provided. Support for the proposition that training could produce teachers rested on the same tenets that training could produce members for other professions; that all teachers should be trained before employment raised issues of control versus freedom, issues still unresolved in many countries even today. Victor Cousin reported that the Prussian educational reforms, initiated after the defeat at Jena, and drawing upon the work and ideas of Pestalozzi, as developed in the Prussian law of 1819, invoked *Schulpflichtigkeit*, or the duty of parents, i.e., "the strict obligation of sending their children to school unless they were able to prove that they were giving them a competent education at home."¹¹ The law continued the foundation of primary normal schools, *Schullehrer Seminarien*, in major towns, one for each department of the state. Each normal school would have approximately seventy pupils, age 16 to 18,

who would remain for three years, after which each successful candidate would be required, by contract, to teach for ten years in the school or schools to which he was assigned. But, exceptionally, "clergymen or skilled schoolmasters may train up masters for either village or town schools" under the supervision of a government appointed inspector.¹²

Under the Guizot Law (1833), France did not impose compulsion upon parents, granted equal rights to public and private schools, and, whilst primary education was not necessarily free of charge, indigent children were permitted to attend without payment. Thirty more normal schools were created, and, having abolished the exemption of members of religious orders from examinations for the teaching certificate, the Law proposed "that no schoolmaster should be appointed who has not himself been a pupil of the school which instructs in the art of teaching, and who is not certified, after a strict examination, to have profited by the opportunities he has enjoyed."¹³

In the United States, until the mid-nineteenth century, education was equated with the possession of knowledge and teaching as the imparting of the knowledge possessed. Hence it was important that there should be absolute mastery of just what was to be taught and one way of showing this was to demonstrate the ability to cope with the knowledge of the next higher grade – reflected later in the "lock-step" attributes of school systems. The oft-quoted exception to this general trend was the publication in the *Massachusetts Magazine* of 1789 of a letter attributed to Elisha Ticknor, in which he advocated the abolition of all the Latin schools, and the spending of the money on common schools, each presided over by a teacher who has been examined and certified as competent to teach the common subjects. In the early years of the Republic, of course, only the "first families" were in any position to secure for their children an education which stretched over more than a few scant years. By the 1820s a few voices were being raised in favour of some seminary for the provision of teachers for the district schools, and such a school was formed at Bethel, Maine, by a missionary from Vermont; the school however became more noted, historically, as the first to teach written composition to all its pupils.

It was Samuel Hall, the aforementioned missionary, who in 1823 wrote the first American text on teaching – *Lectures On School Keeping* – which proved to be a best-seller. At the same time, in Massachusetts, plans were being advocated for a training school where every one "would acquire a thorough grounding in the subjects the student is preparing to teach, [follow] a course of study upon the science and art of education, and [where] there would be a practice school."¹⁴ But at the same time many schools were following the monitorial practices advocated by Bell and by Lancaster and their affiliated or supporting organizations.¹⁵ Great attention was given to the statement by Bell in extolling his Madras system, "Give me 24 pupils today and I will give you

24 teachers tomorrow." In England, for example, schemes based upon the Lancasterian model produced, at Borough Road in London, the school that would be destined to become the first teacher training college (normal school) in that country. In New York State, on the other hand, the business of providing teachers was being left to the academies which added to their regular curriculum classes in the principles of teaching. There, whereas the 1827 Act of the State Legislature provided funds to, *inter alia*, "promote the education of teachers," the 1832 Report of the Board of Regents took what would now be regarded as a market-oriented viewpoint, when it said "the academies should become the nurseries of the instructors for common schools, leaving it to the interest of individuals to prepare themselves for the business of teaching, to the interests of the academies to provide the means of their preparation, and to the liberality of the school districts to offer sufficient wages to secure their services."¹⁶

Persistent lobbying in Massachusetts led to the legal creation of a board of education in 1837, which, at its first meeting, elected Horace Mann, then president of the Massachusetts Senate, as its secretary. In a private capacity he attended a meeting of supporters of the establishment of a seminary for teachers, one of whose members promised a donation of \$10,000 if the state would match the gift. This tactic often operated in reverse in which case the state would provide some funds and the locality would provide funds and/or premises for a normal school. By this means the first normal school, for the training of female teachers, was set up in Lexington, and a second one for both sexes at Barre. The New York model of using the academies was thus rejected, a fact not unassociated with the growing awareness of the contents of the Cousin Report (*vide supra*), either in the form of the Sarah Austin translation or as the *Digest* prepared by J. Orville Taylor, described as the Professor of Popular Education in the New York University, published in Albany in 1835.

At the opening of the Massachusetts normal schools Governor Everett embraced the Horace Mann precept that "the first business of a normal school consists in reviewing and thoroughly and critically mastering the rudiments or elementary branches of knowledge." The second part was the art of teaching, and the third important subject was that of the government of the school. Finally, "in the aid of all the instruction. . . there is to be established a common or district school, as a school of practice in which, under the direction of the principal of the normal school, the young teacher may have the benefit of actual exercise in the business of instruction."¹⁷ The prodigious labours of the first principal, the Rev. Cyrus Peirce, to ensure its success included, in addition to the preparation and giving of lectures, the tending to the heating furnace in winter, sweeping snow from the steps, ensuring a supply of water, and shovelling the paths in order that his charges should not be deterred from their studies and their chosen profession. His success may be measured by the fact that some years later 122 out of a possible 154 students who completed the

course were teaching in the common schools of Massachusetts. The four hours of sleep he allowed himself daily contributed to his breakdown in health. Even so, within twelve months of the opening of the two normal schools 184 out of 430 members of the House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts voted for their abolition.

Background of British Normal Schools

In nineteenth century Britain, to the already existing social divisions were added religious differences between the Established Church, often associated with Tory politics, and Nonconformist denominations of more radical tendencies. Nowhere did this seem more apparent than in the field of education, and within education with the training of teachers. In 1801 Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker, opened a large one-room school at Borough Road, London, and "inscribed over it, 'All who will, may send their children and have them educated freely, and those who do not wish to have education for nothing may pay for it if they please.' His inability to pay assistants forced him to devise the plan of employing older scholars to teach the younger." Thus was born the monitorial system forever associated with his name. His organizing ability helped him to succeed but his impecunious behaviour sowed the seeds of his downfall. Subdividing the children into small classes, each class was assigned to a monitor, and one senior monitor organized the junior monitors. The whole was subject to disciplinary constraints, which gave an impression of military precision. Soon over one thousand boys were enrolled at Borough Road. Lancaster's greatest moment arrived when King George III sent for him and said, "It is my wish that every poor child in my dominions should be taught to read the Bible."¹⁸ Lancaster's system found some response in New York and Philadelphia, and later in Montreal. Lancaster himself died in New York in 1838 following a street accident there.

A somewhat similar but less ambitious system, the Madras system named for the place where it was first observed and employed by Dr. Bell was appropriated by the Anglican Church which wished to see the education of the poor under their control, both as to catechism and content. Where Lancaster's supporters created the Royal Lancasterian Society in 1808, Bell's supporters, among whom were to be found the Archbishop of Canterbury and senior bishops, responded by creating in 1811 the National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church. The Andrew Bell Trustees collected money and used it to establish schools, and with the advent of compulsory schooling they used the surplus to endow two chairs of Education (*vide* 39 *infra*). In 1810 other Quakers who had taken over the financial control of Borough Road formed the Institution for Promoting the British System for the Education of the Labouring and Manufacturing Classes of Society of Every Religious Persuasion, a title further changed in 1814 into the British and Foreign Schools Society. When, in 1833, public money was first

voted for the support of education (originally £20,000, and by 1839 £30,000) the money was simply handed over to the two societies for the building and support of their schools. As the numbers of these schools increased (and the National Society had some 230 schools with over 40,000 pupils by 1813) so also increased the number of monitors required. Lancaster had met this problem as early as 1805 when he began to board some of the monitors whom he was training. In that sense he had started the first residential training (normal) school in Britain.

The term "normal school" never attained the same degree of popularity in Britain as it did in France and the United States. Probably there were only four such instances. England created a Normal School of Design and later a Normal School of Science, Scotland had a Normal Seminary, and Wales had a Normal College. The Normal School of Design was created by the Select Committee of Council (of Parliament) in 1836, and an annual grant was given to it from 1841. Later it was absorbed into the Board of Trade as the Department of Practical Art, and then as part of the Science and Art Department before, in 1856, becoming a part of the newly created Department of Education. The later development of the Normal School of Mines was created by Donnelly (the modern Major General of W. S. Gilbert) in 1881, and Thomas Huxley was its first principal. It emerged much later as the Imperial College of Science. In Scotland, David Stow in 1826 founded the Glasgow Infant Society, which organized a school for infants, a model school, and a normal school. These were taken over by the Glasgow Educational Society which extended the Normal Seminary, as it was then entitled, to train more teachers. It received two parliamentary grants and eventually became the Free Church Normal (later Training) College. Its principal at the end of the century was John (later Sir John) Adams who was to play a role, at the beginning of the next century, on the Quebec educational scene.

In Wales the Nonconformists by 1850 had set up 90 schools under the British and Foreign Schools Society but were having difficulty in finding trained teachers to staff them. Intending teachers from Wales were advised to go to Borough Road, both for the excellence of the instruction and for the chance to improve their knowledge of English, especially spoken English. It was also cheaper to have students go to London than to set up a satellite college in Wales. Unfortunately for the plan, the monitorial system was abolished in 1846 to be replaced by a pupil-teacher system, which required every intending teacher to be apprenticed for five years from the age of 13; the passing of an examination, the Queen's Examination, at the age of eighteen, followed by training in a college for one or two further years. Schools in receipt of government funds were required to appoint trained teachers. At a meeting in 1856 in one of the leading Nonconformist chapels in Bangor, North Wales, it was resolved: "In order to secure the needful supply of teachers for the British schools in North Wales, a normal college for the education and training of

teachers be forthwith established."¹⁹ The task of raising the necessary funds for its establishment from the various chapels in Wales took some years, the government giving only £2,000 in support. The college finally opened in temporary premises in 1858 and in its new premises in August 1862. Unlike all other training colleges established by the British and Foreign Schools Society its control was vested in a local management committee. In line with the tenets of the British and Foreign Schools Society it is undenominational, and it preceded the building of the first university colleges in Wales (Aberystwyth in 1872, Cardiff in 1883). It played an important role in the development of Welsh education. It is still active today.

As noted above, the end of the monitorial system and, in part, the realization that the task of educating all children could not be sustained by charity alone but required government support, also meant the end of the system of *memoriter* learning. This left the way open for the introduction of aims based upon the work of first Pestalozzi, then, later, Herbart and Froebel. The protest against verbalized teaching was led by Dr. Mayo and his sister who had visited Pestalozzi's school at Yverdon in 1819 and returned to set up a similar school at Epsom, for the children of upper middle-class parents, where Dr. Mayo taught until 1846. In the interim the Home and Colonial Infant School Society was founded in 1836 and began to train teachers specifically to work in such schools. Toronto Normal School drew upon this society for some of its inspiration, and was instrumental in helping towards the success of the Oswego Normal School (*vide infra*). But equally important for the training, certification and advancement of teachers was the creation of the College of Preceptors, established in 1846 and incorporated in 1849. It began to produce examinations for teachers, and its certificates of A.C.P. and F.C.P. (Associate and Fellow, respectively, of the College of Preceptors) were highly prized. In 1872 it named Joseph Payne as the first Professor of Education in Britain. Shortly thereafter the residue of the Andrew Bell Trust Fund (*vide supra*) was used in 1876 to endow chairs of Education at Edinburgh (Laurie) and St. Andrews (Meiklejohn). Each appointee bore the title of Professor of the Theory, History, and Practice of Education. The lectures which Payne delivered in England, on the History of Education and the Great Reformers, the Philosophy of Education, and Psychology Applied to Education, set the pattern for most subsequent university departments of education, beginning with Cambridge in 1879.

For many, the most important event of the mid-century was the appointment of Dr. James Kay, later Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, as the Permanent Secretary of the Committee of Council of Education (of Parliament), a post he held from 1839 to 1849. He had had experience as a Poor Law Commissioner and had developed a pupil-teacher system for the education of pauper children, first at Norwich and later in London. In his new role he was able to introduce this system into general use and bring to an end the monitorial system of Bell and Lancaster. Prior to that in 1840 he founded, with private funds, an Institution for the Training of Parochial Schoolmasters at Battersea. It was here that the phonic method of teaching reading was first practised in England. Kay-

Shuttleworth hoped it would be the first of a number of state normal schools but when he failed to gain parliamentary approval Battersea was handed over to the National Society. With the National and the British Societies each having training colleges the pattern was set for voluntary control of teacher training institutions in England and Wales until 1890, and left schools organized on a denominational basis until the Act of 1870 which created school boards.

Education advanced by a series of small steps, some forward and one at least backward. The creation of the Education Department in 1856 was a forward step, the Revised Code of 1862 which introduced "Payment by Results" was a backward step. The reports of the inspectors set up by Kay-Shuttleworth were now sent to the Department of Education as well as to the managers of denominational schools, and government grants were still paid to the two societies. A big step forward was the creation of school boards, elected to provide education for the area for which they were responsible. At these elections women could vote and stand as candidates, something not possible at parliamentary elections until after the First World War. School building went forward rapidly, and in 1897 the school boards were given the power to compel attendance if they so desired. Children with sufficient attendance, who had reached Standard IV at age ten, could leave school, and irrespective of attendance and standing they could leave at age 13, but children could stay until 14 if they so desired. A new set of rules, arrived at by a committee of inspectors, and department officials, broadened the range of subjects which could be taught, and improved the standard of inspection. Pupil-teacher centres were created where these postulant teachers (pupil-teachers) would attend to complete their own formal education.²⁰

Two powerful movements came to fruition in the 1890s. Faced with increasing competition from Germany and the United States many in Britain raised the question of technical inferiority and demanded that the educational system should provide more systematic teaching of science and engineering subjects. Some of this coalesced with the report of the Technical Education Commission in 1884. The founding of several university colleges gave an opportunity when many of them appointed scientists as their first principals. Cambridge was finally persuaded by the money and influence of the Duke of Devonshire to establish a research laboratory named after the Duke's ancestor, Henry Cavendish, but for many years failed to provide it with a permanent location within the university.

The second movement was a consequence of the tripling of the school population during the years 1870 to 1890, and of the school building program undertaken by the school boards. There was a great need for more trained teachers. In that same period only eleven new residential training colleges had been added to the thirty-three already in existence. The Birmingham School Board on behalf of many school boards had requested permission to use its

powers of taxation to set up its own teacher training college but had been refused. Others thought that the use of local taxes granted equally to denominational bodies was the key to produce more training colleges. Meanwhile some fourteen university colleges had been opened, four of them entirely for women located within the two older universities, the other ten all being in industrial areas. (They were later to be dubbed civic universities when they obtained full university status.) The notion grew that these ten university colleges might establish nonresidential training facilities to produce a higher level of teacher for the schools which were increasingly, through their "higher tops," providing a more than elementary education. The Cross Commission in 1888 had reported in favour of day students at both universities and university colleges, and in the regular training colleges. The Code of 1890 permitted them only in the former. Seven university colleges agreed to this in 1890, Cambridge in 1891, and Oxford in the following year. Thus began the Day Training Colleges. Pupil-teachers who, from age 14, had gone through the five-year cycle of preparation, i.e., as teachers (and had passed the Queen's Examination with a first-class standing) were to be allowed to attend a university (or university college) day-training department for three years, instead of the customary two at a training college, with financial support for the three years in return for a promise to teach for ten years. This would permit successful university graduation. One such former pupil-teacher enrolled as a day student at Oxford in 1896 and later became McGill's second Macdonald Professor of Education, Sir Fred Clarke.

In this handing of power to County Councils, London was a special case. Although there was a London County Council (LCC), the London School Board continued to exist. It even survived the next major Education Act of 1902, and it required a special Education (London) Act (1903) to regularize the position. However, in 1893 the LCC had set up a Technical Education Board under powers granted by the government. Its president for the first eight years was Sidney Webb, later Lord Passfield, and its first permanent secretary was Dr. William Garnett. Sidney Webb who wrote *Facts for Londoners*, and contributed to *Fabian Essays in Socialism* (1889), was elected for the constituency of Deptford in the LCC elections of 1892.²¹ He was a thoroughly organized and informed individual who co-opted fifteen teachers to the Board and laid out a comprehensive plan for what he called his "vast capacity catching machine." By means of evening schools, by support of all schools, by the creation of polytechnics, and by scholarship funds he set out to discover and reward "the hidden treasures of genius and ability and practical wisdom which, as we believe, exist in almost as large a proportion among the children of the poorer sections of the community as among those more favoured in pecuniary fortunes."²²

At that time London possessed no teaching university, though one university college and several teacher training colleges were located there.

London University was merely an examining university, which awarded degrees and certificates, including from 1883 a "Diploma in the Art, Theory and History of Teaching." Webb, through the Technical Education Board, supported measures to create a teaching university and in 1898 the London University Act gave it a new charter. When Webb decided that there was a science of education, then pedagogy could be regarded as a technical study and hence could be supported. The London School Board, still in existence, but functioning under the LCC, did not have the power to set up a teacher-training institution though it had several pupil-teacher centres. In June 1901 the LCC "adopted a report and recommendations from its Board relating to the creation of a day training college for men and women, the college to be under the Council's control but conducted in accordance with the regulations of the Board of Education and in conjunction with the university."²³ The report suggested that students could read for a bachelor's degree concurrently with their professional training. "The most interesting and important suggestion, however, was that the Senate should at once appoint a professor of the theory, history and practice of education and that this professor should be the principal of the proposed institution."²⁴

Normal Schools in Quebec and Canada

In October 1902 the London Day Training College opened under the principalship of the professor appointed by the university, John Adams, later Sir John Adams, who was subsequently to play an important public and private role in Quebec education. As his biographer noted, "the year 1902 was another important landmark in Adams' career. He visited Canada; published an account of the Protestant schools of the province of Quebec; was appointed principal of the London Day Training College; and became the first professor of education in the University of London."²⁵ After a series of temporary occupancies the College moved into newly built premises in Southampton Row in 1907. They were furnished by the LCC, who paid Adams' salary to the university. In 1908 it gained provisional acceptance as a School of the University, and this was finally confirmed in 1931 when its title was changed to "University of London Institute of Education" (incorporating London Day Training College). In the long course of the negotiations leading to this, it had received powers to recommend students for the degree of M. A. in Education, and D. Lit. and later the Ph. D. It has become one of the world's pre-eminent institutions of higher education for teachers.

Canada, too, had its denominational Protestant rivalries and had, in addition, to contend with the provisions of the Quebec Act of 1774 where "for the more perfect Security and Ease of the Minds of the Inhabitants of the said Province, it is hereby declared, that His Majesty's Subjects, professing the Religion of the Church of Rome of and in the said province of Quebec, may have, hold and enjoy the free exercise of the Religion of the Church of Rome,

subject to the King's Supremacy. . . ; and that the Clergy of the said Church may hold, receive and enjoy their accustomed Dues and Rights, with respect to such Persons only as shall profess the said Religion."²⁶ These religious differences were further confounded by differences of language and an immaturity in the exercise of democratic political control. Power was vested in governors and governors general, and the legislative councils which were appointed by them. Legislative assemblies where they existed had little power.

In educational matters, private schools were set up and the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning was created in 1801, which was charged, *inter alia*, with the setting up of free or common schools. Unfortunately, M. Plessis, the Bishop of Quebec, led the opposition to the project, while the Royal Institution in its turn objected to the Methodists making use of one of its schoolhouses. The Fabrique Act of 1824 permitted the creation of one or more schools in each parish, but few were opened. On the other hand, education was a sufficiently important topic for the Assembly to spend much time discussing it – but largely as a means of seeking political control – and such legislation as was passed was usually designed to be of limited duration. In Lower Canada there was a Standing Committee on Education and Schools, and a Quebec Education Society, employing Lancasterian methods, existed. Many schools were built in the Eastern Townships as well as in the cities. Branches of the two English voluntary societies were set up in 1822 as the National and Foreign Schools Society and the Canadian Schools Society. Power was given to local boards of trustees by the Syndics Act of 1829 so that more schools could be opened, and soon approximately one-third of all children could receive some form of schooling. The Rebellion of 1837 brought to an end this period of the growth of common schools. Following the union of Upper and Lower Canada into the single province of Canada in 1840 under a new governor general, attention was focussed again upon education, less apparently for the sake of education but more as exercises in gaining political influence and control.

The new governor general, Charles Edward Poulet Thompson, a free trade member of the British Parliament for the newly enfranchised city of Manchester came to Canada with the promise of a title (Lord Sydenham), rather than to serve as the head of the Board of Trade at Westminster – a position he had held in a previous government. He had been educated privately, mostly in Leningrad and Moscow, where he also served on behalf of the family business. He had a reputation of being a witty, urbane individual, and a good administrator, with a good knowledge of languages. But in action he was devious, opposed to the Assembly, seeking to enlarge his own powers and to rule more by fiat than persuasion, relying on his appointed council to carry out his policies. More recently, in 1990, it has been remembered that he was the governor general who, as a possible reward to the Catholic clergy, which, during the Rebellion had counselled support for the lawful government, and for their possible future support, conducted a series of deals with the Seminary of St. Sulpice through

Father Chabanel, later Bishop of Quebec. He confirmed to them previously disputed land titles to the fiefs of St. Sulpice and Lake of Two Mountains, several thousand acres of land, which were to remain untaxed by the government. In return they were to educate more Catholic clergy and the poor of the parish of Notre Dame. There have been strong hints of chicanery in the passing of the Education Act of 1841, and even doubts as to his signature giving assent to the Bill before he died.

The elected Assembly of 1841 had 84 members equally divided between Canada East and Canada West. Canada East had twenty-two anti-Unionists, nineteen Unionists, and one Independent; Canada West had twenty-seven Reformers, eleven Tories, and four Independents. The anti-Unionists had French and English Reformers and Conservatives; in Canada West there were moderate Reformers and ultra-Reformers, moderate Tories and Family Compact Tories. All alliances between such groups were bound to be of a temporary nature, changing even from day to day.

The Education Bill was introduced on July 20, 1841, by the Solicitor-General Charles Dewey Day, later to be both Principal and Chancellor of McGill. He was a Vermonter who had settled in Montreal and was a presiding judge at the courts martial after the 1837 Rebellion, and one who handed out stiff sentences. The Bill as introduced was for a public and secular system of education for both provinces – as advocated by Charles Mondolet whose letters on education, published at this time, were well received.²⁷ Day subsequently wrote that "the measure was but a part of the great general system of national education which could take place in not merely the establishment of Common Schools but also of Model, and more especially of Normal Schools which would train up young men to act as teachers and instructors of this system. The establishment of Common Schools would be the foundation upon which all the rest would lie."²⁸ After second reading the bill was referred to Committee. One group wanted it referred to the Committee of the Whole House, others to a Select Committee of five legislators. In the end a committee of 23 members was set up, seven being the quorum. According to one of the members, at the third reading on September 14th, clauses X1 and XV1 were not read, but were re-inserted when it was sent to Lord Sydenham, the Governor General, for signature. The editor of the *Kingston Chronicle* concurred (in those days Parliament met at Kingston). Hodgins²⁹ has provided parallel texts of the Bill as presented and as ratified.³⁰ On the 5th of September, Sydenham who suffered from gout, fell from his horse, broke his right leg and opened a deep wound above the knee. After a few days his condition deteriorated, and he suffered spasms, intense stomach pains, and constriction of the throat from Sept 12th onwards. Parliament was due to be prorogued, so he arranged for General Clitherow, the senior military officer, to act for him.³¹ He "prorogued Parliament on the morning of the 18th at twelve o'clock, giving at the same time, the royal assent or reservation to the bills which had all received Lord Sydenham's

decision, and almost all of them his signature." After dictating his will at about two o'clock on the 18th Sydenham was alone with his secretary and his chaplain until his death at seven o'clock on Sept. 19th.³²

As Audet, the Quebec educational historian, writes, "Sections 11 and 16 of the Act were significant for their special provisions. For the first time in educational legislation the rights of the minorities were mentioned. Section 11 stipulated that when the conditions in the public schools are unacceptable to any number of persons it shall be permissible for the said dissident persons to signify collectively their dissidence and to establish schools which satisfy their needs. Section 16 defined the school organization for cities and towns which differed from that of rural municipalities. It called for a Board of Examiners divided into two departments – one composed of Roman Catholics and the other of Protestants."³³ (This was one of Mondelet's suggestions.) The essential elements of these two sections were incorporated in the 1867 legislation establishing a Dominion of Canada. Other elements of the 1841 Act established the position of superintendent of education, and the rights of municipalities to raise taxes to provide schools and support education, a right of taxation much deplored by the French, who were less amenable to being taxed. Although one post of superintendent of education was legislated, in effect, two were appointed, Dr. Ryerson for Canada West and Dr. Meilleur in Canada East, and these two shared the salary of the post.

The Normal Schools of Oswego, Worcester, and New York City

From the success of the Lexington Normal School established in Massachusetts in 1839, and under the continuing impact of ideas from Europe, further developments took place in the provision and conduct of normal schools. Three of these developments are worthy of special mention: Oswego, for its introduction of Pestalozzian ideas; Worcester, for the introduction of child study methods; and New York City, for the introduction of undergraduate and graduate degrees for those engaged in the study of education.

The Normal School at Oswego in upper New York State arose as the logical consequence of an attempt by the logically minded superintendent of the local schools, E. A. Sheldon, to improve the teaching in the lower grades of the elementary school. He sought to replace the *memoriter* methods of learning, i. e., the learning by rote of the printed content of textbooks, by an approach to which the children of the poor (many of them undisciplined and of Irish descent) could relate. Getting rid of the textbooks and substituting only pictorial material without printed explanation only upset the teachers. Fortunately Sheldon paid a visit to Toronto, where in a shop window he saw, readily available, educational material of the kind he was seeking. This, in turn, led him to the Toronto Normal School created by Ryerson, following the terms of the Canadian Common School Act (1846), and which was opened in 1847, just

eight years after Lexington. There Sheldon found, "to his surprise and delight . . . much more than he had ever hoped for. There were natural history pictures . . . published in London by the Society for the Promotion of Knowledge, (which in its school in London). . . were employed Krusi, the son of Pestalozzi's associate teacher, and Renier, who was associated with Pestalozzi at Yverdon. Indeed the (London) establishment was an embodiment of Pestalozzi's ideas and principles."³⁴

Returning to Oswego, Sheldon worked hard, in school and out, to help his first grade teachers with the new material and the new approach, before, in the next year, continuing with the second grade teachers only to discover that his first grade teachers were being "snapped up" by neighbouring school boards at higher salaries than he could afford to pay. Therefore, in 1860 he obtained his board's permission to establish a training school attached to a high school to train still more teachers. This training school became a source of attraction to other superintendents and principals of other normal schools, and the "Oswego System of Object Instruction" became a popular topic at teachers' conventions. Its success was recognized in 1866 when its title was changed to that of Oswego State Normal School.

In 1871 Massachusetts authorized the building of a state normal school at Worcester, one which opened in September 1874. Worcester is important for two reasons: it started with an apprenticeship system and it required of its students that they undertake studies of the children they were to teach. The apprenticeship system operated towards the end of the second year when students would be attached to a particular teacher and school in Worcester but remain under the direction of the head of the normal school. The student would take part in the instruction, management, and general teaching work of the school; would act as a substitute for the teacher for lengthy periods, sometimes of more than one day at a time. This was in contrast to the more usual practice in normal schools of observing a model lesson given by a professor and then attempting to teach the same or a similar lesson in the model school. Extensive notes of daily activities and observations were kept. In the study of children, the texts of Sully and Bain³⁵ were in use, as well as texts of physiology, and those dealing with the mind/body dualism.

Education at Columbia

For many reasons the New York College for the Training of Teachers, the third one of these schools, was the most important not least because opinion was hardening that the normal schools were at an educational level equal only to that of high schools. It arose from the Industrial Education Association, in itself the successor to the Kitchen Garden Association which had tried to train some of the local girls in domestic duties. The Industrial Education Association's stated objectives were to facilitate the introduction of manual training

into the high schools. But where were the teachers of manual training, and if any such were to be trained would they be other than artisans or craftsmen? The first president of the Association, Mr. (later Dr.) Nicholas Murray Butler, assistant in Philosophy, Ethics, and Psychology,³⁶ with the connivance of President F. A. P. Barnard of Columbia, in 1887 asked permission to establish a course in pedagogy, a request which was refused. President Barnard in 1881 and 1882 in his Presidential Reports³⁷ had made strong pleas for the introduction of pedagogy into the Columbia curriculum, citing evidence of existing professorships, of Laurie³⁸ and Meiklejohn³⁹ in Scotland, and recent creations at Iowa, Michigan, and Wisconsin, but his pleas had fallen on deaf ears. In like manner his attempt to introduce co-education to Columbia only resulted in the creation of the separate Barnard College. Butler's request was refused on the grounds that few Columbia students would attend, and that the biggest attendance, if any, would come from noncollegiate students, and these would be mostly women.

Butler agreed to become a full-time president of the Industrial Education Association only if its scope was changed. With the philanthropic help of the Kitchen Garden Association's founders, the former home of the Union Theological Seminary was rented and a model school, renamed as the Horace Mann School, was secured; manual and industrial training were to be emphasized and special classes for teachers were planned for late afternoons, evenings, and Saturdays. A state charter was obtained in 1889 and in 1892 the name was changed to Teachers College. The charter authorized the trustees of the College "to grant and confer the degree of bachelor of pedagogy upon any person of the age of 20 years and of good moral character upon the recommendation of the faculty of the said college, setting forth that the candidate for the said degree has completed the course of study in the said college to the satisfaction of the faculty, and to confer the further degrees of master of pedagogy and doctor of pedagogy upon such conditions as to them may seem proper."⁴⁰ An attempt to become an integral part of Columbia after a five-year trial period was rejected, with the co-educational part again being a condition of rejection, but it was allowed the same-status relationship with Columbia as was enjoyed by Barnard College. But by 1900 the *Annual Report of Columbia University* testified that new agreements had been made with Barnard College and Teachers College, so that while retaining their separate existence, they each had become as much a part of the University as if their whole work was conducted under the university charter.

Pedagogy at other universities

Reference has been made above to the creation in certain universities of professorships of Pedagogy, or of Education, or History and Science of Education. Some of these were to grow into schools of education. One such was at the University of Chicago, itself established in 1892 by the philanthropy of

John D. Rockefeller. Under its first President, William Rainey Harper, and backed by the Rockefeller money, it was able to attract an excellent staff, helped by some extensive poaching from Clark University of staff who had been the core of the graduate school there. One aspect of Harper's tenure was the development of a University of Chicago Press for "William Rainey Harper considered his publication program to be the vital cement that would bind his whole vast academic edifice together."⁴¹ One such publication was the *School Review*, issued by the School of Education, at first under the editorship of John Dewey in January 1893 but from 1900 to 1906 under the editorship of George H. Locke, then a professor in the School, with John Dewey as one of the members of the editorial board.

McGill's Normal School

Legislation affecting teacher education

The first normal school in North America had been legislated by the House of Assembly of Lower Canada in 1836 – *6 Wm IV, C. 12*⁴² – which in its preamble said: "In order that the liberal encouragement granted to public instruction by the Legislature may not be unavailing, it has become urgently necessary to provide for the Establishment of normal schools from which Masters and Teachers properly qualified may be procured."⁴³ On the calls of the mayors of Quebec City and Montreal meetings of individuals of certain required qualifications were arranged, and committees of ten were created to prepare for and organize a normal school for each city. The government was to give an initial establishment grant and provide annual sums for expenses and teachers' salaries. A deputation was sent to Europe to secure the first teachers. Those appointed for the school in Quebec City never arrived, but both those for Montreal did and the normal school opened at the corner of Cathedral and St. Antoine Streets.⁴⁴ The training of females, where there were five or more applicants, was entrusted to the Ursuline Nuns at Quebec and Three Rivers, and to the Congregation of Notre Dame in Montreal. They met with more success than did the Montreal Normal School. Two Boards of Examiners were created in Canada East in 1846, and Meilleur, Superintendent of Education, sought to include experienced teachers on these boards. They would, in the first instance, decide whether or not teachers appointed by the local school boards of trustees set up under the Act of 1846 were qualified or not. At the same time he suggested three levels of diplomas and that three kinds of schools – model, academy and normal – should be able to produce a supply of teachers, always provided that the academies and model schools should be given the necessary funds to do the job. These proposals were obviously based upon American practice. School Inspectors were then appointed to help in securing some uniformity throughout Canada East, for the creation of more and more boards of examiners introduced widely differing criteria of approval. Finally an act was passed in 1851 (*14-15 Vict. Ch. 97*) "called The Inspectors' Act which bore

the preamble 'An Act to provide for the establishment of a Normal School.' "⁴⁵ Because of opposition it never functioned.

Chauveau, who succeeded Meilleur in 1855, looked again at the question of normal schools, and noting the American and British positions on state versus voluntary control, and the need for a Christian education, but recognizing the rights of conscience, proposed a solution by opening several normal schools to provide more freedom of choice and respect for individual rights. If the legislation were loosely drawn, then the government would have the latitude to fulfil these separate requirements. It was after the receipt of Chauveau's Report of 1856 that an act for establishing normal schools in Canada East was passed (*19 Vic. c.54*). ⁴⁶

Teacher education in Montreal

Meanwhile the Colonial Church and School Society had been active in establishing schools, and to provide teachers for them it opened a model school in Montreal and proposed to set up a normal school. Mr. W. H. Hicks, from England, was engaged and the model school opened in 1853. The normal school attracted few students but the model school prospered. Hicks was reluctant to use the monitorial approach, and was given the services of two local teachers to cope with the 180 pupils in the model school. By 1855 there were twenty-two students in the normal school, and the Society was receiving government grants for its operation.

It was at this time that McGill appointed William Dawson as its principal. Dawson who had been a student at Edinburgh and had a good reputation in Natural History, being a friend of Lyell, England's foremost geologist, and known by Huxley and Darwin amongst others, received the letter from McGill on the very day that he heard that a chair of Natural History at Edinburgh, for which he was an applicant, had been filled. Through Lyell he met Sir Edmund Head when he was governor of New Brunswick, and had travelled with him from England to Halifax on the same steamer. When Head was later appointed Governor General of Canada, he advised the governors of McGill to make Dawson their principal and Dawson was formally invited in a letter from Chancellor Day. After arrival in Montreal Dawson was asked by his governors to visit Head in Toronto to solicit funds for the university. This entailed a perilous and roundabout journey via Albany and Niagara in midwinter 1855.⁴⁷ Chauveau's proposal on normal schools was about to be presented to the Legislature by Cartier, and had been promised Head's approval. Head suggested that if McGill would associate itself with the project and support one of the normal schools, that would help McGill indirectly in the way of securing better prepared students. Chauveau and Head went further and suggested that Dawson, who, when superintendent of education for Nova Scotia had opened the normal school at Truro, should also accept the principalship of what became the McGill Normal School, in addition to that of McGill itself.

The Act was passed on October 6, 1856, and made operative by an Order in Council of January 30, 1857. Following Chauveau's advice the act was loosely drawn and Chauveau then issued on the same date, October 6, 1856, a set of Regulations for the Establishment of Normal Schools in Lower Canada, consisting of thirty-four chapters or sections. There were to be three normal schools, one to be affiliated to Laval; a second in Montreal, Jacques Cartier, which opened in the Chateau de Ramezay; and McGill. The first two were for Catholics and instruction would be given in French, but English would be taught. At McGill it would be for Protestants, the instruction would be in English but French would be taught. In the event, Laval University refused the charge and Laval Normal School was run by the superintendent and the government directly. The "art of teaching" was to be the major subject of instruction but there was a long list of other subjects to be taught. There were to be ordinary professors, who would be full-time appointments, and associate professors who could hold part-time appointments, and the three classes of diplomas – elementary, model, and academy – were to be offered, dependent upon initial qualifications and the length of training undertaken. Laval and Jacques Cartier had to provide separate model schools for boys and girls, and pupil-teachers must teach the children in the model school of the same sex as that to which they belonged. McGill Normal School enrolled female and male teachers in the same class, at a time when the parent university was teaching women in separate classes. Dawson justified this on the grounds that in the Normal School the majority of students were female and all its students were under a more severe disciplinary code than those in the university.

Arrangements with the Colonial Church and School Society enabled McGill to take over their model and normal school, guaranteeing employment to Mr. Hicks and with a promise to complete the training of its pupil-teachers under the rules and with the conditions under which they had been enrolled.

Ryerson, from Upper Canada, where the Toronto Normal School was already in operation, recommended to Dawson the service of S. P. Robbins, who came to McGill and served it faithfully as ordinary professor and later as principal of the Normal School for the next fifty years. The McGill Normal School opened on the afternoon of March 3, 1857, with an enrollment of thirty-five women and five men. Later in the same year McGill conferred the degree of LL. D. on Dawson; Edinburgh, having conferred the M. A. in 1856, was to confer the LL. D. in 1884. He became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1862 and was knighted in 1882.

Dawson occupied the dual position of principal of the University and the Normal School until 1870 when Professor Hicks took charge. A series of attacks upon the functioning of the School, in particular one by I. E. Rexford, the Secretary of the Protestant Committee, brought about the illness of Hicks and he resigned in September, 1883, in favour of S. P. Robbins who remained until the Normal School closed its doors in May 1907. During the fifty years of its existence the School graduated approximately sixty teachers per year for a grand total of 2,989. Since more than that number of teachers was employed

in Quebec's Protestant schools, it is obvious that a great many teachers were still being approved by Boards of Examiners, including some who had failed the Normal course. Meanwhile Dawson continued as McGill's principal until 1893, and a search for his successor was, in 1892, entrusted to one of McGill's prime benefactors, Donald A. Smith, later to become Baron Strathcona. He was "member of Parliament for Montreal West, governor of the Hudson Bay Company, a principal shareholder in the Canadian Pacific Railway and President of the Bank of Montreal, (thus) he had his eye on the imperial scene as the stage on which to play his final role."⁴⁸ His choice fell upon William Peterson, Principal of the newly endowed and recently created University College of Dundee, at that time a teaching university without the power to confer degrees. (Students sat for the external degrees of London University.) A classical scholar of some distinction, Peterson wished to see his College incorporated into the older, established degree-granting St. Andrew's University, and remained in Dundee until that had been arranged in 1895. Peterson, too, has been described as being cast within the imperial mode. It is certain that he returned to Britain each year from the end of the May term until the beginning of the fall term, usually in October.

Peterson was a skilled administrator, and presided over a great expansion of McGill, with many changes introduced, both administratively and in terms of building expansion, much of the latter through the generosity of his next door neighbour on the Prince of Wales Terrace (now the site of the Bronfman Building), Sir William Macdonald, who proved to be McGill's greatest benefactor. Macdonald was a stubborn man, determined to carry out plans of his own creation in his own way. Peterson always believed that the only way to convince Macdonald was through the provision of facts and economic argument. One of Macdonald's early benefactions of direct value to education was the payment for a survey of the Quebec Protestant Schools in 1902, a survey carried out at the suggestion of Peterson. Peterson's choice to carry out the survey was a fellow Scot, Sir John Adams, formerly of Aberdeen and Glasgow, recently chosen as London University's first Professor of Education. The visit took place between the 23rd of April and the 30th of June, and the Report, printed by the University of Aberdeen Press (whether on the grounds of confidentiality or price, is not known) does not appear to have been addressed either to Macdonald, to Peterson, or to the Protestant Committee. Many of the one hundred and thirty-seven pages of the Report repay reading today, and many of his remarks on the role and position of the English minority are still relevant.

On his visits he was accompanied by H.M. Tory, from McGill's Department of Mathematics, a future president of the Universities of Alberta and Carleton, and founder of the Science Council of Canada. With due regard to the cost of the survey Adams was careful to point out that "in no case did we spend any time in school hours in doing anything else than visiting schools."⁴⁹ The Report lists all the academy, model, special secondary schools, and city of Montreal schools visited and speaks of the 120 district schools also visited. He

taught classes in many schools, and observed many teachers at work. He commented favourably on the city of Montreal schools, where there was a separate superintendent of schools, and half-yearly promotion. Promotion to their secondary schools was by competitive examination. He found that their secondary schools did not "fall into line" with the general provincial system of district schools, model schools, and academies. District schools offered four years of elementary instruction and had one teacher; model schools must have two teachers, one of whom must have a model school diploma, whereas an academy must have three teachers, one of whom must have the academy diploma. To Adams, the model school was an elementary school with a higher department and he found no justification for the name, suggesting instead that a grade system would be better, with grades I-IV, V-VII, and VIII-X. "Generally speaking," he says, "model schools have a run down look," but "academies are excellently provided in the way of buildings," and of those he saw in Montreal, with the exception of Ann Street, "can stand comparison with similar buildings anywhere."⁵⁰

"The teacher then is the crux of the whole question. Given a good teacher all the rest follows,"⁵¹ but for school boards the emphasis was on finding a teacher, any teacher, and often as cheaply as possible. Much of the blame he placed on the annual contract for teachers which led to an annual withdrawal from the pool of elementary teachers of 20 to 25% each year, and to 82% changing schools from one year to the next. At the model school level he found excellent female principals but, with exceptions, "the ordinarily poorly paid Principal is at his post because he can find nothing better to do."⁵² The training provided at the Normal School for elementary school teachers was either for four months (for those with higher entrance qualifications) or for nine months for the others, the former receiving an elementary diploma and the latter receiving an advanced elementary diploma. While the prospectus of the Normal School states that its essential work is training to teach, Adams found that much of the work was such as would be found in a higher grade school (English terminology). What he termed the "mere culture subjects, the matters afterwards to be taught to pupils" were not too well known, and he believed that in the Normal School they were not dealt with as a study of pedagogy but as a high school course.

The McGill Normal School and the Macdonald Chair of Education at McGill

In order to qualify for the academy diploma, graduates of British or Canadian universities were required to spend fifty half-days at the normal school and to pass an examination on the subject matter of a course of lectures on pedagogy.

Yet the results are far from satisfactory. There is a singular hostility in the tone adopted towards the Normal School by Graduates who have gained their Academy Diploma after their course there. They have little good to say about their training. . .

their attitude is more that of tolerant contempt than anything else, an attitude very familiar to all who have had anything to do with the practical training of Teacher Graduates.⁵³

He attributed the cause to the fact that the practical part of the work was done outside of the University and by non-University officers.

The only cure is to raise the subject of Education to University rank and associate the Professor of Education with what is now, by a convenient figure, generally known as the clinical work of his Chair. The new university at Birmingham began by including Education as an integral part of one of its degrees: the other Universities of the same rank are following the example: in the Scottish Universities, Education has for some time ranked as a regular Arts subject.⁵⁴

He underlines that

... it is cause for regret that there is not yet a Chair of Education, or even a Lectureship in that subject in McGill University. In view of the specially close connection between the University and the Education of the Province there is a claimant need for such a Chair. McGill, which is admirably equipped in other directions cannot afford to lag behind in such an important department.⁵⁵

Adams returns to the charge at several later points in his Report. For example, "if the experience of other countries supplies any guidance, the Province must look to the University to supply the breadth of view that is absolutely necessary to check the natural tendency among teachers to routine and rule of thumb."⁵⁶ Again, "the closer the tie between the McGill University and the Teaching Profession, the better for the Profession in the Province."⁵⁷ And, most strikingly, in the final paragraph of the Summary of the Report, "We must look to the University to maintain the status of teachers in the Province. There is great need for a Chair of Education at McGill in order that the standing of the subject may be acknowledged and that the Professor – through his connection with the University on the one hand and the Normal School on the other – may establish that correlation between theory and practice that enables teachers to make the most of themselves and their pupils."⁵⁸ Here indeed was a powerful array of facts, and opinions based upon facts, that Peterson might use at a later date. The immediate result seems to have been a healthy friendship which sprang up between the two Scotsmen, born within a few months of each other, but from different educational traditions. Later, Adams seems to have functioned as the agent of McGill, or certainly the eyes and ears of Peterson when the question did arise of recruitment to McGill.

Armed with the Adams Report of 1902, with its emphasis upon the teachers and their training, the logical next step was to conduct some examination of the McGill Normal School itself, its buildings, staff, curriculum, and

role in Quebec society. For this purpose a Canadian was chosen, Professor G.H. Locke, of the University of Chicago School of Education, who was familiar with both Canadian and American practices. He had graduated with honours in classics from the University of Toronto in 1893, stayed on for an M.A. and held a one year's appointment as lecturer in classics, all attributes likely to attract Peterson. He spent two years at Harvard as Professor, substituting for a professor on sabbatical leave, and there he introduced, for the first time in the United States, university-supervised teaching practice for university graduates. On moving to Chicago he was a professor in the School of Education and served under John Dewey who was the editor of the *School Review*, published five times a year by the School. He later became managing editor, and his editorial comments on a wide variety of topics were of a very high order. The *School Review* was regarded as the leading American publication on secondary education. He met Peterson several times and made his formal visits to the Normal School on December 8, 9, and 10, 1903. By early January Peterson was asking for an early report, since the Normal School was seeking government funds. In reply Locke said that he was making a thoroughly practical report calling for action upon the first things, and saying, "I believe that the improvement of the material environment of the children in the Model Schools and of the students in the Normal School the great necessity."⁵⁹ A handwritten Report dated December 29, 1903, followed.

The Report criticized the building which, "in its original state may have been useful and ornamental but as it stands it has neither of these virtues."⁶⁰ The lighting was fair, the ventilation poor and the walls dirty. The library and reading room was "a dreary place" and intending teachers could not there acquire any of the social graces by which teachers might improve their role in society. Even so, it was better than the model schools. How could lessons in domestic economy, physiology, and hygiene be conducted in such surroundings without contradicting the theory upon which they were based. He could hardly find words adequate to express the effect made upon him by his visit to the model schools. If money were available he would advise a new building. He liked the idea of a McGill professor coming to deliver lectures on science to normal school students, but felt it would be better if the McGill laboratories were thrown open to them as well.

He was particularly concerned with the effect upon the one hundred or so females, from all parts of rural Quebec, from farming families and others, having to live in boarding houses in Montreal. How much better to have a hostel with amenities, and space for them to practice their domestic skills acquired from their course in domestic science. The principal of the Normal School was a lecturer in McGill University to the few students preparing themselves to teach in academies, but with no course mapped out. Here was an opportunity for McGill unique, in Canada, to match Columbia University with its Teachers College, the University of Chicago with its School of Education, and with

Harvard moving in the same direction. "My recommendation," he wrote, "is that the person who is head of the Normal School be Professor of Education in McGill University, thus making more definite and dignified the relation that now exists." And he added, "there seems to me to be no good reason why in this way McGill should not in the very near future be placed in the front rank of American universities and be the Canadian representative of progressive educational practice."⁶¹ He indicated that courses on the history of education and on educational theory would be given in the University by the Professor of Education. The course in the history of education might very well be given in the third year of the College course, and as at Harvard, and at all great universities be counted towards any arts or science degree – just as the History of Government or any other such social institution.

With this ammunition to hand, what would Peterson do? On the one hand he had to deal with his board of governors, and on the other with the Protestant Committee, and the Teacher Training Committee, as well as his own inclinations for the changes he saw as necessary. His major benefactor, Sir William Macdonald, became interested in the consolidation of schools, initiated in Quebec by the Protestant Secretary of Education, Dr. Parmelee, as saving the district schools, and ending some of the rural isolation. At the same time through the Macdonald-Robertson enterprise, and influenced by the work of Adelaide Hoodless, a tireless campaigner for the teaching of domestic science, Macdonald had opened a Macdonald Institute at Guelph. It was apparent that he had ideas about perpetuating the name of Macdonald through the creation of Macdonald Chairs, by donating Macdonald Park, and by building the Macdonald Engineering Building. He had already assisted greatly in the introduction of manual training into schools, and into the Normal School. His interests around 1904 turned to rural problems, and horticulture and agriculture. A building to respond to these needs was planned by him, and finally located at Ste. Anne de Bellevue. We know now that three schools were located there, and that the College was affiliated and under the control of the corporation of McGill, but was it always intended to be that way? Snell⁶² suggested that that was always the intention; Frost disagrees.⁶³ It is not easy to decide which path Peterson was following.

It was known that Robbins was to retire from the principalship of the McGill Normal School so that a replacement was necessary. Should his successor be drawn from within, the favoured candidate being Professor Kneeland, Professor of English? Should search be made outside? In Canada? In Britain? In the United States? What of Adams' suggestion for a Chair of Education within McGill? Unfortunately Peterson's correspondence has not always been filed, so there can only be speculation. It is known that some letters from English and Scots correspondents spoke of a head for the Training College, but some of the American correspondence had reference to the Chair of Education. Even his friend Sir John Adams was confused. The building of

Macdonald College was begun in April 1905, though later the contractors left the site and it had to be built by local labour. On November 28, 1905, the newspaper, *The Witness*, reported that the Normal School was not going to Ste. Anne after all. On Dec 14th it suggested that it might go to Quebec City. A move in the Legislature to end teacher training was defeated but a move to provide residences for women from country districts attending the Normal School was supported. There were suggestions that the Protestant Committee was ruled from Montreal, and that a Normal School should be located in or near Sherbrooke. Stanstead College offered training facilities for Methodists within their College. An extensive debate took place in the legislature in late February 1906, reported in full in the *Montreal Herald* of the 28th.

In November and December, 1905, letters to Peterson from various officials in Westminster, in the Board of Education, and the Scottish Branch, suggested three names, Gettins, Dumville, and Whelpton, as good candidates for the head of the Training College. (All subsequently achieved academic recognition in Britain.) But letters in November of 1906 were obviously concerned with the appointment to a chair, and names such as Findlay, who went to Manchester, and Keatinge, who was Reader at Oxford, were suggested. Two letters from Dean Russell of Teachers College, Columbia University, in June 1906, clearly implied consideration for a chair of education, two such names being Cubberley and Suzzallo, both of Stanford. Two other professors were also suggested, both being Canadians by birth. There was one interesting footnote. Russell expressed the hope that Peterson would find his man on this continent. Russell said he knew the men who count for something in England and Scotland and was sure his own listed men were better. "England in particular has a long way to go before arriving at what I consider to be a fair understanding of public education." Elsewhere he was to say, "Please give a further word as to what you intend and I will write you more at length."⁶⁴

By November 1906 word was coming from the Board of Education in England, confirmed by a contact in the Scottish Office, that J. A. Dale was the man. He was described as the most useful, and most brilliant member of their inspecting staff for university training departments. "He is, as you know, an A1 scholar (in classics). . . he is also an extraordinarily keen and able metaphysician and psychologist, and he has the soundest judgment on matters of pedagogy amongst all my acquaintances – bar none."⁶⁵ It was suggested that he might be "borrowed" for a couple of years, though he could ill be spared at the Board. "He is a charming man, a most taking lecturer and of course a master of all the real field of educational thought."⁶⁶ In March 1907 Dale was writing to ask if it were possible to be told whether or not his services would be required in that year, and in May he was rejecting an "experiment" – presumably two years secondment followed by a possible job offer – but agreeing to meet Peterson when he "came over." Presumably that was when he received a definite offer, for the Annual Report for 1906-7 contained the advance notice

that an appointment had been made to the endowed Macdonald Chair of Education in the Faculty of Arts in the person of J. A. Dale, M. A., of Merton College, Extension Lecturer in Education and Literature in the University of Oxford. He took up his appointment in September 1908. A series of lectures was given in the academic year 1907-08 by Mr. E. B. Sargent, Educational Advisor to the High Commissioner for South Africa, who returned the offered fee in order to provide books for a working collection of books for the new Chair of Education.

Macdonald College for teachers

The Annual Report for 1906-7 contained news of Macdonald College, of a report laid before the Corporation of the University on October 21, 1906, that the College would be :

1. For the advancement of education; for the carrying on of research work and investigation, and the dissemination of knowledge; all with particular regard to the interests and needs of the population in rural districts.
2. To provide suitable and effective training for teachers and especially for those whose work will directly affect the education in schools in rural districts.⁶⁷

There was a formal statement of membership of the Normal Training Committee of Macdonald College. Of the eight members, one would be the Professor of Education in McGill University. Earlier in the report it was clearly stated that "it had been from the very first, part of the declared intention of the founder of Macdonald College to make effective provision, on modern lines, for the training of teachers, especially the large body of elementary teachers whose work lies in the rural schools of the Province,"⁶⁸ but nowhere does it state who was appointed to take charge. From correspondence of G. H. Locke with Principal Peterson it appears as though Peterson asked him if he were interested. Locke had resigned from Chicago at the time of the retirement of its first president, W. Rainey Harper, and at the advent of President R. M. Hutchins, and to tend to his sick wife. He had taken employment on a temporary basis for Ginn and Company in Boston, but intimated that he missed his academic contacts and contacts with students. Apparently he was not clear as to what he was being offered by Principal Peterson. In terms of his own report he thought it might entail a Chair at McGill linked with control of the Normal School, but he was prepared to bow to Peterson's desires and judgments. Perhaps he should be flattered in reading the Annual Report for 1907-08 where he must have read:

Another department of the Faculty of Arts in which a forward movement is to be noted is that of Education. The work of the Teachers' Training School at Macdonald College is now to be supplemented by a fully-endowed Chair of Education at McGill itself; and the interrelation of these two agencies will enable the

University to take rank henceforth, in this department, with some of the most progressive Universities of the United States. Columbia, for example, has its Teachers College and Chicago its School of Education: and now in McGill we have succeeded in putting the Training of Teachers pretty much in line with the other Professional Faculties – Law, Medicine, Applied Science and Agriculture.⁶⁹

Summary

We have now come full circle. Without the development of normal schools there would have been no McGill Normal School on Belmont Street, no Teachers College at Columbia with which to rank, and no Chicago School of Education from which to draw someone to report on the McGill Normal School and to become the first head of the School for Teachers. Without a Normal Seminary in Scotland there would have been no John Adams to report on Protestant education and to point out the need for a Chair of Education at McGill. Without Sidney Webb and his Technical Education Board there would have been no London Day Training College to give Sir John Adams the first London Chair of Education, and without the Adams and Locke reports no School for Teachers at Macdonald College at Ste. Anne de Bellevue. But without Principal Peterson, his Oxford friendship with P. A. Barnett, his knowledge of the work of Laurie and Meiklejohn, and his ability to persuade Sir William Macdonald to provide the money for the endowment of the first Chair of Education at McGill, there would have been no appointment as the first holder of that Chair of James A. Dale.⁷⁰

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NOTES AND NUMBERED REFERENCES

1. This was three years after the establishment of County Councils (1888), followed by three successive Acts of Parliament which gave to these County Councils the right to levy taxes for technical education (1889), the allocation of parts of the proceeds from a tax on whisky for the same purpose (1890), and given power to

- award scholarships (1891). By Regulations of the Board of Education, University Day Training Colleges were set up in 1890. In the following year Sidney Webb became Chairman of the London County Council's Technical Education Board.
2. In the U. K. they are referred to as Training Colleges, with or without the prefacing word Teacher.
 3. Compayré, G., in *La Grande Encyclopédie*, p. 375-376.
 4. Cubberley, E.P. (1920a), p. 510.
 5. Cubberley, E.P. (1920a), p. 512
 6. Cubberley, E.P. (1920a), p. 514
 7. Watson, F. Vol. iv, p. 48
 8. Cubberley, E.P. (1920a), p. 517, footnote.
 9. Marion, H. *La Grande Encyclopédie*, p. 369. See also Barnard, H., *American Journal of Education*, Vol. xx, p. 324.
 10. Compayré, G., *La Grande Encyclopédie*, p. 374.
 11. Cousin, V., *Rapport sur l'état de l'instruction publique en Prusse*. Paris, 1831 (Translation by Sarah Austin). London, 1834, pp. 105-108, in E.P. Cubberley (1920b), p. 486.
 12. Ibid.
 13. Cubberley, E.P. (1920b), p. 459. See also *Inventaire*, p. 374.
 14. Carter, J. C., in *The Boston Patriot*, 1824. See also Gordy, p. 13.
 15. Watson provides separate information upon Lancaster, p. 480, and a comparison of Bell and Lancaster, p. 950. See also Leach, F. (1968), *History of education in Great Britain*, 7th Edition, pp. 206-210. London: University Tutorial Press. *The Dictionary of National Biography* provides a good account of Alexander Bell and his work.
 16. Reports of the Regents of the University for 1882, pp. 10-12 (excerpted in Gordy, p. 28).
 17. Gordy, P., p. 44.
 18. Watson, F., p. 481.
 19. Bangor Normal College Centenary Publication, 1958.
 20. The wide divergences between the standards and effectiveness of school boards in towns and cities and those in rural areas raised pressure for a more uniform system, but the rural areas under the control of the church and the squires resisted any such move. They gained their point, but as a sop the Prime Minister conceded the abolition of school fees in all elementary schools in 1891, and the same per capita grants were paid to board and voluntary schools alike. The next step was to reduce the number of school boards, and prevent the continued emergence of new politicians who had learned their politics and administrative skills around school board elections and their administrative practices. This was done by handing over the control of education to the recently formed County Councils, which contained all areas not occupied by chartered towns and cities, and to towns and cities. Elections to office in these were not open to women nor did women have the right to vote at such elections.
 21. Margaret Thatcher was not elected there in national elections in 1950 and 1951.
 22. Armytage, W. H. G., *Four hundred years of English education*. Cambridge: University Press, 1970, p. 175.
 23. *Jubilee Lectures of the Institute of Education*, 1951. London: Evans Bros., 1952, p. 201.
 24. Ibid, p. 214.
 25. *Dictionary of National Biography*.
 26. Reid, J. H. S. et al., *Source book of Canadian history*. Toronto: Longmans Green, 1959, p. 57.

27. Morgan, H. J., p. 536.
28. Rexford, O. B., *Teacher training in the Province of Quebec*. McGill University. M.A. Thesis, 1936, pp. 50-51.
29. Hodgins, J. G., *Documentary history of education in Upper Canada*. Toronto: Wm. Briggs.
30. Adams, H., *The education of Canadians 1800-1867*. Montreal: Harvest House, 1968, p. 47.
31. Morgan, H. J., p. 406.
32. Morgan, H. J., p. 385.
33. Wilson, J. D., Stamp, R. M., & Audet, L. P. *Canadian education: A history*. Scarborough, ON: Prentice Hall, 1976, p. 172. See also Rexford, O. B.
34. Gordy, P., p. 63.
35. Watson, F., p. 138. *The Dictionary of National Biography* has fuller details on Bain. Bain was the author of the widely used text, *Education as a science*. See Compayré, G., *History of pedagogy* (Translation by W. H. Payne). Boston: D. C. Heath, 1903, pp. 556-563 for a commentary on this text. Sully, a protégé of Bain, and friend of William James, was the author of *Outlines of psychology*, and of *The teacher's handbook of psychology*, texts which were used by James at Harvard before he produced his own texts.
36. In those days a professor was the titular head and had one or more assistants. Butler at that time was an assistant.
37. Butler, N. M., *Across the busy years*. New York: Scribners, 1939.
38. Watson, F., p. 963.
39. Watson, F., p. 1068. Both these chairs were endowed from surplus funds of the Andrew Bell Trustees. See Leach, F., p. 556. Principal Peterson was at the University of Edinburgh when Laurie was there and at Dundee when Meiklejohn was at St. Andrews.
40. Gordy, P., p. 107. He had noted on p. 106 that the College was not to provide a secondary education. All entrants must have had a secondary education.
41. Brubacher, J. W., and Rudy, W., *Higher education in transition*. New York: Harper, 1958, p. 185.
42. The legal expression for an act passed in the sixth year of the reign of King William IV, being the 12th Act of that year.
43. Audet, L.P. Ibid, pp. 175-178.
44. During the Rebellion the School was used to house an in-lying piquet (a mobile guard of local volunteers) and so presumably was unable to fulfil its proper function. Of its supervisory committee, the president was L. J. Papineau, its secretary was T. S. Brown, and its treasurer was Mayor Viger. After the Rebellion the president, secretary, and Dr. O'Callaghan, a board member and member of the Legislature were charged with High Treason.
45. Audet, L.P., Ibid, pp. 175-178.
46. Ibid.
47. Dawson, J. W. (1902). *Fifty years of work in Canada*, p. 50. London & Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson and Co. (Sir Charles Lyell was the foremost geologist of his time.)
48. Frost, S. B. (1984). McGill University: Montreal., p. 5. McGill-Queens University Press. In the earlier volume pp. 292-293, dealing with the election of Donald Smith as Chancellor, Frost noted, "It (the choice) proved a crucial one. It gave Smith the determining voice in choosing a successor to Dawson, and thereby it put McGill firmly under those imperial influences which were to characterize it so profoundly in the early decades of the new century."

49. Adams Report, p. 1
50. Adams Report, pp. 9-11.
51. Adams Report, p. 22.
52. Adams Report, p. 28.
53. Adams Report, p. 39.
54. Adams Report, pp. 39-40.
55. Adams Report, p. 41.
56. Adams Report, p. 42.
57. Adams Report, p. 43.
58. Adams Report, p. 137.
59. MGA. Letter: Locke to Peterson. Jan 7, 1904.
60. MGA. Locke's Report, p. 1.
61. Ibid, p. 9.
62. Snell, J. F. (1963). *A history of Macdonald College*. Montreal: McGill University Press.
63. Frost, S. B., *vide supra* 48.
64. MGA. Letter: Russell to Peterson.
65. MGA. Letter: P. A. Barnett to Peterson. Barnett was a contemporary and personal friend of Peterson at Oxford in the 1870s. He became a university lecturer, and later one-time Principal of Borough Road Training College. At the time of his letter he was responsible for the supervision for the Board of Education of all university teacher training departments.
66. Ibid.
67. McGill University Annual Report for 1906-07, p. 11.
68. Ibid, p. 9.
69. McGill University Annual Report for 1907-08, p. 9.
70. Edwards, R. (Unpublished Manuscript). *The First Macdonald Professors of Education*. 1908-1935.

Reginald Edwards, now Professor Emeritus in the Department of Educational Psychology and Counselling, McGill University, has taught at universities in England, the United States, and Canada. He was a one-time president of the Comparative and International Education Society, and has been a contributor to several journals and the World Year Books of Education. He was the first elected McGill Senator from the Faculty of Education.

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Teaching School in the 1890s

Abstract

These letters of a young teacher, John Fowler, give a picture of teaching in a one-room school in the 1890s. The letters tell of his relations with parents, pupils, trustees, and people in the community and describe the living arrangements of a teacher in a remote region of the United States.

Résumé

Ces lettres d'un jeune professeur, John Fowler, brossent un tableau de l'enseignement dans une école à une seule salle dans les années 1890. Ces lettres relatent les relations entre ce jeune professeur, ses parents, ses élèves, les membres du conseil d'administration et de la communauté et décrivent les conditions de vie d'un professeur vivant dans une région reculée des États-Unis.

Almost one hundred years ago a young man named John Fowler began his first year of teaching at a school called Bald Point, located in a remote, hill region of northeastern Kentucky. His letters, dated in late summer, 1898, describe the unusual problems he encountered in his relations with students, parents, school trustees, and people in the community. Although the original letters, when discovered, had been trimmed to remove all salutations, personal greetings, and the identity of the writer or recipient, it is obvious that Mr. Fowler was communicating with another teacher who was just beginning his/her teaching career.

Evidently Mr. Fowler, as well as the person to whom he wrote the letters, had attended a teachers' institute. It is not known where it was located, but it was most likely in some small town near Lexington, Kentucky, or Cincinnati, Ohio, cities that were within a short distance of the school where Fowler taught. Although the General Assembly of the state of Kentucky passed legislation

creating a Normal Department at the A & M College at Lexington in 1880, the majority of the teachers of one-room schools still received most of their basic teaching instruction at summer and spring teachers' institutes (Birdwhistell, 1990).

While these letters deal very little with such matters as educational research, curriculum development, school counselling, or second-language studies, they do give us a humorous picture and delightful insight into what it was like to teach in an isolated one-room school in that era.

**Letter One: The School House, the Boarding House,
the Trustees, and the Pupils**

July 25, 1898

. . .[I]t (your letter) was real welcome for I have been waiting to hear about your school and teach a few days before I tell you about mine. I must say you need not envy my job for it has so far been just awful to me and I am hoping things will improve. Since you want to know how I am making out teaching I will give you the whole story of the happenings the past week, both at school and here at the boarding house and then you can form your own opinion. Joe and I started from home Sunday morning about 6:30 in the buggy and as I had already arranged to board with Mr. Moore, the trustee, when I applied for the school we knew our destination.

We reached here about 1:30 in a pouring rain which had been coming down for nearly an hour. When it slacked up enough we got my luggage out of the buggy and unhitched the horse, then we sat on the porch until after five o'clock. After it ceased raining we (Joe, Mr. Moore, and I) went to the school house to look it over. The school house is built of logs and is 16 x 20 feet and is about 1/2 mile from here. It has eleven seats, two of those having desks about 8 inches wide, a small wood stove with a rusty pipe extending to the loft where it joins a stone chimney that extends thru the clapboard roof. What is intended for a blackboard is 30 inches wide by 5 feet long without any paint except around the edges. I immediately told Joe to send me some black paint.

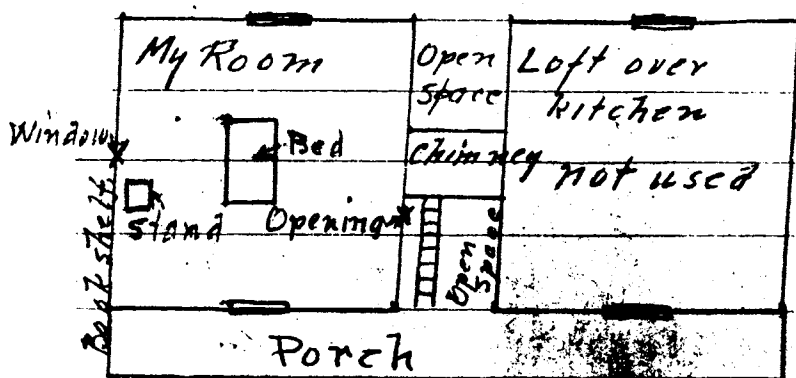
While we were in the schoolhouse, we saw two large lizards that had taken over and no doubt wondered what we were doing in their habitation. We next went outside and looked over the graveyard by the side of the schoolhouse where 35 persons have been buried. Mr. Moore pointed out to Joe where they would bury me and asked him if he did not think it would be a nice place. He no doubt meant it all as a joke but I, not being in a joking humor, did not appreciate it. After inspecting the schoolhouse we came back here to the boarding house. It is a two-room log house with a large stone chimney extending up between the two rooms. One room is the living room and bedroom combined and the other is the kitchen. There is no door connecting the two rooms so in order to get from one to the other, one must come out on the porch that extends the full length of the house.

Shortly after we got back to the house we had supper that consisted of cooked apples, mutton, and corn bread. Joe thought it real funny as he knew I did not like corn bread. After supper, we sat on the porch until bedtime. When we were ready to go to bed I found that everyone slept in the same room. There were four beds and there were 11 to sleep in that room – Mr. Moore and his wife, the five children, the hired man and the hired girl, and Joe and myself, making a total of eleven people. I decided right there that I could not live there under those conditions so the next morning I got busy to see if sleeping conditions could not be improved. I could see that there was an upstairs and I also saw an opening to the upstairs on the outside near the chimney, so I asked Mr. Moore what was in the loft. When he told me they did not use the loft I asked him if there was any objection to my sleeping up there and he said there was none if I could get up there. I assured him I could use a ladder by placing it against the chimney and crawl thru the 30 inch square hole into the loft. By having my sleeping quarters in the loft I could have my possessions out of reach of the five children all of them being under 10 years old.

After threshing out the sleeping problem and a promise that the place would be ready for me when I got home in the evening I went to help Joe hitch up and his only comment was: "You sure got a paradise."

You can take his meaning as you like. It was hard to tell him goodbye as I felt that when he was gone I would then be completely alone in my first job among strangers that would be watching the teacher's every move.

When I got home from school I went up the ladder and crawled thru the hole into the loft over the living room. When I was inside of my sleeping quarters, I was in a regular community of wasps and mud-daubers on the rafters. In order that you can get a better idea of the arrangement of my sleeping quarters I am drawing you a plan.



Copy of original drawing of
Mr. Fowler's living arrangements (1898)

My window is just an opening 14 x 20 inches without glass and my door is also just an opening with no way of closing it.

Sometime in the past the loft has been used for hanging up meat to cure, and the hickory withes provide a hanger for my clothes and hat. They have given me a small stand about 18 inches square with two drawers that serve for keeping my writing material and some small articles. My chair is the fruit box in which I brought my books and the bookshelf is on the top log where I keep my books and clock.

The ticking of the clock is real company for me. The bed is in the center of the room and is without springs or mattress.

A tick filled with corn husks rests on slats and is not too bad if the tick is frequently stirred up and since I have the job of making my own bed I can see that it is comfortable. I have said quite enough about my boarding house so will now tell you of my first week at teaching.

I might mention here that it has rained some every day the past week which has helped dampen my spirits and make it more depressing.

I started school Monday morning by going early, alone. You see I wanted to get things all ready for the pupils when they would come crowding in. I opened up the windows, then took the stub of a broom to sweep the floor and brushed down the spider webs. I next went to the nearest house for a bucket of drinking water and on my way I passed by a corn field. As I passed along the field a woman's voice called out from among the corn: "Be you the teacher?" When I told her I was, she said that her Mary would start to school as soon as the corn was laid by. I told her I thought Mary should start at the beginning but she undoubtedly felt the corn was of more importance than an education. Shortly after I got back to the school house one of the trustees came, then a little later two girls and a boy came. Before 8:30 another boy and another one of the trustees came. I opened school with four pupils and two trustees. I take it the trustees thought I needed them to help me get started. I started by reading the 10th chapter of Proverbs, then I took the names and ages of the pupils, then went ahead with the classes, although the trustees remained until recess. While there, Mr. Moore wrote out a set of rules for the pupils to follow.

The trustees were really there to see how I would do, for that night Mr. Moore said I did fine and then told me Jesse Henderson the first day got so nervous he could not finish the chapter from the Bible. Jesse did not have a pleasant time as some of the children claim they at one time saw him crying.

After the trustees left I did some checking up on what the pupils had studied. Their ages ranged from nine to fourteen years and not one of them had ever had arithmetic, geography, grammar, history, or had ever done any writing with a pen. They had only been taught reading and spelling. To get some idea

of what they knew I asked them who was the president of the United States and the oldest, who was a girl, said "Bryan" [William Jennings Bryan] and that was the same reply from the others. Now what would you say their politics is around here? At the boarding house here, they are good old Republicans and I am glad of that. The question about the president was a history question so I then tried one on geography and asked them to name the capital of the U.S. After some delay the oldest one said, "Isn't it Vanceburg?" and not one could tell me the number of letters in the alphabet. I asked them a number of simple questions and the poor kids just don't know anything.

It makes me wonder what kind of teachers they had but maybe the teachers are not too much to blame as the fault could be due to the children coming irregular or not at all as there is no compulsory law for attendance. Well, I had the faithful four to come four days, then Friday, only three came. This past week has been just awful trying to put in the day as I could not form classes to fill in the time. To put in the time I walked back and forth across the room between classes until I would be completely exhausted. When I got home the first day I went directly to the loft and laid on the bed from 4:30 to 7:00, then got up and took a walk just to be alone as I was really feeling blue. They are giving me plenty to eat and I feel they want to treat me kindly but it is just plain lonesome and I have been feeling homesick but last Wednesday my spirits got a real boost. Mr. Tom Plummer, who has been teaming out here for several years, came out from Vanceburg and arrived here Wednesday evening and that was someone from home. He has a team of four mules and came out here for a load of shingles, the shingles being supplied by Mr. Moore, who has a hand-operated shingle machine. It takes all day to get out here with the empty wagon and nearly two days going back with a load. He was received with open arms as it did me so much good to just talk to him of things at home. I told him how lonesome it was out here and he said he thought it the most lonesome place he ever knew. He said that Harry Aumiller was so lonesome when he taught school here he nearly died, so you see I am not the only one who ever got lonesome here. Talking with Mr. Plummer of the happenings around home was just different to me and I felt better the remainder of the week. I have now told you all about the teaching as well as the conditions here at my boarding house and I hope I have not tired you of my woes, so will write about something else. . . .

Letter Two: Social Life, the Pupils, and Parental Attitudes

August 5, 1898

I got the books Joe sent out with Mr. Plummer when he came out for a load of shingles.

I went to church Sunday night at Tar Fork, and most of the men and women came barefooted. The number of my pupils have (sic) increased and I now have enrolled 16 and am expecting more next week. They tell me I am doing real well to have that many. I have them from four to seventeen years and

all come barefooted. The oldest one is Mary that I mentioned in a former letter. I was told by the pupils and some of the parents that Mary always insisted on having her own way and ruled both teachers and pupils. She is a big, husky girl 17 years old and weighs about 160 pounds and came barefooted and wearing a homespun dress. I was told that she had roughed up two former women teachers and was accustomed to bossing the other pupils but so far Mary has been fine and I hope we do not get into an argument for I'm afraid I would get the worse of it.

In trying out the new pupils on the intelligence test on the questions of who is the president and what city is the capital of the U.S. not one has been able to give the correct answer.

I have put desks on four of the seats and am having them use pen and ink and hope they get something out of it. I have visited four of the homes where they have children school age that are not coming. Two have promised to send their children if they can get books but the other two gave me quite a different reason for not sending their children.

At one place, when I came to the house, the father was sitting in a chair leaning back against the log house whittling a stick. When I told him I was the teacher and was there to find out why his children did not come to school, he came right back with this: "I'm not sending my children to school for you to teach them a pack of lies about the world being round. Read your Bible." And he has not sent them.

At the other home, the father told me he had never gone to school a day in his life and that he had always got along and that the children could do the same and furthermore there was plenty of work for them at home and that he was not going to have them wasting their time at school, so you see there is nothing I can do as there is no law that compels them to go. I am also teaching an 18-year-old crippled boy Arithmetic at home; also, teaching the hired man here how to write and spell his own name.

The time certainly goes slow here over the weekend as there is no place to go or nothing one can find to do to put in the time, but last Sunday I had something funny to happen. I brought with me from home a hammock but did not mention it to the people here so Sunday morning I fastened the hammock to the rafters, then got a book and proceeded to make myself comfortable. We have here a 9-year-old boy that has a curiosity streak and is always wanting to know what I am doing and when I am in the loft I can see him most any time at the opening at the top of the ladder peeking in at me to see what I am doing. This time he saw me in the hammock. Well, he got down in a hurry and called for the father to come quick and see me, then went after the others. Mr. Moore came up the ladder and looked in, then called Mrs. Moore to come, as I was fastened in a spider web. Everybody, including the hired girl, came but none of them knew what the thing was, for he later asked me what it was and I heard

his wife ask him the same question. Of course, he was just joking about the spider web but it was really a curiosity to them. Mr. Stafford has had the Tar Fork School, but the larger pupils have made it so unpleasant for him, they have whipped him out, so he has traded with Edmond Sparks, who has the reputation of becoming the whipping teacher. No doubt you remember what he said at the Institute about the use of the rod in school for discipline and will no doubt carry out his method at Tar Fork.

**Letter Three: A Visit at Home and
Comments on the School and Community**

September 2, 1898

... I was at home the 19th of last month for the second time and I had to walk which was the worst of it – 26 miles.

I will give you a little description of my trip. I commenced school nearly an hour earlier than usual and dismissed the school at three in the afternoon and started immediately for home. I went by way of Ruggles, which place I came just at dark and, of course, I met Fultz with Miss Cooper swinging on his arm. He wanted me to stay all night with him but I refused for I was too far from home to make a stop, for it was twelve miles yet until I could reach home. I had the railroad four miles and I went along very well but when I came to where I had to turn up Kinney [Kinniconick Creek] I had to take the wagon road and then I ran into the mud holes. I then tried to borrow a lantern at a house just before I came to the Tannery Schoolhouse and, of course, they refused me and neither did they offer to ask me to stay all night, but I was determined to not go home that night without a lantern, but when I found I could not get a lantern I started ahead for an idea came in my head while I was talking to the people. It was nearly nine o'clock and at least six miles from home and I had already walked more than twenty miles. As I said before, I started ahead but I did not go very far, for when I came to the Tannery Schoolhouse, I began to look for a way to get in. The door was locked and the shutters were all fastened, but after a time I got one of the latches of shutters unfastened and then I was fixed all right for the windows were already up, and I just threw my bundle in and followed it. I then struck a match and as good luck would have it, there was a lamp in there with oil in it and after lighting the lamp I arranged the recitation seats so as to have a bed. I used my macintosh as a cover and my coat as a pillow; then I was asleep in less than five minutes and remained so until nearly daylight.

As soon as it was light enough to see, I started for home where I arrived between five and six, just in time for breakfast.

I have stayed all night at two of the pupils' homes since I commenced and called on nearly all of them, and I have enrolled 24 which is lacking one of having as many as has ever come here to school, and when they had that number it was a second class school.

I have made desks to all the seats and also one for myself, and I made another blackboard some larger than the one that was there when I came. I have two pupils coming to me that went to John Goddard and by them coming to me it has brought John and I (sic) in communication with each other, for I write a note to him and my pupils give the notes to one of his and by that way we have passed two notes.

This is the settlement where the Underwood war [Underwood-Stamper feud] went on and there have been three persons killed in this house and lots of people say it is haunted, but the only haunts I have seen are the B.B.'s [bed bugs] that I suppose will continue to haunt it.

The people that lived here when that war went on were horse thieves and you can see the place up the holler from the house where they kept the horses.

I went to Soldier [Rowan Co., Ky.] Sat. the 27th. I had not heard from the office for over a week and I thought sure that there would be a letter from you, and I knew that it would be worth the walk of twenty miles if I got one, but I had the walk and did not get any mail at all, but I got back here before dark.

There was a rattlesnake killed near here a few days ago and I took off the skin and dried it and it looks like ribbon. It is three and one-half feet long and if I thought you would have wanted it I would have sent it to you.

When I was home I was telling Joe of my bed friends and I said they would soon leave when cold weather came, but he tries to convince me that I am mistaken by sending me these few lines which he saw:

"The June bug comes in the last of June,
The lightning bug in May.
But the bed bug takes his hat right off
And says I've come to stay."

I expect he is right. . . .

Comments

While the author is able to provide the historical explanation of almost all of the places, people, and events mentioned in these letters, it is not the purpose of this account. The letters are published here to show the dedication of this young teacher to his chosen profession. Not only did he clean and repair the school house, but he constructed desks and teaching aids. He brought his personal library to share with the children.

It is of interest to read how Mr. Fowler administered his "diagnostic" test, or his test of "general intelligence," and how he proceeded to introduce the children to a world of learning beyond simple reading and spelling.

Like the true teacher, his teaching went beyond the walls of the school where he tutored a physically handicapped boy in arithmetic and taught the hired man to write his name.

His letters leave one with the impression that this was a bright, creative young man with keen observations of the world around him and possessed an eagerness to share his knowledge with anyone who wished to learn. His ability to write with clarity and depth of feeling is impressive. He leaves us, though, with so many questions we would like to have answered.

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Curriculums Plural:

The case of English at the English CEGEPs

Abstract

English language and literature at Quebec's English-speaking CEGEPs has been characterized as "curriculums plural," with each department having its own curricular history and methods. Such a practice is quite different from other CEGEP disciplines where the Ministry of Education sets forth explicit syllabi for unified curricula. This anomaly results from a series of arguments and agreements between the Ministry of Education and the English departments, as well as within the departments themselves. Most often, argument has centred not so much on what should be taught as much as who will decide. This article presents a brief history of the forces that have produced the present "curriculums plural."

Résumé

La langue et la littérature anglaises dans les cégeps anglophones du Québec ont toujours été marquées par le "pluralisme", chaque département appliquant sa propre histoire et ses propres méthodes. Cette façon de faire diffère radicalement des autres disciplines enseignées au cégep où le ministère de l'Éducation fixe les programmes d'étude pour assurer l'unité des enseignements. Cette anomalie est le fait d'une série d'arguments et d'accords entre le ministère de l'Éducation et les départements d'anglais et au sein des départements proprement dits. Le plus souvent, on ne se demande pas tant ce qui doit être enseigné que qui doit en décider. Cet article présente un bref historique des forces qui ont abouti au "pluralisme" actuel.

The creation of a curriculum is never neutral. There are always interested parties, promoting either their own well-being or – what often amounts to the same thing – what they see as the well-being of the world at large. Of course, we have to know a curriculum's official statements, its public declarations about itself. But it is at least as important to know its unofficial statements

and history. Only then can we begin to identify its assumptions and their consequences. A curriculum always has intentions, stated or otherwise: It can intend to serve society, the individual, a discipline, a version of universal truth. More generally, of course, if less grandly, a curriculum serves the interests of whatever group can enforce its vision and will. It is always worth knowing whose interests are served, as the story of the English CEGEP curriculum shows.

The Parent Report and Its Effects

Any account of the English CEGEP-curriculum begins with the report of the Parent Commission. Because that story has been told in greater detail elsewhere (see, for example, Edwards, 1990; Gallagher & MacFarlane, 1975; Whitelaw, 1971), it can be summarized here. As both product and engine of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, the Parent Commission's curricular goal was to bring together the study of technologies and humanistic education. Its social goal was even more sweeping: It sought to democratize higher education and make it available to all Quebecers. The traditional elites who had been trained by the church at the classical colleges (*collèges classiques*) were to study with the "working classes" at the CEGEPs. And the place where they were to meet most often was in the core curriculum, of which *langue maternelle* was a crucial part.

However, whatever the social reasons for creating CEGEPs in the French sector, the necessity for creating English CEGEPs was more questionable. English education by the 1960s had achieved many of the Parent Report's goals. It was relatively modern in pedagogy and curricula; it was pluralistic and essentially secular; and it had a good percentage of students who went on to higher education, particularly in science and business. The system of four years of high school followed by four years of university worked reasonably satisfactory. English-speaking students completing their bachelor degrees generally did as well as students from elsewhere in terms of entry into graduate schools, awards, and places in the work force. This is not to say that English-speaking students did not need greater access to higher education, especially vocational and professional training; but it is to underscore that Quebec's two solitudes extended even to educational goals. However, because it would have been politically impossible to create French CEGEPs but not English ones, parallel English colleges were created. And because language and literature were at the centre of one, they had to be at the centre of the other.

The Role of the Universities

The huge logistical problems in setting up a completely new and unique educational level inevitably meant that less attention could be given to the curriculum, at least in the early years. For core English curriculum, the government first turned to a university advisory committee, which by June

1966 had sketched out a curriculum (Quebec English Departments on the Institutes [QEDI], 1966). Citing the Parent's assumptions about students with widely varying abilities, the committee proposed a single basic course with a wide choice of texts "which will immediately interest students" and develop "sensitive readers" (QEDI, pp. 2-3). The report was quite specific in places (for example, how many and what kind of assignments) but did not propose a completely unified curriculum. The committee's February 1967 report spoke of a single course for all students but one whose various instructors could modify it to suit the different needs of different classes.

These early discussions show ambivalence about the curriculum, moving between a quite specific university-like syllabus and Parent's notion of a new kind of student. Given that committee members came from schools with quite different approaches to undergraduate English teaching, perhaps the ambivalence merely reflects an attempt to reach consensus. But another factor contributing to this ambivalence was that the universities had power only to recommend. This meant that, except for the transitional period when they had their own CEGEPs, the universities were to have no real say in what was going to be taught. They recognize this when they write that "certain of these proposals may prove in time to be impossible, or beside the point." Their mandate was to be a "consulting and recommending body to offer what help it can" (QEDI, 1966, p. 1).

While such comments were no doubt meant to be generous to the person who would eventually make curricular decisions, the fact remains that the universities themselves had little commitment to the CEGEPs. Regular English faculty often perceived this new level as a threat to their own positions, or at best an annoyance. University CEGEP staff came mainly from conference leaders and composition teachers – persons who, for whatever reasons, were not to be offered regular posts. They were given great autonomy to design courses with little or no direction. One might conclude that the universities were again being generous; one might also conclude, however, that they wanted little to do with a problem that would soon be transferred to the Ministry of Education.

But given the pressing logistical problems of simply starting new CEGEPs (both French and English), government energies were unlikely to be spent deciding the details of curriculum. Merely getting the schools open was difficult enough. And given also Quebec's inevitable politics of language, the Ministry of Education was obviously reluctant to intervene about the teaching of English. Indeed from the outset, its position has generally ranged from neglect to bemusement. There was to be little Ministry involvement except for logistics. From the beginning, therefore, the English departments at the English-speaking CEGEPs could do what they wished as long as they didn't openly contravene government regulations. The resultant vacuum left by both the university English departments and the Ministry would have to be filled.

The Social Context and the Creation of Curriculum

The Quiet Revolution's nationalism and social change touched English Quebec only indirectly. However, there were still enormous changes taking place in that community when the CEGEP curriculum was being developed in the late Sixties and early Seventies. It was a time of "student power," and schools across North America went through a period of upheaval. From the standpoint of curriculum, the word heard most often was "relevance". Students demanded and often received new courses addressing what they perceived as their needs and interests. What was old was suspect, and this attitude was especially prevalent at the CEGEPs.

Changes in attitudes were not only a phenomenon of students but of CEGEP teachers as well, many of whom themselves had been students in the Sixties. When they were hired, they naturally brought with them their outlooks and ideals about what should be taught. Sally Nelson, an original Dawson English teacher, recalls the prevailing ethos of the early years:

We all had differing visions of 'the good,' but we shared the idea that the old traditional elite education of class distinction, geared to preserve the status quo, the Establishment, was not on We believed in equality, individuality, general consensus, and mutual respect. The director general, the janitor, the teacher, the secretary, the counsellor, the students, would meet together to solve problems and make decisions. (Nelson, 1989, p. 7)

There were, to be sure, dissenting voices about this vision, but in general, it neatly sums up the attitudes that many people brought to creating the CEGEP curriculum.

Dawson College Curriculum

The first CEGEP English department: Selby Campus

As the first English-language CEGEP, Dawson College created the paradigm for curriculum development that other CEGEP English departments were to follow. Dawson valued "openness" in its structures and curriculum. Sister Sylvia Macdonald, who did much of Dawson's early hiring, believed that students did not learn equally well from all teachers and that faculty diversity was therefore essential. To that end, Macdonald hired equal numbers of men and women, as well as people of different races, religions, and classes, consciously producing a very diverse faculty (Sally Nelson, personal interview, December 18, 1989). Faculty, Nelson notes, had *carte blanche* to create its own curriculum: "Everybody simply listed some courses they would like to teach and then we taught them." Whatever curriculum the university committee had earlier proposed (and whatever the Ministry thought of it) simply was not going to be put in place. Indeed, for most of the participants in the curriculum process, the university guidelines were simply irrelevant.

This is not to say that there was unanimity about **what** should be taught. But there was widespread agreement about the **process** of deciding: What would be taught would be chosen by whoever would teach it. Indeed, there was little else that could have been done when Dawson first opened, given the conditions that prevailed. With less than six months between hiring of Dawson faculty and the start of classes, it was hard enough for professors just to design courses without entering into the usual English department arguments about the place of the literary canon, how to teach writing, how much student choice to give, and so on. The curriculum was just one more problem in a host of problems.

However, it would be misleading to say that the resultant wide variety of courses was simply a response to logistics. After the pressures of the first years passed at Dawson, there still remained very deep divisions about the nature of English studies itself, a debate that by no means has been resolved. Again, Sally Nelson comments:

The thing about English is that you can teach English from a sociological perspective, a Marxist perspective or whatever, and you get all these people in the department who are so different and it's the nature of the beast. (Sally Nelson, personal interview, December 18, 1989)

This perspective – what Gerald Graff (1987) has called "the humanist myth" – has dominated English studies throughout North America. Departments include all topics and all subjects in the curriculum as a way of reaching accommodation among practitioners. We will return to Graff later, but for now, we should see that one could not expect the mere passage of time to produce an agreement at the CEGEPs when such agreement was unlikely to be found elsewhere.

Dawson-Lafontaine Campus

A few years after Dawson opened its Selby campus, some of its faculty and administrators opened a second one at Lafontaine. That group sought to create an interdisciplinary curriculum and structure in all subjects. This meant, according to Douglas Rollins who did much of Lafontaine's hiring of English faculty, that they weren't hiring just literature teachers but literature teachers who were also interested in other things – like film, politics, or music. A whole new set of structures was established as well as a new curriculum to reflect that. However, it quickly became evident that Lafontaine's student population entered with decidedly weak English skills. This led to a more structured curriculum than Selby's, with much basic writing taught. Indeed, within two years, all incoming students were tested and most were placed in different levels of remedial English.

The Lafontaine department did establish a one-semester composition and literature course as its "entry" level (that is, for the remedial graduates). Douglas Rollins recalls the efforts in creating and then retaining a common curriculum and a common exam:

We did for a while. But, of course there was all this sort of 'we're not long out of the 60s' so people began to first of all not like the text they were using; so they would choose their own text, but still they were dealing with the common exam. . . . So that fell by the wayside. The common text fell by the wayside first. And then the common exam followed a couple of terms after that. We revised the exam a couple of times and tried to make it more general [for] people using different stuff and different approaches . . . and then I guess we just decided that we all knew pretty much what it was we wanted to do and those that wanted to use the common exam would use one. And then gradually nobody used it. (Douglas Rollins, personal interview, September 20, 1989)

While it existed, the course required all faculty to teach common topics and even stipulated the number and length of writing assignments. Although the department continued to specify general course goals, reading lists were left increasingly to teacher preference. The common goal, Rollins recalls, was to move students towards "some ideal of what we had that the collegial level reading and writing should be." But commonality proved difficult to maintain. There was a continuing movement towards greater freedom for teachers to choose what was to be taught. Again, Rollins:

We came to believe [that] the objectives could be fulfilled without the restriction of having to deal with material that maybe they [faculty] didn't particularly care for or that they thought wasn't suitable for a particular class they had. Classes have different personalities.

This notion – that classes differ significantly and only teachers could adequately respond – became the norm at CEGEP English departments, even at campuses where more structured curricula existed. Thus, faculty choice emerged as the major component of curriculum building.

The Curriculum at Vanier: Two Directions

Ste. Croix Campus

Vanier College was the second English-language CEGEP to open, and a significant percentage of its staff came from Dawson to its first campus at Ste. Croix. The Ste. Croix people sought to retain the freedom and flexibility of

Dawson's curriculum, although the College itself ran in a more structured fashion. The first head of Vanier's English department was Greta Nemiroff, who served as provincial coordinator for many years and is now Director of Dawson's New School. Nemiroff had been one of the people to set up the Sir George Williams collegial program and joined Vanier in 1970.

She brought with her a very different kind of thinking than what prevailed at the universities. Her starting assumption was that university students were really not responding to the traditional material and were instead learning by rote what kind of answers to give. Her own students, she found, responded much better to genres like the short story. Nemiroff points to a changing student population which necessitated a diverse curriculum:

I also felt that very often we had at Sir George many students who were second-generation Canadians whose first language was not English; it was not the language spoken at home, and that somehow they felt that their own roots were devalued. I was also concerned about the fact that there were, especially after the computer incident at Concordia, increasing numbers of West Indian students who felt totally remote from what they were learning. So, I began to think what is the motivation? . . . One of the things I wanted to do was to find a way of validating their own roots. So one of the things I looked for [at Vanier], for example, was someone capable of teaching West Indian literature. (Greta Nemiroff, personal interview, October 18, 1989)

This is obviously different from the university advisory committee's notions of a CEGEP literature curriculum. Literary texts were important at Vanier, of course, but so was a particular perspective on social issues. Although the Vanier curriculum included much "exemplary literature," there was far less emphasis on the transmission of the "traditional canon" or its values.

Like Dawson, Vanier was shaped by the people who brought with them their own notions about literature. Like Dawson again, the Vanier faculty had the power to implement those notions. There was no visible Ministry involvement in the process – nor even much involvement by the College's academic deans. For example, Nemiroff discusses the guidelines used in setting up the curriculum:

I think that our guideline was to cover genre, to give a chance to focus on writing and reading skills for people who needed them, to give diversity, and to make available for people a diversity of literature in terms of its roots, of English literature written in English. . . .

Who was telling this to faculty? Nemiroff replies, "I was telling myself that." Again, individual teachers built their own curricula. There was, to be sure, debate and disagreement; but those debates were not resolved as much as postponed by permitting individual teachers to teach what they wanted. There was no body above the department curriculum committee seriously affecting those choices. Although the Vanier courses changed over the years, the process by which the decision to offer them remained the same. Like Dawson, this meant that there was a very wide variety of courses offered, traditional and non-traditional both, reflecting whatever happened to be the particular interests of the faculty at any given time.

Vanier-Snowdon Campus

The Snowdon Campus of Vanier opened in the fall of 1973 as an autonomous unit. Although in many other Snowdon departments faculty came from the Ste. Croix campus, the entire Snowdon English department was new to the College. This meant that the Ste. Croix model was not necessarily going to be followed, either by administrative *fiat* or by departmental inclination. During its first year, Snowdon curriculum did in fact follow a "cafeteria" model with a wide variety of courses designed by teachers acting alone. Once again, most hiring was done just three or four months before classes began, leaving little time for curricular discussion. The courses in the first year, therefore, were typical of other CEGEPs, often emphasizing theme and genre. During that first year, however, several teachers became dissatisfied with what was being taught. What most department members wanted – though by no means all – was a curriculum that would introduce the student to the major works of English in a more structured, sequential way.

The following year, therefore, the department required a two-semester introductory course for all first-year students. Second-year students could continue to choose, cafeteria-style, from anything offered. The second-year courses shared no common ground beyond their being designed by individual instructors choosing to teach what they wanted. There was also a remedial program. An "average-ability" student started with the mandatory introduction before choosing courses in the second year. A weak student began with a remedial course, went next to the two-semester introductory one, and then chose freely.

Although the syllabus was significantly modified over time, this essential structure was maintained until the department was merged with Ste. Croix in 1989. At its inception, the introductory course had a clear historical objective. There was a common text and common reading lists from which teachers could make their own selections. The reading lists were necessary for both pedagogical and logistical reasons. The department wanted all students to study the traditional canon (although which parts varied from teacher to teacher). In its first year, the course was taught by combining a large lecture (of about 100 students) with small groups meeting with conference leaders. The

presence of conference leaders made coordination important, since they would meet groups of students taught by several different teachers. In addition, a self-instructional programmed writing course was instituted to concentrate on the mechanics of writing, also requiring cooperation among teachers.

However, the course was generally unpopular with students, faculty, and conference leaders, each group having different complaints. Students did not like the lack of choice (which was given at Ste. Croix and elsewhere) nor the relatively large class sizes. Faculty did not like the necessary coordination among sections. And conference leaders did not like their workload nor their poor pay. The structure of the course was therefore changed back to regular class sizes, but the syllabus remained in place. Over the years, with fewer and fewer logistical constraints, the course lost most of its common characteristics. There was a specific list of topics, organized by semester, but not all teachers followed it. Indeed, different sections of the courses could be very different.

The Snowdon experience was similar to Lafontaine's in that common texts and approaches gave way in time to demands for greater teacher choice. Not surprisingly, as more faculty joined Snowdon, it became increasingly difficult to reach consensus. With faculty often disagreeing about content, the first-year course was increasingly modified not to pursue a particular vision of English studies but to achieve compromise. Administration involvement remained minimal. Despite debate about the syllabus, however, there continued to be wide-spread agreement about giving students choice only after a basic, introductory course.

Champlain-Lennoxville: The Difficulties of Commonality

Champlain-Lennoxville began full operations in the fall of 1972. Unlike at Dawson or Vanier, the Lennoxville administration had clear ideas about English studies, essentially, wanting more traditional courses and structures. The administration used the initial hiring to affect curriculum, looking for sympathetic teachers who could also cover the various genres. In addition to wanting traditional "coverage," they also put in place a mandatory composition course. The resulting program looked very much like first-year university programs in the pre-CEGEP days.

But by October of the first year of operation, faculty recognized problems with this arrangement. Lennoxville drew students from a wide variety of backgrounds, many of whom were not native speakers of English. For them, one semester of writing was not enough. Faculty soon began to lobby for changes to the structure that had been put in place by the administration. And indeed, once faculty was hired, it largely took over curriculum development. Almost unanimously, faculty wanted a variety of course categories to give as much freedom to teachers to do what they felt most competent in doing. From

early on, Lennoxville faculty questioned curricular decisions made at higher levels, but the impetus behind curriculum development was not solely instructor preference for teaching particular areas of literature.

In their first year, Lennoxville faculty wanted to replace composition with an introduction to literature that would also include writing. They felt strongly that they could teach only so much composition without compromising the literature. By the mid-seventies, Lennoxville had developed such a course, taught by all faculty, using a common text. This later became a two-semester course, which incoming students took. The course was organized generically—everyone, for example, teaching short stories in the first semester, poetry and drama in the second, and a novel somewhere along the way. A common text and a common exam were established so that faculty could come to an agreed-upon understanding of what students should be able to do by the end of the first year of CEGEP.

In time, however, as we've seen in other colleges, the common text and common exam were eventually abandoned; more and more, teachers wanted to select their own material. Further, more non-native English speakers came to the college; by 1978, a placement test was introduced to direct students into appropriate levels of literature and remedial courses. This latter group of courses was necessary because the department felt it could not use literature to teach language skills to its weak students. Thus, at least in part, the department returned to its original curriculum that separated literature and language. But at the same time, the Department also strengthened teacher choice as the key element in designing the literature curriculum. Thus again, one sees how difficult it is—even for relatively small departments—to maintain the consensus for a common course.

Traditional Curriculum at Two Smaller CEGEPs

Champlain-St. Lawrence

A very different sort of CEGEP program came into existence in 1971. Champlain-St. Lawrence grew out of St. Lawrence College, a four-year, English-language institution whose degrees were granted by Laval. When St. Lawrence became one of three campuses of Champlain Regional College, its English faculty moved *en masse* to the new school. This was, of course, very different from Dawson and Vanier where entire new faculties were hired. (The third Champlain campus, at St. Lambert, generally followed the Dawson model of teacher preference driving curriculum development.)

The Champlain-St. Lawrence English curriculum began as a hybrid—partly something new, partly a continuation of the former St. Lawrence curriculum. The department redefined its goals when it became a CEGEP; obviously, going from a four-year to a two-year program demanded major changes. But another factor was the CEGEP division between core, concentra-

tion, and complementary courses. Donald Petzel (a faculty member at Champlain–St. Lawrence from its start) notes that despite these structural changes, "the guiding principles of the English program were those of the college at St. Lawrence" (Donald Petzel, personal interview, November 20, 1989). English at the old St. Lawrence College was obligatory, with little choice permitted. Composition was required of all freshmen, and sophomores took a compulsory and traditional *Beowulf* to Virginia Woolf survey. It was, generally speaking, what was then the norm for a college curriculum across North America. In the few years following St. Lawrence becoming a CEGEP, faculty recognized that incoming students were weaker than those of the old four-year college. This led to a redefinition of Core English, based on genre, requiring students to take a sequence of courses in the short story, in poetry, in the novel, and in drama. The result was far more structure than at most other CEGEPs.

The process of curriculum building at St. Lawrence was very different from other English CEGEPs. To begin, the relatively small staff (about six or eight persons) started with quite similar professional backgrounds. Moreover, they were, by temperament and by geography, removed from the foment of Montreal. The process of consultation among faculty could proceed, for better or worse, with a fairly widespread agreement about the boundaries of discussion already in place. Hiring reinforced this common philosophic approach since it was a process of finding people who were sympathetic to the basic tenets of the program. This is not to say the St. Lawrence curriculum was necessarily static. But the department operated by being able to agree on its first principles. And this philosophic base has remained constant and very much different from Vanier or Dawson – or indeed, the other Champlain campuses.

St. Lawrence's different curriculum could have led to problems with the rest of the CEGEP network. Donald Petzel recalls his disagreements about principles with Greta Nemiroff:

Greta and I first came head to head on this question. And both of us sat down one day and said, 'Look, we're going to work this thing out so you can do your thing, and we can do our thing,' and that's what we've done. We've lived that way.

Despite profound differences about curricular philosophy, one side was not trying to tell the other what to teach. In fact, the very opposite was true. Petzel recalls an early meeting at the Provincial English Curriculum Committee:

We realized after one session that. . . we have a problem. She [Greta] says, 'You seem to believe in absolutes and I don't.' I said, 'Yes, it seems that way. And so we, well, we have to make some kind of accommodation here and there in the house of

literature in Quebec'. . . . We tried to understand, we tried to make our positions clear. Her position was that, well, we have too many people from different areas and so forth, and we need to do different things. (Donald Petzel, personal interview, November 20, 1989)

Indeed, the period of rewriting the *Cahier* (which began in the early 1980s) was one in which the different English departments recognized large differences among themselves. The object of writing a new curriculum was to accommodate these differences, rather than come up with a single, unified curriculum.

Heritage College

Heritage College began as part of the CEGEP de Hull in the early seventies and then became part of CEGEP Outaouais, until getting its own charter. The original curriculum, according to Terry Keough (former chairman and a member of the English Department since 1971), was put in place in 1969 by a staff of three English teachers who taught a mixture of topics, the small number of students being a limiting factor on what could be offered.

Heritage's curriculum has remained very stable, maintaining a mandatory two-year structure from its start. Originally, first-year students did a chronological survey of English literature, followed in the second year by a survey of Canadian writing. These survey courses stayed intact until 1983-84, when some faculty expressed concern that the material was causing relatively high failure rates. As a result, the Department introduced a genre-based first-year course, teaching more modern short stories and poetry. Although failure rates did not drop, those instructors who wanted the genre approach maintained it for their sections. The majority of the six faculty members, however, continue to teach from a historical point of view.

Clearly, Heritage differed from most other colleges in the system in terms of the range of offerings and in terms of teacher preference in designing curriculum. The Department as a whole specified what things students should be able to do after two years and worked out a rough sequence for teaching them. There remains substantial agreement about what skills should be taught at each level. The department has monitored itself informally, depending partly on the good will of each person and partly on peer pressure.

Like Champlain-St. Lawrence, size has had a great deal to do with Heritage maintaining its cohesion. Part of that is because, as Terry Keough remarks, they are a small group (most of whom happen to be medievalists) which has been together for a long time, reinforced by hiring people who were evidently "traditionalists." This permitted a forceful articulation of the mission

to teach both fundamental skills and what faculty consider to be the cultural bases of society. Again, as is the case at Champlain-St. Lawrence, maintaining a particular curricular structure rests on faculty sharing values and being small enough to maintain itself as a coherent group.

Marianopolis: Curriculum and Rapid Growth

The Marianopolis CEGEP began in the early 1970s. Like Champlain-St. Lawrence, Marianopolis previously had been a four-year, private Catholic college. Affiliated with Université de Montréal, it gave degrees in Arts and Sciences. Like St. Lawrence, the faculty who was in place became the core of the new CEGEP. Unlike St. Lawrence, however, enrollment quickly grew, as did the number of faculty. That very growth led Marianopolis to put in place a very different curriculum.

According to Judie Livingston (an early faculty member and later the English Department's representative to the Provincial Committee), the English curriculum began as a hybrid between parts of the old four-year curriculum and something new, based on the Dawson model. For the first couple of years, Livingston recalls, curriculum was developed by the department chair talking informally to Dawson people; the chair then handed the results to faculty. Livingston notes that Marianopolis' curriculum essentially was Dawson's.

By the fall of 1971, Marianopolis began a restructuring, English remaining an autonomous area. There was little contact at that time among CEGEPs, and so Marianopolis developed along its own lines. The major task by 1973, however, was hiring: about eighteen people were hired by 1975, according to Judie Livingston. To a large extent, curricular decisions were made by the constraints of having to hire rapidly and then accommodate those new faculty.

The curriculum was formed, therefore, partly by the academic interests of available candidates and partly by the Department's sense of the need to cover important areas. Livingston recalls the process:

We are talking about three or four women sitting down with this booklet of 299 possibilities, or suggested possibilities; and what we, to be very honest, what we did in terms of interviewing was assess people that we felt would be good in a classroom. They were enthusiastic, they had a Master's; they in some cases had some teaching experience and in some cases they hadn't. We talked in the interview of what they thought, what they would be comfortable teaching. We tried to give a selection in terms of the genre, maybe more than anything else. One of the members of our group was very concerned that history, historical periods, be covered. And so we tended to try to find people who could teach

Shakespeare, who could teach the Romantics, who were interested in teaching the traditional survey. . . . It was very much. . . going with personalities and then attempting to develop a curriculum from very grass roots. But the basis was people that we thought would be keen teachers. (Judie Livingston, personal interview, November 1, 1989)

By 1975, Livingston recalls, hiring discussions had effectively stopped being about filling gaps (like finding an Eighteenth-Century specialist); that "became less of an issue once we started interviewing because the personality of the person we were interviewing became more crucial than looking for that particular quality on the CV."

As individuals established themselves in the College, curriculum naturally changed, the common experience for most English CEGEPs. Over time, the curriculum more and more developed from the individual pursuits of faculty. "As a result," Livingston says, "the curriculum inevitably reflects the interest and the variety reflects the kind of faculty that we have." This does not, of course, enforce a particular notion of **what** students should be taught but (again) only the **process** by which decisions are made. The Marianopolis experience of curriculum building has generally been the norm throughout the CEGEP network.

The Public Curriculum: Cahier Descriptions of English

The different curricula we have looked at clearly are the products of different philosophies. Despite this, however, there still exists a curriculum to which all CEGEPs are legally bound. The yearly *Cahiers de l'enseignement* constitute the official descriptions of what is taught across the CEGEP network. Because the *Diplôme Études Collégial (DEC)* is signed by the Minister of Education, there is – on paper at least – a degree of common ground and common standards among colleges. But English studies is an anomaly in that quite different programs exist despite a single legal statement.

And indeed, it was not until 1973-74 that there was any formal statement of English curriculum in the *Cahier*, even though the CEGEPs had been operating for several years. The 1973-74 *Cahier de l'enseignement collégial*, with contributions from the Provincial English Committee, provided the first official description of English language and literature courses. Beginning with a statement of general objectives, it avers that study in English courses gives the student the chance "to develop as an individual in a verbal society." Three categories of courses (*rattrapage* or noncredit classes, core, and options) exist to achieve this, but there is not a curriculum in the classic sense of a path – literally, a course – from one point to the next. The description of categories is

broad enough to include virtually hundreds of different literature courses, some (like media studies) bordering on other disciplines. The evident goal of such a curriculum is not coherence but flexibility. Colleges can offer whatever courses their departments wish, and students can take whichever ones of those they like.

The first *cahier* description for English studies thus sets a precedent for how curricula would be officially described. With the colleges operating under the assumption that faculty would teach what they wanted to teach, the legal descriptions of the curriculum were to be broad enough to ensure this. Implicitly, this process affirms the pluralism of English CEGEPs and assumes that English studies flourish when many different interests are present. Implicitly again, the process rejects a unified curriculum. But equally implicit is the tacit understanding that *Direction générale de l'enseignement collégial* (DGEC) would have little to do with the specifics of the curriculum. The behavioral objective movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s – so much in evidence elsewhere in *cahier* descriptions of other disciplines – simply is not part of the English course ethos. There is no statement in the 603 section of the *cahier* of what students should be able to do after they complete the curriculum; indeed to specify that would be to go against the very spirit of what was written.

The statements of English curriculum were not changed for two years; the *cahier* of 1975-76 continued to speak of a "varied curriculum with a diversity of methodological approaches" (DGEC, 1975, p. 0-114). Again, individual departments were to interpret that diversity – how much of it to represent in their courses and how much of it to require students to take. Departmental autonomy, or at least great flexibility, continued to be central to curriculum-building. For example, there was an increasing sense that student problems with writing were becoming more severe. In response, the 1975-76 *cahier* introduced the "integrative approach to the teaching of English" (DGEC, 1975, p. 0-114) which stressed the need for students to be provided with "models of exemplary writing." Although departments would focus on writing more than before, there was to be no imposition of composition or indeed any statement of requisite skills. The teaching of writing was to be a part of core literature and done in ways the departments themselves saw fit.

The *Cahier*, however, contains a number of inherent curricular contradictions. It wishes to provide greater structure while retaining flexibility. It introduces the notion of "cultural heritage," implying the existence of a more traditional syllabus than what was in place. At the same time, however, it insists that the study of that heritage requires a varied curriculum and diverse methodology. Similarly, it restricts student choice by placing maxima on the number of courses taken in any one category. It then allows content in those categories to be so far-ranging as to permit the student to study the same material in more than one place. Finally, although the *Cahier* is increasingly sensitive to the problem of writing, it does not insist on writing courses *per se*;

rather it puts the major responsibility for writing on literature courses taught in very different ways. The overall intention is clear: The *Cahier* is a political document, not a curricular one. It tries to accomplish two quite distinct goals—permitting the colleges to do things in their own ways while simultaneously satisfying the bureaucratic demands of the government.

The Context of the 1984 Cahier

A major revision of the *Cahier* descriptions of English courses appeared in 1984, based on work formally begun during the 1980-81 academic year. This document is still the official statement of the English curriculum, and therefore deserves particular attention. Its first emphasis was logistical rather than curricular, and one of its working documents makes this point: While there was no question that each college offered a balanced program of courses well suited to the particular needs of its student population, the coordination of numbers used for various types of courses was something less than perfect (Palumbo, 1983).

The report notes that although this was "inconsequential" in literature, it was serious in remedial courses. For example, a number used for a low-level remedial course in one college could be used (and indeed was) for a creative writing course at another. Even more confusing, a college itself could use the same number for very different courses. The major thrust of the curriculum renovation, then, was to rationalize the numbering system to provide a "fuller set of language skill courses and . . . a coordinated sequence of courses" (Provincial Committee, 1983, p. 1).

However, the new curriculum was not simply a response to the perceived need to renumber courses. A second major precipitating factor was the *Gadbois Report* (Gadbois, 1979) which had suggested a highly structured sequence of courses for all French departments across the network. That report was never implemented, but, back in 1979, the English Provincial Committee was called upon to respond to the Gadbois document as part of a reexamination of its mandate. Edward Palumbo, who led the Provincial Committee during the period it was preparing the 1984 *Cahier*, describes the committee's initial reactions to the Gadbois report:

We got the impression that this would be the model. It was written in French for Français langue maternelle, but we got the impression it would be for us to adapt very narrowly. That is, we would simply change French to English and use the same format. And it really would have been utterly unworkable here. . . . There was a course in punctuation, some of the kind of accompanying material that described things like a passing grade would mean the student would have fewer than a certain number of errors per page. It was

very behavioristic, very much defining behavior and models, and I think that's what the appeal to DGEC was. (Edward Palumbo, personal interview, October 8, 1989)

The Provincial Committee responded to the *Gadbois Report* with a detailed and impassioned set of arguments, drawing on comments solicited from every public and private CEGEP (Nemiroff & Henbury, 1979). Its arguments against Gadbois' ideas can be summarized as follows:

- Gadbois' aims were already being met in the English colleges. Testing and placement were being done, twenty-five percent of students already received formal remediation, and core literature already had a one-third writing component. A wide variety of methodologies were in place to meet varied student populations, and therefore, any change would be simply for the sake of change. Where was the proof, the committee asked, that current courses (including those in the French colleges) were inadequate?
- Gadbois' "lock-step" approach was unworkable both on administrative and pedagogical grounds because it arbitrarily divided discourse into four fundamental forms. His quantified, behaviorist approach would stultify curriculum, especially for literature.
- Gadbois had spoken of "consolidation" but anglophones didn't require such a "last round up" of skills but rather a bridge between high school and university. The committee objected to the notion of *suffisance* [sufficiency] which could be tested because testing would become more important than teaching.
- Gadbois would relegate literature to a lower place since his language arts approach "diffuse[d] cultural integrity." Teachers of English didn't work only on marketplace skills but also assisted students becoming "cultivated".
- Gadbois was "quantitative, monolithic, task-oriented" and so "ignore[d] the psychology and needs of young adults" who need a wide variety of courses to explore their cultural heritage.
- Gadbois was anti-democratic since he did not allow for needs of local populations. No single approach can use the skills of all teachers or meet needs of all students. Enforcing one approach to the exclusion of all others would "limit and inhibit the academic freedom."

There was some limited agreement with Gadbois: mastery of language was crucial, indeed, the *raison d'être* of core English; a "holistic" approach was needed to improve writing, reading, oral skills; and diagnostic testing and placement were valuable – and in fact already in place in the English CEGEPs. But not much more sympathy existed beyond that.

Clearly, the Gadbois presentation engendered much anger in the English departments, virtually all of whom wrote briefs attacking it. The central issue was who would decide what was to be taught. A letter from Guy Gauthier (then the DGEC professional responsible for English mother-tongue) to Greta Nemiroff responded to the English committee's antipathy to Gadbois (Gauthier, 1980). The letter is conciliatory but does insist on clearer definitions than what then obtained. Gauthier begins by stressing the continuity among elementary, high school, and CEGEP studies; this requires that the ends, goals, and objectives of CEGEP teaching must be clearly defined in terms of both the needs of the student and society in general. The letter then makes two key points: 1) Because core English is the terminal step of obligatory courses before university, it must have "terminal objectives of learning"; and 2) The diverse background of students necessitates terminal objectives (including literature courses) in terms of linguistic competence and pedagogy. That said, Gauthier ends by assuring the Committee that DGEC has no intention of establishing provincial exams for English mother-tongue, intervening in department pedagogy, or imposing a single pedagogical strategy. What DGEC does want is to "render the framework clearer with a clear policy and objectives which are clearer as well." But no mention is made of how such clarity would be achieved or monitored.

The English colleges' response to the Gadbois report is a classic example of a clash between two opposed notions of curriculum design. On one hand, both Gadbois and Gauthier see curriculum-building as rational and scientific. For them, language and literature study is no different than other disciplines in that teaching requires unequivocal statements of objectives, strategies, and methodologies. Moreover, in theory, the success or failure of a curriculum can be measured accurately and steps then taken to improve it. This position is an anathema, however, to the English schools, whose response focuses on the "psychology and needs of young adults" and the curriculum's role in helping them become "cultivated and productive members of our society in the larger sense." Those needs undoubtedly cannot be measured, nor should there be an attempt to define what it means to be cultivated.

The debate reflects two diametrically opposed notions about designing curricula. Rendering the extreme position of both, we can say that the first assumes that all students, faculty, and schools are sufficiently alike so that a simple consensus can be had about the nature of English studies and its instruction. The second assumes that students, faculty, schools – and English studies too – are so diverse and so various that no common ground can ever exist. In the Gadbois report and the Provincial Committee's response to it, these positions are clear. But once one leaves the pedagogical high ground, it's also clear that debate is really about power and whose will is going to prevail in deciding what would go on in the classroom.

Although the Gadbois report was never implemented either on the French or English side, it nonetheless had a major effect. English departments

considered it a real threat to their programs, and it became a provocation for redoing the curriculum. Preparing to write the new *cahier*, the Provincial Committee visited various colleges, talked to people, and looked at everything from handouts for essay sheets to course plans. The question they asked was whether the English colleges wanted a single provincial curriculum, and if so, what did that mean in practice. Edward Palumbo comments:

And it became obvious that we didn't really have a curriculum. We had curriculums plural that each college had, though they adhered to the same structure technically, bureaucratically. In practice each college had evolved a curriculum that had fundamental differences from other colleges. And it seemed. . . that those differences ensued largely from the fact that the student populations were different. . . . So it became clear that what we needed was a project on curriculum development that really was going to have as one its principle aims to keep the wolf from the door. (Edward Palumbo, personal interview, October 8, 1989)

The Committee, therefore, took the position that there were excellent courses in every department and that renovation of the central curriculum should not obliterate them. At the same time, a renewed curriculum could encourage the development of things that were absent. From one perspective, the exchanges with colleges across the network meant curricular renovation was to be consultative rather than prescriptive. From another, however, the process merely intended to preserve the rights of English departments to continue what they were already doing, rather than initiate an examination of first principles.

What emerges, then, is a document that at once attempts to satisfy both the DGEC's demand for clarity and the English departments' insistence on their local autonomy. Again, Palumbo:

I would say we had two goals. One of them was to have an organized provincial curriculum in bureaucratic terms. The other one was to not let that . . . organization undermine the individual interpretations of it. That it would be like a body of bureaucratic lore, let's say, that could be interpreted individually, variously by the colleges and that it would be understood that the safeguards over the standards, so to speak, would be done not provincially but locally, by departments. (Edward Palumbo, personal interview, October 8, 1989)

To quote Palumbo again, "the project was fundamentally a bureaucratic one."

The committee wrote and rewrote course descriptions, trying to achieve a general statement about what the departments did. That meant, of course, being sufficiently broad and nonspecific. The "one-and-the-many" problem

involved trying to write course descriptions that would allow departments to continue to offer their courses and to supply numbers for them. Palumbo puts the spirit of the process very clearly as "preserving the established curriculum, or at least not undermining their normal course of evolution." The result is a bureaucratic document rather than a pedagogical one.

The 1984 Cahier

The finished document emerges, therefore, from a series of political forces that sought to satisfy both the colleges' desire for autonomy and the government's desire for structure. From that perspective, it succeeds admirably. It addresses the lack of coherence in the numbering of remedial courses, a consequence of the placement testing that began in the 1970s. It also addresses the place of literary and cultural components in general education and writing instruction's key role in their teaching. The *Cahier's* framers have three major concerns: (1) the need for a program of skills courses; (2) the maintenance of the traditional core curriculum; and (3) the need to respect differences among populations at different colleges.

Thus the curriculum at once tries to ensure local autonomy, while at the same time providing system-wide uniformity in terms of course numbering.

What the 1984 *Cahier* does not do – indeed the last thing it intends to do – is specify its definition of acceptable standards or necessary texts. Neither does it attempt to articulate more than generalities about what constitutes the literary and cultural components of general education. A report on the proposed curriculum revision, for example, speaks of "the traditional mission of the colleges to offer their students a serious and high level introduction to their literary heritage and their cultural tradition" (Palumbo, 1983, p. 4). The same report speaks about *Guides Pédagogiques* that "will contain elaborate treatments of methods available." Those guides, however, remain unavailable. Nonetheless, their possible future existence renders detailing of examples in the *Cahier* itself unnecessary. Indeed, because "detailing of examples . . . might be misleading, such detailing has been eschewed" (Palumbo 1983, p. 4).

The number and scope of the 1984 *Cahier* courses are comprehensive, to say the least. The objectives of the General Literature category, for example, speak of deepening the "students' understanding of their cultural heritage." That heritage is rich and necessitates a varied curriculum with a diversity of methodological approaches. The *Cahier* also resequences earlier categories in order to provide "all of the various course possibilities of the current curriculum [i.e., pre-1984], a brand new sequence of skills courses, and a logical coherence of program that offers system-wide uniformity of number use" (Palumbo 1983, p. 5). Both uniformity of numbers and curricular flexibility at each college is achieved, as we can see by looking at what is listed:

1. National literatures (Canadian, Quebec, British, American, works in translation);
2. Historical periods (classical, medieval, renaissance, and so on, until twentieth century);
3. Thematic studies (including courses in archetypes, mythology, philosophy, society, and politics);
4. Surveys of literature (such as origins to 1900, 1500 to the present, regional literature, literary forms and groups); and
5. Literature and other media (music, art, theatre, film, mass media).

The 1984 *Cahier* thus accounts for virtually any kind of literature course one might want to teach. In addition, there are writing courses for remedial, mainstream, and advanced writers. There are also numbers for "Specific Categories" (poetry, short story, essay, novel, drama, great works, and specific authors) and "Option" (in literary motifs, periods, literary criticism, short story, novel, drama, specific authors, and world literature). There are also opportunities for independent study, creative writing, and linguistics.

To repeat, the sheer number and scope of the courses in the 1984 *Cahier* is considerable. It is hard to conceive of a literature course given anywhere in North America that could not find a number here. This, however, influenced the reception of the 1984 *Cahier*. Although most academic deans were willing to accept it, there were exceptions, notably from Champlain who argued that the document's major goal was to provide sufficient numbers for courses already being taught (Alex Potter, personal interview, December 14, 1989). Its framers intended the course titles to be the raw material from which individual colleges – read individual teachers – would form their own curricula.

The *Cahier* obviously is vulnerable to the complaint that a simple aggregation of courses does not constitute a curriculum. One can (and should) dismiss as absurd demands for simple-minded quantifiable statements about student ability at the completion of studies. That said, there still remains a need to articulate what we want students to learn, even allowing for differences. Such an articulation does not have to enforce bureaucratic neatness or a lockstep curriculum. It can, for example, foster **for teachers themselves** a clearer and more coherent idea of what they themselves do. The *Cahier* description of English deliberately avoids this.

Nonetheless, it was a bureaucratic and political success, the proof of that being its formal acceptance by all parties. It is obviously much less specific than course descriptions in other disciplines – or even its counterpart in French as a mother-tongue. Still DGEC endorsed the *Cahier*. The politics of that decision, one can only think, were tied far less to the Ministry accepting a differing curricular philosophy than to Quebec's ongoing language confrontations. DGEC did not want to become embroiled in debate with English colleges

about what they should teach of their own language and literature. The intense hostility English colleges showed to the Gadbois report made it clear they were not passively going to accept government demands for curricula whose objectives and outcomes could be quantified – or even very much specified. And given that the government considered the state of French-language teaching to be perilous, there was little reason for it to expend energy on improving the very language that threatened French. DGEC, whatever its opinions on how curricula should be designed, simply retreated from the fray.

The 1991 Conseil Report

We've spent considerable time examining the 1984 *Cahier* because it remains the statement of CEGEP English curriculum. However, program review does take place periodically. As recently as February 1991, the *Conseil des Collèges*, which recommends policy to the Ministry of Education, concluded that twenty percent of students at English CEGEPS have "full-fledged, serious problems", proof of "significant flaws in the system" (*Conseil*, 1991, p 21). Although stopping short of suggesting a complete overhaul, the *Conseil* expresses reservations about "the quality and coherence of education and equity for all students." The wide range of courses with their poorly defined specific objectives leads, it says, to "largely differing scenarios" for students. It then asks the following questions, all entirely rhetorical :

How can we affirm that students have – or have not – acquired the necessary English skills in the absence of precise, generally acknowledged objectives? How can we ensure students of a coherent, quality education, given the plethora of courses which allow for extremely diverse learning paths? (p. 23)

Not surprisingly, we read that no affirmation is possible, and no assurances are forthcoming unless "the objectives of college-level instruction of English, mother-tongue be clearly defined." The *Conseil* further recommends, moreover, harmonization with other levels of schooling and the outlining of objectives in the *Cahier*.

This is, of course, not-so-old wine in not-so-new bottles. Objectives are possible, the *Conseil* says, as is coherence, reiterating what was in Gadbois and in Gauthier. There is, however, far more awareness of the possible objections, curricular and political:

During its hearings, the *Conseil* observed, in the English-language college community, a certain fear of having an educational model imposed on it which would be incompatible with the dissemination of a cultural heritage. . . . Whether such fears are justified or not, the Conseil sees no reason to modify the general nature of English courses. . . . On the contrary, as long as the

objectives pertaining to language skills are achieved – once they have been defined – this system seems perfectly valid. (*Conseil*, 1991, p.22)

It fastidiously declines to offer specific advice. But defining those objectives – even those as apparently as innocuous as language skills – would, in fact, change a system that depends on objectives **not** being defined with any precision. For what the *Conseil* seeks would (without question) constrain faculty. The Ministry of Education and local administrations would have the means to force departments to teach a single curriculum. Such coercive power is theoretical, of course, since the issue of the political will to see it through would persist.

The *Conseil* does soften its proposals in a number of ways. It speaks mostly of language skills, separating them from "cultural heritage" (a distinction, however, easier made on paper than in practice). It offers, although not baldly, a *quid pro quo*: more money for noncredit remedial courses, limits on class size, and money for learning centres. It reiterates that "local education management is entrusted to the colleges." But all these steadfastly remain part of a package: terminal objectives and coherence must be clearly defined.

The *Conseil*, one must recall, has power only to recommend. At this writing (June 1991), DGEC has not moved nor have the English departments responded. But there is no reason to suppose that faculty now would be any more sympathetic to a call for clearer objectives than before. Moreover, given the ongoing state of Quebec politics, it is unlikely the government could insist on the clarity and coherence the *Conseil* suggests. For English curriculum, we can expect that what is, will be – that what we've got is what we're going to get.

The Politics of Curriculum

Discussions of English curriculum – not just at the CEGEPs – are frequently political. English departments are well-known for their disagreements about how much writing, how much of the literary canon, or how much of feminist and minority literature to teach. It follows then that CEGEP English departments reach their decisions politically – according to which segment within a department can insist on its will, or if no single group can prevail, which compromises to make. This, of course, distinguishes them from other CEGEP disciplines where the *régime pédagogique* is quite explicit about course content and over which the government authority prevails.

As we've seen, the *Cahier* – the official statement of curriculum – lists so many courses that "curriculum plural" become inevitable. Such pluralism, moreover, is the norm throughout much of North America. Yet this apparent openness has its critics, E.D. Hirsh and Allan Bloom being two well-known

(some would say "notorious") examples. But there are other criticisms by those who do not share the Hirsh-Bloom world view. Gerald Graff (1987), for example, has described North American English department pluralism as the "humanist myth": Departments include all topics and all subjects in the curriculum as pieces in the mosaic of truth and literature. Everything and everyone has a place at the table. The most common rationale for this is "coverage," including periods, national literatures, genres, themes, as well as (increasingly) class, ethnicity, and gender. Yet more often, Graff argues, the true objective is merely department peace that has been threatened by influential and/or noisy members. There is, after all, a disturbing paradox at work if departments teach so many different things. How can one find such collegiality at a time when there are so many sharp disagreements about what constitutes English studies?

As Graff argues, the appeal to coverage simply lets everything in without necessarily attempting to make connections. Curricula don't change but instead expand. No one has to change behavior or confront critics because faculty members do not have to define themselves or their courses. Confrontations are held to a minimum, and live and let live prevails. However, students are left to make their own intellectual sense of the miscellany of courses. Curricular coherence is not a goal.

What Graff sees in North America is particularly evident in CEGEP English departments. The philosophic argument for pluralism and its curricular consequences can be made, but it needs to be made again, along with the arguments for other views. The current *Cahier* reads all too much like a document that simply wishes to avoid confrontation, not merely with the Ministry of Education, but with its own practitioners. Yet CEGEP English departments can, in part, rest easy. Their wars with DGEC are over. No government whose first priority is the defense of the French language has much interest in telling English colleges how to teach English. There need not be a second and internecine war amongst English professors; there should, however, be far more debate of first principles and about what constitutes CEGEP English. That will no doubt be wearisome. But it cannot help either the profession or – much more importantly – its students when consensus is only apparent, masking a reality rather than reflecting it.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

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Women and Leadership in American Universities

Abstract

This paper explores and analyzes the status and characteristics of women in the field of university administration in the United States. The literature describing the characteristics of women in this employment category is reviewed. This is followed by an analysis of literature pertaining to barriers women encounter when aspiring to and pursuing leadership positions within the university setting. Finally, a discussion of factors which facilitate careers in educational leadership is undertaken. The career facilitators identified include networks, mentors, and leadership training for women.

Résumé

Cet article explore et analyse le statut et les caractéristiques des femmes dans le secteur de la gestion au niveau universitaire aux États Unis. La littérature décrivant les caractéristiques des femmes dans ce secteur d'emploi est révisée. Ceci est suivi par une analyse de la littérature portant sur les obstacles que rencontrent les femmes lorsqu'elles désirent obtenir des postes de leadership dans le milieu universitaire. Finalement, une discussion des facteurs facilitant les carrières en leadership scolaire est entreprise. Les facilitateurs de carrière identifiés incluent les réseaux, les mentors et la formation en leadership pour les femmes.

Canadian Women in University Administration

In Canada, women are a small minority within the field of university administrators. In fact it is difficult to obtain information regarding exact numbers of women in management positions within the various Canadian universities let alone comprehensive studies of women in this role. However, as affirmative action policies are adopted and diagnostic studies are undertaken

to ascertain the status of women within these institutions more data have become available. These data are often merely statistical and minimal. In other cases no information on women managers is available. For example, Concordia University chose to limit its affirmative action study to women faculty members (Concordia University, 1989). McGill University, however, does provide statistics regarding women holding academic administrative leadership appointments during 1990-91 in its affirmative action report. At this institution 35 such positions were held by women while 370 were held by men (McGill University, 1991). In Quebec only 3% of university administrators are women (*Conseil Supérieur de l'Éducation*, 1984). In 1985-86, 11.2% of university administrators in Canada were women whereas they were only 3% of administrators in 1970-71 (Statistics Canada, 1989). Today only five of Canada's approximately 65 universities have female presidents (McKay, 1991).

Canadian literature on women in university management is in its infancy. For example, Margaret Gillett has provided an excellent historical account of the past women wardens of Royal Victoria College at McGill University in *We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women and McGill* (Gillett, 1981). Gillett's work, which made a major contribution to Canadian women studies literature, provided only a brief one paragraph mention of "other" women managers (Gillett, 1981, p. 428). However, in a recent article Gillett discusses the contributions of women as leaders in the faculty of education as well as the leadership provided to the university community by women of this faculty (Gillett, 1991). Unfortunately, such accounts are rare. Anne Innis Dagg and Patricia J. Thompson provided no discussion of women administrators in their recent book *Miseducation: Women and Canadian Universities* (Dagg & Thompson, 1988). Similarly, Anne Rochon Ford's *A Path Not Strewn with Roses: One Hundred Years of Women at the University of Toronto 1884-1984* also ignores the issue of women in management (Rochon Ford, 1985).

Compared to the American literature which provides a wealth of information concerning women in higher education administration both Canadian and Quebec sources are scarce. Perhaps the lack of a journal specializing in women's issues in educational management such as the *Journal of the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators and Counsellors* has contributed to this dearth of information. Another contributing factor may well be the lack of women's colleges in Canada as opposed to the United States where many women higher education leaders were traditionally found. Given the comparative lack of substantive Canadian data on this subject area a review of American literature can provide Canadian women with insight regarding this career option. It also highlights the urgent need for equivalent Canadian data.

The Status of Women Administrators in American Higher Education

In the United States, few women occupy administrative positions at the university level, especially senior management positions, and less information exists regarding these women than women faculty members. Since 1975 there has been little change in the patterns of male domination of senior positions, i.e., positions of chief executive, as well as academic, planning, business, and student life officers. In fact there has been no change in the percentage of women holding chief executive officer positions, and there has been a decrease in the percentage of women chief student affairs officers. Only slight percentage increases of women chief business, academic, and planning officers have occurred (Etaugh, 1984).

The majority of women college presidents in the United States are found in private institutions and close to half of these are women's colleges. A substantial number of these are members of religious orders, although this has become less and less the case in the 1980s than it was in the 1970s (Etaugh, 1984). Nor have women made major in-roads into the "dean" position. Their percentage remains small, their disciplines remain traditional; thus, in 1972 women held only 13.7% of the deanships in over 1,800 American institutions (Austin, 1977). Sixty percent of these were in nursing and home economics, two were in law, and none were held in dentistry, engineering, medicine, or pharmacy. These statistics had not changed in the early 1980s and coeducational schools, large institutions with enrollments of over 5,000 students, and public institutions had the fewest women deans, as contrasted with two thirds of the women's colleges where at least half of deans were women (Etaugh, 1984). However, the decline of women's colleges has resulted in fewer professional opportunities for women in higher education. In fact, the proportion of women administrators and faculty members has declined in both former single-sex institutions and those who have remained women's institutions (Kilson, 1976).

Women are more often found in the area of student services administration than in academic management positions. Positions where women are often found include bookstore manager, registrar, health services director, financial aid director, and affirmative action coordinators. These are all positions which are in line with the stereotype of women as helpers. Chief of student services also falls into this category. A 1980 study produced interesting descriptive information regarding characteristics and career paths of women chiefs of student services (Evans & Kuh, 1983). Over 60 titles were reported by the persons holding the senior student services position. Sixty-one percent of women held the title of dean as opposed to 47% of men. Men were however more likely to have vice-president status than women (41% as opposed to

35%). This may reflect institutional size differences. Women of student affairs were less likely to have tenure than their male counterparts and those who held academic rank were more likely to hold rank at the level of instructor or assistant professor than men. The males were more likely to have associate or full professor status. This may, however, be a reflection of the women's relative youth and lack of seniority as compared to the men studied. Seventy percent of men were over 40 years old as opposed to 48% of women which led Evans and Kuh to state:

This may be evidence of the impact of affirmative action practices, indicating that colleges have recently become more sensitive to the need to employ women in top level positions. Perhaps there are greater numbers of younger women with the appropriate kinds of experiences and interest for taking on these responsibilities. (Evans & Kuh, 1983, p. 21)

However, a recent American study found that women directors of student services are more often found in private and religious universities and colleges and their progress is still slow in public institutions (Scott, 1985). This is similar to the pattern found in other categories of university administration.

Women administrators cite different factors as contributors to their selection as university administrators. A comparative study of male and female administrators in the University of North Carolina system reported 83% of the women studied as citing a history of taking risks, achieving change successfully, and being progressive. Only 17% of the male administrators cited these reasons (Dellimore Barrax, 1985, p. 297). Men and women cited equally (38%) the importance of possessing appropriate credentials and a reputation from involvement in organizations. However, only 33% of women cited "responses given to questions during interviews revealing communication skills or institutional match" as opposed to 50% of the men interviewed. Women regarded strong recommendations from "right" persons as being more important than did men (33% versus 17%). These same percentages also applied to the perceived importance of social and personal characteristics.

Other factors which women viewed as more significant to their career advancement than did men included experience from previous administrative positions and contacts. Mentors were cited by more than 75% of both groups as having played a significant role in their advancement. High percentages of both males (78%) and females (67%) considered that visibility gained through campus committee work had had an important impact on their attainment of administrative appointments.

The issue of committee work has been addressed by Julia K. Muller (1978) in her study of women's interest and involvement in university governance. This study of 251 University of Southern Illinois employees showed women to be as interested in serving on committees as their male colleagues.

However, an important finding of this study was that men were more likely to be involved in governance activities than women. Furthermore, they were more likely to serve longer terms on committees. This led Muller to state:

The women's movement probably has influenced women's attitudes and interest in governance areas, but women apparently have not yet become integrated into senates and councils. Although most university committees today have a token woman or two, this effort is not enough to ensure that women serve proportionally on all committees and councils. (Muller, 1978, pp. 14-15)

A Florida study of 534 women administrators in the Florida public community college (57%) and university (43%) system found five factors received very high importance ratings. These factors were: formal education (95.9%), communication skills (94.4%), willingness to accept additional responsibility (91.4%), personnel administration skills (82.0%), and timing (80.1%) (Kuyper, 1987, p. 4). A number of other factors were also cited as contributors to career development by the respondents in the Florida study:

Factors offered by respondents were: willing to take risks, ability to formulate goals, availability for excess work time, availability for travel, professional accreditation, budget constraints, knowledge of policies and procedures, expertise in field, political knowledge, power base, ability to work successfully with men, knowledge of fiscal operations, ability to evaluate how organizations function, dedication to career progression plan, and school from which doctorate received. (Kuyper, 1987, p. 4)

Timing is also a key factor for both groups. In addition, at the community college level willingness to relocate was identified as being important to career development, whereas the university target group reported research and publications as a primary factor (Kuyper, 1987, p. 4).

Louise H. Allen in her essay "On Being a Vice-President for Academic Affairs" also cites research and publication as important factors. However, she offers aspiring vice-presidents the following advice:

But a career leading to major academic office also involves progressive administrative responsibility, which is to some extent incompatible with a scholarly career. Therefore choices, conscious or unconscious, must be made between conventional scholarly research and administration. . . and papers will reflect management problems more often than the cutting edge of knowledge in a discipline. (Allen, 1984, p. 13)

Once women obtain administrative positions they perceive and experience their positions and career differently than do their male colleagues according to the findings of Anne E. Austin in her study of mid-level university administrators (Austin, 1985). Austin found that job satisfaction of women was linked to two major factors: 1) skill variety and 2) perception of the degree to which the organization is caring and supportive. For men several factors were related to high job satisfaction. These were: 1) age, 2) autonomy, 3) feedback from the job, 4) skill variety, 5) degree to which the organization is cooperative, and 6) degree to which the organization is caring. Finally, of the two genders, women were less likely to perceive the organization as caring and supportive than the men were. This may be indicative of actual sexual discrimination occurring in the institution, although this factor was not tested for.

The fact that women were less likely to perceive the institutions as caring and supportive may also explain differences in commitment to the institution. Males in the Austin study were more likely to indicate their commitment to the institution was of primary importance than the women administrators. On the other hand women indicated a greater degree of commitment to a career in higher education than their male counterparts. Perhaps women perceive fewer corporate opportunities than men explaining their greater commitment to higher education. However interesting its findings, the Austin study is limited by the fact that all of its 230 subjects were recruited from one large institution.

In fact, other evidence suggests that women are obtaining upward mobility more often within the same university than by going to another institution. The findings suggest, however, that women are willing to relocate but this is less often the route to career advancement than intrauniversity mobility (Sagaria, 1988). This would indicate a university environment supportive of the women that are **known** to them. Male administrators on the other hand are hired both internally and externally, although intrainstitutional mobility is more frequent as well (Sagaria, 1988). This would suggest that women administrators as a whole may still be seen as risky business and organizations may seek to minimize the risk by promoting a "known entity". Sagaria explains,

Because characteristics of good administrators are not easily measured, the unwritten standards shared by decision makers can be more influential than those set forth in job descriptions or the charges to search committees. These unwritten standards call for a person who can fit socially and be easily accepted by peers. This lends to the replication of "like" people for administrative positions with backgrounds and social characteristics similar to those making hiring decisions. . . . The effect may be that organizations such as universities. . . tend to filter out women candidates unacquainted with hiring officials. (Sagaria, 1988, p. 310)

Barriers to Advancement

Barriers to advancement begin before women enter the work force. The case of women in educational administration reflects this. Catherine Marshall points to American statistics which indicate that while women are a majority in the field of education they only make up 28% of education doctorates and that more women with these credentials enter careers other than school administration than is the case of their male counterparts. Marshall also points out that women made up only 8% of educational administrators in the United States in 1983 (Marshall, 1984). Thus, women have few role models to emulate and few women who can act as mentors or sponsors should they choose to pursue graduate studies in the field of educational administration. The fact that women with appropriate graduate credentials are less likely to pursue careers in school administration than males with similar credentials suggests less receptivity to women administrators in the school system which forces women to consider alternate career paths.

The university, however, is a product of this society and as such mirrors society's attitudes, making it difficult for women to see themselves as appropriate for the field.

University programs may actually promote ideas that perpetuate male dominance. There are a growing number of critics who argue that both the general area of organization theory and education administration and supervision literature are based on assumptions that organizations are run by men and that management is an area where male appropriate behaviors are preferred. Educational administration programs seldom include these arguments in their curriculum. (Marshall, 1984, p. 5)

Women in educational administration doctoral programs differ from males on several counts. They are older, have less financial support, are in lower positions in the work force (i.e., tend to be teachers while the males are more often in line management positions), have lower career goals, have had a higher incidence of perceived discrimination, and are more likely to be divorced (Marshall, 1984, p. 5).

In fact, the doctoral degree is an extremely important goal for women aspiring to university management positions to achieve, yet less than one third of all women administrators hold it, as compared to more than half of their male colleagues. Furthermore, 80% of all university presidents and 90% of all women university presidents have completed doctoral degrees (Tinsley, 1985). Thus, while a doctoral degree will not guarantee a university presidency, a lack of this credential will more than likely guarantee that this position will not be obtained.

Felice J. Dublon, in a study of women doctoral students in higher education administration, found her sample population to be in the majority single and childless, which coincides with the Marshall findings. However, contrary to Marshall, the women in this study report high career expectations and over half of respondents had expectations of obtaining chief executive officer, vice-president, dean, or chairperson positions (Dublon, 1983).

Women doctoral students report, however, a desire to have both career and family and expect to be committed to both roles. When role conflict was anticipated it seemed to be the result of having too many responsibilities and not enough time, in other words, role overload, as opposed to being in conflict as a result of any given role per se. Redefining expectations is seen as the most effective strategy for reducing the strain of various competing roles (Dublon, 1983).

According to a contemporary study of college and university administrators the technique women use most often to cope with role overload, which results from combining family and career, are in order of usage: 1) organization, 2) empathy, 3) delegation, and 4) stalling. Women administrators also report fewer children than men, leading one to conclude that number of children and spacing of children is another important role management strategy (Bird, 1984). This is supported by Villadsen and Tack who discuss the impact children have on a woman's career and refer to the literature suggesting that many professional women are either reluctant to have children, will have fewer children and/or will wait longer than the nonprofessional woman to have her first child. They cite research from the Educational Testing Services as stating that marriage and motherhood are the "main impediment to the professional advancement of women with doctoral degrees" (Villadsen & Tack, 1981, p. 21). Villadsen and Tack further found compartmentalization, delegation, lowered housekeeping standards, and physical and intellectual or artistic pursuits as effective coping strategies. Other coping strategies included cutting down on the following: "publishing", continued education, vacations, and time spent with friends.

An Indiana study of 48 women holding higher education management positions identifies the thirties as being a critical period for career women in terms of their self-concept and general life satisfaction (Evans, 1986). Evans found younger and older women to be most content explaining that women in their twenties may not yet have encountered many of life's hardships or transitions, and women over forty "have fought the battles and are now at peace with themselves" (Evans, 1986, p. 18). However, the women in their thirties are often struggling with both career and family and having difficulty finding a balance between their personal and professional lives. Many women were concerned about their lack of patience which may be related to this stress. This led Evans to conclude that contrary to previous studies that show midlife to be the most conflictual phase in adult development, the thirties may well be the most difficult period of life for career women and services such as flexible work

schedules, day care, and other support systems should be provided for women at this stage.

In addition to the distinct possibility of role overload women must often contend with a variety of problems which may undermine both self-esteem and possibilities for advancement. These include:

- Small numbers of women heighten their visibility.
- Social etiquette is often inappropriately interjected into the professional setting.
- Women's abilities are more likely to be questioned, downgraded, or trivialized.
- Difficulties with collegiality result in a feeling of isolation.
- Women are more likely to be judged by appearance than by achievement.
- Women's communication patterns are interpreted as less powerful. (Reisser & Zurfluh, 1982, p. 23)

A Florida study found that the following 19 barriers were experienced by more than 50% of its female university administrator respondents. These were:

- Ignored during important discussions.
- Collegial relationships excluded women.
- Strong women, those resisting various overtures, are trapped by colleagues into a more militant stance than they prefer.
- Women serve as mother figures to whom others bring private trouble and from whom they expect comfort.
- Cast as a sex object, resulting in negation of other characteristics.
- Difficult to receive recognition for accomplishments.
- Have to work twice as hard and expend more energy than the average man in order to succeed.
- Credit given to men for their (women's) ideas and proposals.
- Passed over for promotion because they are "not strong enough, too emotional, etc."; yet, men with similar disqualifications were selected.
- Lower expectations for success.
- More likely to assume personal responsibility for failure than males.
- Less influential on their superiors' decisions than male colleagues.
- Less access to power.
- Interrupted often in group discussions.
- When a woman is the lone female in a group she is likely to be isolated, treated as trivial, or ignored.
- Others assume that someone else makes the decisions, irrespective of women administrator's actual power and authority.
- Any job a woman does is downgraded the moment she has proved she can do it.
- The higher women advance in administration the greater are the barriers to their success.
- Women are not addressed by their titles (Dean, Ms., Dr.) as often as male colleagues. (Stokes cited in Reisser & Zurfluh, 1982, p. 23)

Organizations often cite lack of qualified female candidates or women's refusal to relocate as reasons for not hiring women in management positions. A study of Pennsylvania higher education institutions did not confirm these perceptions. It was found that while the majority of women had built their careers within one institution, a fair number reported that they were either willing to move or in fact anticipated moving. Men, however, are also more likely than women not to build their careers within a single institution (Moore & Sagaria, 1980).

The unwillingness of search committees to recommend women for administrative positions is another potential barrier to women's advancement into university leadership positions. Betty F. Fulton (1983) studied the influence of search committees on women's access to leadership positions, specifically chairperson and dean positions. This study indicated that while the search committees supported the candidacy of both women and minority group members these recommendations often were not followed through by appointing that candidate. The Fulton study showed that despite the fact that there were no women in 23.4% of the searches and women were only 12% of the available pool, they made up 15.3% of the recommended candidates. In addition women were recommended in 50.9% of the searches in which they applied. However, women were appointed in only 17% of the searches and the majority of these positions were in the fields of nursing and home economics. Female appointment would decrease to 7.5% of the searches if these two traditionally female fields were eliminated. These findings led Fulton to conclude that search committees were not obstacles to women's advancement but that university administrators who make final hiring decisions must shoulder the blame for women's poor representation within university administration.

Lafontaine and McKenzie (1984) have proposed a typology of responses which women adopt when faced with negative institutional perceptions and barriers. These individual responses include 1) implicit acceptance and 2) lack of feminist consciousness, as responses from women who do not perceive their treatment as problematic. For women who do perceive their treatment as problematic four responses are common. These are: 1) withdrawal, 2) benign resignation, 3) substitute authority, and 4) struggle for authority. While all four responses are problematic for women leaders and undermine their effectiveness, the fourth option, struggle for authority, can be the most dangerous. Confrontative strategies carry with them great risk whether they are interpersonal confrontations or collective. This led Lafontaine and McKenzie to warn,

In conjunction with preexisting apprehension concerning women as administrators such activity makes it easy for activists to be rendered ineffective labelled as intolerant, demanding, overaggressive, domineering, or difficult because of their un-

willingness to separate their politics from their profession, these women may find themselves becoming isolated, thereby further undermining their effectiveness as administrators. In extreme situations they may face the possibility of demotion or dismissal. (Lafontaine & McKenzie, 1984, p. 23)

Thus women must walk very warily in order to survive, to say nothing of thrive, in higher education administration.

In addition to learning from effective leaders and participating in professional development activities, Eleanor Smith (1985) tells women to consider donning all of the following in order to help overcome institutional barriers and advance within the university hierarchy.

- Acquiring an institutional perspective and make it known that they have such a perspective.
- Knowing but not concentrating solely on details.
- Focusing on doing things right.
- Understanding institutional climate and culture; learning to read the political landscape.
- Developing a record of sound management and excellent leadership skills and decisiveness.
- Being thoroughly prepared when making reports and presentations.
- Avoiding unnecessary public criticism of colleagues.
- Staying in good physical health.
- Being good to and comfortable with themselves; enjoying being female and not taking themselves too seriously. (Smith, 1985, p. 31)

In addition to the above, women must learn how to access information and recognize and befriend sources of power, according to Smith.

Margaret Holt (1980) has identified the importance of exhibiting a sense of humor and being able to relate to people at all levels within the university as being important characteristics for the female administrator. She further emphasizes the importance of understanding budgets and of obtaining a knowledge of the area of financial management through self-teaching, courses, and on-the-job training from a supportive colleague. Holt suggests combining all three approaches. In a similar vein MacConkey identifies a "sterling professional performance" along with "a sincerely warm human performance" as necessary for success in management (MacConkey, 1980, p. 39).

Career Facilitators

Networking and mentors

Women's career networking is a concept which began to develop in the 1970s as a tool to help women attain career success. Madelaine F. Green emphasizes the importance of a network's access role,

To be really useful to those who want to enter or change the power structure, a network must provide access, creating a bridge to the centre of the system or at least enabling women to get to the threshold. Networking is most effective then for women who have made some headway, who know who the key figures are and where to begin to tap information. (Green, 1982, p. 18)

However, as Green explains, all women need not have achieved the same level of success in order to engage in networking as more sophisticated members can bring along less seasoned women. Women need to form special networks as they are often locked out of the informal "old boys network", i.e., the locker room and golf course networks which often lead to important business contacts and alliances. Thus, women's networks can provide ambitious women with information, support, and access of an alternate kind. They may also reduce the stress resulting from multiple roles and isolation (Ten Elshof & Tomlinson, 1980).

While women's networks had their origin in the women's movements' consciousness raising support groups more formal networks have developed. American examples include the American Council on Education (ACE) Fellow programs (where women intern with college presidents and senior offices) and the National Identification program which identifies women ready for senior positions and provides a state wide structure for them to meet and discuss issues of common concern.

Another source of networking which provides both contacts and valuable professional experience is involvement in professional associations. Its benefits are described by one woman in the following manner,

What those outside involvements have done is to keep me sane and to offer exposure to a broad range of people which make appointments to boards and national committees a possibility. I believe it is more difficult to discriminate against women in higher education who have earned a reputation on the "outside" and it does facilitate one's personal development. (Elder, 1984, p. 19)

Mentors have played an important role in advancing male careers. In the male tradition a mentor was an older, more successful man who groomed his protégé for success. The mentor and protégé must also be compatible as the relationship must be sustained over a number of years. The relationship goes through several developmental phases during these years. The first phase involves teaching the younger colleague social graces, providing inside information, and the like. In the second stage the mentor provides psychological support and begins providing professional services and support. In the third

phase the mentor provides institutional support by publicly promoting the protégé's career and providing special access to necessary resources. The fourth stage is when the protégé obtains professional independence and the relationship becomes more collegial than hierarchical (Swaboda & Millar, 1986).

The grooming and mentoring relationship has often not been available for women. Men may not have wanted to groom women and those who did want to may not have been willing to risk the potential sexual innuendos or spousal jealousy which may have resulted. There is also a possibility of sexual relationships actually developing with its attendant difficulties and risks and, of course, there have always been very few women "at the top" who could serve as mentors to younger women.

Swaboda and Millar posit a different type of mentoring as useful to women. The model they propose is a combination of networking and mentoring, a type of group co-mentoring where colleagues give each other support, information, and access to resources and is described as follows:

Compared to the "grooming" model of mentoring, this emerging networking model entails more flexible and mutually interdependent patterns of training, information sharing and support. Networking-mentoring consists of an ever changing series of dyadic contacts in which each person plays the role of mentor or mentee to different degrees in each dyad. (Swaboda & Millar, 1986, p. 11)

While this model is acknowledged as being less quick and less certain, its advantages are that it involves less commitment and less intensity, therefore there is also less concern with long term compatibility and can include people from a wide range of backgrounds. Another major advantage of this model is that it fosters self-reliance as the individuals committed cannot count on another person to "bring them along".

Pancrazio and Gray (1982) also posit a collegial networking model in place of the traditional mentor/mentee relationship believing that this strategy will help women advance as a group rather than as individuals. It is believed that these "new girl networks" are an important and useful alternative to the traditional "old boy network" which is criticized for being intolerant of difference and based on how well the individual conforms in the group culture. It is also criticized for leading to mediocrity.

Networks contribute to mediocrity of a profession in several ways. Since networking is based on favors, loyalties and personal influence, network members may tend to cover for each others

inadequacies or errors. Networks exist to maintain power hierarchies, pyramid style. (Pancrazio & Gray, 1982, p. 13)

The collegial network model which these authors propose is based on affiliation and support rather than competitiveness. Women are encouraged to take the following steps in developing the "new girl network."

- Seek out other women colleagues.
- Identify women colleagues who are at the hub of various networks.
- Share personal expertise.
- Learn to give criticism.
- Learn to accept criticism.
- Recommend women for jobs, committees, and tasks for assignments.
- Tolerate differences of opinions and style.
- Develop empathy for women who have succeeded but don't want other women to succeed.
- Communicate directly, honestly, and openly with professional women. Include men in the network.

Finally, significantly different from the male model, women are encouraged to accept, appreciate, and recruit many different types of women, not simply women who possess similar qualities to themselves.

In terms of traditional mentor relationships, McNeer (in her study of the role of mentors in the careers of women in higher education) identified two stages in a person's career when a mentoring relationship can be crucial to the mentee's advancement. The first important period is during graduate training when the mentor can provide both career socialization and assistance in obtaining the first academic position after graduation (McNeer, 1983).

The second opportunity for mentoring suggested by McNeer is when the faculty member decides to apply for a management position within the university. However, McNeer suggests that at this point the mentor does not need to be a person in a position of authority, but could involve friends, family members, colleagues, and even students who encourage her and support her or their interest in a career change. McNeer also divides mentors into two categories, primary and secondary. The secondary mentor was seen as less crucial but nevertheless supportive of career decisions.

It is possible that women are becoming more adept at developing mentor relationships or that factors within the organization are making it more possible for women to obtain mentors. In fact, Fowler (1982), in her study of mentor relationships of male and female assistant professors, found no significant differences between the two genders on the following variables: 1) perceptions of support or lack of support from departmental colleagues, 2) collegiality, and

3) awareness and use of the informal network. However, despite this, women were more likely to perceive sex discrimination within the work environment. Perhaps this is a reflection that women are accepted at the bottom rungs but not yet at higher levels. On the other hand the fact that the young women's entry level positions are using mentor relationships may bode well for their eventual movement into senior faculty and administrative categories.

Mentors are important in higher education not only for the advancement of the individual but also in terms of the training they can provide new administrators, a training that is often left to chance by universities which may value scholarship more than management training per se.

McNeer asserts that, "leadership development has not been recognized as an important activity in educational organizations. While maintaining the 'amateurish' mystique, informal training in the form of mentor-protégé relationship occurs (McNeer, 1983, p. 13)." Kathryn Moore (1982) affirms the importance of the mentor relationship for both the mentee and the institution and asserts that the institution should consider the mentor as both a valuable talent-scout and trainer.

Leadership training for women

Special leadership training programs for women have been developed to help prepare women for administrative positions within higher education in the United States. Examples include the eight-month internship program at the University of Michigan and the series of six weekend seminars at Wellesley. Rae André and Mary Edwards studied the effectiveness of these special institutes and internships offered between 1973 and 1977 (André & Edwards, 1978). These findings were often encouraging. Results included demystifying management, salary increases, and position improvements. The programs that included internships were especially beneficial to careers. Fifty-six percent of respondents whose training had included an internship had reported positive changes in their careers as opposed to participants from noninternship programs whose positive responses ranged from 9% to 32% (André & Edwards, 1978). However, women are cautioned that their leadership training cannot replace appropriate academic qualifications.

Despite the evident benefits of administrative training programs for many academic women, it must be stressed that supplemental programs do not substitute for academic credentials: the terminal degree, the tenure-track position, or, in the case of senior administrative posts, the successful faculty career. The training programs seem to work best as an added credential for persons already in place. (André & Edwards, 1978, p. 21)

The fact that a traditional academic career is almost always a necessary prerequisite to obtaining an administrative career in higher education is supported by Daniel Socolow in his study on access to administrative positions (Socolow, 1978). Socolow posited that in times of difficulty universities might want to consider nontraditional candidates to help improve the situation of universities. However, his study of job notices and eventual appointments advertised in several issues of the *Chronicle of Higher Education* found that this was not the case. Results indicated no new patterns of occupational mobility, little geographical mobility, and little mobility among different types of higher education institutions.

The importance of women's leadership training in improving women's self-confidence was cited by Patricia Stringer (1977), an early participant in the Administrative Intern Program (AIP) for women in higher education, funded by the Carnegie Corporation in 1973, in which 16 colleges participated. Stringer states:

Most interns agree that enhanced self-confidence is by far the most important result of the internship. This is amply illustrated by ex-interns, who exhibited the confidence to apply for, interview for and successfully work in administrative positions. (Stringer, 1977, p. 26)

Bernetta McGhee White also studied the impact of a women's leadership training program at North Carolina Central University (McGhee White, 1983). The participants reported a variety of changes resulting from the training with increased confidence being one of the most significant outcomes.

The importance of a positive self-concept and confidence in one's administrative ability was also stressed by Sandra Benton in her study of women administrators (Benton, 1979). The respondents reported that programs to improve self-concept would be an important strategy to adopt for the advancement of women into administration. Seventy percent of the women also expressed the importance of their having cultivated personal relationships with both men and women in positions of power within the organization as crucial to their selection for a senior management position. This suggests that women are beginning to use "the old boys network" successfully.

However, a study of male and female alumni of the Academic Administrative Internship Program (AAIP) of the American Council of Education has shown mixed results (Lief Palley, 1978). This study showed that while female and male alumni had approximately equal quantitative opportunities, women fare less well on qualitative indicators, i.e., size and status of institution. In addition, women administrators more often suffered a lack of marriage and family ties than the male respondents. Thus women were seen to be qualitatively disadvantaged regardless of quantitative opportunities.

Conclusions

What can we speculate regarding the future of women in higher education leadership? Nancy Adler (1978) has warned of the need to be vigilant regarding what "breakthroughs" women have made thus far and to be wary of possible reversals of women's gains in the field of higher education. This position is supported by Manon Kilson (1976) who points to the decline in the status of women in universities. Kilson identifies the decline in women's colleges as significant in the decline of women in higher education in general. Also identified are the double constraints of economic recession and population decline as serious threats to the advancement of women. Given these factors it would seem appropriate to concur with the following perception:

If this analysis of the dominant trends for women's status in academe today is correct, we must agree with Lewis Carroll's Red Queen "that it will take all the running you can do, to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that." (Kilson, 1976, p. 942)

Women in university management face a number of challenges. Steps can be taken in order to facilitate their career development and progression. Management Education is an important tool which should not be overlooked. This can take many forms that can include in-house workshops, conferences, individual credit courses on specific subject areas, degree programs such as the M.Ed. and Ph.D. in Educational Administration, as well as certificate programs in general management. In addition, one should not overlook the option of simply reading books and journals dealing with management issues. Any one of these measures can serve to add to one's knowledge and confidence in the management role.

Finding a mentor certainly seems to be very helpful, although this is not always possible. However, often one can find one or more individuals who are helpful in terms of advice, support, or guidance without their being mentors *per se*.

Peer support, be it from males or females, can make the difference between a satisfying work environment and an intolerable one. Positive work relationships should be cultivated not just for one's career but for one's mental health. Having colleagues one can laugh with can go a long way towards reducing work related stress. Supportive networks of various types should be sought out and nurtured.

Finally, the need for Canadian studies dealing with women in management cannot be overemphasized. However helpful, we cannot assume that the literature related to American leaders also applies entirely to the Canadian

context. Studies which compare female and male administrators are needed as well as studies which compare women to women; for instance, how women's leadership style may be affected by different factors, e.g., culture, professional background, and age. This area of research merits greater attention from the Canadian academic community.

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Review of Research on Effective Schools

Abstract

Effective schools have been defined in terms of both academic achievement and character development; a definition which combines both concepts is most acceptable. Ten content and process factors of effective schools have been identified. Schools as organizations are paradoxical in being both loosely coupled and tightly coupled; effective schools have strong cultures, a process factor, and are therefore tightly coupled. Strong supportive school leadership by the principal mainly is the most important content factor of effective schools. Strong cultures permit principals to realize the main focus of effective schools while permitting much teacher autonomy. Effective principals promote strong cultures but also have roles of instructional leadership, internal change agent, program improver, and systematic problem solver.

Résumé

Une bonne école se définit à la fois sur la base des résultats et du développement du caractère des ses élèves; une définition qui associe ces deux concepts et tout à fait acceptable. Dix facteurs structurels et méthodologiques des bonnes écoles ont été délimités. En tant qu'organisations, les écoles présentent le paradoxe d'être à la fois lâchement ou étroitement associées; les bonnes écoles ont une culture solide, un facteur méthodologique, et sont donc étroitement associées. Le dynamisme de la direction de l'école constitue le principal facteur structural d'une bonne école. Une solide culture permet au principal de réaliser l'objectif central des bonnes écoles tout en offrant une grande d'autonomie aux professeurs. Un bon principal préconise une culture solide, mais il doit également faire preuve d'un ascendant pédagogique, être un agent de changement interne, contribuer à l'aménagement des programmes et savoir résoudre les problèmes de façon systématique.

Effective Schools Research

Coleman and his colleagues, in 1966, reported that socioeconomic factors were linked in a strong relationship with the academic achievement of students; when socioeconomic factors were statistically controlled, the differences between schools "accounted for only a small fraction of differences in student achievement" (p. 21). About a decade later it was reported that family background and "cognitive skills" were major determiners of student achievement and that "school quality has little effect on achievement" (Jencks, Smith, Ackland, Bane, Cohen, Gintis, Heyns, & Michelson, 1972, p. 158). Conclusions such as these were probably contributing factors to the proliferation of research on school effectiveness during the past twenty years. The conclusion from school effectiveness research has been that differences among schools do affect students' academic achievement.

While the outcomes of schooling have not always been given in terms of student achievement, in the majority of school effectiveness studies an effective school has been defined exclusively in terms of student academic achievement often as measured on standardized achievement tests (Edmonds, 1979, 1981, 1982; Goodlad, 1976, 1984; Phi Delta Kappan, 1980; Teddie, Falkowski, Stringfield, Deselle, & Garvie, 1982-84; Weber, 1971;).

In one set of studies an effective school has been defined in terms of character development (Wynne, 1981). The studies were conducted during the period 1970 to 1980 by undergraduate and graduate students to determine effective schools in the Chicago area. Based on data from the studies, Wynne contended that academic proficiency can only be achieved by character building, not academic achievement, and character building was considered to be the primary aim of schooling.

In a limited number of studies an effective school has been defined in terms of attendance, delinquency, general behaviour, and attitudes of students as well as in terms of student achievement (Brookover & Lezotte, 1979; ILEA, 1986; Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, Ouston, & Smith, 1979). This definition, in which the outcome of an effective school is stated in terms of both student achievement and character development, is considered to be the most acceptable.

School effectiveness studies have not only provided definitions of an effective school or perceived desirable student outcomes in good schools but the characteristics or the common factors of an effective school have been identified as well. Ten school effectiveness factors have been identified (Downer, 1989); these may be grouped into content or organizational factors (Fullan, 1985; Purkey & Smith, 1983) and process factors (Brookover & Lezotte, 1979; Rutter, Maughan, Mortimer & Ouston, 1979; Fullan, 1985).

Content factors include: effective teacher characteristics and behavior; strong supportive school leadership; academic emphasis; effective instructional strategies; good home-school-community relations; and positive external relationships with board and board office personnel. Process factors include: clearly articulated goals, objectives, mission; decentralized decision-making and collaboration; high student expectations; and strong school culture.

The major criticisms of the school effectiveness research include: small samples limited to urban elementary schools; errors in the identification of effective schools; inappropriate comparisons or none at all; achievement data aggregated at the school level; and the use of subjective criteria in determining school success (Gray, 1981; Purkey & Smith, 1983; Rowan, Bossert, & Dwyer, 1983).

Fullan (1985) criticized effective-schools research that simply listed several content variables or criteria by which to judge effective schools. He also stated that effective-schools research demonstrates some goals (usually in reading and mathematics measured on standardized tests) can be addressed relatively successfully but it does not mean that higher-order cognitive and personal-social development goals can be achieved. His position was that effective-schools research takes a highly complex phenomenon and represents it in a vastly simplified manner. A much more complex model of school effectiveness involving both content and process variables is implied in such criticisms.

Purkey and Smith (1983) concluded in spite of the criticisms that

... we nevertheless find a substantive case emerging from the literature. There is a good deal of common sense to the notion that a school is more likely to have relatively high reading or math scores if the staff agree to emphasize these subjects, are serious and purposeful. . . expect students to learn and create a comfortable environment in which students accurately perceive the school's expectations for academic success and come to share them. (pp. 437-438)

This would seem to be a position that makes good sense. It does not rule out the notion that schools are in fact much more complex institutions with much broader agendas than is indicated by the effective-schools research; nor does it preclude the idea that there are aspects of every school that are unique. It does seem to indicate that relatively simple and narrow positive results, such as higher scores on standardized achievement tests, are possible if the school possesses certain characteristics such as that identified in the effective-schools research. The leadership role of the principal is clearly of major importance here, both in setting goals which include increased student academic achieve-

ment and attempting to cultivate in the school factors which help ensure this will occur. To determine how goals and plans are made within schools and to examine how school factors may be cultivated to promote desirable student outcomes it is necessary to examine some of the current research on schools as organizations.

Research on Schools as Organizations

Studies of schools and post-secondary institutions within the past two decades have introduced new and revolutionary ideas into organizational theory. A current view of schools is that they are loosely coupled systems (Weick, 1976) so that what happens at one level of the organization, e.g., at the level of the principalship, has very little impact or no impact at all on what goes on at another layer, such as in the classroom. Weick uses a sloped soccer field metaphor to represent a school or school system. The field is round and sloped; several coaches are scattered around; people enter or leave the game at will. Uncertainty is a major factor in such loosely coupled systems. For example, in a school the principal's and counsellor's offices are connected but relatively autonomous decisions are made by each.

Cohen, March, and Olsen (1972) in similar studies of universities concluded that they are organized anarchies characterized by problematic preferences, unclear technology, and fluid participation. The organization operates on a loose collection of ideas; there is unclear technology in that the organization manages to survive and even to produce but its own processes are not clearly understood by its members. Boundaries of the organization are uncertain and changing. These characteristics have given rise to the garbage-can model of organizational choice for such organizations (p. 3).

The view of educational organizations derived from this research is, therefore, quite different from past assumptions about the bureaucratic nature of educational institutions. If this view is accurate, it means that designations such as a good or a bad principal have no real relevance in a typical school since the principal has very little impact on the work flow within the school anyway. Research indicates that high schools may also be more loosely coupled than elementary schools. Firestone and Wilson (1983), for example, found that compared with elementary schools most high schools exhibit less consensus among teachers and less agreement between teachers and principals. In typical high schools, therefore, it would be expected that principals would have little influence on the daily work of teachers within classrooms.

Effective schools, on the other hand, appear to be paradoxical in that they are simultaneously both tightly coupled and loosely coupled (Sergiovanni, 1984). Teachers in an effective school, for example, may be autonomous in decision-making within their classrooms but may not be independent in

decision-making within the greater school context. This notion is similar to that for effective corporations which appear also to be simultaneously tightly coupled around a few main themes but loosely coupled and autonomous with respect to operation of independent subsections or units within the corporation (Peters & Waterman, 1982). In an effective school this means, for example, that a principal can have a clear and definitive influence on the program which is taught in the classrooms but teachers can independently determine their instructional method.

Effective schools have been described as bureaucracies that work (Astuto & Clarke, 1985). It has also been determined from earlier work that instructionally effective schools are ones in which individuals, units, processes, and products are tightly linked (Edmonds, 1978, 1979, 1981). In such schools if the agreed upon definition of the school, for example, is in terms of student academic achievement, then all components of the school are tightly linked and focused towards the accomplishment of this desired outcome. Such schools at the same time provide much freedom to individuals to determine how this outcome is to be accomplished.

In effective schools (or in schools which people want to make effective), content or organizational factors, such as effective teacher characteristics and behavior, strong supportive school leadership and good home-school relations would be understood "givens" which would be essential and necessary (Downer, 1989). The process factors, such as clearly articulated goals, objectives, mission, and decentralized decision-making and collaboration, are components which articulate a strong school culture and this in turn makes possible the tight linkages and the realization of the desired outcome of the school.

Strong School Cultures and the Impact of Effective Principals

It is not yet clear exactly why some schools become effective but by imagining effective schools as having strong cultures (Saphier & King, 1985) helps in understanding the problem; it also directs attention to the process by which school cultures develop and are maintained. Cultural linkages or couplings include shared meanings within the school, the symbols and mottos used, and the informal communication networks. Cultures, therefore, seem to be the glue that holds schools together and make them effective. Strong cultures provide the tight links within effective schools that permit effective principals to influence and shape the instructional program and general operation of schools while simultaneously providing much autonomy for individual units and teachers within the school. Gross and Herriott (1965) concluded from an extensive study in the 1960s that elementary school principals have a limited and indirect impact on student achievement. There was no attempt in this study to distinguish effective schools from typical schools or from schools in general. The apparent contradiction, therefore, between the conclusion from this study

and the conclusions from more recent research that effective principals do influence the instructional program in effective schools is not substantiated. It is in effective schools where strong cultural linkages exist that effective principals can influence the instructional program and, hence, student achievement.

The presence of strong school leadership, especially in the instructional area, was evident in the descriptions of effective schools given by Rutter et al. (1979) in Great Britain. Mortimore (1988), one of the co-authors of *Fifteen Thousand Hours*, emphasized that strong supportive school leadership is the major factor in an effective school. Brookover and Lezotte (1979) listed among the characteristics of improving effective schools that the principals were assertive instructional leaders and disciplinarians who assumed responsibility for evaluation of basic skills achievement. Wright and Renihan (1985) noted that school leadership, or principal leadership, is critical in influencing how effective a school will be. Geering (1980) stated that the principal is pivotal to the success of the school. Strong school leadership was emphasized and placed at the top of the list in most of the earlier school effectiveness studies (Edmonds, 1979; Phi Delta Kappan, 1980; Weber, 1971). It was noted in the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) (1986) study in Great Britain that schools were less effective where there had been no change of head for a long period. One conclusion from the study was that principals or heads were less effective if they had been in the job for less than three and more than seven years.

Lipham (1977) stated that the principal is a significant internal change agent and a crucial linkage agent for the school. Fullan (1982, 1985), in giving a summary of research related to effective principals, concurred with this view stating that the key to successful curriculum implementation in schools is the principal but there are direct actions required. These include communicating the curriculum, clarifying roles in the change effort, providing adequate supervision, and establishing change as a priority for the school. Whitehead, Dow, and Wright (1984) referred to principals as the gatekeepers of change since they are key agents in curriculum implementation.

Leithwood and Montgomery (1986) and Leithwood (1988) stated that principals are the key to program improvement because of their effect on student-classroom and school-wide experiences including materials and resources, time management, and the physical environment of the school. They contended that improving principal effectiveness would contribute to improving school effectiveness. This concept of the principal's role in school improvement focuses on the problem-solving behaviour of the principal but it also provides a relatively complete explanation of structures and processes associated with such behaviour, i.e., on what principals do to improve schools. A Level 4 principal, or systematic problem-solver, is considered to be highly effective. Goals are selected from a variety of sources and are used for planning.

There is an attempt to influence all factors that may have an impact on student learning; expectations are derived from research and professional judgement. A wide variety of strategies is used to achieve goals and multiple forms of decision-making are used in attempting to achieve goals.

Goals of effective principals are in terms of orientations towards students, teachers, and the larger school system and they are coincident with the stated purposes of effective schools. Effective principals place the achievement and the happiness of students first in their priorities. The primary orientation of the relationship of the effective principal towards teachers centres on the task of improving the school program. There is an attempt to balance attention towards instructional leadership, routine administration, and human relations.

Conclusions

The following conclusions are derived from a review of research on effective schools and from information which is beginning to emerge on the cultures of good schools and on the role of the principal in good schools:

1. Effective schools are commonly defined in terms of student achievement or character development; the preferred definition is a combination of both concepts.

2. Content or organizational factors of an effective school include: effective teacher characteristics and behavior; strong supportive school leadership; good home-school-community relations; academic emphasis; effective instructional strategies; and positive external relationships with board and board office personnel. These are essential givens in a good school and there may be others.

3. Process factors include: clearly articulated goals, objectives, mission; decentralized decision-making and collaboration; and high student expectations. These serve to articulate a strong school culture in a good school.

4. Effective schools are paradoxical in that they are simultaneously both tightly coupled and loosely coupled. The school personnel operate based on a small number of themes agreed upon by all within the broader school context; but there is considerable freedom as to how to serve these themes and to accomplish the school's major purpose as embodied in the definition.

5. Strong cultures within schools determine the tight coupling or linkages which include the shared meanings or themes as manifested by the mottos and symbols and the informal communication networks.

6. Strong school leadership is the most important content or organizational factor of an effective school. Effective principals have a multitude of influences on the school chief of which is the cultivation of a strong school culture. This includes articulation of shared meanings or themes as well as the factors of the school or the conditions by which the main purpose can be realized.

Other influences of good principals include: (a) assuming instructional leadership, especially in the area of basic skills; (b) assuming the role of internal change agent, especially as it relates to curriculum implementation; (c) ensuring program improvement by paying attention to providing materials and resources, time management, and the physical environment of the school; and (d) playing the role of systematic problem-solver.

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Education, Dissent, and Freedom of Speech: How different governments react to accusations of human rights violations

Abstract

This article examines how different governments, especially those with repressive regimes, throughout the world react to accusations of human rights violations by independent nongovernmental organizations such as Amnesty International. It makes the case that, regardless of differences in ideological orientation or type of political regime, governments use similar arguments to refute accusations against their human rights record. Five broad categories of arguments are identified and illustrated with actual quotations. Finally, the article discusses the validity of these arguments, comparing the rhetoric of governments with real life practices in terms of human rights protection or violation.

Résumé

Cet article se penche sur la façon dont les gouvernements du monde entier réagissent aux accusations de violation des droits de l'homme lancées par des organisations non gouvernementales indépendantes comme Amnistie Internationale. L'auteur soutient que, quels que soient les différences d'orientation idéologique ou le type de régime politique, les gouvernements recourent à des arguments analogues pour rejeter les accusations lancées contre leur palmarès en matière de droits de l'homme. Cinq grandes catégories d'arguments sont identifiées et illustrées par des citations. Enfin, l'auteur analyse la validité de ces arguments, en comparant la rhétorique des gouvernements à la réalité de la vie en termes de protection ou de violation des droits de l'homme.

A controversy has recently arisen in North American colleges regarding the legitimacy of imposing restrictions on the use, on campus, of obscene language or on the expression of opinions which could be considered offensive by members of ethnic minorities. It is not clear, however, whether the need for

a code of conduct in universities justifies such restrictions which might constitute violations of the students' freedom of expression as protected by the Canadian Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms and by the first amendment of the American constitution. While this issue may be a borderline case, it reveals that, even in democratic societies, universities are subject to careful scrutiny and basic rights such as freedom of speech or the right of dissent are open to conflicting interpretations. It is therefore not surprising to observe that, under nondemocratic regimes, universities are usually among the first institutions to suffer from strict limitations in terms of freedom of thought and freedom of expression.

In all countries, the existence of an educational system characterized at all levels by a high degree of pluralism and tolerance is an important guarantee of democracy. Tomorrow's leaders are trained in universities; the knowledge which will shape our future is generated and transmitted in universities. Even in scientific domains, innovations and discoveries are not possible in the absence of freedom of thought and the promise of unrestricted inquiry, as the tragedy of the Lyssenko era demonstrated in the case of the Soviet Union. Authentic democracies are recognized for the systematic consideration of conflicting ideas and opinions in an organized way and the acceptance of dissent as a normal and healthy mode of expression. The educational system in general and the universities in particular play a key role in the never-ending debate on facts and knowledge which is symbolic of the degree of democracy of any society. Thus, democracy is not safe when academic freedom and student rights cease to be respected and protected, as is the case in many nations of the planet.

This article looks at the rhetoric of many governments when they attempt to justify, in the eyes of international opinion, repressive practices which often target intellectuals, not only in universities, but in society at large. It is not possible to respond to all the defensive statements of various governments, especially those of an authoritarian nature, with regards to international censure for their attacks on students, intellectuals, and others who try to exercise freedom of speech, thus the author focuses on the various national criticisms of Amnesty International as an example of the behaviour of governments accused of human rights violations.

Virtues and Modesty of National Governments

Cruelty has always been a typical human feature, but it has never blossomed on a larger scale, with a higher intensity and in a more methodical fashion than during the twentieth century. Among the greatest achievements of our time, our descendants will undoubtedly remember less the creation of the United Nations or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights than the unequalled progress achieved in terms of destruction technology and the widespread practice of repression as a legitimate way of government.

In countries characterized by growing authoritarianism and arbitrariness, individual citizens are helpless and defenseless. For the numerous victims of the repressive actions of governments of our planet, the only remaining recourse is the support which nongovernmental organizations such as the International Federation of Human Rights or Amnesty International attempt to provide. But these associations of volunteers who militate on behalf of human rights can have only a limited and unpredictable impact as their sole source of power is the moral pressure which international public opinion is willing or able to exert.

The instinctive response of indicted governments is entrenchment in scornful silence. By simply ignoring the voices of outrage and protest against human rights violations in their country, they hope to defuse the issue altogether and thus suppress the need for any kind of explanation or justification. In most cases, this tactic of silence is quite effective. International public opinion usually wearies rapidly; concerned people have a short and selective memory; the issues raised fall quickly into oblivion.

And yet, it sometimes happens that the publicity made about a particularly shocking incident touches people's hearts and minds and provokes such a general outcry that the authorities of the country under scrutiny feel compelled to react by issuing official statements. The 1979 massacre of school children in Bangui, in which ex-emperor Bokassa had himself taken an active part; the 1986 live-burning of two 19-year-old Chilean students, Rodrigo Rojas and Gloria Quintana; or the June 1989 Tianamen Square massacre in China are examples of such situations.

What kind of explanations do governments provide when they condescend to reply to their detractors? What sort of arguments do they rely on? What are the official reactions to accusations of human rights violations?

In order to answer these questions, an attempt was made to analyze the form and content of a large sample of commentaries and statements made in response to various interventions of Amnesty International (AI) in different continents and countries. The choice of this particular organization was motivated by the predominant role it has been playing among international human rights associations, its paramount concern for impartiality since its creation in 1961, and the fact that it deals exclusively with prisoners of conscience who have not used or advocated violence. Students, intellectuals, writers, and university professors are frequently targetted, and thus become prisoners of conscience. The purpose of this investigation is to establish whether official governmental reactions display a systematic pattern or whether, on the contrary, the diversity of situations encountered is reflected in an equivalent variety of responses.

It is striking to observe that official replies to AI do present a high degree of similarity and homogeneity despite fundamental differences among countries in the nature of their social and economic structure, their political system or their leadership. To begin with the form of these reactions, it is no surprise to observe that very few governments give a friendly reception to AI interventions. As a general rule, the tone is at best contemptuous when not frankly insulting. It would be tedious to draw up an exhaustive list of the not so laudatory terms used to qualify AI, this "bunch of frustrated old women and young people" who belong to a "ghost," "diabolical," "monstrous," "insolent," "absurd," "unscrupulous," "slandorous," and "shameful" organization. Judging from the virulent flavour of such wording, it is obvious that AI's existence and activities do not leave many governments indifferent. Irrespective of ideological or institutional considerations, AI unanimously provokes the wrath of governments of all kinds, whether socialist or capitalist economies, republics or kingdoms, secular or theocratic states, when human rights violations in their countries are publicized.

As far as the content of the accusations raised by AI goes, governments usually put forward one or more of the following arguments to refute the charges thrown at them:

1. *AI's interventions represent an unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state.* Their attitude is: "As an independent nation, we are accountable to no one, and certainly not to a shady organization which has no right whatsoever to mingle with our affairs. AI disregards the right to self-determination of our people. This organization's interventions are unacceptable insofar as they challenge the sovereignty of our government which cannot tolerate any external interference."

In view of the circumstances, the government considers it necessary to emphasize that it does not recognize that Amnesty International has either the competence or the moral authority to report on the internal affairs of Uruguay.¹

That this imperialist body now feels its duty to prescribe the manner in which our present government should treat political detainees amounts to a wanton interference in the internal affairs of Ghana.²

We are not going to allow ourselves to be dictated by outsiders whose interest is to brew up trouble in Kenya.³

No foreigners are entitled to interfere with China's international affairs. There is no necessity for foreigners to teach us or make the Chinese government do this or that at the mercy of foreign public opinion.⁴

2. The charges brought against governments by AI are only lies intended to demoralize the population and discredit their reputation. They declare: "The statements concerning so-called human rights violations in our country are entirely false and unfounded. AI is deliberately lying; it enjoys spreading imaginary rumors; it believes at face value the ramblings of unscrupulous characters, our political opponents. We are profoundly disappointed as we were under the impression that AI was a respectable organization with a valuable mission until it started fabricating lies about us. This concoction of lies is an insult to our country's reputation. They are part of a slander campaign designed to discredit the government and stir up trouble among our people."

Most of the allegations contained in Amnesty's report are based either on hearsay or unreliable or largely unverified reports from sources of doubtful integrity. (Pakistan)⁵

In the past Amnesty International commanded respect in this country. Maybe we did not know at the time the shady characters who now it calls the reliable sources from which it gathers its information to interest the international community. (Zambia)⁶

Amnesty has repeatedly lied and does so shamelessly again. The matter is an unbridled and malicious figment of imagination. (Greece)⁷

We invite any foreign reporter to come to Iraq, and see for himself the false and fabricated story of Amnesty International. (Iraq)⁸

3. Our democratic constitution protects the basic rights of every citizen; the people whose defence AI has undertaken are not political prisoners but only ordinary criminals. The governments contend that: "AI seems to ignore that our country is committed to abide strictly by its laws and that everything is done according to the constitution and other relevant legal provisions. All citizens are equal in the eyes of the law which defines and protects their fundamental rights. Therefore, there is no need to worry about arrested people. We cannot, however, grant a privileged treatment to so-called political prisoners who, in reality, are nothing but ordinary criminals convicted for regular offenses."

Amnesty, in its report, has ignored the facilities established by Israel to safeguard the human rights of prisoners. (Israel)⁹

The contents of the report are without foundation as the legislation of Iraq protects all the rights of anyone in prison or under arrest. (Iraq)¹⁰

Zaire is not the jungle, but a state ruled by law. (Zaire)¹¹

The recommendation of Amnesty International violates the spirit of the democratic system and the rule of law. (Taiwan)¹²

I ask you to have a look at our constitution and at our laws. You will find that the fundamental rights of the people are deep-rooted in the constitution. (German Democratic Republic)¹³

4. *AI is not objective at all, but rather extremely biased in favour of hostile ideologies.* Their explanation is: "AI is a propaganda tool working on behalf of the powers which attack our values. It is financed and manipulated by the intelligence networks of these nations." Socialist and communist regimes see AI as an agent of US imperialism controlled by the CIA while capitalist countries believe that this organization is but a puppet whose strings are pulled by Moscow and the international communist movement. Arab states in the Middle East criticize the pro-Israel bias of AI, African nations reject its racist and paternalistic Eurocentrism, South Africa deplores AI's lenience toward other African states, and some Latin American countries equal AI with a Nazi organization.

The action which this private organization called Amnesty International is trying to promote against Uruguay surpasses all extremes yet reached by international propaganda campaigns against countries that defend themselves against Marxist-communist penetration. (Uruguay)¹⁴

Everyone knows that Amnesty International is nothing more than a communist organization, as unqualified as any organization controlled by Moscow to judge Chilean events. (Chile)¹⁵

In practice, (Amnesty International) is nothing but a tout of the US imperialism and its chief espionage and subversive agency. It is not the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan but international media that have reported the ties that bind Amnesty International with the US Central Intelligence Agency. (Afghanistan)¹⁶

There lies the central objective of Amnesty International: to align socialism with the devil, to liken it to facism, to cloak the fight against socialism in the guise of "presentation of human rights." (German Democratic Republic)¹⁷

5. *Instead of unduly worrying about a flawless human rights record, AI should better turn its attention to those countries – which happen to be enemies or ideological opponents – whose reprehensible actions fully justify AI's involvement.* They make the point that: "We would take AI seriously if this organization would focus on human rights violations in truly repressive regimes. But AI's present work is wasted because it has chosen the wrong target. AI should

not be concerned with us since we have nothing to be blamed for. However, there is much worth investigating in neighboring states or in any other country with whom we are on bad terms."

After the dust settles too, it becomes clear that Amnesty International is dedicated more to an attack on governments it does not like than on the defense of the victims of oppression. (USA)¹⁸

Neither Eastern countries nor penal procedures in Asia and Africa attract Amnesty's humanitarianism. . . . (Uruguay)¹⁹

Amnesty International doesn't do anything for the thousands of citizens languishing in Chilean, Spanish, Israeli, and South African jails, as these prisoners are not anticommunists. (USSR)²⁰

If you are really concerned about the lot of underprivileged and oppressed peoples, it is suggested that you approach certain prominent members of the OAU and your friends behind the iron curtain. (South Africa)²¹

While it is not the purpose of this article to take sides with regard to specific points of controversy between AI and any particular government, it is nevertheless useful to ponder the validity and good faith of the typical arguments used to support these official reactions. Among the five arguments presented at the outset, the first one, that is the principle of noninterference with the internal affairs of a sovereign state, is certainly the most powerful. It is true that this principle is deeply rooted in traditional international law and that it has frequently been called upon to reject accusations of human rights violations from outsiders. As early as 1890, US Secretary of State Blaine stated that he did not recognize "the right of any government to tell the US what it should do" after complaints about the violent riots against Italian immigrants in American cities had been voiced in Europe.²² Similarly, when Theodore Roosevelt protested a few years later against the pogroms against Jews in Russia, Tzar Nicholas dismissed this "attempt at interference in Russia's internal affairs."²³ After World War II, the founding members of the United Nations were careful to write down in the Charter of the World Organization that the UN should abstain from intervening "in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. . . ." (Article 2, Paragraph 7).

However, the interpretation of this nonintervention principle has changed significantly over the last decade or so following, in particular, the adoption by the international community of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Covenant on Social, Economic, and Cultural Rights. Contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which is a document without judicial value, the two covenants, which were ratified in 1976, are legally binding. The

governments that have ratified these international agreements have undertaken to respect the rights guaranteed by the covenants and have therefore accepted a certain degree of international oversight – for example by the UN Human Rights Committee – of their human rights performance. The establishment, at the regional level and at the initiative of the countries involved, of the American and European Human Rights Conventions and of the African Charter of Human and People's Rights confirms this evolution of international law toward the endorsement of the principle of collective responsibility and accountability of nations in terms of human rights protection. The UN General Secretary acknowledged himself in 1978 that

... there is an inescapable link between respect for human rights and the maintenance of international peace and security, and no nation can justifiably claim immunity, under Article 2(7) of the Charter, from international scrutiny and expression of concern about flagrant and systematic abuses of the human rights of its citizens.²⁴

With respect to the second argument, which refers to the unreliability of AI's sources, one may wonder why those governments which feel slandered do not sue AI for libel. If it is true that AI reports contain only lies and unfounded rumors, then the regimes that have been unjustly criticized ought to expose AI's dishonesty in court so as to silence calumny and bring discredit to that organization once for all. As a general rule, however, accusations of lies are never taken further than the official denial stage.

Another reproach addressed at this level to AI is that it tends to believe political opponents or exiles more readily than government spokesmen. While this kind of bias can certainly be documented, it is also obvious that government officials do rarely represent the most cooperative information source to obtain accurate and complete evidence about human rights violations in their country.

The third argument, concerning the role of the constitution as a major guarantee in terms of human rights protection, could be valid from a purely theoretical standpoint. Most countries have indeed drafted and enacted very appealing constitutions where the basic rights and liberties of citizens are carefully inscribed. But the best law treaties are not necessarily implemented and what matters really is what happened, rather than what should have happened if governments respected their own sets of rules. The reports prepared by AI are not intellectual exercises intended for measuring the degree of sophistication of a constitution, but only straightforward testimonies about concrete human rights practices.

As far as the notion of "political prisoner" is concerned, it is necessary to note that those in power never accept to treat people who oppose the

established order differently from ordinary criminals. This attitude reflects the fact that the definition of a "political" crime cannot but be subjective. It does not depend so much on the nature of the offence as on the intent and purpose of the "criminal." For the authorities, the logic of power commands punishment of any illegal action as a breach of the peace, whereas those who challenge the legitimacy of a law perceived as unjust view their action as part of a political commitment. Whether or not a crime is acknowledged as a political action is a matter of opinion and, eventually, of power balance. Yesterday's victors are written down in history as heroic patriots, but the losers are condemned to have their names added to the long list of crushed rebels. A Frenchman who fought German occupation during World War II was a patriot, but an Algerian opposing, in 1954, French presence in the Algerian "province" was only a bandit. The Americans of European origin who gained their independence from England were great patriots, but the North American Indians who lost their independence and territories to these patriots were only outlaws. In Eastern block countries as well as in the West, dissidents have been treated as common criminals by the authorities they defy, and as courageous and dedicated militants by those who support the legitimacy of their claims. Thus, in the eyes of the Soviet government, Sakharov was no more a political prisoner than Dennis Banks was in the eyes of the US authorities or than Bobby Sands was in the eyes of Margaret Thatcher.²⁵

The fourth type of criticism encountered by AI is that it is a politically and ideologically biased organization. But in whose favour is that bias supposed to be? There is no need to undertake a thorough examination of a particular government's statements to demonstrate the inaccuracy of this accusation. The quotes provided earlier in this article, which illustrate very vividly the variety of contradictory judgments made about AI by a wide range of different regimes, is sufficient to show that it would prove difficult to identify a definite bias. It is indeed unrealistic to support the notion that AI is, **simultaneously**, an "imperialist," "communist," "racist," "Zionist," and "Nazi" organization.

The last type of argument, which consists of advising AI to worry about other, more "attention-deserving" governments, confirms the lack of sincerity of governments hiding behind the nonintervention principle. On the one hand, they refuse any outside interference as far as their own human rights record is concerned; but on the other hand they strongly encourage AI to look into the internal affairs of those countries with which they are on unfriendly terms. The worst show of bad faith in this respect is the face-about of some governments that do not tolerate any form of criticism by AI, but that do not object to reproducing, sometimes with comments of praise, AI reports about human rights violations in a country with which they are in conflict. For instance, when AI prepares a report on USSR, the Soviet press exposes its "unscrupulous methods";²⁶ however, when AI writes about Spain under Franco, Moscow's

opinion is much less scathing: "AI has issued a revealing document. . . it comes to confirm, with the authority of this humanitarian international organization. . . ." ²⁷ In the same way, the Iranian press, which has repeatedly unmasked the intrigues of this organization which follows "imperialist and Zionist orders," was not at all reluctant to publish the complete text of AI's reports on Iraq when it was at war with that country. ²⁸ The number of similar examples could easily be multiplied.

To conclude, let us give the floor to the Indian reporter who noted in 1977 that "the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Amnesty International is a good way of saying to the repressive governments that the worth of this institution does not depend on what they think of it." ²⁹

NOTES

1. Foreign Minister Juan Carlos Blanco in a special news conference, 18 February 1976.
2. Editorial entitled "Keep out Amnesty", *The Weekly Spectator*, Accra, 18 November 1972.
3. *The Weekly Review*, Nairobi, 1977.
4. "China hits interference", *The Washington Post*, 19 March 1989.
5. Press release, Embassy of Pakistan in London, January 1982.
6. Editorial in the *Zambia Daily Mail*, Lusaka, 1975.
7. Statement by Byron Stamatopolulos, Greek Government's Press Undersecretary, *The Athens News*, 8 June 1973.
8. "Amnesty International accuses Iraq", *The Washington Post*, 30 January 1990.
9. *The Tel Aviv Times*, 3 September 1980.
10. Iraqi government's reply to the AI report entitled "Iraq: Evidence of Torture", April 1981.
11. Statement made by President Mobutu in 1978.
12. Comments of the Government of the Republic of China, Taiwan, in a memorandum submitted to Amnesty International in May 1981.
13. Interview of the East German Prime Minister Erich Honecker, in *Stern*, February 1981.
14. Editorial entitled "Amnesty in Defence of Communism", *El Pais*, Montevideo, 21 February 1976.
15. Letter from the Chilean Ambassador, published in *Cambio 16*, Madrid, 28 April 1975.
16. *Kabul New Times*, 12 December 1981.
17. *Das Volk*, Erfurt, East Germany, 17 January 1978.
18. *Evening Outlook*, Los Angeles, July 1981.
19. *El Pais*, Montevideo, February 1976.
20. Reuter report from Moscow, published in *Neue Zuercher Zeitung*, Switzerland, 13 August 1974.
21. Letter from Prime Minister Vorster's Private Secretary, Pretoria, 8 August 1972.
22. Vogelgesang, S., *American Dream, Global Nightmare* (Norton Company, 1980), p. 118.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

24. UN General Secretary Kurt Waldheim, addressing the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, on 14 August 1978. Quoted in Vogelgesang, S., *op.cit.*, pp. 86-87.
25. Sakharov's fate as a dissident received world wide publicity after he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.
Dennis Banks was a leader of the American Indian Movement in the late 1970s. Wanted by the FBI, he took refuge in California where the Governor took the unprecedented decision to refuse to extradite him on the grounds that "he would not benefit from a fair trial."
Bobby Sands was an active IRA militant as well as an elected member of the Northern Ireland Parliament. While serving a 14-year sentence at the Maze high security prison, he went on a hunger strike in April 1981 to obtain the status of a political prisoner. Mrs. Thatcher refused to consider the demands made by Bobby Sands who died on the 62nd day of his hunger strike. Mrs. Thatcher had told members from the Irish Parliament who had come to intercede on behalf of Bobby Sands that "it was not in her habits to discuss the fate of a British citizen with members of foreign parliaments." A few days before Bobby Sands' death, Humphrey Atkins, the British Minister for Northern Ireland, told the press that the "terrorist" had not entered a coma, but was merely sleeping!
26. "Zealots of Falsehood in the Slough of Slander", *Izvestia*, Moscow, 24 October 1971.
27. Radio Moscow Bulletin, 18 September 1975.
28. *The Tehran Times* throughout October 1981.
29. *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, 12 October 1977.

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Report from the Field

Cheryll Duquette, *University of Ottawa*

The Evaluation of Practice Teaching: A revised approach

Abstract

Two barriers to effective practice teaching, as identified in the literature, are lack of opportunity for student teachers to address personal concerns about their teaching and the poorly defined supervisory role of associate teachers. New procedures for the supervision of practice teaching, based on principles of clinical supervision, address the aforementioned barriers. An exploratory study was conducted in which these procedures were evaluated. There was a strong preference for the new procedures. Goals seemed to provide a focus for observation and feedback, as well as an opportunity for students to address personal concerns about their teaching behaviours. During discussions with associate teachers, students were able to reflect upon their practices.

Résumé

Deux des obstacles à la pratique de l'enseignement, circonscrits dans la littérature, sont le manque d'occasions pour les élèves professeurs de se poser des questions sur leur enseignement et le rôle d'encadrement très mal défini des maîtres de stage. De nouvelles modalités sur l'encadrement des stages d'enseignement, basées sur les principes de l'encadrement clinique, tentent de surmonter ces obstacles. Une étude exploratoire a été réalisée dans le but d'évaluer ces modalités. On a constaté une préférence marquée pour les nouvelles modalités. Les objectifs semblent favoriser l'observation et la rétroaction et fournir aux étudiants l'occasion de s'interroger sur leurs attitudes d'enseignant. Au cours d'entretiens avec des maîtres de stage, les étudiants ont pu réfléchir à leurs méthodes.

Practice teaching constitutes a central component of many teacher education programs (Shapiro & Sheehan, 1986). It is generally regarded as an opportunity for student teachers to discover their suitability to the profession, hone skills, and to put theory into practice (Applegate & Lasley, 1982). While practice teaching may be one of the most important features of teacher education programs, there appear to be barriers to effective implementation: the extent to which student teachers' concerns are addressed and what is the role of the associate teacher. The purpose of this paper is to describe a procedure for supervising student teachers which attempts to overcome these barriers.

Student teachers appear to have many concerns related to their work in the classroom (Fuller, 1969). With regard to concerns, there seem to be three levels of teacher development: survival or self-oriented concerns, teacher-situating concerns, and pupil concerns (Zeichner & Teitelbaum, 1982). Most student teachers are at an early stage of development, that of mere survival (Zeichner & Teitelbaum, 1982), and are concerned with subject-matter adequacy, discipline, and personal adjustment (Fuller, 1969). Petrusich (1967) further describes the fears of student teachers as relating to an inability to maintain control of classes and to gain pupils' emotional support.

Given that student teachers claim to learn best by doing (Lortie, 1975), then practice teaching sessions should provide an excellent opportunity for student teachers to address their personal concerns. This, however, is not always the case. Zeichner & Teitelbaum (1982) write that during practice teaching sessions student teachers are told to act like the associate teacher for the duration of the session so that a good mark may be recorded on the evaluation form. It would seem, however, that during the practica student teachers should have opportunities to establish goals for self-improvement, develop competencies, and define their own teaching styles. Student teachers may also benefit from supportive associate teachers who provide feedback regarding the attainment of goals and who encourage them to reflect upon their work.

A second barrier to effective practice teaching sessions relates to the role of the associate teacher, which is both supervisory and evaluative (Martin, Isherwood, & Rapagna, 1978). At times, it is also ambiguous and ill-defined (Applegate & Lasley, 1982; Richardson-Koehler, 1988). Many of the ambiguities relate to the supervisory role (Theis & Sprinthall, 1986), particularly as they are focussed on the lack of clear goals and objectives for student teaching experiences (Grimmett & Ratzlaff, 1986). The point is furthered by Applegate and Lasley (1982) who write that there is a need to establish procedures to assist associate teachers when working with student teachers.

At the University of Ottawa new procedures for the supervision of student teachers have been developed. This initiative is intended to address the

concerns of individual student teachers and the need for direction on the part of associate teachers.

Theoretical Rationale for the Study

A promising approach to the development of expertise in teaching is found in the principles of clinical supervision. Goldhammer, Anderson, and Krazewski (1980) describe clinical supervision as a process whereby a supervisor is involved in the planning, observation, and analysis of a subordinate's work. This approach has been applied to the supervision of teachers. Haefele (1980) writes that clinical supervision recognizes that each teacher is unique and has different styles and competencies. Goals are therefore set by the teacher and supervisor in recognition of individual needs and concerns. Observational data are gathered at regular intervals and are used as feedback to assist teacher self-development. This "coaching" element enhances the transfer of new skills and approaches into the student teacher's repertoire (Joyce & Showers, 1982). Discussions between supervisor and teacher also present opportunities for mutual reflection, checking of perceptions, the sharing of frustrations and successes, and the informal discussion of mutual problems (Joyce & Showers, 1982). One important aspect of this model of supervision is that the relationship between teacher and supervisor is cooperative rather than adversarial (Haefele, 1980).

At the University of Ottawa it was felt that the principles of clinical supervision applied to the supervision of student teachers might be useful for both student teachers and associate teachers. The student teacher and supervising associate teacher could mutually establish goals at the beginning of the practice teaching session. These goals would largely reflect the student teacher's personal concerns as they relate to perceived strengths and weaknesses (Shapiro & Sheehan, 1986). The associate teacher then would observe the student teacher practise specific skills or methods and provide regular feedback (Housego, 1990). Conferencing is an important component of student teaching supervision, and there is a need for the associate teacher to encourage the active participation of the student teacher (O'Shea et al., 1988). Conferences between student teacher and associate teacher would not only involve praise and comments in management (Fieman-Nemser & Buchman, 1987), but would also encourage reflection and modelling of the essential process of teaching, that of problem-solving and decision-making (Christensen, 1988).

The new paradigm for supervision of student teachers developed at the University of Ottawa incorporates the principles of clinical supervision and elements of the literature on the practicum. Within this framework the student teacher reflects on strengths and weaknesses and participates in formulating goals that address personal concerns. The associate teacher uses the mutually established goals as a focus for observation of the student teacher in the

classroom and in the larger context as a professional. The associate teacher then provides feedback to the student on goal attainment and encourages the student teacher to reflect further on his or her teaching. Through these procedures the student teacher is provided with an opportunity to address personal concerns and participate in goal setting. These procedures also provide direction to the associate teacher for the effective supervision of student teachers.

Development of the Procedures

During the academic year 1988-89 many professors with the Teacher Education Program at the University of Ottawa expressed a need to revise the current practice teaching evaluation forms. A committee was struck to examine the current forms and suggest revisions. The committee consisted of teacher federation representatives, students, and faculty who collaborated on this initiative. A review of the literature was conducted, and committee members developed new procedures and forms based on the model of clinical supervision.

Associate teachers, as outlined by this plan, received a supervisory package consisting of an explanatory letter, a goal sheet, an interim report form, a summative report form, and a reference document in the domains of teaching effectiveness. The letter outlined the new procedures, when each form should be completed and by whom. Early in the practice teaching session the associate teacher and student teachers determined a maximum of five goals for the first week of practice teaching. These goals were recorded on the goal sheet. It should be noted that these goals were not required to be of a technical nature; they could relate broader concerns, such as curriculum or students. During the first week of a two-week practicum it was expected that the associate teacher observe the student and provide regular feedback regarding progress, particularly as it related to the achievement of goals. For new associate teachers who might be unaccustomed to observing others teach, a resource document based on O'Neil's (1988) review of the literature on effective teaching was included to provide further points of observation. At the end of the first week of practice teaching the associate teacher wrote an interim report, based on progress towards goals and other points that had been noted. The associate teacher and student teacher discussed the contents of the interim report, and they set goals for the final week of practice teaching. These goals may be different from previous ones or an extension of previous goals. The cycle of observation and regular feedback was to be continued during this week, and a summative report was to be written for the student teacher by the associate teacher. On the final day of the practice teaching session the associate teacher and student teacher discussed the summative evaluation. It was hoped that these procedures would provide more direction to associate teachers regarding the supervision of student teachers. It was also hoped that the goals would provide a starting point and focus for conferences between the associate and the student. Another

expected outcome was more specific feedback for students. Finally, committee members expected that during goal setting student teachers using the new procedures would reflect on their strengths and weaknesses, thereby engaging in self-evaluation.

The new procedures differ from the current procedures in that they include goal setting and a resource document. Both procedures include the writing of interim and summative report. The summative form of the new procedures is related closely to the resource document in terms of the descriptors in the quantitative section.

During July 1989, teachers (some of whom were recent graduates) taking courses at Ottawa University read the letter, forms, and resource document for accuracy and appropriateness. The following September, faculty agreed to conduct an exploratory study of the new procedures during the last three sessions of practice teaching. During the first practice teaching session the current procedures were used so that student teachers involved in the study could evaluate the usefulness of the new procedures as compared to the current procedures. The primary purpose of this exploratory study, therefore, was to determine attitudes of associate teachers and student teachers toward the new procedures. A second purpose was to examine elements that contributed to those attitudes.

Teacher Perception of the Pilot Procedures

The role of the perceptual process in attitude formation towards an innovation is emphasized by Sherif and Cantril (1945). Perception, they report, is always involved because attitudes are derived from experience rather than being innate. A recent survey of the research on perception (Johnson, 1987) provides some recommendations and cautions for educational researchers. Although perceptions are dominant and critical determinants of behavior, they are subject to a variety of cultural, personal, organizational, and other factors which attenuate a person's ability to perceive accurately. Johnson (1987) does suggest, however, that there is considerable consistency in social perceptions among members of a group.

In the conceptualization of the innovation decision process Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) related perceptions to attitude formation and the decision to accept or reject an innovation. They identify five perceived characteristics of an innovation which are important in this process: the relative advantage of the innovation; the compatibility of the innovation with current practices and values; the complexity of the innovation and the difficulty of implementing it; the possibility of attempting a trial run without committing oneself completely to the innovation; and the observability and visibility of the innovation. Recently, Rogers (1983) revised the five perceived characteristics of the

innovation so that the eleven dimensions describing them are more precisely defined.

In the updating, the first characteristic, relative advantage of an innovation over another practice, consists of four dimensions: economy of time; social prestige accruing to the user; convenience; and satisfaction. The second characteristic, compatibility, refers to the degree to which the innovation is perceived as being consistent with the existing value system, with the user's previous experience, and with the needs of the user. The next characteristic is complexity which has two dimensions: the difficulty understanding how to implement the innovation and difficulty in using the innovation. The remaining two characteristics are each composed of one dimension. Trialability is the extent to which any innovation may be tried gradually; observability relates to the visibility to others of the results of using the innovation (Rogers, 1983, pp. 213-232).

It was therefore the purpose of this study to examine the attitudes and perceptions of associate teachers and student teachers toward the use of the new procedures. In particular, two research questions were addressed: (a) What are the attitudes of associate teachers and student teachers toward the new procedures? and (b) What are the perceived characteristics of the new procedures which affect attitudes toward the new procedures?

It should be pointed out that this exploratory study was conducted to provide information to faculty members as to the usefulness of these procedures. Therefore, attitudes and variables related to the formation of attitudes were assessed; contextual variables related to implementation were not considered.

Research Methodology

Sample

The sample consisted of 40 associate teachers and 40 student teachers. Of the 40 associate teachers there were ten representing each of the following divisions: primary, junior, intermediate and senior. The 40 student teachers were similarly grouped. Using pay lists from the last calendar year, associate teachers were selected on the basis of previous involvement in the supervision and evaluation of student teachers from the University of Ottawa. It was assumed that these teachers would be able to compare and evaluate the effectiveness of the new procedures in relation to the current procedures. Student teachers were selected on the basis of having been previously matched with a selected associate teacher.

Instrumentation

The instrument used for this study was a three-part questionnaire with similar forms for associate teachers and student teachers. The first section of

the form included items which elicited demographic information. Part two consisted of 30 Likert-type items measuring perceptions of the new procedures. Items in this section were adapted from an instrument used by Duquette & O'Reilly (1988) which reflected Rogers' (1983) perceived characteristics of an innovation. The wording of items was revised to relate to the implementation of the new procedures. In this instance the characteristic of trialability was not included as the options to participate and to do so gradually did not exist. Included in the third section were three items measuring attitudes toward the pilot procedures and three open-ended questions. All items in both questionnaires were field tested to establish content and construct validity. The reliability coefficient for the total test was .89.

Data collection

Student teachers were given information sessions on the new procedures, and faculty telephoned associate teachers to inform them of the new procedures. Participating students then took packets containing the documents related to the new procedures to their associate teachers. Associate teachers and student teachers were requested to implement the new procedures, to use the appropriate forms, and to complete the questionnaire. Upon returning to campus students submitted their own completed questionnaire as well as that of their associate teachers to their counsellor. Each set of questionnaires was then forwarded to the researcher.

Data analysis

Data were analyzed to produce descriptive statistics on attitudes toward the pilot procedures. Responses to open-ended questions were examined using content analysis. It was planned to analyze data related to perception using discriminant analysis to determine which of the dimensions were the best predictors of attitude. However, as there was a lack of variability in responses for the dependent variable, this analysis was not done because the results would not be reliable. This lack of variability, that is, only two respondents reported having a negative attitude toward the procedures, was possibly related to the small sample size.

Results

The final sample consisted of 24 associate teachers and 24 student teachers (10 primary, 14 junior, 14 intermediate, 10 senior) who had used the new procedures, which represented a 60% return.

Attitudes Toward New Procedures

Responses to a global item measuring attitude indicate that associate teachers and student teachers did not overwhelmingly feel positive (see Table 1) towards the new procedures. A small proportion of respondents (4%) felt

negative towards the new procedures, and almost half reported a neutral attitude. Interestingly, more teachers than students indicated having a positive attitude towards the new procedures (58.3% and 45.8%, respectively). However, almost 60% of associate teachers and student teachers indicate that they would prefer to use new procedures rather than current procedures (see Table 2). Moreover, 71% of associate teachers were willing to use the new procedures the following year (see Table 3), and 88% of the student teachers recommended to future students the use of new procedures during the next year. The results of the items measuring attitudes toward the new procedures would suggest therefore that associate teachers and student teachers do not have a strong positive attitude towards the new procedures. However, they do prefer to use the new procedures rather than the current procedures.

Table 1
*Attitude of associate teachers and student teachers
toward new procedures*

	Positive	Neutral	Negative
Associate Teachers	58.3%	37.5%	4.2%
Student Teachers	45.8%	50.0%	4.2%

Table 2
*Preference by associate teachers and student teachers
of evaluation procedures*

	New Procedures	Current Procedures	Doesn't Matter	No Response
Associate Teachers	50%	8%	29%	13%
Student Teachers	67%	17%	8%	8%

Table 3
*Associate teachers' willingness to use new
procedures next year*

Yes	No	No Response
71%	13%	16%

Table 4
*Student teachers' willingness to recommend the
use of new procedures to their peers*

Yes	No	No Response
88%	8%	4%

Discussion and Summary

The use of new procedures for the supervision of practice teaching was examined in an exploratory study conducted at the University of Ottawa. A committee consisting of federation representations, students, and faculty collaborated on the development of the new procedures based on principles of clinical supervision. These procedures consisting of mutual goal setting, focussed observation, and feedback were tested with student teachers and their associates. Results of this exploratory study showed that associate teachers felt more positive about the new procedures than did the students. Both groups, however, stated that they would prefer to use the new procedures rather than the current procedures.

One of the important differences between the new procedures and current procedures is mutual goal setting at the beginning of the practicum. Student teachers wrote the following comments on goal setting:

"Identifying goals can be helpful."

"Goals are important so that you know what is expected of you."

"It provided opportunities for associate and student to sit down together to talk about and reach a better understanding of expectations."

"Co-operative goal setting allows the associate to quickly perceive what the student wants to focus on and to help him/her in those areas indicated."

Associate teachers wrote the comments below:

"The goals are specific and defined."

"I am pleased to see some emphasis on aims and objectives."

"More detailed. Clearly stated objectives."

It was anticipated that mutual goal setting would provide more opportunities for focussed observation by the associate teachers. It was also expected that more specific feedback would be given to student teachers so that they could make improvements, particularly at the end of the first week of practice teaching. Comments from students suggest that the above actually happened.

"Encourages associate teachers to be precise in their day-to-day comments and in their final evaluation."

"It provides more opportunity for feedback."

"More feedback at the end of the first week."

"The [new] procedures provide more guidance to the associate with respect to what feedback will be useful to the student."

Other comments by student teachers indicated further strengths in the new. Students identified some positive outcomes of using the new procedures:

They knew the criteria for evaluation from the beginning, they felt that they had ownership in the practicum, and the summative report seemed more relevant. The comments below support these findings.

"One knew some of the focus and skills evaluation would be based upon. In other words, less uncertainty was created."

"[It] gave me a chance to work on areas I felt needed improvement."

"I had a little more freedom to pursue areas I felt were important."

"The evaluation report is more precise, and I feel it would be easier for the associate to fill out."

"Final report was more descriptive (with relevant comments)."

"Should help to make evaluation by all associates more standardized."

These comments would suggest therefore that the new procedures may be beneficial for student teachers and their associates. Goal setting would seem to provide opportunities for student teachers to address individual concerns. Focussed observation and feedback provides a forum for discussion between the associate and the student. Moreover, these conferences would seem to require associates and students to reflect on practice and theory. Finally, these procedures also help to define more clearly the supervisory role of the associate teacher. It would appear therefore that the new procedures are effective in overcoming barriers to effective and satisfying practice teaching experiences. These procedures may be useful to other faculties of education that are examining ways of improving the quality of the practicum for their students and associate teachers.

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Public Attitudes Towards Education In Ontario

The Eighth OISE Survey (1990)

"A major finding of this year's survey is the public recognition of a permanent education culture. . . . Ontario citizens realize that cultural institutions like public libraries, museums and science centres, educational television, and indeed the workplace are all parts of the learning environment. . . . Now that daycare is an integral part of children's learning, it is our responsibility to ensure that these early experiences are of the highest quality. . . . As we seek to set priorities for a new decade, the findings of the Eighth OISE Survey should certainly be of widespread interest."

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Director, OISE



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Book Reviews

Henry W. Castner.

SEEKING NEW HORIZONS:

A PERCEPTUAL APPROACH TO GEOGRAPHIC EDUCATION.

Canada: McGill Queen's Press, 1990.

224 pp. \$34.95.

"One wonders what is left to be said of a field which uses a loose confederation of separate subjects for its content and has little or no agreement regarding its goals and objectives" was the manner in which social studies was evaluated in 1977 by a publication of the **National Council for the Social Studies**. Since then, however, there has been growing concern for those separate subjects and their role in compulsory education, here defined as Grades 1 to 10 inclusive. Geography has been specifically named as an education concern in such national surveys as *A Nation at Risk* (April, 1983) and *American Education, Making it Work* (April, 1988). More international surveys have included the National Geographic Society's *Geography: An International Gallup Survey* (1988), which included Canada, and the latest, November, 1989, which is entirely devoted to *Geographic Knowledge in the Soviet Union*. Concern for geography as a discipline in its own right can also be found in *Curriculum Update* (November, 1989), along with history and economics.

Seeking New Horizons is of this genre but centres more on cartography, the visual perception, and the methodology associated with a particular form of music training/learning, aural perception. In order to examine these, the author reviews several fields, viz., chapters on visual systems, music, art, and science connections, culminating in "Cartographic Communications" and "Perceptual Approach to Geography." While he is appreciative of common ground but does not equate one discipline with another, his awareness of how and where they overlap to form valid linkages is perhaps the keynote importance of this book. There is in content a range of uses from arithmetic to

zoology, from Gestalt psychology to Piaget, touching base with the academic, the methodological, and the educational as they radiate from geography.

The matter of visual perception, however, in this day and age, is dominated by television and, from the educational point of view, as well as evaluations of that technology, pro, contra, and neutral. With the combination of TV visual with TV stereophony, one is strongly tempted to refer to James J. Gibson (1904-1979), an American experimental psychologist whose work in visual perception was carried on at Cornell. Gibson was more inclined to use the real world rather than the laboratory for his experimentation thereby putting himself literally in the same environment as the practising geographer, the world of 3-D. His suggestion that unless the head is held in an unnaturally still position and the eyes fixed on the same object, the visual field is alive with change or "transformation." Does that sound like a familiar position for TV viewers?

In geography in general and cartography in particular, the transference of these 3-D data to a 2-D surface, i.e., a map, the current cartographic practice in education, may well be self-defeating in this new age of electronic technology. Somewhat ironically, more attention is paid to Gibson's work today because of its relevancy to computer vision. Gibson is referred to ten times in this work. It might have been a better seam to hew in this day and age of computer imagery, familiarity, and variety as found amongst today's pupils than the music and auditory relationship. That relationship, certainly from the point of view of this reviewer, had all the appearances of an interesting point made during after-dinner conversation but little real contribution to geographic education – especially cartography.

A.K. Maconochie
McGill University

Richard A. Fiordo, Editor.
COMMUNICATION IN EDUCATION.
Calgary, Alberta: Detselig Enterprises (1990).
403 pp, \$21.95

As the preface of the book states, *Communication in Education* was designed "... to apply communication studies to the training of teachers and instructors generally." The editor (Fiordo) has assembled twenty-nine essays or articles, written by himself and colleagues in Calgary, that are concerned with educational communication.

zoology, from Gestalt psychology to Piaget, touching base with the academic, the methodological, and the educational as they radiate from geography.

The matter of visual perception, however, in this day and age, is dominated by television and, from the educational point of view, as well as evaluations of that technology, pro, contra, and neutral. With the combination of TV visual with TV stereophony, one is strongly tempted to refer to James J. Gibson (1904-1979), an American experimental psychologist whose work in visual perception was carried on at Cornell. Gibson was more inclined to use the real world rather than the laboratory for his experimentation thereby putting himself literally in the same environment as the practising geographer, the world of 3-D. His suggestion that unless the head is held in an unnaturally still position and the eyes fixed on the same object, the visual field is alive with change or "transformation." Does that sound like a familiar position for TV viewers?

In geography in general and cartography in particular, the transference of these 3-D data to a 2-D surface, i.e., a map, the current cartographic practice in education, may well be self-defeating in this new age of electronic technology. Somewhat ironically, more attention is paid to Gibson's work today because of its relevancy to computer vision. Gibson is referred to ten times in this work. It might have been a better seam to hew in this day and age of computer imagery, familiarity, and variety as found amongst today's pupils than the music and auditory relationship. That relationship, certainly from the point of view of this reviewer, had all the appearances of an interesting point made during after-dinner conversation but little real contribution to geographic education – especially cartography.

A.K. Maconochie
McGill University

Richard A. Fiordo, Editor.
COMMUNICATION IN EDUCATION.
Calgary, Alberta: Detselig Enterprises (1990).
403 pp, \$21.95

As the preface of the book states, *Communication in Education* was designed "... to apply communication studies to the training of teachers and instructors generally." The editor (Fiordo) has assembled twenty-nine essays or articles, written by himself and colleagues in Calgary, that are concerned with educational communication.

There are two parts to the book. Part A contains six sections:

1. An overview of communication principles and research related to the field of education. The emphasis is on interpersonal and intrapersonal communication (7 essays and articles);
2. A discussion of values in educational communication, professional codes regarding public communication, and interpersonal values and social standards (5 essays);
3. An essay each on gender and intercultural issues in educational communication;
4. Explanation and discussion of the organizational concepts and principles that apply to communication within educational systems and communities (3 essays);
5. A discussion of verbal and nonverbal communication in educational settings (4 essays);
6. Explanation and discussion of educational communications technology (2 essays).

Part B is a collection of six essays that relate to topics or issues raised in Part A.

A Canadian text on communication in education is a welcome addition to the literature on the subject. Several essays take into account the intended audience – the teacher/instructor-in-training. Fiordo's "Formal Codes in Educational Communication" provides interesting and relevant case material excerpted from the Alberta Teachers' Association Code of Professional Conduct. Licker's "Communication in Educational Organizations" includes realistic vignettes from daily school communication.

Communication in Education appears to be a collection of readings forming the basis of a course the editor teaches, and, I imagine, as used by him, the collection would, indeed, provoke thoughtful and interesting discussion about many aspects of communication in education. However, the book fails to communicate effectively with its intended reader. It provides no context in which the separate essays may be considered, nor any continuity from essay to essay. It would have been helpful to the intended reader had the editor provided his rationale for the collection and its organization, how he saw the book being interpreted and used (a preface or foreword is the usual vehicle), and a brief introduction to each essay indicating how it may be considered in relation to the book as a whole and to the preceding/succeeding essays. It is unfortunate that Fiordo did not follow this fairly common practice.

Winston Emery
McGill University

Samuel Mitchell.

INNOVATION AND REFORM:

CONFLICTS WITHIN EDUCATIONAL CHANGE.

North York, ON: Captus Press, 1990.

219 pp. \$21.00.

Innovation and Reform should be of interest to scholars in educational administration and leadership, curriculum, and teacher development, as well as teachers and administrators concerned with school innovation and reform. In this book, Samuel Mitchell provides eight reasonably well-written chapters that not only review a great deal of literature pertaining to school innovations, but express insightful analyses and conjectures about what it takes to orchestrate **programs and people** in a productive way. The dynamic tensions among "the experts" of innovation and reform, school administrators, teachers, parents, and students themselves are explored in terms of the legal, institutional, and human relationships that make school improvement projects as complex as they are.

Mitchell brings sociological, instructional, historical, and ethical perspectives to bear on his review and analysis of many case studies and dramatized anecdotes in educational reform. Not only are the various "players" in these illustrations taken into careful consideration, but the processes of innovation are examined in light of the conditions that seem to influence its success. The book promises many informative lessons to school reform planners and researchers alike.

Allan MacKinnon

Simon Fraser University

Gordon Selman & Paul Dampier.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF ADULT EDUCATION IN CANADA.

Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 1991.

320 pp. \$24.95.

What a pleasure to see published a Canadian foundations text in adult education! In writing this book, the authors tell us (p. x) that they asked themselves the question, "what is Canadian about Canadian adult education?" They answer this important question "with emphasis on the most recent decades, and on the relationship between adult education and the society of which it is a part" (p. viii). While the book addresses the nature of adult education in Canada, the authors make it clear that they do not adequately present the Quebec context, suggesting that the two solitudes are as evident in adult education as in other aspects of Canadian society.

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Like other adult education foundations texts, e.g., Darkenwald and Merriam (1982), the book begins by setting out for the novice reader definitions and philosophical frames in which to make sense of what follows.

The first chapter deals well with the thorny issue of definitions. In this chapter, the authors compare and contrast the many overlapping terms used to describe learning that occurs in adulthood: continuing education, extension, community education, lifelong education, open learning, recurrent education, community development.

The second chapter presents some philosophical perspectives for understanding the functions that adult education can play in the lives of individuals and the society in which they live. Clearly set out and defined is a framework for understanding the kinds of claims and assumptions one may make in any field, e.g., differences between empirical claims, value claims, epistemological claims. As well, a central concern in adult education, whether change is seen as essentially a personal process, a process which furthers social needs as a whole, or as a mechanism for bringing about social change, is also discussed. An awareness of this distinction is crucial as it impacts on programming, methods, objectives, and so forth.

The content now being set, the next chapter looks directly at the Canadian scene and explores the relationship between Canada's experience as a nation and the development of adult education services and programs. Geography (specifically, great distances, and resulting regionalism) as well as tensions between federal and provincial governments in terms of responsibility for education are essential elements of the Canadian experience. The suggestion is also made that on the whole adult education programs tend to be servants of the needs of other elements in the society. Thus, since Canada's population is largely an immigrant population, citizenship education has been important. Another instance of the same principle, a weak industrial base, has made economic development important.

Examples are given to make clear the ways in which Canadian adult education programming reflects our unique setting; for instance, brief descriptions of Radio Forum, CBC, and NFB are provided. These are instructive examples because they remind the reader that adult education has many guises. However, for the novice reader in adult education, the examples may not provide sufficient detail to be able to understand the context within which these programs occurred and their impact on society.

Chapter 4 steps away again from the Canadian setting and looks at models for understanding participation. The information provided is useful in the generic sense. However, given that the previous chapter had created a frame for thinking how Canadian adult education has developed out of a unique

national experience, I also expected to find out what was particular about Canadian patterns of participation in adult education and in what ways Canadians are similar and different from other nations; this was not the case.

Chapter 5 explores to some extent program design and development. Here Canadian examples are presented, not necessarily in detail, to show the adult education enterprise at work. As regards program development, Cranton (1989) is not mentioned; nor are Canadians well-known in adult education in terms of their contribution to our understanding of the teaching/learning process, e.g., Giffiths, Barer-Stein). In saying this, I recognize that concepts and issues relating to teaching/learning interactions are not addressed in this book and perhaps it was not the intention of the authors to do so. Nevertheless, brief reference to this literature would make the novice reader in the field aware of these individuals who are a part of the answer to the question, "what is Canadian about Canadian adult education?"

Chapters 6 and 7 explore in more detail than Chapter 3 the degree to which federal and provincial relationships and the country's understanding of the social contract have influenced the impact of public policy on the types of programming seen in Canada. In Chapter 6, this is done by describing modes of government response with Canadian examples. In Chapter 7, it is done on a province by province basis. There appears to be some overlap between these chapters; one gets the impression the chapters were written individually not jointly.

The next chapter describes the growth of adult education in Canada in the post-war decades: the impact that this has had on its development as a field of study and research, and the increasing professionalization of adult educators. Here we learn the important role that Roby Kidd played both in Canada and internationally in professionalizing the field; also described is the emergence of the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE), an important network for Canadian adult educators.

Chapter 9 focuses more specifically on the principal Canadian events of the last two decades. This is done within the frame of adult education as a social movement and as a governmental response. This is an important aspect of adult education and, as I mentioned earlier, needs highlighting for the reader who may view adult education within a more institutionalized frame; however, it would have been helpful if training/retraining in business and industry had also been included in the picture that was created of adult education in Canada over the past two decades. This chapter also draws out implications for the future. For instance, questions are raised about the cohesion of the field, and the present trend in adult education to focus on vocational and academic rather than social issues.

The final chapter is a useful addition to what is an introduction to the field of adult education in Canada. For the reader who wishes to explore specific areas in more depth, the authors provide suggested readings for the six major areas dealt with in the book.

The book is soft-cover, well-bound, printed on white bond, so it's easily readable. However, it uses an older citation format with footnotes at the bottom of each page rather than at the end of chapters; as well, there is no complete list of references nor a bibliography at the back. For a reader new to the field, a more accessible and efficient citation system would be helpful.

Overall, the authors have done a commendable job of synthesizing international and Canadian perspectives. They raise a number of important questions for all of us to consider regarding the future of adult education in Canada; as well, they provide us with the first Canadian foundations text in the field.

Lynn McAlpine
McGill University

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The *Journal* has a wide readership that extends beyond specialists in the field of education. The terminology employed should be accessible to intelligent lay readers as well as academics. While references, notes, tables, graphs, and figures are necessary elements of scholarly research papers, they should be kept within a range which does not detract from or clutter the text of the article.

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Tous les articles doivent être soumis au Rédacteur, *McGill Journal of Education*, faculté des sciences de l'éducation, Université McGill, 3700, rue McTavish, Montréal (Québec) Canada H3A 1A2. Téléphone: (514) 398-4246; télécopieur: (514) 398-4679.

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