

***Bibliothèque
et Archives
nationales***

Québec 

Le présent fichier est une publication en ligne reçue en dépôt légal, convertie en format PDF et archivée par Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec. L'information contenue dans le fichier peut donc être périmée et certains liens externes peuvent être inactifs.

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

Section du dépôt légal

MJE

The M^cGill Journal of Education

The Education of a Principal:
Sir William Peterson,
principal of McGill (1895-1919)

Reginald Edwards

Intercultural Education and Minorities:
Policy initiatives in Quebec

Abdulaziz S. Talbani

Apprendre l'histoire dans une
société démocratique

Robert Martineau

Fall 1993 Vol. 28 No. 3



The McGill Journal of Education

Editor/Rédacteur-en-chef

William M. Talley

Managing Editor/Gérant

Mary H. Maguire

Review Editor/Comité de révision

Lila F. Wolfe

Members/Membres

Helen Amoriggi

Ann Beer

Jing Lin

Anthony Paré

Jacques Rebuffot

Louise Savoie

Judith P. Slaughter

Anastassios Stalikas

Member (ex-officio)/Membre (ex-officio)

A.E. Wall

Editorial Assistant/Adjointe à la rédaction

Ann Keenan

Software Consultant/Conseiller en logiciel

Jim Harris

Cover design & artistic consultant

Réalisateur de la page couverture & conseiller artistique

Clifford Papke

The *McGill Journal of Education* is published three times a year, in Winter, Spring, and Fall.

Subscription rates, post paid: 1 year - \$25.00.

Single copies - \$10.00.

Subscriptions payable to the *McGill Journal of Education*, should be sent to 3700 McTavish Street, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3A 1Y2. Phone: (514) 398-4246. FAX: (514) 398-6968.

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

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced in any form or by any means without permission in writing from the publisher and from the individual authors.

© Faculty of Education, McGill University.

Editorial

Looking back, looking forward

At the turn of the last century McGill was favored by the arrival of a new principal, William Peterson, a native of Scotland, later to become Sir William Peterson. In the year 1995, McGill will be observing the 100th anniversary of Peterson's appointment. In anticipation of that event, Prof. Reginald Edwards has developed a detailed study of Peterson's education in Scotland, Germany, and England as a means of giving some insight into his intellectual depth and the nature of his character. This careful study of Peterson has been conducted with such detail that we cannot help but be overwhelmed by the monumental volume of information that Edwards has presented. The paper goes beyond Peterson himself and describes the university environment of Peterson's student days, the genealogy of his family, and the professional colleagues he cultivated both as a student and as a university principal.

The next two papers in this volume deal with issues that are related to cultural and personal identity. Prof. Talbani recounts Quebec's history of pursuing the policy of intercultural education with the goal of integrating minorities into the francophone culture. This account is followed by commentary on the impact this policy has had on the atmosphere of schools. Prof. Martineau approaches identity from another perspective, that is, of teaching history in such a way that students learn the value of it in terms of their *personal lives* and an understanding of society as a whole. Martineau concludes his paper with a discussion of how the study of history can help in developing attitudes that are basic to life in a democratic society.

Prof. Aline Giroux addresses a topic of current concern to educators everywhere — the empowerment of teachers. While Prof. Giroux raises several theoretical issues relative to the adequacy of power, her concluding question is one of considerable importance and interest to those teachers who have begun to feel the cultural loss of a sense of moral authority. While

some may equate moral authority with respect, it would seem from what is written here that "moral authority" embodies more than the conventional meaning of respect.

"Stories of Women Who Don't Write" is a summary of Prof. Julia L. Ellis' study of the journal entries of a group of elementary teachers who described their experiences of language development and writing. The stories of the women in this study clearly point out their feelings of disability with language, disempowerment, and the conditions that led to these feelings. Briefly, the paper provides an insight about the politics of literacy and whether writing is particularly a "women's problem".

Critical thinking and how best to teach it in the classroom is the subject of the paper by Professors Court and Francis. Their field-based research on this topic demonstrates some of the commonalities of thinking held by teachers who promote critical thinking in the classroom and the theoretical work on the subject, as found in the literature.

Professor Kelebay asks, "Is the practicum practical?" His viewpoint that there is an exaggerated emphasis on student teaching in higher education is defended by linking the influence of the thinking of John Dewey *et al.* with some current opinions that field experience is generally more useful than theory in the formative education of teachers.

We trust that this issue of the *Journal* will be not only informative but challenging as well.

W. M. T.

Reginald Edwards
Professor Emeritus
McGill University

The Education of a Principal

Sir William Peterson—Principal of McGill

(1895 - 1919)¹

Abstract

Sir William Peterson served as Principal of McGill University from 1895 to 1919. His education in Scotland, Germany, and England took place between the years 1865 and 1882, a period when educational opportunities were increasing but more were demanded. An examination of this educational background, and of Peterson's activities, throws light upon the development and character of one who contributed greatly to establishing the reputation of McGill amongst North American universities.

Resumé

Sir William Peterson a été principal de l'Université McGill de 1895 à 1919. Il avait reçu sa formation en Écosse, en Allemagne et en Angleterre entre 1865 et 1882, soit à une époque où les possibilités en matière d'éducation se faisaient plus nombreuses, mais où beaucoup laissait encore à désirer. L'examen de la formation et des activités de Peterson permet de mieux comprendre l'évolution et la personnalité d'un homme qui a grandement contribué à asseoir la réputation de McGill parmi les universités nord-américaines.

When James McGill signed his will on March 6, 1811, he could not have foreseen the litigation which would ensue nor visualize what the college, which was to bear his name, would be like one hundred years hence. Its principal, like him of Scottish ancestry, would be William Peterson, but unlike him, the son of a merchant, a Presbyterian, and one who later

would be knighted for his services. That the college came into existence at all was due to the pertinacity of the chief administrator of the will, John Strachan; that a single building of the college was erected, before the deadline set in the will, was due to the Rev. John Bethune, a principal, declared by a prime minister of Britain, Mr. Gladstone, to be unfit to teach any subject at university level. The nineteenth century was only one year old when the government had responded to petitions for educational facilities by creating the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, to control all public education in Quebec. Its governors were Crown appointees, and by an amended Charter of 1852, these governors became also the governors of McGill College. In 1863, an act of the legislature of the United Canadas (XXVI Vic. Chap 6) saw the board of governors as a self-perpetuating body, and McGill a private university. A first charge given to the newly independent board of 1853 was to appoint a principal. Three principals, amongst all who have served in that office, between them served for eighty-five years. Two of them, Sir William Dawson (1855-1893) and Cyril James (1939-1962), have had extensive eulogies and biographies; the third, Sir William Peterson, has been less generously treated by those who have written about him. Two charges against him stand out – he was aloof in his personal dealings and he was an imperialist. As we approach the centenary of his arrival at McGill, it is more than appropriate that an attempt be made to assess the man as a product of his ancestry, his education, and his character, formed in the second half of the Victorian era, rather than as a non-Canadian when Canada was nation building, particularly in the years after Vimy Ridge, when talk of imperialism was both emotionally charged and politically divisive. Those who have written of him may have done so without regard to significant events in Scotland's history; without regard to social, cultural, and educational changes taking place in Scotland and England; and in ignorance of the growth of the notions of mission and service which Edinburgh and Oxford seemed to impose upon some of their graduates, whether these missions were at home, or abroad, in what was to become known as the Empire. Our first task, therefore, must be one of elaborating these points to determine the parameters within which William Peterson moved and had his being.

First and foremost among these factors was the ancient Franco-Scottish alliance against England, an alliance whose intellectual and attitudinal concomitants survived the Union of the English and Scottish Crowns (1603) and the later Union of Parliaments (1707) so that England remained the "auld enemy". Add to this, that the Reformation came differently to the two countries, so that while Scotland embraced the Presbyterianism brought from Geneva by John Knox, the Reformation in England became channeled politically into a maintained episcopacy, an official hostility to Calvinism in all its forms, and a general belief that monarchs were anointed of God. At the Union of 1707, in addition to gaining trading

access to England, to the extinction of its own debt, and without any liability for past English debts, Scotland retained control of its language, its laws, and its religion. As happened later, and elsewhere, the official religion, in Scotland, Presbyterianism as expressed in John Knox's *First Book of Discipline*, became the guardian of all things Scottish and a defense against the centralizing tendencies of governments in London. In education this was manifest in the democratic forms of schools and universities in Scotland, while in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries elitism continued. However, reforms were taking place in both countries, reforms which would affect the education and career of, among many others, William Peterson.

The Scene in 1856

William Peterson was born in Edinburgh on May 29, 1856, midway through that period, 1846-1866, which saw in Britain not only a great increase in population but also great prosperity as the negative effects of the Napoleonic Wars were replaced by the positive effects of the Industrial Revolution, a term coined by Arnold Toynbee (1832-1893). Some elements of reform had taken place between 1832 and the time of Peterson's birth, but many more were to follow. In 1856 the Crimean War was officially ended with the Treaty of Paris, and the seeds had been sown for the Indian Mutiny which followed in 1857, and the subsequent demise of the East India Company, followed by Crown control of India in 1876. More importantly, for Peterson, several events of great academic significance had occurred. For example, 1856 saw the publication of the twelfth volume of George Grote's *History of Ancient Greece*, an epic which he began in 1846, and the coincidental publication, in German, of Theodor Mommsen's three volumes of the *History of Rome*, both affecting the academic preparation of succeeding generations of Oxford students. Parliament was involved in university reform with the Acts of 1854, 1856, and 1858 dealing respectively with the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh, and one year prior to these it had passed the India Act which led to the appointment of civil service commissioners who set the first and, subsequent, open competitive examination for entry into the Indian Civil Service.

The examination itself was clearly modeled upon Oxford Greats, with an additional English paper which, incidentally, carried almost as many marks as the Latin and Greek papers combined. Open competition for the Home Civil Service only began in 1870. In North America, the United Canadas was functioning well, as witness the act which created McGill as a private university, and moves were under way for a Kingdom of Canada.

In England the religious struggle for and against episcopacy continued, with the Established Church of England fighting to retain its privileges.

The Dissenters had gained some political rights with the 1828 repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts and the 1832 Reform Act. Until now the major dissenting groups had been the so-called Independents, synonymous with Congregationalists, plus the Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the Society of Friends. Then the Methodists, still Tory in outlook, broke with the Church of England and increased their own support. The Congregationalists shared with the Baptists more radical forms of dissent than the Presbyterians, while the Methodists, particularly in Wales and the north of England, were to take the lead in nonconformist politics. Sporadic attempts were made towards an Episcopal church in Scotland.

During the nineteenth century the population of Scotland doubled between 1801 and 1851, and doubled again by 1901, this despite the great numbers who emigrated in these years, numbers estimated by some counts to be twenty-five million emigrants from Britain. The earlier ones left for religious reasons, but in the latter half of the century they left for economic and, increasingly, professional and administrative reasons.² Our particular Peterson family was represented in both realms, fecundity and residence overseas.

The Peterson Family

The Petersons originally came from the Shetlands, a group of islands some two hundred miles northeast of Scotland, territory which was originally Norse but was transferred to Scotland as a wedding dowry. William Peterson's paternal grandfather, the Reverend Peter Peterson, was the Congregational minister at Walls, on the southwest of the main island. He and his wife, Barbara Mann, had ten children christened there between 1810 and 1836, though as two sons were christened John and two daughters christened Margaret it is presumed that some of the ten children died in infancy. There was a Congregational manse at Walls but the Reverend Peter is known to have preached in neighbouring parishes. He was the son of a John Peterson and Janet Twatt, and was twice married, the second time at age 71, Barbara Mann having died in 1847. However there is no record in Shetland of Peter's death. From Shetland we learn that,

The stronghold of the Petersons was in the Island of Vaila and in the district of Riskness, just across the water from there. A large number of Petersons congregated there during the first three censuses of 1841, 1851, and 1861. They moved or died out after then and there are no Petersons in Walls now.³

John, Magnus Mann, and William Peterson, the three surviving sons of Reverend Peter, left Shetland, the two former to Edinburgh, and the last, William, at a very young age for Melbourne, Australia, where he was to be

joined in partnership by a nephew, John, in the firm Peterson, Pole, and Company, merchants. Meanwhile, Sir William's father, John, was able to establish the firm of Peterson Brothers, merchants in Leith, later to be incorporated in Edinburgh.

There, in Edinburgh, John Peterson married Grace Mountford Anderson on August 16, 1844, and they had fourteen children, of whom one unnamed male child died before he could be christened. Of these children, the fifth son, William Peterson, destined to become principal of McGill University in 1895, was born on May 29, 1856. Peter, the eldest son (1847-1899), went to India in 1872 to be the registrar and professor of Sanskrit at the University of Bombay; Magnus, the fourth (1854-1894), who had been an organist and choirmaster, died in New Zealand. A younger son, Franklin Sieveright (1861-1914), was, from 1900 onwards, the Ormond Professor of Music at the University of Melbourne, Australia. It is interesting to note that many of the children of the Petersons who had lived abroad, returned to study and work in Britain. The only son of William, the provision merchant of St. Kilda, Melbourne, became Sir Arthur Frederick Peterson, a British judge in chancery; Margaret, daughter of Peter of Bombay, an author, retired to Sussex; the son of Franklin, Franklin George Reginald Sieveright Peterson (1893-1933), became a leader writer on *The Times*. Of two grandsons of Peter, of Bombay, one, A.D.C. Peterson (1908-1968), was born in Sir William's house in Edinburgh and became professor of education at Oxford, and his younger brother (1910-1986) became Sir Arthur William Peterson, permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Home Office. Of the two sons of Sir William, of McGill, the elder, Lt. Colonel William Gordon Peterson, D.S.O. (1886-1930), was, after distinguished service in the First World War, a lecturer in English at St. Andrews University, and the younger, Sir Maurice Drummond Peterson (1889-1952), was a career diplomat and British Ambassador in turn to Iraq, Spain, Turkey, and Russia. Only the eldest son of Peter, of Bombay, John Carlos Kennedy (1876-1955), though educated at Edinburgh and Oxford, returned to serve administratively in India before retiring to Wales. In total, this is a remarkable record, within one family, of public and professional service at home and abroad, with one generation serving abroad but with their descendants returning to the land of the parents' birth. Was it opportunity; a sense of duty, as part of the exodus of Scots, particularly Edinburgh graduates; of ideals derived from an Oxford education; of living in the shadow of Jowett, with his ideas of the civilizing mission of Oxford and especially of Balliol; or merely a pattern within one family? Are there clues to be found, in Sir William's case, in his early history and education?

The Peterson family, in Leith and Edinburgh, was apparently a tightly knit and happy one, as attested by a letter from a younger daughter, Margaret, who preferred the diminutive Germanic form of that name, Meta.

The prosperity of the father assured that his sons and daughters received a private education in preparatory schools to age nine or more, followed by attendance at one of Edinburgh's academies or high schools. Less fortunate children in Scotland would attend first a parochial school and later a "burgh" school, where they would undoubtedly be taught some Latin, for Presbyterian Scotland devoted much greater resources to education than did England, even though, for many years, the Scottish schoolmasters were poorly remunerated.

William Peterson and the Royal High School, Edinburgh

William entered the Royal High School of Edinburgh in September 1865 at age 9, at the same time as his brother, Magnus, who was two years older. They had been preceded at the school by two even older brothers, Peter (1857-1863) and John Anderson (1859-1862). A younger brother, Franklin Sieveright, would go to George Watson's Academy. The daughter, Meta, went to Miss Blyth's private school, and later Dundee University College, when William was the principal, and graduated in 1887. From school reports we glean that William

... was *Dux* in Herr Von Ravensburg's German class of 1870 and 1871. In 1869 he also received the Prize for Excellence in Mr. Carmichael's Greek class. Also in that year he received an Honourable Mention in the Rector's Report in Mr. Ross's English class. During his final year he won a bursary to attend the University, having been examined in Latin, Greek, Mathematics, French, German, and English, and was one of three high school boys who were accepted that year for university. As was customary Peterson was under the rector's tutelage during his sixth year. This is shown in the Library Register for 1870-1871.⁴

The Royal High School, dating back to 1503, received mention as *Scola Regia Edimburgensis* by James VI of Scotland, and its third site on Calton Hill (1825-1968) was so marked in the Edinburgh Directory of 1833, but the term only entered into general use from 1867 when a major reorganization of the school and its curriculum took place under its new rector, James Donaldson. The school retained its title after control passed from the Edinburgh Town Council to the newly established school board created by the Education Act of 1872, William's education being unaffected by this last change. It was said that, "Every High School boy, whatever else he may know or not know, knows two things – that Sir Walter Scott was a High School boy and that one of his predecessors shot a Baillie" (an event which occurred in 1595 when the sheriff tried to evict some High School boys from behind a barricade).⁵ The school had had many distinguished

alumni before Sir William Peterson, who does not merit a mention in any of the official histories of the school. Among these were Alexander Graham Bell (1857-1862), James Boswell (1755-1756), and A. C. Tait (1820-1824), a Presbyterian who became Thomas Arnold's successor as headmaster of Rugby and later the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁶ S. S. Laurie (1839-1844), who was the first professor of education to be appointed in any British university, was another alumnus. It was an adventure of yet another former pupil, James Hector, surveying in Alberta, that saddled that province with the famous Kicking Horse Pass. Of its many distinguished rectors, three are particularly remembered.⁷

Dr. Schmitz (1845-1865) had the privilege of being tutor to the future Edward VII whenever Queen Victoria and Prince Albert were in residence at Holyrood Palace. It was Schmitz who introduced for the school a code of discipline, of twenty-two clauses, and on the first day of each succeeding term for the next fifty years these were read out to the assembled school-boys. In its preamble the code said, "It is incumbent upon those entrusted with your education to see that you are trained to conduct yourselves in all the various relationships of life as Christians and as gentlemen".⁸ Peterson must have heard this admonition on some eighteen occasions, so if he had not acquired such modes of conduct before entering the Royal High School he would do so there. Schmitz started the publication of an annual rector's report; he also reduced the number of hours spent daily on Latin from five to four, made Greek an optional subject, ended Saturday morning school, and secured space in the grounds of Holyrood for school cricket. Schmitz's regime, under which three older Peterson boys had been educated, set the scene for further changes initiated by his successor, Donaldson. James Donaldson (1866-1882) had been the rector of Stirling High School before coming to Edinburgh as one of the four classics masters. Prior to his arrival such English as had been taught had been done so by the classics masters; Donaldson's first move was to appoint a master specifically for the teaching of English – a new departure for Scotland – and thus freed the classics masters for the sole job of teaching Latin and Greek. School games were instituted, though golf was played only from 1876 onwards, and Rugby football from 1868. Military drill and rifle shooting were introduced in 1865, the year in which Peterson became a pupil there. When Peterson attended (1865-1871), five school departments existed: classics, English, foreign languages (French and German), mathematics and arithmetic, and a miscellaneous department which included writing, drawing, fencing, physical science, and a civil service class. (Examinations for employment in the Home Civil Service were part of a closed competition; only after 1870 was competition open.) Each option followed by a student had to be approved by the rector, who, as was customary, taught Latin and Greek to the sixth year class, and hence, as we have seen, taught Peterson in his last year at school. In earlier days Donaldson had studied, in Berlin, the psychology of

education of Herbart and Beneke, and in 1874 his lectures on this topic were published as the *History of Education in Prussia and England*.

In 1881 he became professor of humanity at Aberdeen, and, from 1886-1891, the principal of the United Colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, and, by seniority, in 1891 he became the principal of the re-organized University of St. Andrews. He was knighted in 1907. The paths of Peterson and Donaldson were to cross on several occasions between 1861 and 1895, at which time Peterson left Dundee to become the principal of McGill University. There is no record of any congratulatory note from Peterson to Donaldson on the latter's knighthood in 1907, and, of course, Donaldson died in 1915 before Peterson, in his turn, was knighted.

Edinburgh University

The town council of Edinburgh had not only controlled the Royal High School, it had been responsible also for the creation of the University of Edinburgh, Scotland's fourth university, obtaining a charter from James VI in 1582. (The other three had been papal foundations of the fifteenth century, St. Andrews [1411], Glasgow [1451], and Aberdeen [1494]). Initially the students were taught by regents, each regent being responsible for the same students throughout their stay, but later a professorial system, based upon the German model, was adopted with one professor for each subject. Scots students tended to be young and seldom stayed long enough to graduate. In the field of medicine, however, the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh offered superior facilities to those of the English universities. One Canadian prime minister completed his medical training there.⁹ Academic control at Edinburgh was always in dispute between the *Senatus Academicus* and the town council. A royal commission's report of 1831, which advocated executive commissioners, was rejected by the town council, and, more importantly, by the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, though being accepted by the other three universities. It was not until 1858, following action at the two English universities, that a further royal commission (1858) led to the Universities of Scotland Act of that year. Executive powers were granted to the commissioners to effect the necessary changes "for the government and discipline of the Universities and Colleges of Scotland." It was under the terms of this act that William Peterson, and his brothers, were to receive their university education as day students at Edinburgh.

The ease of admission to Scots universities, and the absence of qualifications for matriculation, together with the low age of entrance, meant that some students, rural students in particular, could arrive with only a rudimentary background in Latin and Greek. The professor was expected to make good such deficiencies, and additionally he felt required to devote

time to what was termed "examinations" – analogous to what American universities were later to dub "quiz sessions". A professor would set some six essay topics for the year.¹⁰

"Examinations" or "catechetical teaching" dealt with the essays and their evaluation, (though the professor may have responded also to questions on his daily lectures), and occupied two hours per week, additional to the five hours of his lectures. Only two of Edinburgh's professors were known to rely solely upon lectures, Stewart in moral philosophy and Lyon Playfair in chemistry. Another characteristic of Scottish university education at that time, and one remarked upon with derision by English academics, was the amount of time devoted to philosophy and the immaturity of the minds set to receive it. Scottish students had a double dose, being taught the same topics (theory of knowledge, perception, universals and causality), in the third year by the professor of logic and in the fourth year by the professor of moral philosophy. Metaphysical considerations seemed to enter also into the teaching of other subjects, and as a result of all this the Scots were regarded as sciolists or "smatterers". They, in turn had been brought up to regard philosophy and religion as more important than mathematics or classics.¹¹

By the time of the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858, some much needed reform had been initiated at Oxford and Cambridge, notably in the admission of Dissenters and the reform of Statutes pertaining to Fellows and Tutors. These changes were to render the English universities more attractive to Scots students. Meanwhile the Executive Commissioners of the 1858 Act in Scotland were able to bring about all the changes implied or required by the Act, save for Mr. Gladstone's proposal for a federal university of Scotland, such as Wales secured in 1893. Control now passed from the senate to a newly created University Court consisting of a rector, principal and four assessors, (at Edinburgh two of these were nominated by the town council), and a general council, consisting of the chancellor, members of the court, professors, and alumni. The senate, meanwhile, retained power over the curriculum and instruction. The B. A. degree was abolished, and the ordinary M. A. (A. M. at some universities) was to be the first degree. This was to be granted after four years of successful study.¹² As a classics student, William was to benefit from the changes introduced.

Two problems for the commissioners are worthy of note: the condition of assistants and the inadequate provision of libraries. It had been the practice of professors to recruit a successful student of a previous year to assist in the provision of "rudimentary instruction" where that was necessary, paying him from his own remuneration, which came largely from student fees. The executive commissioners felt that a full-time professor deserved an income of £400 – £500 a year, inclusive of class fees, and that

assistants to a professor should be recognized by that title and remunerated directly from university funds. This would lead, eventually, to a salaried class of well qualified graduates embarking upon an academic career, as happened to William at a later date. It also became incumbent upon the government in London to provide the necessary financial help to university funds. The condition of the universities' libraries certainly called for help. The commission believed that Edinburgh had the best university library in Scotland but even so, with sometimes only one copy of the standard texts, it could do little to help the class of over two hundred students who attended particular classes, such as those in humanity or natural philosophy in 1876-1877. Thanks to the generosity of some of the professors, class libraries helped to relieve the problem but even so reliance upon lecture notes was still a fairly sure way to pass examinations.

Finally, the introduction of new subjects recommended by the commission meant the employment of new professors, and in one case a change of scope. Rhetoric, which at Edinburgh under Professor Aytoun had become the first British Chair of English Literature and enjoyed a high reputation, (one fully maintained by his successor, Professor Masson), now appeared as Rhetoric and English Literature. Seven new chairs were created, Sanskrit (1862), civil engineering (1868), political economy (1871), education (1876), fine arts (1882), and Celtic (1882), all of them from private endowments, the last one, Celtic, by Professor J. S. Blackie. Peter Peterson, who obtained an honours degree in 1867, must have been one of the early beneficiaries of the introduction of Sanskrit, the study of which he continued at Oxford, and later taught at Bombay. Edinburgh awarded him a doctorate in philology in 1883. (Comparative philology had from 1800 onwards been a part of the traditional Greek course at Edinburgh.)¹³

Peterson and the University of Edinburgh

When William entered with his bursary in 1871, at the age of 15, there were 1874 students registered of whom 729 were in arts; in the year of his graduation, in April 1875, these numbers had been increased to 2076 and 793, respectively. Rather more than 400 of these were Edinburgh residents, who would reside at home; non-Edinburgh residents would perforce live in lodgings. The arts graduation list for April 1875 showed that there were 53 ordinary and 15 honours M. A. degrees awarded, of which ten were first class honours, and William was one of the four awarded in classics. Graduation was still not the rule. One prize for graduates was the ability to be a member of the general council; a second prize would arise from 1868 onwards when graduates could vote in the election for a member of parliament to represent the universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews. (Glasgow and Aberdeen graduates would vote for a second member to represent the other Scottish universities.) Many years later William would

be invited to have his name submitted as the potential Liberal candidate for the combined universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, but he declined the invitation.

Post-graduate study for outstanding individuals was difficult and financially expensive. There were prizes, certainly, but these were generally for small amounts, not sufficient to provide the means required. However, in the twenty years following the Act of 1858 sixteen scholarships were provided in the faculty of arts, including the Mackenzie Classical Scholarship (1862) valued at £120 per year for up to four years for excellence in classical literature and English literature, and the Greek Traveling Scholarship which gave residence at a German university for one year. From 1861 onwards there would be Ferguson Scholars, awards open to recent graduates of all four Scots universities, originally valued at £80 per year for two or three years. These were regarded as "the blue ribbon of academic merit for Scotland".¹⁴

William Peterson signed the matriculation register of the University of Edinburgh in September 1871, giving his age as 15, his number of years of high school education as six, and a home address in Edinburgh. From the first he began to collect prizes and mentions, starting with the winter session of 1871-72 in which, while failing to win a class medal for general excellence in humanity (Latin), he was placed a joint third in his class (of several hundred students).

In the summer session of 1872, in humanity, he was placed first in his division, and a joint second in Greek, and in the summer session of 1873 won prizes for Latin essay and honourable mention for his essays in Latin and English, with a certificate of merit in logic and metaphysics. In the winter session of 1873-74 he distinguished himself in Latin, winning the first prize for Latin prose composition and the class medal for general excellence, with a certificate of merit in rhetoric and English literature. In his fourth year we find him listed as a prizeman but not a medallist in the moral philosophy papers, gaining 503 marks out of a possible 575. (The highest mark awarded was 530). In the same session he won the gold medal for general excellence in Greek, and a gold letter for his Greek prose composition. William completed four years at Edinburgh with an honours M. A. in classics, the winner of a Mackenzie Scholarship worth £100 per year, and then was awarded the Greek Traveling Fellowship by Professor Blackie. With this he went to Gottingen to study philology under Professor Sauppe. At or about this time he applied to Corpus Christi College and was awarded a recently created "exhibition" valued at £80 per year with free rooms, but requiring him to furnish "battels".¹⁵ On April 28, 1876, he was officially admitted to Corpus Christi as a scholar and signed the university matriculation register the next day, April 29th. On October 3rd and 4th he

was in Glasgow to compete for the Ferguson Scholarship, before the beginning of Michaelmas term at Oxford later in October 1876. In the Ferguson competition he was one of three winners, all of them graduates of Edinburgh, Peterson in classics, R. B. Haldane (a future minister of war) in philosophy, and H. W. G. Mackenzie in mathematics. (Mackenzie distinguished himself as a mathematician, 5th Wrangler, and then as a physician).

All three of them had figured in the class prize lists of the university. It is interesting to note that Haldane had religious doubts whilst taking Latin under Sellar, particularly when studying Lucretius, and switched to philosophy. On the advice and with the help of Professor Blackie he went to Gottingen for four months to Professor Lotze (the successor of Herbart) until he had resolved his philosophical doubts. Whilst his parents had permitted this foreign visit in 1874 when he was still only seventeen, they refused him permission to go to Oxford some years later, fearing the anti-Calvinism which they still believed to exist there (as it may have done in certain colleges).

Oxford

As is well known, Oxford claimed to be one of the world's three founding universities, a collection of independent colleges, or "houses", at which, from the twelfth century onwards, groups of monks came for mutual instruction and further study, eight such houses being in existence before Scotland received its first at St. Andrews. By the time of the Union of the Crowns, Scotland had its four universities and Oxford some fifteen colleges, and Cambridge, a later foundation, had sixteen. The universities had been affected by the power struggles between kings and their parliaments, and the role of chancellor had been important.¹⁶ When the chancellor of the university was no longer resident, as happened after the Middle Ages, power passed to the vice-chancellor, and the office of chancellor became an elective one. It was the election in 1629 of William Laud, president of St. John's College, and a High Church man, as chancellor, a life-time appointment, which gave him the power to affect the statutes of the university. These gave power to the colleges and entrenched privileges and patronage, increasing the number of livings (parishes) in the direct gift of the colleges, as well as providing income for their support.¹⁷

The nineteenth century opened with reforms of the examination system. Prior to Laud, graduation depended upon attendance and ability to take part in disputations; under his statutes, some form of oral examination upon four texts, one of which was from Aristotle, was introduced. This deteriorated to the point where the examiners were friends of the student, and the whole process became farcical. Written examinations were started after 1801 with the introduction of the honour school of *Litterae Humaniores*

(Latin, Greek, philosophy, mathematics, and divinity), in which students could either "take pass" or "challenge the honours". From 1807 the final school was split into classics and mathematics, class lists were used, and separate examiners appointed for each school. By mid-century "Moderations" was introduced, taken in either classics or mathematics, and two new honour schools (natural science and modern history with cognate subjects) introduced. By the time of Peterson's arrival, the first examination, *Responsions*, could be excused on the basis of an examination taken in school before matriculation. Moderations could be taken at either the pass or honours level, and "Greats" also taken at either the pass or honours level.¹⁸ It was possible to be examined in classics in one year, and in history or mathematics in another, a path followed by some distinguished individuals, especially those seeking a college fellowship. There had long been reports of professors who never lectured and fellows who never taught, with tutors taking Holy Orders and waiting for years for the college to find them a suitable vacant living (parish) from amongst those livings under its patronage, which would pay them more money than their tutorship. (Corpus Christi College, for example, had 22 parishes under its patronage, and maintained 17 fellows and three professor fellows, who actually might have taught.) Fellows were remunerated from the endowments of the college plus any dividend distributed by the bursar on the general profitability of its estates; tutors were remunerated from the proceeds of tuition fees paid by students. Teaching, when it was done, was entrusted to lecturers or tutors, but students desirous of making progress went for instruction to coaches in the town. As the century progressed there was, however, a gradual rise in the age at matriculation – Thomas Arnold matriculated at fourteen, many others at fifteen – so that by the 1870s most matriculants, and there were many more of them than in earlier years, had had their nineteenth birthday. There was a corresponding increase in the number of tutors – some 40% in fact, but, all in all, dissatisfaction with Oxford increased both inside and outside of the university.

External events after the end of the Napoleonic Wars began to impinge on Oxford, foremost among these being several acts of parliament, and also the creation of several new universities. While some previously imposed disabilities were removed, internal criticism persisted and laid the groundwork for a royal commission under the Bishop of Norwich. The terms of the report were to become the basis of the Oxford University Act of 1854.¹⁹ Changes followed in Oxford life. Previously there had been a class of poor students termed *servitors*, who performed several menial functions, during and after meals in Hall, in return for an education for which they were otherwise too poor to pay; there had been three classes of undergraduates, each with a different gown to mark his status as nobleman, gentleman-commoner, or commoner. From 1854 all undergraduates were commoners, though at matriculation distinctions were preserved for the

description of the parent. Subsequently, in 1871, the Cleveland Commission made a thorough examination of the finances and endowments of the colleges and of the university, preparatory to moving some college funds to the general support of the university. By now it was accepted that celibacy of all fellows could no longer be enforced, and a new executive commission was appointed in 1877, the year when William was to sit Moderations. Unlike its predecessor, its seven members with three co-opted members from each college in turn, would draw up and enforce a completely new set of statutes. More professors were appointed and more money was provided for scholarships and exhibitions. (This change may have assisted William in becoming an Exhibitioner at Corpus.)

Other changes were introduced which would improve both the colleges and the university. Some of the changes affected the tutorial system, reduced the number of prize fellows and had more college fellows, who now became teachers, but the clerical influence remained with the college chaplains, who were no longer celibate. Each college had its own restrictions on how many of the fellows and tutors could marry. But it left unresolved the balance between research, scholarship, and collegial (teaching) duties, though permitting the existing tutors association an increased voice in college and university affairs. But these later changes would affect William very little, though they would restrict his opportunity to obtain a fellowship, had that been his intention. To mitigate the supposedly high cost of living in college, new statutes approved by the Hebdomadal Council in 1868 permitted students, who might otherwise find university costs excessive, to live in lodgings, and created further a group of students unattached to any college, and this in turn required the university to provide tuition by a new generation of tutors. These students were to be incorporated later into a society, the St. Catherine's Society, which eventually gained college status.²⁰

In the years from 1856 to 1876 there had been a great increase in the annual number of matriculants, rising to over 700 in 1876, with a similar rise in the number of tutors, though private coaches existed and continued to flourish. By the time of William's arrival the average teacher/student ratio was 1/17. How did this affect the kind of supervision and instruction an undergraduate could expect to receive? Much would depend upon the particular college, its size, its endowments, and its tutors and lecturers. Prior to 1852 Corpus admitted only scholars, all destined for honours degrees; from some 17 fellows it was reduced to ten, but as a result an additional forty-four commoners were matriculated. In earlier years the award of a scholarship in a larger college almost always guaranteed a later fellowship; in others, a waiting period was spent as a tutor (or later as a lecturer) before becoming a fellow. Thus tutors were often quite young men, recently graduated. After 1855 this preferment was no longer automatic. The endowed (or prize) fellows did not necessarily have to fulfill residence re-

quirements but did have to remain celibate and often had to take holy orders, but in return had a guaranteed and substantial income for life. Again, in the 1870s at Corpus, there were three university professors granted fellowships, three or four teaching fellows (i.e., acting as tutors), two honorary fellows, of whom Ruskin was one, and four lecturers, plus two designated tutors and two designated chaplains. In a college as small as Corpus, with about seventy-five undergraduates, that should have meant that no tutor would have to cover the whole of the examination requirements, but in a larger college, with the same number of tutors, he might be responsible for the whole syllabus. Some students remembered their tutors with affection, others with contempt.²¹

During Peterson's time, attempts were made by tutors in one college to foster cooperation with tutors in other colleges so that some specialization could take place, and undergraduates could attend lectures and tutor-based sessions in colleges other than their own. Because of the autonomy of the colleges such arrangements were informal; it was impossible to establish a publicly available timetable, though a movement initiated by the history tutor at Corpus, Robert Laing, did lead to specialization with the cooperation of others in the faculty of history. The drawback was that from a catechetical and directed session which might be followed with only members of the same college, the absence of student response to that technique in a mixed group led to a more professorial type of lecture. Another development noted at the same time was the use of the "private hour" when the tutor or professor would see a single undergraduate, or, at the most, two or three, for an hour. Of course, private coaching continued to be available. Tutorials were always held in the morning, public lectures by the university professors were in the early afternoon. To encourage the right student attitude to tutorials the college and university boathouses only opened after midday. Serious students were expected to read in the evenings after dinner in the Hall.

Peterson at Gottingen and Oxford

Of Peterson's studies in Gottingen, we can infer only from our knowledge of Sauppe (1809-1893). Sauppe had distinguished himself as the joint author of *Oratores Attici* (a work of over 1000 pages), for an edition of Demosthenes' speeches, and for work on Plato's *Protagoras*. (*Satura Philologa*, essays honouring his 70th birthday, were published in 1879.) But it was in Gottingen that Peterson met, and established a firm friendship with A. A. Macdonnell. Arthur Macdonnell, born in India, the son of an Indian army colonel, was sent to Europe for his education. When he met Peterson he was in his second year at the University of Gottingen, having previously spent four years in the Gymnasium at Dresden. Peterson persuaded him to come to Oxford and to apply for admission to Corpus. He did. He lived on

the floor above Peterson at Corpus, and later contributed his recollections of Peterson to the Corpus journal, *The Pelican Record*. From having been the first to be designated as a Chinese scholar at Oxford, and later the Taylorian Lecturer in German, he obtained a Ph.D. from Leipzig in Sanskrit and became professor of Sanskrit at Oxford. Eventually he became a professorial fellow at both Corpus and Balliol and the keeper of the Indian Institute.

Once Peterson had matriculated, and with his scholarship of £80, income from the Ferguson and Mackenzie Awards and free rooms in college, he would be financially secure. A near contemporary of his, Sir Charles Oman (New College 1880-1884), by not dining in Hall and eating sparsely, managed to live on an £80 scholarship and a £50 award. As to age, Peterson's would be similar to other matriculants. There were three examinations on the way to a degree. William was excused the first of these, *Responsions*, by virtue of his Edinburgh experience. Following the 1854 reforms, what had previously been a single final examination was now divided into two parts, language and grammar, tested by Moderations, and history and philosophy by *Literae Humaniores* or Greats. William as a Corpus scholar would be required to take the honours examination in both Moderations and Finals. Though after reforms were instituted by an 1877 royal commission, the examination in Classical Moderations could only be taken at the end of Hilary term and Finals at the end of Trinity term. William elected to take both at the end of Michaelmas term, the former in 1877 and the latter in 1879. In the official list for Moderations,

In *Literis Graecis et Latinis* William Peterson was one of sixteen candidates placed in Class 1. Peter, the eldest Peterson brother, had obtained a Second Class in Moderations in Trinity Term 1871 and their Australian cousin, Arthur, would obtain a First Class in 1880. The first portion of the Moderations examination was the Greek text of the Four Gospels, followed by a translation of Latin and Greek unprepared passages, an examination on Latin composition and five set Latin and Greek authors as prescribed by the Board of Studies. The emphasis was upon grammar, contents, style and literary history of the selected texts.²²

"The examination was held in the upper rooms of the old Ashmolean Museum. There was no heating except by a small fireplace at one of its ends. In 1879," (when Peterson would be writing his final examination), continues Oman, "it was a bitter December week and we were permitted, or rather advised, to bring horse rugs and warm gloves."²³ It was some years later, in 1883, before the New Examination Schools were opened with rooms which were warmed, ventilated, and lighted. Preparation for Modera-

tions would vary with the college and the individual. One near contemporary of Peterson wrote: "In Moderations the examination has to do not merely with work like that done in school, but largely with work which has actually been done in school. When a man who has been well trained in the classics at school comes to Oxford, he has little more to do than to go over again the authors whom he has read."²⁴ As Peterson in 1877 would be well grounded in the classics and philology and Quintillian, Moderations should have provided no challenge. The class awarded would also depend upon the attitude of the student. Oman decided that a second would be good enough. Macdonnell, Peterson's friend at Corpus, who was doing many other things, also obtained a second class.

After that, two further years of preparation would be required for the honours school, in William's case that of Greats or *Literae Humaniores*, or, as the official results would state, *In Literis Humanioribus*. This would entail roughly one year of philosophy and one year of ancient history. However, every candidate for a degree, whether pass or honours, would be required to pass the examination in the rudiments of faith and religion. In Peterson's time it was an integral part of Moderations, but at a later date this part was written separately, at any time between Moderations and Finals and became known as "Divvers". It is presumed that William, as a Presbyterian, would offer the alternative of one or more books of the Old or New Testament in Greek.²⁵ The examination for Greats would commence on November 18th and would be partly in writing and partly by *viva voce*, with never more than ten candidates being examined orally in one day. (A topical cartoon of the scene is reproduced in Balsdon's text.) It was always understood that the *viva* could never lower the class awarded to the written portion but might raise it. Formerly the examinations were mainly held in the rooms under the Bodleian Library with no light and no fire. Afternoon papers were sometimes completed in semi-darkness. The stated subjects of the examination were three fold:

- (1) The Greek and Latin languages, (2) the histories of ancient Greece and Rome to be studied in the original authors, and (3) Logic and the Outlines of Moral and Political Philosophy, at least two treatises thereon by ancient authors to be offered. The writings of modern philosophers are admitted but not required.

Candidates were also required to offer one or more special subjects drawn from the three divisions above. So much for the official requirements. One stinging comment upon this format reads as follows:

This limitation of studies is produced and perpetuated by the hard and fast examination system which binds us hand and

foot . . . Oxford has decided that in the study of the Humanities one course is better than all others and that every student shall be driven through this particular gate. The Final Schools are one fluke of the anchor which prevents Oxford from moving with the stream, and the other fluke is the Civil Service Examination which resembles the Final Schools almost as closely as one side of an anchor resembles the other. . . . By philosophy is meant Plato and Aristotle in the first place, and in the second place logic and moral philosophy, political science and the works of ancient and modern philosophers. . . . Historically the great importance assigned to Aristotle at Oxford is a remnant of the vast dominion which he exercised in the Middle Ages.²⁶

In practice, the separation into two distinct parts, philosophy and history, affected both the preparation for the examination and the relations between the examiners appointed. Since each examiner would be a specialist, the philosopher would have to rely upon the historian for a relevant judgment on his section of the examination, and *vice versa*. This gives point to the alleged remark of an Oxford tutor to his pupil, "Do you really want to learn any philosophy, or do you want simply to know enough of it not to spoil your Class in history?"

When Peterson was examined at Michaelmas 1879, the five examiners were: T. Fowler (Lincoln), professor of logic and later president of Corpus; R. L. Nettleship (Balliol); W. W. Capes, reader in ancient history; F. T. Richards (Trinity); and R. W. Macan (Christ Church), later master of University College. The examination syllabus was virtually all embracing – "*de omni scibili*" – the papers were extensive, the number of questions to be answered was limited. How did students prepare for their final examination? For the pass student, some four and one-half hours per day was recommended; for the honours man it was presumed that six to eight hours would suffice, with extra work during the examination term. This was supposed to entail three hours before lunch, some work between 4:30 and 6:00 p. m. when dinner was taken in Hall, and then again from 8:00 p. m. to 11:00 p. m.²⁷ Much serious reading was expected to take place in the one long vacation available. In Peterson's case we have evidence that after Hall he spent one hour at the Union and could be relied upon to return to his rooms at 8:00 p. m., and he was known to visit Macdonnell in his room around midnight – where the latter had been secretly working away at his Chinese. On the other hand, we have the record of Oman, who relates that he never spent time in athletics or looking at people playing cricket or football, although he used to run along the towpath when his college was involved in the Torpids, in March, or Eights, during May.

. . . but as to the rest of my intellectual training for "Greats" I must say that, with one notable exception, the classical tutors who had to deal with me at New College were of no assistance whatever. My generation educated itself, or perhaps I ought to say we educated each other in constant discussion of all things human and divine. . . . As to the history side of *Literae Humaniores*, the half of it in which I was really interested, I read all my texts and many books of comment. Mommsen I swallowed whole . . . I never wrote weekly essays for any of my New College tutors: they discovered from the first that I could be left to myself, and I utilized the time thus gained in running through nearly the whole of Plutarch, and other historical authors who were not prescribed for the Schools.²⁸

And the results? We have already seen how the final result was dependent upon not only the student's efforts, and the effectiveness of his tutors, but upon the vagaries of philosophical thought of the various examiners. Rolleston, the professor of anatomy and physiology, compared the examination to a great gambling casino. He wrote down the names of men whose later careers had conspicuously reversed the verdict of the examiners, including a little list (a copy of which he would offer) "of First Class men whom the world has not thought much of afterwards. . . . the more I think of it, the surer I am that, with our system of gambling and cramming for classes, we shall never succeed in making the pursuit of knowledge a real end in the University." He favoured an alphabetical list of those who were worthy of honours and a separate alphabetical list of pass men.²⁹ Oman's comments take the matter one stage further: "Who remembers Oxford's 'firsts' or 'seconds' when a few years have gone by?" When he considered the majority of his fellow students in the first class he remembered "only two achieved any distinctions, one as a colonial bishop and the other as a vice-chancellor of a northern university. On the other hand, George Curzon of Balliol, the most brilliant man of his year, and subsequently the most distinguished, who had too many irons in the fire, achieved only a second class."³⁰ William Peterson, too, obtained a second class, and he also was destined for great things later. Macdonnell in 1880 received a third class, but was immediately appointed to the Tylorship in German and, some time later, as lecturer in Sanskrit also.

Chapel, Collections, and Student Life

There were two other practices of the various colleges which greatly affected the life of their students, Chapel and Collections. Attendance at chapel, which had been compulsory during the heyday of Anglican control,

was retained as a means of regulatory control of students' presence in college when terms were being kept. Even after the Oxford University Act of 1854 admitted Dissenters to the degree of B. A. (but not M. A.), colleges could still discriminate in favour of the admission of Anglicans by requiring a baptismal certificate signed by an Anglican minister.³¹ Some colleges continued to demand daily attendance at chapel, but at Corpus compulsory attendance was abolished on November 24, 1868, as was compulsory roll call "except that every scholar and exhibitioner had to read the lessons on two days in rotation in each term." Thus, Peterson on arrival at Corpus in April 1876 would be subject only to the latter restriction. It was the advent of a Wykenhamist, Mr. Gordon, who was unwittingly the immediate cause for a reform of these procedures. This resulted, "in the summer of 1876, of the reinstitution of compulsory chapel or, alternatively, roll call for the whole College." Gordon was not regular in attendance at lectures before 11:00 a. m. and when confronted on the issue gave the excuse that he had not had time to finish breakfast; nor did it appear had many others, who also stayed in bed until lunch time. ³² "Minutes of a College meeting for March 1878 recorded that a Committee had been set up to consider the hours of attendance of college servants on Sundays, and formulate some plan for ensuring the earlier rising of the undergraduates."³³ This was to be achieved by causing each undergraduate who did not attend chapel as required to have to report to the Dean between 9:00 and 9:15 a. m. on Sundays, and a roll call was instituted on weekdays. Peterson as a Presbyterian would be excused chapel but must answer roll call. In addition he would be free to hear the exposition of the articles of the Presbyterian faith extolled from the steps of the Martyr's Memorial each day by Mr. Bazley, a devout Christian and Presbyterian who, *inter alia*, had chosen to preach there as his form of Christian witness.

At the conclusion of each term the ceremony of Collections took place.³⁴ At Corpus, each undergraduate filed past the college president, Dr. Wilson, who shook hands with each in turn and gave a short report to each of his progress, or otherwise, the information having been compiled by the tutors. This in some way was a foil to the examination system, for it provided an alternate source of information about each undergraduate, information which would be of value in the overall evaluation provided by the college, in, for example, the application for fellowships or suitable future employment and promotion. In Peterson's final year one such occasion provided the president of Corpus with the opportunity for a severe reprimand to one of Peterson's juniors, Graham Wallas, who later distinguished himself as the first professor of political science at the London School of Economics. When asked what reading he had done during the long vacation, Wallas replied that he had not done much reading but had done some thinking. From the remarks of the president to him, Wallas might well have inferred that thinking was a subversive activity and that only

reading (and the acquisition of knowledge) was the preferred activity. Reports on Peterson to President Wilson would most probably have come from Henry Nettleship (Corpus Professor of Latin) and A. M. Little on Moderations and a recently appointed A. E. Haigh or the Rev. F. A. Clarke on Greats.³⁵

There was a formalism to college life and behaviour, in the daily ritual, somewhat relaxed in extramural activities. On Sundays, for example, a black coat and tall hat would be featured. "Fancy waistcoats and brilliant neckties were worn", and whiskers were cultivated.³⁶ Extramurally archery was still practiced, tennis was gaining in popularity, golf was for the future, and rowing was still a major activity, even in the days before the advent of sliding seats. At Dundee, Peterson encouraged the playing of tennis and, in golf, he became a member of the Royal and Ancient, a membership he retained whilst at McGill, though there is no evidence that he played either tennis or golf. Peterson rowed, apparently not for Corpus, though his friend Macdonnell did, and the aforementioned Henry Nettleship had earlier distinguished himself on the river. Peterson's rowing activities persisted. He may have been one of a group with Viriamu Jones and E. B. Poulton who rowed to Reading, but there is more definite evidence of vacation-rowing on the rivers of northern Germany. Here, Peterson's knowledge and fluency in German and German invective proved most effective on two major occasions. On the first, entering an inn with others in flannels and carrying their oars, the landlord was reluctant to admit them until "Peterson suddenly came out with a string of words, all used in a wrong sense, but expressive of strong indignation. The strength of his language proved that we were gentlemen for we were immediately received with open arms." The second occasion was even more impressive, when customs officials, having delayed the stowing of their boat and so caused Peterson to miss the ocean steamer from Bremen, were so moved by his harangue that they delayed the steamer for several hours at sea so that "a most important person" (Peterson) might be taken out by tender and eventually rejoin his companions already aboard.³⁷

Peterson's College Activities

Examination results were not the only *desideratum* of college life – there was the daily living and the contact with others. This contact may have existed before college days, may have occurred within one's own college, at the Union, at lectures attended in other colleges, in sporting activities, or arisen from chance encounters. Peterson, as we have seen, knew Macdonnell in Germany, and had other friends in Corpus. He may well have courted acquaintanceship with other Scots students, but is often remembered for being one of "a circle of singularly able undergraduates" centred upon John Viriamu Jones of Balliol.

Apart from rowing, and the Union, to both of which Peterson devoted time, though no published account exists of his participation in the debates, there were other activities in college. Entertaining in one's rooms was "confined to a glass of sherry or claret and a slice or two of cake."³⁸ Afternoon teas were a later departure. Saturday evenings saw intra-college debates and some literary activities, informal sing-songs, and "wines". Old Wykenhamists held regular singing evenings, and Corpus at one time boasted the Corpus Christi Minstrels (one banjo and some vocalists). Peterson's contributions were a baritone solo, based upon the Burns ballad, "Oh, Willie brewed a peck of maut" and joining in rousing choruses of "Was macht der Herr Papa?" and "Pherson swore a feud". (Later, at staff-student evenings in Dundee, Peterson gave other baritone renderings of such favourites as "The Two Grenadiers", "Doughty Deeds My Lady Please", and "Sigh No More Ladies".) "Wines" were held on several occasions, the one after Moderations being somewhat riotous, though not as Bacchanalian as the freshman's "wine" in Hilary term.³⁹ Other "wines" supposedly were less so. Being called before a college don to testify about one such "wine", Peterson described it as not especially rowdy. "What is your standard of a 'wine'?" asked the presiding don. "My experience", was Peterson's instantaneous reply. One other activity at Corpus, which was often accompanied by much noise, was the attempted capture of the top floor by an attacking force from the lower rooms of the staircase, one of which was occupied by Peterson. The advantage, of course, lay with the occupants of the top floor, armed as they were with water jugs and doormats.⁴⁰

At Corpus, Peterson was best remembered for three events. In a paper set for Honours Moderations men there occurred several sentences to be put in logical form. One of them was, "You cannot have your cake and eat it." Peterson immediately turned it into "Possession is incompatible with consumption." [Later] not a single man was found capable of putting down any other equivalent.

The second event saw Peterson as the instigator of opposition to a college tradition whereby the eight men of the college boat were provided with a special dinner at 2:00 p. m. which was paid for by a levy on all the other undergraduates of fourpence per day. Peterson persuaded twenty others to join him in insisting that the dinner be supplied to them also. His protest was extended to the practice of levying fines for absence from the evening meal. Eventually the fourpence charge was abolished and the scale of fines for absence reduced. Perhaps, most importantly, Peterson was remembered for his refusal to pay a trademan's bill which he thought excessive. He allowed himself to be charged in the vice-chancellor's court where, though he lost the case through the incompetence of his counsel, he was supported at the trial by the appearance of every Corpus undergraduate.⁴¹

Friends and Choice of Career

As we have seen, Peterson was admitted a scholar at Corpus when he matriculated on April 28, 1876, and though his scholarship would extend for five years until 1881, he had completed his twelve terms of residence⁴² before that. He moved into lodgings, most probably to Beaumont Cottage, Beaumont Buildings, St. John Street, where he was one of a "small colony" who settled there. Among that small colony was John Viriamu Jones, and a frequent visitor there was P. A. Barnett (Trinity) whose opinion Peterson sought when, at McGill, he was making the appointment of the first Macdonald Professor of Education, J. A. Dale (Merton). It is to Barnett that we owe the information that, after meetings in one or the other of the students' rooms in Beaumont Cottage, they all, on the pavement outside, engaged in the game of "Hoppy".⁴³ It was from this non-collegiate residence that Peterson prepared for his examination for Greats at Michaelmas 1879. Others of Jones' friends from Balliol and elsewhere were E. B. Poulton (Jesus); Harry Reichel (Balliol, and later a principal of Bangor University College and a vice-chancellor of the University of Wales); W. P. Ker (Balliol, later a fellow of All Souls and professor of poetry at Oxford); A. H. Bullen (Worcester, an expert and publisher of Shakespeare and Marlowe, and who only read English literature for Greats); and the Australian, E. H. Irving, who returned to Australia to edit newspapers there. Amongst the activities of this group was attendance at the lectures of John Ruskin, then Honorary Fellow of Corpus. Jones was to write in April 1877, "Have I told you that Ruskin is lecturing here three times a week? He reads most beautifully, his voice is wonderfully musical, full of tenderness, capable at times of the minor cadence of the Welsh - or something like it."⁴⁴ Ruskin's ideas on education found an echo in the later work of Jones, first as Principal of Firth College (later to become the University of Sheffield), and then as Principal of the University College of South Wales, and, finally, as the first Vice-Chancellor of the federal University of Wales. When Ruskin visited the museum he had established in Sheffield, Jones met him there, one breakfast with him being recorded on July 20, 1882. Peterson, as a resident of Corpus, might have had more opportunity to meet Ruskin as he "used to stalk majestically through the Quad on his way to lecture at the Taylor (Museum)", or at breakfasts which Ruskin from time to time gave to Corpus undergraduates, and others who had worked upon the famous Hinksey Road project. (E. B. Poulton and Arnold Toynbee were two such labourers.) Peterson's Corpus friend, A. A. Macdonnell, whose "mother in her girlhood had known him (Ruskin) at Perth, and was an intimate friend of Miss Gray, whom Ruskin married, and who afterwards became Lady Millais," was another likely avenue for personal acquaintance with Ruskin.⁴⁵ Some aspects of Peterson's attitudes to education as an end in itself, to its wider provision, the education of women, the university extension movement, and the place of music and health and physical education - were

reminiscent of Ruskin's ideas on the subject. They could also have been merely characteristics of the liberalism which Peterson professed, or they could have been acquired, not directly, but in discussion with Jones and his circle of friends. In 1882 Peterson did go to Sheffield to visit Barnett and Jones, but there is no indication that he also met Ruskin there.

On completion of Greats, in Michaelmas 1879, Peterson was faced with making a choice of career, if he had not already done so. Election to a fellowship was no longer the certainty it had been prior to the reforms of 1854. Law was still attractive to some, especially those who had offered jurisprudence in finals, and many fellows of All Souls combined their fellowship with a thriving law practice or parliamentary duties. The open competitions for the Home and Indian Civil Service attracted others; Charles Oman, for example, sat the Civil Service Examination within days of completing Greats in case his application for a fellowship was unsuccessful. Newer career openings were becoming available in colonial appointments especially in Africa and Australia. Some educational appointments were available in the inspectorate and in the staffing of the many newly established public schools, and the newer university colleges whose growth had been "established by municipal pride and industrial munificence."⁴⁶ It was as principal of one of these that J. V. Jones was appointed, and there secured the appointment of his Oxford friend Barnett as professor of modern history and literature. Later, on taking over at Cardiff, he appointed three of his Balliol friends, W. P. Ker, C. E. Vaughan, and R. H. Pinkerton, to professorships there, and was to support Peterson in his application for the position of principal at Dundee University College in 1882. Another Balliol friend, Harry Reichel, as we have seen, then a fellow of All Souls, was to become the first principal of the University College of North Wales, Bangor, in 1884.

Peterson and W. P. Ker, who, after receiving a first in Classical Moderations took a second in Greats in 1878, were both at the Inner Temple after graduation, where Peterson was registered as a student in 1879. Possibly they were only meeting the legal requirement to dine there once a month. In 1878 Ker was appointed as assistant to W. Y. Sellar, professor of humanity at Edinburgh but in November 1879 he was elected to a fellowship at All Souls, a fellowship which he retained until his death in 1923. Ker was replaced at Edinburgh by Peterson who, according to a *Times* obituary, had been teaching at Harrow.⁴⁷ Peterson remained at Edinburgh for two and a half years until he was appointed as Principal and professor of classics and ancient history at the newly created University College of Dundee on August 21, 1882. Ker meanwhile moved on, first to Cardiff and then to hold the Chair of English Language and Literature at London, where he also taught Icelandic, founded a department of Scandinavian Studies, and held the Chair in that subject. He remained the longest serving fellow of All

Souls, where he spent each available week end throughout the rest of his life. He was elected to the Chair of Poetry at Oxford in 1920. All in all, that group of undergraduates who congregated frequently around Beaumont Cottage made distinguished contributions to academic life in Britain, Europe, Australia, and Canada.

Peterson Becomes Principal of Dundee University College

And what of Peterson? Probably the best evaluation of his own personal, intellectual, and academic status at the end of his Oxford days, and after his two and a half years as assistant at Edinburgh, is that provided by information arising from his application for the principalship of Dundee in 1882. For that appointment, which attracted forty-three applications, the college council appointed a five-member selection committee, which was assisted by four eminent assessors – Benjamin Jowett, Master of Balliol; James Stuart, of Cambridge, the founder of the University Extension Movement and the first awardee of a Ferguson Scholarship; Henry Roscoe, professor of chemistry at Manchester; and Edmund Robertson (later Baron Loches of Gowrie), a practicing barrister, member of parliament for Dundee, and Fellow of Corpus. Four candidates were invited for interview, and thirty-nine were rejected. Among those rejected were (Sir) Nathan Boddington, later to become the first vice-chancellor of Leeds University; John Marshall, professor of classics at Leeds; E. G. Hardy, later principal of Jesus College, Oxford; J. H. Muirhead, an eminent philosopher at Birmingham; and A. E. Sonnenschein, co-founder of the Classical Association and a Plautine scholar.⁴⁸ (Professor Sonnenschein was most helpful to McGill's first Macdonald Professor of Education, J. A. Dale, when Dale was studying at Birmingham.)

Robertson, after discussions with the president of Corpus, came up with the names of three Oxford men, Boddington (Wadham), Merry (Lincoln), and Peterson, of whom Peterson was the youngest. Robertson seemed to prefer Merry (a Scot) and Peterson over Boddington, though Fowler, president of Corpus since 1880, preferred Peterson over the other two.⁴⁹ Jowett, for his part, named Boddington (University College) and Peterson.⁵⁰

Donaldson, Peterson's former rector, then at Aberdeen contented himself with saying that Peterson was very young.⁵¹ James Stuart introduced his own candidate into the selection process and secured an interview for his nominee, G. G. Butler (Trinity College, Cambridge). It is not known whom Roscoe favoured, but E. G. Steggall (Trinity College, Cambridge), then Fielden Lecturer in mathematics at Manchester, was also interviewed. He later accepted appointment to Dundee as professor of mathematics and remained there for the next fifty-one years, during many of which he seemed to have waged a vendetta against Peterson. The fourth interviewee

was Cyril Ransome (Merton) who had taken a first in mathematics at Moderations in 1871, changed to history and obtained a first in modern history finals in 1874, but whose son, Arthur Ransome, is now better known than was his father.

Peterson had letters sent on his behalf by Fowler, president of Corpus, and Henry Nettleship, Corpus Professor of Latin; Professor J. V. Jones, principal of Firth College (Sheffield); and by the following professors at Edinburgh: Blackie (Greek), Calderwood (moral philosophy), Sellar (humanity), Fraser (logic), and Masson (rhetoric and English literature), and some unsolicited testimonials were also received on his behalf. Unfortunately, the only information still available from these letters is that due to the *Dundee Advertiser* of August 22, 1882, who printed those of Sellar and Masson. After describing him (Peterson) as a thorough and accomplished classical scholar, Professor Sellar adds:

Although there can be no more certain test of the scholarship of a young man than the result of the honours and other competitive examinations at our Universities, Mr. Peterson has recently given proof of maturer attainments than are usually exhibited by young scholars, by his translation of Cicero's speech in defence of Cluentius, a work which bears the mark of exact and refined scholarship, and shows at the same time a mastery of forcible and idiomatic English. In my frequent discussions with him of questions of scholarship, arising in the course of our work, I have found that I could place full reliance on his knowledge and judgment. If a Classical scholar is to be selected for the office of Principal, I do not think the electors could easily find a better man than Mr. Peterson. He has been also a most successful teacher, thoroughly interested in his work, and conscientious in attention to its minutest requirement. He has, I believe, obtained a great hold over the students, and not only taught them admirably, but stimulated them to work independently. As regards the part of his duties which comes most under my personal observation, that namely of examining and correcting written papers and exercises, I can say that I have never been associated with anyone who did the work better. As scholar, teacher, and examiner, he is, I believe, perfectly competent to fill any educational post in Scotland.

Professor Masson (in his testimonial) states that all he has heard of Mr. Peterson confirms his confidence in his administrative powers as well as in his general scholarship. He adds:

When Mr. Peterson was the successful candidate, about seven years ago, for the Mackenzie Classical Scholarship in the University of Edinburgh, in which scholarship in English literature is conjoined with Latin and Greek, I had the opportunity as examiner in the English department of marking the extent of his knowledge and the fine quality of his culture in this department also. During the last winter session Mr. Peterson had the conduct of the Latin class, and also (for a while) of the Greek class, in the Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women; and I have heard but one opinion of his efficiency and acceptability in the duties of those classes. It ought to be added that Mr. Peterson's personal manners and address are remarkably excellent, and such as can hardly fail to command the respect of any, whether colleagues or pupils, with whom he may be associated academically.⁵²

Peterson's appointment as principal of the new Dundee University College, a college unable to grant its own degrees but forced to rely upon the examining function of London University to validate its teaching, at a salary of £500 plus one-third of all students' fees, to a minimum annual salary of £750 for the first five years, may be said to mark the end of academic achievement, though not of intellectual development nor of educational knowledge.

Aloofness and Imperialism?

Some forty years after Peterson's appointment at Dundee, the obituary notices which followed his death in London on January 4, 1921, following a stroke in Montreal on January 12, 1919, mentioned many of the attributes described above. However, a new word, imperialism, appeared, first in the obituary of *The Times* of January 6, 1921, then in the memorial address at a McGill University service held in the church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, Montreal, and next in an obituary notice which appeared in *The Pelican Record* of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The charge of imperialism took a more important position in an article in "McGill: The Story of a University", published in 1960. This, along with the charge of aloofness in personal dealings during his time at McGill remain, for many, a too, too summary dismissal of Sir William and his many contributions to the establishment of McGill as one of North America's ranking universities.

There is nothing in his educational history, so far revealed, nor in his years spent at Dundee, that could substantiate the charge of aloofness. As for the imperialism charged to him, by the end of his formal education the

topic had scarcely arisen; only in retrospect have historians dubbed the years 1875-1914 as "The Years of Empire." At this stage, therefore, we must conclude that, whatever the influence of his education, the study of Greek and Roman methods of governance, any possible subscription to Jowett's notion of Oxford's civilizing influence, it would have been premature to consider him an imperialist at that time. But in his lifetime opinions changed, ideologies emerged, and in the crucible of the First World War political categories hardened, and post-war thinking condemned much that had gone before, including notions of Empire. The role and character of Sir William Peterson as an Imperialist demands further elucidation.

FOOTNOTES

1. This paper is a shortened version of the first section of a monograph (in progress) entitled *The Life and Times of Sir William Peterson 1856-1919*.
2. G. K. Clark
3. Letter: Shetland archivist.
4. Letter: Royal High School archivist.
5. Ross
6. At Balliol he had been the tutor of Matthew Arnold; at Rugby he had taught William Arnold, the fourth and favourite son of Thomas Arnold. In 1854 he had written to the governors of McGill recommending William Arnold for the position of principal of McGill. William, however, preferred service in India. It was Tait, as one of seven commissioners, who prepared the Report on Oxford University which led to the Oxford University Act of 1854. He was instrumental in securing the admission of non-resident students, which took place in 1868.
7. The first, James Pillans, an alumnus who was rector from 1810 to 1830 and subsequently professor of humanity (Latin) at Edinburgh for the next forty years was, after 1852, given the task by the governors of McGill of finding a principal for the newly independent university. (His eventual nomination was rejected, on the grounds that the nominee was a cleric and not a lay person.) The other two rectors were intimately connected with the education and future of several members of the Peterson family, including William. They were Dr. Leonard Schmitz (1845-1865) and James, later Sir James, Donaldson (1866-1882).
8. Ross, p. 139.
9. Sir Charles Tupper, Prime Minister 1896.
10. There was a single winter session which stretched from early September to late April as opposed to the three or four terms of the English university calendar. Later, a summer term became available, of which William was able to take advantage.
11. Latin, Greek, and mathematics were each studied for two years, and the three medieval philosophies of metaphysics, moral and natural philosophy, and natural history each for one year.
12. An honours M. A. could be obtained, without necessarily further study, by passing examinations in one of four specializations, classics, mathematics, philosophy, or science. As each subject was successfully completed it was aggregated towards the M. A. - in other words a tightly controlled series of credits was employed, as opposed to the single final examination at Cambridge

or Moderations and Finals at Oxford. Though the major changes were in the arts faculty, other changes were also made. In law the LL.D. remained an honorary degree and a new LL.B. was instituted. In medicine the degree of M.D. became a second degree with the original degree split between medicine and surgery resulting in the M.B. and Ch.B. Theology was henceforth to have four professors, divinity, biblical criticism, ecclesiastic history, and Hebrew. The D.D. was retained both as an honorary and an earned degree, though, later, a first degree of B.D. was available to arts graduates who had pursued study under each of the four theology professors.

13. Sir William Jones (1746-1794) is credited with the beginnings of philology with his work documenting a common ancestry for Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin. Philology was introduced into the study of Greek in the Edinburgh curriculum in 1800.
14. The Ferguson bequest, based upon the estate of John Ferguson (1787-1856) which was worth over half a million pounds, was for the support of religion and educational endeavours in the six western counties of Scotland. The residue of a smaller bequest, amounting to £50,000, was set aside for providing substantial exhibitions or scholarships, each of which could support a student fully, were to reward scholarship, and were to be competed for annually by recent graduates (M. A.) of any of the four Scottish universities. Two awards were to be given each year, one for classics and mathematics, the other for classics and mental science, (which included metaphysics, logic, and ethics), the award being made to the person with the highest total marks. By 1873 the number of scholarships was increased to three, one each for classics, mathematics, and philosophy, but the value reduced to £80 per year. From that time onwards the award could be held alongside any other award. An examination was held on the first Thursday and Friday of October in the Glasgow offices of the bequest. The syllabus in classics was quite demanding; in Latin some knowledge of Plautus, Horace, Lucretius, Cicero, Tacitus, and Pliny was required; in Greek it was Homer, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Herodotus, Plato, and Aristotle's Rhetoric, together with some knowledge of Latin and Greek etymology. There would be prose compositions in both languages and questions on Greek and Roman history and literature.
15. Originally, the cost of food supplied from the kitchens or buttery. At a later date it included the rent of furniture, the purchase of cleaning materials, fines for late or non-attendance at meals in Hall, and "gate money" levied when one's guests stayed after the gates were closed.
16. Edward III (1327-1377) forbade any one to receive a message from the Pope without his permission; John Wycliff, Master of Balliol, and the scourge of the clergy, became the focus of a parliamentary demand for the removal of Edward's clerical advisers. Henry V, to control these clerics and scholars, in 1420 ordered that "all scholars of the university dwell in a hall or college of the university." Only the king's chancellor could give permission to a townsman to lodge a student. Elizabeth I, in 1571, incorporated the university with a chancellor, the masters and the scholars forming a corporation. In return, the members would accept subscription to the Act of Supremacy and to the Thirty Nine Articles. She further ruled that every schoolmaster should be "found meet as well for his learning and dexterity in teaching . . . and also for the right understanding of God's true religion". The monkish restriction of celibacy continued. Elizabeth's successor, James VI of Scotland (James I of England),

conferred further status upon the two universities by granting to the resident Masters of Arts at each university the power to elect two members of parliament. At a later date, William Gladstone, who became prime minister, was one of Oxford's two members of parliament, and worked for its reform.

17. The Statutes of 1636 established the Hebdomadal Board of twenty-two members, the heads of the houses, two proctors nominated by the colleges in turn, and a vice-chancellor who was always the head of a house. A very visible sign of the Laudian Statutes was that students wore gowns distinctive of status, e.g., commoner, gentleman-commoner, nobleman, B.A., M.A.; gowns were required to be worn on certain occasions such as at matriculation, during examinations, in the Bodleian, and, of course, outside of college. The Statutes remained in force for over two centuries before reforms were introduced, many of them against the wishes of the colleges.
18. Stedman.
19. The drafting of the bill was left to W. E. Gladstone, the member of parliament for Oxford, and he created an executive commission given powers to negotiate new statutes with each college separately. The colleges were thus able to preserve a great many of their original privileges and Oxford remained a collegiate university. University and college revenues were more equitably used to provide more professorships and fewer fellowships, and colleges were freed from restrictions which had bound their admissions to particular families or locations (e.g., Queen's College existed virtually for entrants from Cumberland and Westmoreland, Jesus College for those from Wales. It was left to Gladstone, as prime minister, in 1871, to pass the University Test Act which allowed Dissenters and Catholics access to all degrees save divinity. That was not changed until 1920.)
20. It is interesting to note that McGill's second Macdonald Professor of Education, Sir Fred Clark, had been an unattached student at Oxford. Cecil Rhodes, an Oxford contemporary of Peterson, though on the books of Oriel, never lived in college.
21. William Ker was pleased to acknowledge his debt to his tutors, F. de Paravicini and T. H. Green at Balliol; C.W. Oman had a poor opinion of his (unnamed) tutors at New College.
22. This part of the examination was followed by papers on Greek prose, Latin verse, Greek verse, comparative philology, the history of Greek drama or, as an alternative, *Quintillian's Tenth Book* (on which William was, or became, an expert), and the elements of deductive logic.
23. Oman.
24. Gardner.
25. "Divvers" was the slang version of Divinity Moderations. When it was taken as a post-moderations examination, but before "Greats". Aldous Huxley failed "Divvers" at his first attempt, and a famous Welsh actor-playwright failed it twice and was fined by his college, Christ Church, for doing so. He finally passed by taking the option of examination on the Greek text of St. John.
26. Gardner.
27. Stedman.
28. Oman.
29. Rolleston.
30. Oman.
31. C. P. Scott, world famous editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, and Liberal M.P., was originally denied admission by two Oxford colleges, because, as a Unitar-

ian, he would have no baptismal certificate. He was eventually admitted at Corpus. (From January 1851 all births had to be publicly recorded.)

32. *Pelican Record*.
33. Letter: Corpus Christi Archivist.
34. Fees were originally collected at the end of each term. Oral examinations on the books read were instituted by Christ Church, and adopted by Balliol in 1798, when they became largely written examinations. This preceded the adoption of written examinations for Moderations and Finals in 1801. This change, along with the institution of Open Scholarships, contributed greatly to the pre-eminence of Balliol in the nineteenth century. In some colleges it was "Handshaking" and a report on a student's progress made personally by the head of the college. With larger student numbers this became a meeting with the Dean, and became much more of a formality than a strict accounting.
35. Letter: Corpus Christi Archivist.
36. Oman.
37. *Pelican Record*.
38. Oman.
39. *Pelican Record*.
40. *Pelican Record*.
41. *Pelican Record*.
42. "There are four Terms for academical exercises in each year but for many Professors' Lectures and some other purposes Easter and Trinity Terms together count as only one." (Oxford University Calendar. 1881). The Terms were Michaelmas, Hilary (or Lent), Easter, and Trinity.
43. Letter: Barnett to Peterson
44. Jones.
45. *Pelican Record*.
46. Armytage.
47. *The Times* obituary notice.
48. Southgate.
49. Letter: Robertson to Thornton.
50. Letter: Jowett to Lord Dalhousie.
51. Letter: Dundee University Archivist.
52. Southgate.

ORIGINAL SOURCE MATERIAL

The major sources of information for this paper were: (1) Printed sources – calendars of the universities of Edinburgh and Oxford for the appropriate years; selected issues of *The Pelican Record* – the journal of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; official histories of the Royal High School of Edinburgh; and official histories of the University of Edinburgh; (2) Archival material supplied by Corpus Christi College; Royal High School of Edinburgh; Edinburgh University; Dundee University; Public Library, Dundee; Shetland Archives; St. Andrews University; McGill University; and Melbourne University; and (3) Genealogical material supplied by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Montreal; the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, and *Who Was Who*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Armytage, W. H. G. (1974). *Four hundred years of English education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Balsdon, D. (1971). *Oxford, then and now*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Barclay, J. B. (1974). *The Tounis Scule*. Edinburgh: The Royal High School Club.
- Callas, D. A. P. (1976). *Aristotelian learning in Oxford*. London: Milford.
- Clark, G. K. (1967). *An expanding society: Britain 1830-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davidson, R. T. & Benham, W. (1891). *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait*. London: Macmillan and Co.
- Davie, G. E. (1961). *The democratic intellect: Scotland and her universities in the 19th century*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Douglas, W. (1956). *The Ferguson scholars*. Glasgow: Glasgow University Press.
- Engel, A. J. (1983). *From clergyman to don*. New York: Academic Press.
- Foster, J. (1888). *Alumni Oxoniensis 1715-1886*. London: Joseph Foster.
- Fowler, T. (1891). *Corpus Christi College*. In A. Clark (Ed.), *The colleges of Oxford*. London: Methuen.
- Frazer, D. J. (January 16, 1921). Peterson Memorial Address, Montreal.
- Frost, S. B. (1980 - 1984). *McGill University*. Vols. I and II. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Gardner, P. (1903). *Oxford at the cross roads*. London: A. & C. Black.
- Grant, A. (1884). *Story of a university: Edinburgh during its first three hundred years*. London: Longman, Green.
- Horn, D. B. (1967). *A short history of the University of Edinburgh*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Jones, J. (1988). *Balliol College: A history 1263-1939*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jones, K. V. (1915). *The life of John Viriamu Jones*. London: (s. n.)
- Jowett, B. (22 June, 1882). Letter to Lord Dalhousie.
- Knox, H. M. (1953). *Two hundred and fifty years of Scottish education*. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.
- Knox, J. (1905). The first book of discipline, 1560. In *History of the Reformation in Scotland* (Revised by C. Lennox). London: Andrew Melrose.
- Maurice, F. (1937). *Haldane. 1856-1915*. London: Fabers & Faber.
- McLennan, H. (Ed). (1960). *McGill. The story of a university*. Toronto: Nelson & Sons.
- Oman, C. (1941). *Memories of Victorian Oxford*. London: Methuen.
- Peterson, M. (Easter, 1921). Letter to Sir D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson.
- Peterson, W. (4 January, 1894). Letter to Principal Donaldson.
- Poulton, E. B. (1911). *John Viriamu Jones and other Oxford memories*. London: Longman, Green.
- Roach, J. (1971). *Public examinations in England 1840-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Robertson, E. (30 June, 1882). Letter to Mr. Thornton (Lord Lochee).
- Rolleston, G. (1884). In W. Turner (Ed.), *Scientific papers and addresses of George Rolleston*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ross, W. C. A. (1934). *The Royal High School, Edinburgh*. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.

- Southgate, D. (1982). *University education in Dundee*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 1982.
- Stedman, A.M.M. (1887). *Oxford, its life and schools*. London: G. Bell & Sons.
- Symonds, R. (1986). *Oxford and empire: The last lost cause*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- The Times*. (6 January, 1921). Obituary notice of Sir William Peterson. London.
- Trotter, J. J. (1911). *History of the Royal High School*. London: Pitman & Sons.

Reginald Edwards, now Professor Emeritus in the Department of Educational and Counselling Psychology, 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.

Reginald Edwards, professeur émérite au département de psychopédagogie et counselling de l'université McGill a enseigné dans plusieurs universités en Grande-Bretagne, aux États-Unis et au Canada. Il a été président de la Société canadienne d'éducation comparée et internationale et a publié de nombreux articles dans des revues savantes ainsi que dans les World Year Books of Education. Il a été le premier membre de la faculté des sciences de l'éducation à être élu au Sénat de l'Université McGill.



Intercultural Education and Minorities: Policy initiatives in Quebec

Abstract

Quebec in its modern period evolved into a secular society with a nationalist political, social, and educational agenda. Education was considered as an important instrument in the redistribution of social and economic reward in the society. The Quebec government introduced the policy of intercultural education with the goal of integrating minorities into francophone culture. In educational policies, stress was increasingly laid on the linguistic and cultural assimilation of minorities. By law, minorities were directed to French-only schools. The assimilationist interpretation of intercultural education has created racial antagonism in schools and minority students feel their rights have been endangered. The paper discusses educational policies and their impact on minorities.

Résumé

Le Québec moderne est devenu une société séculière dotée d'un programme politique, social et éducatif d'obédience nationaliste. L'éducation est perçue comme un instrument important de la redistribution des richesses socio-économiques au sein de la société. Le gouvernement du Québec a adopté une politique d'éducation interculturelle en vue d'intégrer les minorités dans la culture francophone. Dans les politiques scolaires, on attache beaucoup d'importance à l'assimilation linguistique et culturelle des minorités. Les enfants des minorités sont obligés de s'inscrire à l'école francophone. Le côté assimilateur de l'éducation interculturelle a abouti à un antagonisme racial dans les écoles et les étudiants des minorités estiment que leurs droits ont été bafoués. L'auteur de cet article analyse les politiques éducatives et leur impact sur les minorités.

The debate about the integration of minorities in Quebec is a very controversial issue that has been further sparked by the dilemma concerning minority rights vs. the protection of French language and culture. In 1975, the Quebec government passed Bill 101 that directed students from "cultural communities" to French-language schools. The Quebec government also introduced the policy of intercultural education as a part of its integration program in response to the federal policy of multiculturalism. Intercultural education is a vague term, and in practice it refers to policies, curricula, and pedagogic practices that can help nonfrancophone students to integrate in Quebec society through cultural and linguistic assimilation. This paper examines the policy of interculturalism as it has been interpreted and implemented in schools and its repercussions for nonfrancophone groups.

Historical Background

The history of formal education in Quebec began with the arrival of Catholic missionaries from France, who started the first school in 1615 to educate natives with the purpose of religious conversion and cultural assimilation (Lemieux & Gendreau, 1985). The Church achieved modest results in acculturating natives and popularizing education, but its influence and control on the Quebec educational system lasted till the middle of the 20th century (Magnuson, 1980; 1992).

In 1760, when Quebec became a British colony, the English and French were contrasted not only by different languages, but by religious affiliation as well, namely Catholic and Protestant. While the English-speaking minority soon assumed control over growing trade and industrial towns, and established strong educational institutions, the French-speaking majority generally felt a sense of deprivation, because of their limited access to economic opportunities and social privileges. The French majority believed that colonial intervention in education would ultimately result in their religious and linguistic assimilation into the English minority. In subsequent years, the educational and economic progress of the French-speaking population slowed down considerably. Thus, in 1840, when attempts were made to lay the ground work for a public school system, two parallel school systems were founded on a denominational basis which later resulted in a linguistic division, i.e., French-language Catholic schools and English-language Protestant schools. In 1867, Quebec became a part of the Canadian Federation, which gave political control to the French majority in Quebec and also allowed them to protect their cultural and linguistic heritage.

Modernization of education in Quebec

In the twentieth century, modernity produced the greatest challenge to the traditional constitution of Quebec society. Rapid industrialization brought about the transition of Quebec from a traditional Catholic and rural

society to a modern, secular and industrial society. Further, the demographic change that took place due to the influx of immigrants made it religiously, culturally, and linguistically diverse.

However, the school system was slow to respond to new challenges and remained the custodian of traditional values by maintaining the status quo (Magnuson, 1980). It was not until the 1960s that reforms were undertaken to modernize the educational system.

The Quiet Revolution of the 1960s

The 1960s marked a turning point for education in Quebec when the government, with missionary zeal, introduced reforms to modernize the system. During this period, popularly known as the "Quiet Revolution", the education system went through a radical process of transition from confessional to pragmatic and scientific, and from religious to nationalist orientations. This transition also drastically reduced the role of the Catholic Church in education and the government took total control.

In 1961, the Lesage government passed a series of laws, collectively known as the *Grande charte de l'éducation*, that totally transformed the educational system. The laws addressed the critical problems of quality, accessibility, efficiency, and effectiveness of education in Quebec (Quebec, 1982). These laws also redefined the role of education in the socio-political and economic development of the province. However, it was the nationalist ideology that eventually set the tone for the succeeding debate in education. In the subsequent years, the nationalist agenda made education a key instrument for cultural and linguistic preservation (McRoberts, 1991), establishing a discourse in which the French-speaking majority mediates the distribution of social rewards (Dickinson, 1991).

As part of the educational reforms, a Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, popularly known as the Parent Commission, was established in 1961. The Commission's report laid the foundation of the modern system of education in Quebec, recommending that the government should play the decisive role in education (Magnuson, 1977).

In accordance with the Commission's recommendations, the government established the Ministry of Education in 1964 through Bill 60. A new advisory body called *Le Conseil supérieur de l'éducation* was formed to advise the ministry on educational matters, under which the Montreal Catholic School Commission (MCSC) and the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal (PSBGM) were created. Both these boards oversee pre-school, primary, and secondary levels of schools. Similarly, a new network of colleges was also created at the preuniversity level, and was known as

Collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel (CEGEP) (Henchey & Burgess, 1987).

Intercultural Education

Integration of minorities in schools

Quebec's political discourse has been primarily based on the power conflict between anglophones and francophones, and is termed as a French struggle against the influence of the English minority within Quebec and the majority in Canada. Since the 1960s, all succeeding governments in Quebec adopted policies that tend to control the province's economic, cultural, and political resources and maintain their autonomy (Quebec, 1983).

Within this scenario of English-French tension, other societal groups in Quebec have been marginalized. Among the French population, the decrease in birth rate and increase in nonfrancophone migration created an exaggerated fear regarding the extinction of French culture and language. As a result, the Quebec government's social and educational policies increasingly stressed the linguistic and cultural assimilation of cultural groups into the French majority.

Currently, people of French origin comprise 81% of Quebec's total population, English-speaking groups make up 9%, and the remaining 10% of Quebec's population is composed of people of diverse linguistic groups.

Table 1

Population of Quebec: Cultural diversity – 1851-1991

Census Year	French %	English %	Others %
1851	72.2	24.2	0.6
1871	78.0	20.7	2.3
1901	80.2	17.6	2.2
1931	70.0	15.0	6.0
1951	82.0	12.2	5.9
1971	79.0	10.6	10.4
1981	80.2	7.7	12.1*
1986	81.4	8.9	9.7*
1991	81.0	9.0	10.0*

Source: Statistics Canada, 1851-1991

* Since 1986, Statistics Canada included the option of multiple responses to the category of ethnicity or racial background. The asterisk indicates people with mixed ethnic background.

The statistics show that while there is a steady increase of francophones in Quebec, anglophones have been on the decrease. The allophones, or the other linguistic groups, have been slowly increasing between 1970-80 (Statistics Canada, 1991). However, during the last ten years the proportion of the three linguistic groups remains relatively steady. The majority of the nonfrancophone population is concentrated in the metropolitan area of Montreal. In Montreal, people of French origin make up 59% of the population, while people of English origin make up 18.2%, and the remaining 21.8% belong to mixed or other linguistic groups (Statistics Canada, 1991). This cultural and linguistic diversity has made little impact on the educational policies and practices that were historically evolved for a "homogeneous" student population in schools, bipolarised in the two school systems.

Evolution of intercultural policies

Diversity has been a visible fact in Canada since World War II. Gradually, a vocabulary emerged in the political discourse that stratified Canadians as majority, minority, visible minorities, immigrants, linguistic minorities and so on, implying an unequal social and political status. The federal government responded to the cultural diversity of the population by initiating a constitutional process that would recognize the need for equal access to social, economic, political, and educational opportunities for all groups in society, regardless of ethnic, racial, religious, or linguistic background (Talbani, 1991b). In 1971, the federal government introduced the policy of "multiculturalism." The policy became statute law in 1988, indicating the Canadian government's commitment to social justice and equality. The policy provided constitutional guarantees for the preservation of minority cultures, languages, and religions and also granted minorities protection from discrimination and racism.

The policy of multiculturalism received general acceptance all over Canada, except in the province of Quebec, even though the latter had a significant population of minority groups (McRoberts, 1991). In Quebec, it was commonly believed that the policy of multiculturalism would undermine French Quebecers' autonomy and eventually result in cultural extinction of French language and culture. The Quebec government addressed the issue of the cultural diversity by defining its priorities based on two factors: (1) controlling the selection of immigrants in response to the specific economic and cultural needs of Quebec society; and (2) the harmonious integration of new-comers of all origins with the French-speaking community (Quebec, 1990: 6).

It was the second priority which procured the greatest attention of the policy makers in Quebec. In 1968, the government created the *ministère de l'Immigration*, whose function was to "facilitate the settling of foreign

nationals in Quebec" and "ensure their harmonious integration into Quebec Society" (Quebec, 1990: 7). The policy of interculturalism was introduced by the Quebec government in 1983 as an alternative to the policy of multiculturalism. The goals of interculturalism were a radical departure from the policy of multiculturalism; while the multiculturalism policy supports cultural survivalism, interculturalism appears to promote the perspective of assimilation (Talbani, 1991b).

The Quebec government introduced two major policy apparatuses to promote the integration of nonfrancophones into French culture. The first was related to linguistic exclusiveness and the second to cultural integration. The aim was to make the exclusive use of French language and acculturation as the necessary conditions for access to social and economic privileges in Quebec. The policy on culture states:

One of the objectives of this new orientation in collective life is to create a society where French is the language of the main sectors of public activity, and in which Franco-Quebec culture can develop and prosper while respecting the surrounding cultures. (Quebec, 1983)

In 1990, the Quebec government presented another policy statement on cultural communities. The principle of integration continued to be the foundation on which the Quebec government established its policies to respond to cultural diversity. The general orientation of this policy is based on the following issues: (1) sharing French language as the common language of public life; (2) right of full participation in the social, economic, cultural and political life of Quebec; and (3) to build a pluralist society in which people of different origins identify themselves as full-fledged Quebecers (Quebec, 1990: 44).

The policy statement emphasizes the need for all Quebecers to integrate into the new reality of the society. However, major expectations to adapt to Quebec's society are placed on newcomers, who are required "to learn and master the host language", familiarize themselves with "the cultural codes of the new society, and redefine one's identity to reconcile these values with those of one's original culture" (Quebec, 1990: 45).

The Language Controversy

Access to schooling

The French language plays a pivotal role in the social, political, and educational discourse of Quebec and has become a strong symbol for Quebec nationalism since the 1970s (Kwaterko, 1992; McRoberts, 1991). It

is considered a parameter to measure the survival of French culture and francophone autonomy as well as the degree of assimilation of other cultural groups (Talbani, 1992a). The importance of language in social and political spheres has been expressed through the classification of social groups into francophones, anglophones, and allophones.

Traditionally, immigrants to Quebec either sent their children to English schools for reasons of economic and social prestige or were directed to that sector because of the confessional nature of instruction in the Catholic school system (Laférierre, 1980). The French system was restricted to Catholics whereas the Protestant system was English and admitted all religious groups. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1968-69) reported that 85% of immigrants and more than 75,000 francophones attended the English system at that time (Magnuson, 1980).

The government and educators in Quebec deemed language instrumental in integrating minorities into French culture. Thus, the major thrust of the integration policy was placed on the popularization of the French language among nonfrancophones (Quebec, 1977; Quebec, 1978).

To this purpose, the Quebec government introduced various laws to foster the French language. In 1969, the Bertrand government introduced Bill 63 that included provisions to encourage the use of the French language, while also accepting the principle of free choice regarding the language of education. However, the Bill failed to satisfy the nationalists' expectations (MacDonald, 1981).

To diffuse nationalist fervor, the Bourassa government passed Bill 22 or "the Official Language Act", in 1974, to replace Bill 63. The legislation made French the language of the province and the primary language of the work place. It permitted access to English schools only on successful completion of an English competency test. However, Bill 22 failed to silence the language controversy. For nationalists, the Bill did not go far enough to protect French interest, and, for nonfrancophones it went too far (MacDonald, 1981). As a result, the succeeding nationalist government of the *Parti Québécois* introduced Bill 101, or *Charte de la langue française* (the Charter of the French Language) in 1977 (Quebec, 1977). This Bill made it mandatory for all immigrants and nonfrancophones, including those who were born in Quebec or any other province in Canada, to attend French language schools. The English system was only accessible to those children, one of whose parents had received primary education in English in Quebec.

The impact of Bill 101 could be seen in the French-Catholic secondary schools, whose demographic structure of French schools was totally

altered due to the enrollment of nonfrancophones. The chart below shows the changing ethnic composition of the Catholic school system.

Table 2

Linguistic groups attending MCSC French secondary schools

Census Year	French %	English %	Others %
1984-85	83.5	1.5	15.0
1986-87	74.7	1.7	23.6
1988-89	69.8	1.8	28.4
1990-91	65.3	1.6	33.1

Source: Montreal Catholic School Commission,

Since the government undertook the task of enforcing language laws, there has been a significant increase in nonfrancophones attending French schools and French immersion courses. According to education statistics, there was an increase in anglophones attending French schools, from 7.8% in 1976-77 to 13% in 1982-83. However, the Quebec government's target was to channel more allophones to French schools. In 1976-77, only 17.9% of allophones were attending French schools, while 82.1% were attending English schools. In 1982-83, 44.9% were attending French schools and 55.1% were in English schools. Currently, 90.2% of the total student population attends French schools and only 9.8% attends English or native language schools (Quebec, 1992). As the enrolment of students from cultural communities in French Catholic schools expanded tremendously, it resulted in the shrinking of the Protestant School Board, which primarily serves the anglophone communities. The increasing enrolment of nonfrancophones in French schools indicates the success of the policy of popularizing the French language.

Cultural integration and education

The linguistic and cultural policies had far reaching implications for nonfrancophones in Quebec. The general education policy orientation in Quebec stresses the effective and smooth passage of minority students to Quebec's French culture while maintaining their own cultures at a private level. In the 1970s, the Quebec government took various measures to integrate immigrants into Quebec's French society. Two important steps in this respect were the creation of the *Centres d'orientation et de formation des immigrants* and *classes d'accueil* (welcome classes). These two programs aimed at introducing newcomers to Quebec's culture and society and teaching them the French language. Thus, the curriculum includes language lessons and an "initiation guide to Quebec life" (Quebec, 1983).

In 1981, the government expanded the mandate of *Ministère de l'Immigration* and named it the *Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration*. Besides overseeing immigration policies, the ministry's responsibilities included the implementation of government policies concerning cultural communities. Another policy initiative was taken in 1986 when Quebec's National Assembly issued a "declaration on ethnic and race relations" that assured equality for all citizens of Quebec (Quebec, 1990: 7). In these policy statements, the major emphasis is laid on the protection of French language and culture and, fundamentally, the protection of the interest of the French-speaking population.

There are no programs in schools, as a part of regular curriculum activities or otherwise, to inform students about or acquaint them with racial or cultural diversity in schools and in the society. As a matter of fact, there is no specific government policy that would promote a cultural dialogue among various societal groups. The Protestant School Board, in 1988, issued a report of the task force which studied the introduction of multicultural/intercultural initiatives in schools (PSBGM, 1988). However, no curriculum change has taken place to implement the recommendations. Intercultural initiatives have been taken up by some schools, where the majority of students come from cultural communities. Studies have shown that in most cases the initiatives are confined to celebrating annual or biennial cultural evenings. These cultural evenings introduce students to the music, dance, and cuisine of various cultural groups represented in the school (Talbani, 1992b). Thus, intercultural education is "meant" for minority students and not for French Quebecers.

Slight progress has been made regarding the hiring of minority teachers, counsellors, and administrators. Occasional seminars or conferences are also organized to introduce teachers to intercultural education, but no effective change has been made in two fundamental areas, namely, curriculum and teacher training (Talbani, 1992a).

The Montreal Catholic School Commission had shown apathy in the past in enrolling non-Catholics in schools. Currently, it is slow about responding to the educational concerns of minorities. Students from so-called allophone groups comprise almost 33% of the Catholic school population (MCSC, 1992), but minority representation among teachers and staff is less than 10% (Norris, 1992).

In 1989, due to increasing minority pressure and racial tension in schools, the Catholic School Commission promised to develop a policy outline. The Commission, admitting the under-representation of minority groups in schools and school boards, stated that fundamental human rights will be respected and discrimination and under-representation in hiring

practices will be eliminated (MCSC, 1989). The Commission also brought out a policy outline for intercultural education. The major segments of the intercultural policy are: (1) to provide equal opportunities to minority groups, by hiring (minorities) in various positions in schools; (2) to involve cultural communities in school boards and in schools' activities and make their representation more equalised; (3) to sensitise teachers to the cultural diversity in schools; and (4) to undertake curriculum initiatives that would familiarise students with different cultures and to enhance cultural harmony.

The Commission has yet to formulate a comprehensive policy to implement intercultural programs. Some of the policy initiatives taken by the Catholic School Commission reflect the cultural bias against nonfrancophone students. The MCSC has quietly encouraged *de facto* segregation of minority students from Quebecers of French origin (*Québécois de souche*). Due to declining school enrolments, the School Commission brought together anglophones, francophones, and the "welcome classes" under the same school premises; however, the students of one background were kept apart from the other to avoid the infiltration of other cultures into French culture. The number of English students was also restricted due to the concern that English culture might be absorbed by French students (MacDonald, 1981).

In 1990, the Catholic School Commission sent a questionnaire to parents that included a question asking their preference regarding the segregation of students on the basis of race and ethnicity. It created an uproar in the public and, under great public pressure, the question was withdrawn from the questionnaire. The issue of segregation has its supporters in influential interest groups within the field of education. Reacting to this co-existence of students from various backgrounds, one of the most influential teachers union, *Alliance des professeurs de Montréal* and the largest teachers union, *Centrale de l'enseignement du Québec*, have proposed a 30% ceiling, or quota on the immigrant component in any school (Berthelot, 1990; Moore, 1990). The quota, to them, would "ensure quality of education for natives (francophones) and the integration of Quebec's newcomers" (Berthelot, 1990). In 1989-90, 90% of students in some elementary schools of Montreal were from minority groups, their mother tongues were neither French nor English. This is an indication that some schools in Montreal have been converted into ghettos of "visible minorities". MCSC has thus encouraged practices that contradict its policy proclamations of equality and non-discrimination.

The dilemma facing policy makers in Quebec is that, on the one hand, they want to keep French-Quebeckers free from influences of ethnic cultures and, therefore, propose segregation; on the other hand, they find that

this would make it difficult to assimilate other cultural groups into French culture (Kwaterko, 1992). As far as the nonfrancophones are concerned, they feel that the educational policies are imbued with cultural biases that impede students from cultural communities to gain equal participation in education.

Conclusion

The policy initiatives taken in Quebec regarding intercultural education had dual purposes. Firstly, they aimed at dislodging the cultural hegemony of the English language and culture, as an attempt to arrest the process of control by anglophones over the distribution of social reward. Secondly, through reproducing and instilling French culture in minorities, they attempted to maintain and perpetuate a new discourse of power that would safeguard French interest.

The rise of nationalism in Quebec has instigated a campaign to assimilate nonfrancophone groups into French culture and has also resulted in racial and linguistic antagonism. It is unlikely that minorities pose any threat to francophone hegemony given the immense diversity among them and their small number (merely 19%, including anglophones). On the contrary, minorities fear that their rights will be threatened if the nationalist fervor controls Quebec.

If educational policy makers assume that the purpose of intercultural education is to initiate nonfrancophone students into French culture, then there is no need for any special programs, since compulsory French-language learning and the predominance of francophone culture will ensure their acculturation. This also means that the school as a cultural agency will remain under francophone control; diversity at high levels of decision making in school boards, and among teachers, policy makers, and administrators will be discouraged.

However, the increasing diversity in student population makes it imperative that the policy is redefined in such a way to meet the needs of the diverse student population so that a dialogue is created among different societal groups and French Canadians. For this very reason, it is important that such curriculum initiatives should be undertaken that can create cultural harmony and that the intercultural policy is consistently implemented in all schools so that each group is exposed to the cultural experiences of other groups. An absence of policies may create ghettos of ethnic communities, who will be useful and functional members of Quebec society, but whose cultural identities will be a private matter, with no national significance. Porter has noted that "the development of ethnic communities as psychic shelters can perpetuate ethnic stratification" (Porter, 1972). The

intercultural policy must also address the issue of racism, equality, and sharing mutual cultural experiences between the French and other societal groups.

REFERENCES

- Berthelot, J. (1990). *Apprendre vivre ensemble: Immigration, société, et éducation*. Québec: Centrale de l'enseignement du Québec.
- Dickinson, J. A., & Young, B. (1991). Periodization of Quebec History. *Quebec Studies*, 12, 1-10.
- Henchey, N., & Burgess, D. (1987). *Between past and future: Quebec education in transition*. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises.
- Kwaterko, J. (1992). Y a-t-il un texte dans la classe?: L'enseignement et l'intégration culturelle des immigrants au Québec, *Quebec Studies*, 14, 1-6.
- Laférier, M. (1980). Language and cultural programs for ethnic minorities in Quebec: A critical view. *Multiculturalism*, 4(2), 12-17.
- Lemieux, A., & Gendreau, B. (1985). *Les structures de l'éducation au Québec*. Montréal: Agence d'Arc.
- MacDonald, R. J. (1981). Language, education and society in Quebec. In J. D. Wilson (Ed.), *Canadian education in the 1980's*, 115-132. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited.
- McRoberts, K. (1991). Separate agendas: English Canada and Quebec. *Quebec Studies*, 3, 1-12.
- Magnuson, R. (1992). *Education in New France*. Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Magnuson, R. (1977). Language, education and society in Quebec. In H. A. Stevenson, & J. D. Wilson (Eds.), *Percepts, policy and process: Perspectives on contemporary Canadian education*, pp. 59-77. London, ON: Alexander, Blak Associates.
- Magnuson, R. (1980). *A brief history of Quebec education*. Montreal: Harvest House.
- Moore, L. (1990, February 9). Policy on immigrants' schooling needed: CEQ, *The Montreal Gazette*, A-3.
- Montreal Catholic School Commission. (1992). *Statistics on mother-tongue, ethnic background and religion of students*. Montreal: Montreal Catholic School Commission.
- Montreal Catholic School Commission. (1989). Déclaration de la commission des écoles Catholiques de Montréal contre la discrimination raciale et le racisme, *Médium: Sciences Humaines*, 32, été.
- Norris, A. (1992, November 28). MCSC aiming for 20% minority employment by 1995, *The Montreal Gazette*, A-3.
- Porter, J. (1972). Dilemmas and contradictions of a multi-ethnic society, *Proceedings and transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* (4th series), 10, 193-205.
- Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal. (1988). *A Multicultural/ Multiracial Approach to Education in the Schools of the Protestant School Boards of Greater Montreal*. Report of the Task Force on Multicultural/Multiracial Education. Montreal: PSBGM.

- Quebec, Government of. (1992). *Basic Statistics: Education*. Quebec: Ministry of Education.
- Quebec, Government of. (1990). *Vision: A policy statement on immigration and integration*. Quebec: Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration du Québec.
- Quebec, Government of. (1983). *Intercultural education: Advice to the Minister of Education*. Quebec: Conseil supérieur de l'éducation.
- Quebec, Government of. (1982). *The Quebec school: A responsible force in the community*. Quebec: Ministère de l'éducation.
- Quebec, Government of. (1980). *Regulations adopted under the Charter of the French Language*. Quebec: Government of Quebec.
- Quebec, Government of. (1978). *La politique québécoise du développement culturel*. Quebec: Gouvernement du Québec.
- Quebec, Government of. (1977). *Quebec's policy on the French language*. Quebec: Government of Quebec.
- Quebec, Government of. (1989). *Dimensions: Profile of ethnic groups*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Quebec, Government of. (1987). *Language* (Part I, Catalogue 93-102; Part II, Catalogue 93-103). Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Statistics Canada. (1991). *Mother tongue: The nation* (Catalogue 93-313). Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Talbani, Abdulaziz. (1992a). Ethnicity and racism: South Asian graduate students in Quebec schools. In R. Ghosh, & R. Kanungo (Eds.), *South Asian Canadians: Current issues in the politics of culture*, pp. 162-166. Delhi: Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute.
- Talbani, Abdulaziz. (1992b). Combating racism in schools: Strategies for curriculum change. *The Journal of Ethno-Development*, 1(2), pp. 51-56.
- Talbani, Abdulaziz. (1991a, July). Do the right thing: Education and cultural minorities in Canada. *Hikmat*, pp. 18-23.
- Talbani, Abdulaziz. (1991b). *Education and minorities in Canada: South Asian students in Quebec schools*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies, McGill University, Montreal.

Abdulaziz Talbani received his doctorate (1991) from the Department of Administration and Policy Studies in Education, McGill University. He has written several articles in the areas of Quebec education, gender studies, and multicultural education. He has taught at Columbia University, New York. Currently, he has joined the Faculty of Education at St. Thomas University, Minnesota.

Abdulaziz Talbani a obtenu son doctorat (1991) au département d'administration et de politiques scolaires à la faculté des sciences de l'éducation de l'Université McGill. Il a rédigé plusieurs articles dans les domaines de l'éducation au Québec, des études sur la femme et de l'éducation pluriculturelle. Il a enseigné à l'Université Columbia de New York. Actuellement, il a enseigné à la faculté des sciences de l'éducation de l'Université St. Thomas au Minnesota.

CHILDREN AND MILKWEED

There is a time when April
follows April, beads of dew
form bubbles little clutches
of children in milkweed pods
held in a ring, a green band,
the safe circle of warm arms.

We can hear them play and sing
all the living hours away,
the young the immortal ones.

But in time their world expands,
our radius of simple care
loses its powers of constraint,
they pass to another season.

Milkweeds explode! explode!
Pods scatter their crystals of silk.

Where are you, my children
my children?

Paddy Webb

Apprendre l'histoire dans une société démocratique

Résumé

On attribue généralement à l'histoire des vertus implicites pour éduquer des jeunes. De la même façon, on s'accorde pour lui attribuer une fonction dans la formation du citoyen. Rarement les professeurs d'histoire font-ils ressortir de façon explicite, auprès de leurs élèves, l'importance et la valeur de la formation historique pour leur vie personnelle et pour l'ensemble de la société. L'auteur tente de pallier cette lacune en développant une argumentation pour expliquer les multiples fonctions que l'apprentissage de l'histoire à l'école peut remplir dans une société démocratique. Après avoir décrit la nature de la démocratie contemporaine et ses exigences en matière de formation des citoyens, il fait ressortir comment la classe d'histoire peut être notamment un lieu privilégié de construction de l'identité, du sens critique, de la perspective, de l'empathie, du jugement, et d'attitudes positives à l'égard du changement, de la différence, toutes choses fondamentales pour la vie dans une société démocratique.

Abstract

It is generally considered that history has implicit value in the education of young people, and that it has a role to play as well in the training of citizens. Only rarely do history teachers explicitly discuss with their students the importance and value of learning about history in terms of their personal lives and for society as a whole. The author attempts to fill this void by developing an argument to explain the multiple purposes teaching history in the schools can fill in a democratic society. After describing the nature of contemporary democracy and the demands it makes in the training of citizens, he discusses how history lessons can serve as a prime opportunity for building a sense of identity, a critical sense, perspective, empathy, judgment and positive attitudes towards change and difference – all of which are basic to life in a democratic society.

L'histoire [...] est un antidote qui permet de libérer la conscience et la pensée "de la domination inhumaine de l'imaginaire... du pouvoir magique de la lettre morte" [...], et de faire sortir de la léthargie, de la passivité et de l'indifférence les forces vives de la société.

Georges Haupt¹

Parmi tous les apprentissages auxquels on accorde aujourd'hui une valeur dans la formation de l'individu, la connaissance de l'histoire se voit en général accorder une place non négligeable. Certains aphorismes voulant que l'ignorance de l'histoire nous condamne à la répéter ont peut-être aidé à lui attribuer un statut d'intouchable. On ne sait trop pourquoi, mais il y a, à l'endroit de l'histoire, une présomption d'importance.

On connaît bien la longue tradition légitimant l'utilisation politique de l'histoire, notamment dans le développement de la conscience nationale. "La pratique idéologique contemporaine depuis plusieurs générations a généralisé 'l'argumentation' à partir de l'histoire pour fonder les bonnes causes et disqualifier les mauvaises." (Moniot 1990, p. 5) Cette forme de "dopage idéologique" est encore très présente dans nos sociétés où le concept d'histoire nationale cherche à survivre au sein d'une mosaïque de minorités qui, à l'instar des majorités, appellent l'histoire à la défense de leurs revendications respectives.

Les professeurs d'histoire ont par ailleurs sans doute contribué à perpétuer une certaine ambiguïté à propos de la valeur éducative de leur discipline: on consacre en général peu de temps, en classe d'histoire, à expliquer aux élèves l'importance, l'utilité et la pertinence des apprentissages en cours, même s'il existe pourtant de bons arguments pour le faire.

Nous vivons dans une société démocratique, ouverte aux influences ethniques, aux courants culturels et aux idéologies multiples. Une large part de la formation d'un citoyen adapté à un tel contexte est confiée à l'école. Ce mandat, comme nous l'avons montré dans un autre texte (Martineau, 1990), implique que les enseignants fassent des choix compatibles avec le contexte démocratique, tant au sujet des contenus d'enseignement, des méthodes pédagogiques que de la dynamique de leurs rapports avec les élèves.

Responsabilité de tout le monde et de personne en particulier, l'éducation politique des jeunes se cherche des agents et des lieux d'actualisation. Il faut par ailleurs rappeler que notre recherche effectuée au début des années quatre-vingts auprès d'étudiants de cinquième secondaire démontrait une étroite corrélation statistique entre le degré de socialisation politique des jeunes et l'influence des cours d'histoire suivis durant leurs

études secondaires. (Martineau 1985, p. 183). Encore plus récemment, le professeur d'histoire était identifié comme "une ressource précieuse pour l'éducation à la démocratie" (Brossard, 1991). On peut dès lors se demander quelle contribution spécifique et irremplaçable peuvent apporter l'histoire et son enseignement à la formation du citoyen dans un régime démocratique? La question n'est pas de savoir si on peut trouver une justification absolue de l'histoire dans le curriculum d'études, mais plutôt si la classe d'histoire ne favorise pas, davantage que d'autres disciplines, la poursuite et l'atteinte d'objectifs éducatifs étroitement associés à la démocratie.

Une complicité historique...

L'histoire est intimement liée à la société, à son apparition et à sa progression. Quête dans le passé faite à partir du présent, elle est un produit de l'évolution, à la merci des questions de chaque époque et des moyens mis à la disposition de l'historien. Un problème historique n'est pas un problème du passé, mais bel et bien un problème du présent dont la résolution nécessite un retour aux sources. L'histoire est donc intrinsèquement un produit de la culture et subit les courants qui influencent celle-ci; à preuve, l'histoire, telle qu'on la fait aujourd'hui, est une pratique qui a émergé graduellement et n'a acquis son caractère spécifique qu'assez récemment (Oakeshott 1962, p. 151). De plus, dans ses sources documentaires et dans sa fonction d'évocation et de narration, elle est aussi étroitement liée à la langue.

La démocratie, dans son histoire comme dans son esprit, est également intimement associée à la culture et à la langue. "Sans les mots, on n'est pas capable de décrire sa situation, et de la transformer . . . C'est le langage qui engendre la démocratie" (Watson 1989). D'ailleurs, comme l'a déjà montré Paolo Freire (1973), le pouvoir du citoyen réside en grande partie dans les outils culturels dont il dispose.

Partageant dans leurs fondements une dépendance à l'égard de la culture et de la langue, l'histoire et la démocratie d'aujourd'hui s'inspirent mutuellement: la première donne son sens à la seconde, et celle-ci rend possible l'écriture de l'histoire telle qu'on la fait aujourd'hui. La démocratie est sans doute l'une des "vérités exigeantes" que l'histoire a contribué à façonner.

La démocratie contemporaine

Qu'en est-il de la démocratie dans une société occidentale d'aujourd'hui? D'aucuns seraient tentés de croire qu'elle se manifeste à la minute de liberté vécue par le citoyen dans l'isoloir à tous les quatre ans.

Bien que manifestation essentielle, cette pratique n'en est qu'un épiphénomène. N'a-t-on pas vu, à travers l'histoire, des sociétés pratiquer le vote sans être démocratiques? Comment vote-t-on? Pourquoi vote-t-on? Dans quel contexte vote-t-on? Voilà des questions aussi importantes que le vote lui-même.

Une société démocratique se distingue principalement par son climat politico-social ouvert, où le débat prime sur le discours. Et pour maintenir cet état d'esprit, les gestes y sont éclairés par un ensemble de valeurs irréfutables telles la dignité de l'individu, le droit à la dissidence, le droit à la vie et au bien-être général, le droit d'être informé, le droit d'association, celui de participer aux décisions de la société et la croyance au progrès.

Dans nos démocraties, le citoyen doit participer à la dynamique sociale bien particulière des états post-industrialisés occidentaux, fortement marquée par la consommation et le loisir. L'Amérique a de plus été traversée, depuis vingt ans, par diverses tendances culturelles dont certaines menacent potentiellement sa capacité à vivre démocratiquement. Par exemple l'une d'entre elles, baptisée "complexe de Narcisse", nous montre un citoyen centré sur lui-même, occupé à vivre l'instant, dépourvu de tout sens de la continuité historique et peu intéressé par la postérité (Lasch 1981, p. 74). L'homme moderne se sentirait donc déraciné et éphémère, privé des certitudes qu'apportait l'ancrage temporel et géographique de l'appartenance à la terre et à la lignée ancestrale des siècles précédents (Pratt 1974, p. 421).

Cette détérioration du sens historique serait attribuable à l'influence prépondérante des moyens de diffusion massive de l'information, notamment la télévision "qui a rendu les catégories du 'vrai' et du 'faux' inappropriées à une évaluation de leur influence. La vérité a cédé la place à la crédibilité, les faits aux déclarations qui semblent faire autorité mais qui ne donnent aucun renseignement digne de foi" (Lasch 1981, p. 110). Devant les nouvelles télévisées, où l'image prend toute la place, l'abstraction est rendue impossible; l'histoire qui se fait est consommée en "mouchoirs de papier"², comme un album de photos. Le téléspectateur ne cherche pas à comprendre l'actualité: il la consomme. Le non-sens est son lot quotidien: à preuve, en quelques jours, un désastre aérien est remplacé par un coup d'état qui lui-même cède la place à une victoire spectaculaire de son club de hockey favori ou la mort tragique d'une grande vedette sidatique.

A cette perte de sens, il faut encore ajouter dans la population un sentiment d'absence des lieux d'exercice du pouvoir: le gouvernement ne semble pas exister pour le peuple et encore moins par le peuple. La vie, dans un monde de "pseudo-événements" et de "quasi-informations", où l'air est saturé de déclarations qui ne sont ni vraies ni fausses, mais seulement crédibles, amène à croire que nous sommes, au plan politique et économique,

totale à la merci des experts utilisant un langage incompréhensible au commun des mortels (Lasch 1981, p. 113). Soulignons qu'une telle perception était ressortie d'un sondage de la maison SORECOM (1980) auprès d'adolescents québécois ainsi que d'une étude sur la culture politique des étudiants de CEGEP (Demers, 1980).

Autre tendance culturelle à rejoindre la première: l'effet réducteur de la télévision sur la pensée et le langage des individus. "On n'a pas assez remarqué, nous dit Gaston Gauthier (1992, p. 24), comment une certaine attitude par rapport au temps paraît se retrouver dans l'écoute des émissions. L'enfant n'y expérimente que l'instantané et l'immédiat. Son écoute lui paraît une succession de moments agréables. [...] L'enfant ne dégage ni un avant ni un après de ces émiettements instantanés et ne s'exerce pas à ce que la durée et l'évolution requièrent". Le rythme et le mode de traitement des objets télévisuels font disparaître tout référent pouvant permettre l'organisation de la pensée: le temps, l'espace et la causalité ont cédé la place à la réalité virtuelle et à la pensée magique. "Le curriculum de la télévision, nous dit Postman (1985, p. 7), exprime une philosophie claire et profonde sur la nature des choses. Il admet le postulat que l'histoire ne veut rien dire, que les hiérarchies sont arbitraires, que les problèmes n'ont pas de précédents, que l'avenir ne vaut pas la peine qu'on s'y intéresse, que le hasard échappe à toute logique."

Or, écrit Michèle Perrot, "le rejet du passé laisse démuni, [...] il conduit ou accompagne souvent le totalitarisme, le tyran étant maître des sujets sans mémoire, sans racines. La force croissante des Etats suppose un contrepoids dans la société civile: des individus qui se souviennent et soient capables d'opposer leur propre mémoire à celle du pouvoir".³ La remarque de l'historienne s'applique d'emblée à nos sociétés dites démocratiques. Nous verrons plus loin que la force de cette "mémoire d'opposition" est davantage dans le mode de pensée qui la supporte que dans son contenu. Quand au langage, la télévision en fait

une langue d'improvisation qui procède d'un surgissement instinctif; une langue pétillante, facile et agréable, ou, comme on dit, "conviviale", dont l'effervescence n'exige pas de rapports précis avec autrui; une langue qui sert bien les échanges rapides et furtifs; une langue délectable que chacun parle à son gré. Surtout, c'est la langue des personnages mythiques de la télévision, que plusieurs associent aux merveilles de leur écoute; la langue des discoureurs brillants, qui parlent dans les scintillements et les lumières; une langue que certains, par conséquent, trouvent améliorée ou supérieure. (Gauthier 1992, p. 23).

L'esprit démocratique n'est pas inné chez l'individu; c'est un trait culturel qui doit être appris quelque part, et renforcé constamment, ne serait-ce que pour contrer ces tendances anti-sociales et anti-historiques qui grugent lentement les assises de la démocratie.

L'enseignement de l'histoire et la démocratie

Il existe depuis longtemps un consensus pour affirmer que la fonction sociale de l'histoire est de former des citoyens. La démocratie n'a d'ailleurs pas inventé la formation du citoyen ni l'utilisation du curriculum scolaire pour arriver à cette fin. Mais la socialisation souhaitée est fonction du projet social en cause. Comme le souligne Christian Laville (1979, p. 31)

C'est dans le rapport entre les objectifs déclarés et la façon de les atteindre, que réside fondamentalement le problème du rôle de l'enseignement de l'histoire. Un problème qui tient autant au rôle proprement dit de l'enseignement de l'histoire qu'à la façon de l'assurer. Il nous semble aussi que la solution à ce problème réside pour beaucoup dans la conception que nous nous faisons du citoyen à former.

Dans sa contribution à la formation d'un citoyen démocrate, la classe d'histoire assume deux fonctions quasi antinomiques: souvent utilisée comme lieu de socialisation politique des élèves (l'apprentissage des coutumes, traditions, lois, règles et pratiques en usage dans la société), elle doit parallèlement travailler à leur "contre-socialisation", c'est à dire à construire un citoyen indépendant et capable de raisonnement critique. (Engle & Ochoa 1988, p. 31).

Comment la classe d'histoire peut-elle remplir ces mandats? Mais d'abord, quel est ce citoyen-type à former?

Un citoyen militant

On le reconnaîtra d'abord par son adhésion consciente à la démocratie⁴, qu'il saisit non seulement comme une grande idée généreuse, mais surtout comme un progrès historiquement démontrable sur d'autres philosophies socio-politiques. Le citoyen démocrate sait et comprend en quoi consiste la démocratie et pourquoi elle est supérieure; il sait aussi ce qu'elle n'est pas et peut déceler une menace potentielle à son maintien.

Son niveau de conscience, que Freire (1973) qualifie de "critique transitive"⁵, fait de lui un militant: il a des anticorps pour tout ce qui est anti-démocratique. Sujet principal de cette cause, il se perçoit comme membre et co-responsable de toute la dynamique sociale. Il est donc sensible à la

qualité des outils dont il dispose pour assumer efficacement "des responsabilités d'orientation, de surveillance, d'objection, d'opposition qui en démocratie appartiennent à tous." (Laville 1985, p. 33).

Freire (1973) le décrit comme un individu qui va au fond des choses dans son interprétation des problèmes; il refuse de rejeter ses responsabilités sur autrui. Ouvert à l'innovation et à la remise en question, il est réceptif à la nouveauté et aux leçons du passé. Chez lui, la causalité remplace les explications magiques. Evitant les idées préconçues et la distorsion dans sa perception des problèmes, son jugement est sûr, et il est capable d'argumenter. D'où l'importance pour lui de la parole, de la langue et de la communication en général.

Engle et Ochoa (1988) tracent du citoyen démocrate un portrait saisissant: objecteur de conscience dans l'âme, il est indépendant face au groupe et son scepticisme n'accorde aucune immunité automatique: rien n'échappe à sa capacité de mise en doute, même ses convictions les plus chères. Être éminemment social doté d'une "vision de citoyen", il est capable, au delà des différences de cultures, de races, de classes, de vivre dans une société ouverte. Le changement et le progrès sont chez lui des valeurs de fond. Il peut dépasser ses propres besoins pour s'ouvrir aux besoins collectifs ou sociaux. Le citoyen démocrate est capable de faire face aux problèmes qui le touchent ou affectent sa collectivité. Puisque cette capacité d'appréhension des problèmes dépend beaucoup de son habileté à identifier les points d'achoppement, les enjeux et les valeurs sous-jacentes en cause, il doit pouvoir accéder aux faits nécessaires à leur compréhension. C'est donc un individu compétent à s'informer.

Enfin, cet individu peut exercer une influence politique. Capable de s'associer à d'autres, il s'implique dans des organismes visant la réalisation d'objectifs politiquement raisonnables. Il peut choisir une solution ou une option qui, même si elle est loin d'être idéale, est politiquement viable et fait progresser la résolution d'une impasse. A cet égard, il lui est possible d'envisager les conséquences des solutions envisagées.

Tel que décrit, ce citoyen est évidemment un type idéal. Mais il est possible de mettre la classe d'histoire à contribution de façon à amener les jeunes à tendre vers cet idéal. Voyons quelle contribution l'apprentissage de l'histoire peut apporter à un tel projet.

L'histoire, pour démythifier la démocratie

Au premier chef, implicitement, l'histoire ne doit-elle pas rendre compte de la dimension temporelle de la réalité humaine; à cet égard, l'une des premières fonctions de l'apprentissage de l'histoire dans notre société

est sans doute de replacer la démocratie dans le temps afin de montrer qu'elle n'est pas un mythe mais bien un produit de l'évolution inscrit dans des événements, des institutions et des pratiques socio-politiques. Tout en se tenant à l'écart du piège finaliste, la classe d'histoire offre aux étudiants la possibilité de considérer et d'analyser des situations historiques afin d'induire le développement progressif des idées démocratiques et de saisir non seulement les mérites, mais aussi les limites, des institutions qui s'en inspirent.

La classe d'histoire est donc, grâce à la perspective temporelle qu'elle apporte à l'objet démocratique, un lieu et un moyen de construction de sa valeur historique et de son bien-fondé comme philosophie politique.

L'histoire, pour s'identifier

L'enseignement de l'histoire a traditionnellement servi à construire l'identité des individus dans leurs rapports entre eux et avec la collectivité. Les vecteurs de cette identité étaient essentiellement culturels et le moule identitaire était clanique ou national. La classe d'histoire devait légitimer l'appartenance et stimuler le patriotisme, manifestation caractéristique de cette identité. Elle servait en fait à célébrer la couleur de la collectivité et sa propre fierté d'appartenir à celle-ci.

Même aujourd'hui dans nos sociétés "c'est [...] à l'école qu'est confié en priorité de former l'identité nationale et dans l'école, à l'enseignement de l'histoire tout particulièrement" (Laville 1992, p. 10). Au delà des mérites propres de la discipline, l'histoire scolaire demeure l'initiation à une culture par la transmission d'un héritage (Clark, 1990). D'ailleurs, comme le souligne Samuel (1990), si les historiens ou les professeurs d'histoire refusent d'assumer cette fonction, d'autres le feront à leur place⁶.

Dans une société démocratique ouverte, la fonction identitaire de l'histoire demeure, mais son objet est appelé à s'élargir, l'individu ne trouvant plus son sens dans la nation, le clan ou la famille mais davantage en lui-même et dans son rapport avec une collectivité moins homogène que jadis. Dans une société pluraliste, il demeure toutefois fondamental pour les individus d'accéder à la culture politique, sociale et économique de leur société et de pouvoir en jauger le sens véritable à travers l'histoire qui en fournit la trame.

Les démocrates, en général, se méfient des nationalismes et des manifestations patriotiques⁷ non pas pour ce qu'elles contiennent mais surtout pour ce qu'elles excluent potentiellement. Par définition, le citoyen démocrate n'exclut et n'impose rien a priori dans son rapport aux autres, et

sa société est théoriquement composée d'individus semblables à lui. Son identité n'est pas hégémonique. Par ailleurs, la citoyenneté démocratique, au dessus du sexe, de la race, de l'origine ethnique, des générations et des siècles, est un lieu de rencontre et d'identification beaucoup plus puissant, dynamique et inclusif que la couleur nationale (McFarland 1990, p. 101). Bien sûr, cette perspective ouvre la porte à une dynamique sociale bien particulière et remet en question une grande partie de nos référents culturels traditionnels, mais elle a l'avantage de proposer, théoriquement à tout le moins, des lieux de convergence qui autrement seraient difficiles à construire dans l'univers interdépendant du "village global" contemporain.

Devant la déstabilisation progressive des grandes histoires nationales traditionnelles et à travers les luttes des groupes minoritaires de plus en plus nombreux qui revendiquent le droit à l'histoire, Mona Ozouf s'inquiète de cet appel au passé qu'elle qualifie d'abusif:

Peut-être faudrait-il accueillir avec prudence la "demande d'histoire" qui monte aujourd'hui de tous les groupes sociaux, ethniques, sexuels, générationnels: car la frénésie à retrouver son histoire propre et ses "racines" dans une quête acharnée de soi-même, n'est pas dépourvue d'ambiguïté. Si nous suivons cette pente, nous finirons dans les manifestations de l'avenir, par brandir chacun pour nous notre propre pancarte, dont on peut imaginer déjà le slogan hargneux et laconique: Et moi! (Ozouf 1985, p. 56).

On peut se demander si cette pente qualifiée de dangereuse par l'historienne ne constitue pas un processus de renforcement de la démocratie. Quand chacun cherche sa place dans l'histoire, c'est qu'il revendique son droit au présent... et il n'est jamais si bien servi que par lui-même. Toute identité étant historique (Pratt 1974, p. 421), cette quête légitime et adulte ne montre-t-elle pas des individus libérés des entraves mythiques de l'enfance et désirant resituer leur propre histoire au sein de celle des autres et au sein de l'histoire de l'humanité. A l'instar de ces citoyens, la classe d'histoire permet aux jeunes de resituer leur propre quête d'identité dans le temps et de s'ouvrir à la réalité composite de leur société.

La conscience de l'être humain s'alimente aujourd'hui à des sources fort diverses, et cette diversité est une composante de l'identité. L'histoire permet de retrouver ces multiples filons.

La classe d'histoire, un lieu de catharsis

Idéalement, le citoyen démocrate est, dans son essence, un être libre et mature. Les responsabilités qui lui incombent dans sa société l'obligent,

afin de pouvoir demeurer alerte, à se libérer des entraves qui paralysent sa pensée et sa participation à la dynamique sociale. "A la différence de toutes les autres figures répertoriées de l'être humain," nous dit Finkielkraut (1987, p. 165) "l'homme démocratique se conçoit lui-même comme un être indépendant, comme un atome social: séparé à la fois de ses ancêtres, de ses contemporains et de ses descendants, il se préoccupe en premier lieu de pourvoir à ses besoins privés et il se veut l'égal de tous les autres hommes." Or il transporte, par sa culture, un poids que le passé fait peser sur lui sous la forme de perceptions, d'affects, de stéréotypes, de mythes et de préjugés, bref de façons d'être et de faire qui le confinent à un conformisme et un conservatisme difficilement conciliables avec le rôle qu'il doit jouer dans un monde pluraliste et en mouvement.

L'histoire, en tant que méthode et produit, peut servir d'interface entre le présent et les profondeurs du passé pour relativiser ces atavismes enfouis dans la mémoire individuelle et collective. Laville (1979, p. 32) la qualifie de psychanalyse:

De la même façon que le psychanalyste explore le passé de son malade pour tenter de comprendre des problèmes présents, de même l'historien explore le passé pour comprendre sa société. Et l'histoire, comme la psychanalyse, aide à prendre ses distances vis-à-vis le passé pour s'en libérer, pour mieux choisir et décider plus librement de l'avenir. L'histoire est une psychanalyse en ce qu'elle dégage le passé de l'inconscient, qu'elle le relativise et libère l'homme de ses déterminismes.

L'histoire sert donc non seulement à comprendre le passé, mais encore à s'en débarrasser, à se libérer des pulsions affectives inconscientes qui l'accompagnent dans la mémoire. En outre, elle amène à remettre en question ce que Pierre Bourgault (1989) appelle les "discours de cassette"⁸, les clichés tellement répétés à propos de notre passé qu'on ne se donne plus la peine d'en vérifier l'authenticité, même s'ils conditionnent une grande partie de nos attitudes et de nos comportements présents.

L'histoire, un antidote à l'histoire

"Le cours d'histoire," avance Ségol, "n'est pas destiné à faire connaître le passé. Que c'en soit un effet de surcroît, tant mieux! L'histoire n'est pas un savoir; elle est une discipline, une méthode d'intelligence du social. La matière historique est un moyen." (Ségol 1990a, p. 45). L'apprentissage de cette "méthode" est d'autant plus indispensable en démocratie qu'elle s'apparente étroitement au mode démocratique d'appréhension de la réalité

sociale, à un point tel que John Dewey (1955) parlait d'alliance potentielle entre la méthode scientifique et la méthode démocratique.⁹

La "discipline historique" vient en fait prémunir le citoyen contre les multiples usages déviés de l'histoire en rappelant la valeur de la connaissance "scientifique" du passé et les enseignements qu'on peut en tirer pour le présent. "L'histoire," nous dit Lise Noël (1983, p. 13) "n'a d'autres choix que d'être scientifique, ne serait-ce que pour asseoir sa propre crédibilité comme discipline et pour démontrer les entreprises de mystification qu'on machine à ses dépens: depuis celle de l'opresseur qui souhaite la supprimer pour effacer à travers elle la mémoire collective de victimes que pourrait tenter la révolte, jusqu'à celle de l'activiste qui la veut, au contraire, à ce point scientifique que ses lois contraignent inéluctablement à l'action. Si l'histoire dédaigne de poursuivre le pari scientifique, elle se condamnera au même sort que celui de la bible: comme elle semble tout contenir, on continuera à tout lui faire dire."

L'antidote à l'histoire-mémoire, c'est l'histoire-méthode, la discipline historique et particulièrement l'historiographie, qui peut faire contrepoids à la "grande narration". Pierre Nora (1984, p. xxi) rappelle à ce propos que

la naissance d'un souci historiographique, c'est l'histoire qui se met en devoir de traquer en elle ce qui n'est pas en elle, se découvrant victime de la mémoire et faisant effort pour s'en délivrer. [...] Elle consiste à s'emparer des objets constitués de la tradition [...] pour en démonter le mécanisme et reconstituer au plus près les conditions de leur élaboration. C'est introduire le doute au cœur, la lame critique entre l'arbre de la mémoire et l'écorce de l'histoire.

La connaissance des principes et des modalités de construction des savoirs historiques permet de débusquer la désinformation; elle amène à considérer l'histoire pour ce qu'elle est et non pas pour ce qu'on voudrait qu'elle soit. Ses "vérités" sont relatives, doivent être replacées dans le temps et ne sont pas des dogmes religieux (Yeo, 1990, p. 120). Les élèves doivent apprendre que l'histoire n'est pas "tout le passé humain"; c'est plutôt l'ensemble des propositions d'interprétations tirées des recherches documentaires des historiens.

L'histoire à l'école habitue à poser des questions au passé et à n'accepter comme réponses que des faits avalisés par les documents. En plus de sa façon propre d'interroger les faits, de sa méthode, elle entraîne le développement d'un ensemble d'attitudes propres à l'historien¹⁰,

notamment celle de suspendre son jugement moral ou politique, d'accepter les faits et de les interpréter à la lumière du contexte dans lequel ils se sont produits.

L'histoire, pour apprivoiser le changement

L'histoire a maintes fois servi à protéger les individus et les sociétés du changement en appelant la tradition et à montrer que le passé était garant de l'avenir. "Si tu veux savoir où tu t'en vas, dit la chanson, tâche de savoir d'où tu viens!" Cette utilisation défensive du passé est souvent le lot de groupes dont l'existence est précaire ou menacée. Par exemple, le drapeau de l'Assemblée des Premières Nations du Canada affiche une sentence non équivoque: "Our future is in our past!" Or même si elle a fait, ici comme ailleurs, les beaux jours des programmes d'histoire pendant des décennies, l'épopée demeure une proposition d'interprétation des faits bien singulière et réalisée à partir d'un faisceau orienté de questions adressées au passé. L'histoire n'est pas que continuité; elle est aussi rupture et discontinuité. Quand, parce que trop linéaire, l'histoire devient l'ennemi du présent, elle laisse les individus à qui elle s'adresse démunis devant l'imprévisible tournure des événements qui ne répond à aucune loi connue.

Par le regard qu'elle porte sur les sociétés du passé, l'étude de l'histoire permet d'intégrer le changement comme un important facteur de l'évolution des individus et de leurs sociétés d'appartenance. Elle délivre la conscience de l'insécurité qui fait craindre toute modification de situation. De plus, elle apprend aux futurs citoyens à se méfier des démagogues devant un geste pouvant entraîner des changements.

En démocratie, l'histoire peut donc faire ressortir la réalité permanente du changement et permettre aux jeunes citoyens d'y faire face en faisant de ce changement une valeur socialement acceptée. Durant son cours d'histoire, l'élève peut aussi constater l'interaction du changement et de la continuité tout au long de l'évolution de l'humanité afin de pouvoir lire correctement ces deux dimensions dans l'évolution de la réalité actuelle. "Les changements, nous dit Octavio Paz (1985, p. 220), sont indissociables de la démocratie. La défendre c'est défendre la possibilité du changement; à leur tour, seuls les changements pourront renforcer la démocratie et lui permettre enfin de s'incarner dans la vie sociale."

L'histoire, pour élargir son champ de vision

En "consommant" l'actualité quotidienne, le citoyen s'habitue à gober des faits mis hors contexte, souvent confondus avec la fiction transmise par les médias, ou bien il perd la perspective temporelle qui permet d'associer à des événements présents des gestes du passé qui auraient pu être autres.

"L'information, nous dit Godbout (1983, p. 95), est la négation même de l'histoire. Le journal télévisé c'est l'instantanéité. L'histoire, [...] la durée."

L'histoire est donc un moyen d'ajustement au présent; elle habitue à interpréter l'actualité à la lumière des faits et non pas des idéologies ou des préjugés, et à la replacer dans une perspective plus juste, soit celle de la durée. La classe d'histoire fournit à cet égard un lieu, des ressources et une méthode pour remettre l'actualité en perspective¹¹; l'étudiant peut y acquérir l'habileté à resituer les événements présents dans leur contexte temporel et à leur faire perdre leur caractère instantané. Elle permet encore la construction d'un ensemble de concepts qui pourront constituer autant de clés de lecture de l'actualité. La qualité de son appréhension de la réalité en sera donc grandement améliorée.

Cette capacité de mise en contexte et en perspective des événements est essentielle au citoyen. Elle l'empêche de "perdre le fil" de l'évolution de l'humanité, de perdre confiance dans le progrès et dans la capacité des humains à régler leurs problèmes. Elle lui rappelle encore que les sociétés, si elles le veulent, peuvent intervenir sur leur destinée, et que nous construisons aujourd'hui le monde de nos propres enfants.

De plus, le développement de cette "habileté" perceptuelle habitue l'individu à ne pas laisser la passion ou l'émotion prendre le pas sur la raison quand surviennent des événements personnels et collectifs qui demandent de garder "la tête froide", surtout à une époque où il doit s'adapter plusieurs fois dans sa vie à des changements importants. Dewey (1990, p. 281) écrivait d'ailleurs au début du siècle que "la géographie et l'histoire sont les deux grands moyens dont dispose l'école pour élargir la portée d'une expérience personnelle directe."

Transposée au plan social, cette aptitude à élargir le contexte des événements soumis à l'interprétation confère aux citoyens un "sens des proportions" que n'ont pas toujours les média en mal de cotes d'écoute, "en faisant percevoir aux jeunes que les réalités présentes ne sont pas des en-soi, immuables et figés, mais qu'au contraire elles s'inscrivent dans un processus de changement et d'interventions humaines, et qu'alors on peut agir sur elles. Ils n'accepteront plus, ensuite, qu'on leur dise 'l'histoire a démontré. . .', 'les faits prouvent' mais voudront aller voir eux mêmes et tirer leurs propres conclusions, ce dont ils deviendront capables." (Laville 1988, p.34).

L'histoire, pour développer l'empathie

En classe d'histoire on peut encore développer l'empathie, cette capacité de pouvoir se mettre à la place d'un autre dans un lieu et un temps différents. Au delà de sa méthode, cette attitude propre à l'historien est sans

doute l'une des contributions les plus intéressantes que l'histoire peut apporter à l'éducation d'un jeune en démocratie. Les perceptions exprimant souvent des mythes et préjugés profondément ancrés, et que l'école peut parfois d'ailleurs renforcer ou entretenir, l'étudiant peut, à l'exemple de l'historien, y développer l'habitude de relativiser sa lecture de la réalité.

L'interrogation du passé avec l'attitude historienne permet donc au jeune citoyen d'échapper à ses préjugés et à ceux de son époque en remplaçant sa réalité dans la durée, avec celle des humains qui ont existé avant lui et de ceux qui poursuivront l'aventure de l'humanité. Elle amène à confronter l'habitude spontanée à lire la réalité à partir de soi à une autre plus objective (Oakeshott, 1962). Elle montre à l'élève que tout être humain est de son temps et doit être apprécié en fonction du contexte historique et géographique; elle lui apprend à se situer lui-même dans un monde appelé à changer. De plus, par l'étude de l'histoire, l'étudiant pourra constater que les crimes, les gestes démentiels et les grands malheurs de l'humanité ne sont l'apanage d'aucune race ou nation en particulier. (Pratt 1974, p. 416)

L'histoire, contre le "dopage idéologique"

De par sa nature, l'histoire est intimement liée à la langue et à la pensée comme l'est la démocratie. La discipline historique prémunit l'individu contre les tendances hégémoniques qui réduisent la pensée et spolient le langage.

La télévision, par exemple, comme nous l'avons souligné précédemment, et la publicité en particulier, habituent l'individu à "parler court", sans nuance, et par conséquent à penser étroitement. Elle impose insidieusement une espèce de "novlangue" dont George Orwell (1950) a abondamment décrit les effets dans son roman *1984*.¹² Nonobstant les émissions d'information, les abondantes références au passé y font le plus souvent appel à l'émotion, parfois au détriment des faits, au nom d'intérêts politiques, économiques ou autres. En classe d'histoire, un jeune peut s'outiller de diverses façons contre ces distorsions de la réalité.

Premièrement, en développant un mode de "pensée historique": "Enseigner l'histoire, c'est injecter de la raison dans la mémoire." (Ségal 1991, p. 106). Par un entraînement systématique de la pensée à l'analyse de situations du passé, le cours d'histoire rend possible le développement des facultés intellectuelles les plus élevées, résistant par là-même, à l'influence néfaste de la télévision. Cette visée a toutefois ses exigences, notamment pour les professeurs d'histoire. Comme le souligne Postman (1985, p. 9),

Faire connaître le passé comme une chronique d'événements particuliers indiscutables et sans liens les uns avec les autres, c'est répéter les défauts de la télévision qui ferme aux jeunes

l'accès aux concepts et aux théories, et leur présente simplement une suite d'événements dépourvus de signification. Quels que soient les événements qu'on inclut dans l'étude du passé, le pire serait de les présenter dépourvus de sens. Ceci, soyons-en sûrs, la télévision le fait quotidiennement. Le professeur d'"histoires" doit dépasser les événements pour rejoindre les concepts, les théories, les hypothèses, les comparaisons, les déductions, les évaluations.

Deuxièmement, l'exercice la pensée historique peut faire contrepoids à la pensée mythique à laquelle s'alimente la mémoire collective. Cette dernière, "globalisante et sans frontière, floue et télescopante relève de la croyance qui n'assimile que ce qui la conforte elle-même" (Nora 1978, p. 398). La critique des faits, des gestes et des idées du passé développe l'argumentation, affine le jugement et conduit l'étudiant à construire un mode de pensée critique intimement lié au fonctionnement de la démocratie; de cette façon, l'apprenti-citoyen se prémunit contre les manipulations potentielles des démagogues, des propagandistes publicitaires et même, pourquoi pas, des enseignants (Duffy 1988, p. 462), faisant obstacle dès l'école aux risques d'endoctrinement.

En réhabilitant une fonction souvent stigmatisée par les pouvoirs en place, la classe d'histoire peut faire de la critique une valeur socialement acceptée et en affirmer l'importance vitale pour la vie démocratique.

L'histoire, pour apprendre la différence

La réalité composite des démocraties modernes a engagé depuis quelques années les historiens dans une quête du passé de "l'autre". Cet "autre", présent partout dans nos sociétés, en revendiquant ses droits, met à l'épreuve nos convictions démocratiques. En outre la tolérance indispensable à la vie démocratique oblige à reconsidérer certaines fonctions traditionnelles de l'enseignement de l'histoire qui, il faut l'admettre, était souvent celle des hommes, blanc, puissants, et riches de la nation. André Ségol (1990b, p. 19) écrit que

la très moderne et très fragile vertu de tolérance ne peut vivre aveugle. Il n'est pas de respect des différences qui économise l'effort d'analyser et de comprendre la nature des différences et partant leur genèse. Nous voguons ainsi aux antipodes d'une histoire dont la fonction était naguère de renforcer les appartenances et d'intégrer les individus aux structures dominantes [...] A quoi sert l'histoire? A comprendre pourquoi Mouloud, Dave, Pedro et Cyrille sont différents de moi et que nous pouvons vivre ensemble.

La classe d'histoire permet aussi d'accueillir la différence dans un contexte non politisé et conduire les étudiants à une conclusion tout à fait fondamentale en démocratie: à savoir que la dissidence n'est pas l'échec, l'opposition non plus; elles sont au contraire des moteurs fondamentaux de la vie démocratique. Les différences de sexes, d'idées, d'opinions, de classes, ont constitué, et sont encore aujourd'hui, d'importants facteurs d'évolution. Le cours d'histoire offre de multiples occasions d'en faire le constat. L'élève y apprend à prendre sa place dans l'histoire, et à en faire une aux autres. . .

Cette fonction, couplée au mandat déjà évoqué de développement de l'empathie, placent la discipline historique au centre de la formation du citoyen démocrate.

L'histoire, pour apprendre à investir le présent

S'il est une conviction que doit posséder le citoyen d'une démocratie à l'égard de l'histoire, c'est non seulement qu'il doit la connaître, mais surtout qu'il est important et utile de le faire. L'histoire est "à la fois reconnaissance par l'individu de sa propre puissance sur le monde, antidote à l'indifférence." (Ozouf 1985, p. 50). Or si la démocratie fournit à la classe d'histoire son contexte privilégié d'apprentissage, elle invite en retour à réfléchir sur les conditions historiques qui en permettent le maintien. "La science historique rappelle sans cesse à l'homme de notre époque, qui en a bien besoin, sa liberté de lire son histoire et sa liberté de la faire." (Dumont 1969, p. 16).

Le cours d'histoire devient ainsi pour l'élève un lieu d'affirmation de sa propre présence et de sa participation dans le courant de l'histoire. Il l'amène à relier sa propre réalité aux gestes posés par les humains qui l'ont précédé et à prendre conscience de l'importance de ceux qui sont posés aujourd'hui pour les années à venir. Ce faisant, le jeune citoyen s'inscrit dans un courant, un mouvement qui va d'hier à demain, en utilisant le cours d'histoire comme porte d'entrée à sa participation à la vie démocratique (McFarland 1990, p. 100): le contact méthodique avec le passé l'amène à comprendre le rôle de l'histoire dans le présent qui lui est confié et favorise une meilleure insertion sociale .

L'invitation à une démarche d'apprentissage réflexive ainsi que certains objectifs d'apprentissage explicites d'action sociale ou politique réfléchie que l'on trouve au sein des programmes d'études québécois d'histoire au secondaire vont dans ce sens.¹³ L'étudiant peut donc être habitué dès l'adolescence à se percevoir comme un acteur de la société et à valoriser la connaissance de l'histoire pour éclairer ses gestes.

De la même façon, la possibilité de débattre est un autre exemple de contribution importante de la classe d'histoire. Au niveau des communications sociales, la présence du débat distingue les démocraties des autres sociétés moins ouvertes et plus portées aux discours qu'à la polémique. Durant le cours d'histoire, l'étudiant peut être invité à débattre, à confronter son point de vue à celui d'historiens, de personnages d'époque, d'autres étudiants. La classe d'histoire fournit alors un potentiel illimité d'occasions de rencontres et de confrontations formatrices avec les grands mouvements d'idées, les personnages marquants, les événements et les valeurs du passé; à travers ces "rendez-vous", les étudiants peuvent clarifier ou raffiner leurs perceptions premières et même les modifier à la lumière des données historiques (Duffy 1988, p.461). Ce faisant, ils s'habituent à considérer d'autres points de vue que le leur, à débattre et argumenter, et dès lors se préparent à une participation sociale active. Toutes ces occasions de débat sont de plus des façons pour les jeunes d'apprécier l'importance de la langue pour communiquer la pensée.

Conclusion

Paul Valéry écrivait que "la politique est l'art d'empêcher les gens de s'occuper de ce qui les regarde"¹⁴. Malgré son cynisme, cette pensée n'était pas dépourvue de vérité, à une époque où l'instruction était surtout réservée à une minorité. Valéry constatait par l'absurde que le pouvoir a pour principal carburant le savoir: moins les gens savent, moins ils peuvent. C'est dire l'importance que revêtent l'information et l'éducation dans la vie politique.

Dans notre société, comme dans tous les régimes, la classe d'histoire est non seulement un lieu politique à occuper, mais elle constitue, comme nous l'avons montré tout au long de ce texte un lieu privilégié d'éducation politique. Toutefois, compte tenu de la nature et des exigences du projet démocratique, l'apprentissage de l'histoire ne peut y être fait n'importe comment.

La classe d'histoire est un lieu d'appropriation de savoirs, de savoir-faire et de savoir-être indispensables en démocratie. A maints égards, elle est un lieu privilégié de construction de certains d'entre eux, particulièrement en ce qui a trait à la dimension temporelle de la réalité sociale. Enseigner, écrivait Neil Postman (1981), c'est résister. En matière de formation du citoyen, comme nous l'avons montré tout au long de ce texte, cette résistance prend tout son sens dans les choix politiques préalables qui incombent au professeur d'histoire, dans le développement de stratégies pédagogiques compatibles avec ces choix de formation, et dans le maintien, au sein de sa classe, de l'état d'esprit qui doit prévaloir en démocratie.

NOTES

1. Georges Haupt, "Préface à l'édition française", dans Medvedev (1972, p. 15)
2. L'expression est de Jacques Godbout.
3. citée dans Moniot (1990, p. 59)
4. Les anglophones utilisent le terme "commitment", nettement plus explicite...
5. **Transitif**: "Qui modifie, agit sur autre chose que l'agent actif" par opposition à **intransitif**: "Associé à neutre [...] Exprime une action limitée au sujet et ne passant sur aucun objet" (dictionnaire Robert). C'est l'état d'un individu engagé face à la réalité (personnelle et sociale) et dont les caractéristiques principales sont l'ouverture aux autres, la capacité au dialogue, l'assomption de ses responsabilités et le sens démocratique.
6. "Historians of the Left have shield away from 'nation', either as a subject of study or as a symbolic category. [...] Yet history, whether we like it or not, is a national question and it has always occupied a national space. Even in the teaching of local history it remains, or ought to remain, an inescapable point of reference. Nor can the history of minorities escape it, since it is in relations of opposition to majorities that minorities are defined. [...] Moreover, even if nation is expelled from the classroom, it will still carry on an underground existence in the corridors and playground and an altogether more uninhibited one on television and on the football terraces. If historians refuse to teach it, there will be plenty of others who will." (Samuel 1990, p. 127).
7. A cet égard, il est intéressant de feuilleter le numéro spécial soulignant le 125^e anniversaire des Etats-Unis de l'hebdomadaire libéral américain *The Nation*. On y trouve les réponses d'une centaine de personnes en vue aux questions: "Is there a patriotism that is not nationalistic? How does the historic internationalism of the liberal left relate to the concept of patriotism? What do you value in the traditions of your country?" On y trouve encore plusieurs exemples de ce patriotisme non hégémonique et de la grande méfiance à l'endroit des manifestations de patriotisme exacerbé. (Navasky, V., 1991)
8. Quelques "cassettes" abordées par l'auteur: Ignorer l'histoire, c'est se condamner à la répéter; l'historien doit être neutre et objectif; la France nous a abandonnés; les Canadiens français sont xénophobes [...]
9. "Mais la liberté de recherche, la tolérance d'opinions diverses, la liberté de communication, la distribution de ce qu'on découvre à tout individu comme étant l'ultime consommateur intellectuel, sont impliqués dans la méthode démocratique comme la méthode scientifique." (Dewey 1955, p. 113).
10. Michael Oakeshott dans son essai sur le métier d'historien, distingue la pensée historique de trois autres attitudes face au passé: l'attitude empirique (practical attitude), l'attitude scientifique et l'attitude contemplative. Or il distingue de ces trois dernière une autre attitude qui est celle de l'historien et qui entraîne un type spécifique d'enquête et de conclusions qui ne sont ni empiriques, ni scientifique, ni de l'ordre de la contemplation, mais apporte un point de vue riche d'enseignement pour la compréhension du présent. (Oakeshott 1962)
11. "Perspective is the ability to see persons, institutions, or events against a larger canvas of antecedents, related situations, and relevant principles. It is absolutely essential for that sense of proportion so necessary to rendering sound judgements in a present rocked by 'future shock'. [...] It is placing oneself, along with

- ideas, values, events, and personalities, in time that germinates perspective, proportion, and fruitful analysis." (Duffy 1988, p. 460).
12. "Le novlangue était destiné, non à étendre, mais à diminuer le domaine de la pensée et la réduction au minimum du choix des mots aidait directement à atteindre ce but..." (Orwell 1950, p. 431)
 13. Le guide pédagogique du programme d'Histoire générale (Ministère de l'éducation du Québec, 1982), en deuxième secondaire, propose de faire vivre aux élèves "une démarche active, historique, synthétique et réflexive". On trouve par ailleurs, dans le programme facultatif de cinquième secondaire, plusieurs objectifs d'apprentissage de niveau "agir réflexif". (Ministère de l'éducation du Québec, 1988)
 14. cité dans Schwartzzenberg (1977, p. 293)

RÉFÉRENCES

- Bourgault, P. (1989). Pour en finir avec l'histoire en cassette. *TRACES*, 27(2), pp. 9-13.
- Brossard, L. (1991). Le professeur d'histoire: une ressource précieuse pour l'éducation à la démocratie. *Vie pédagogique*, 74, pp. 22-26.
- Clark, J. C. D. (1990). National identity, state formation and the patriotism: The role of history in the public mind. *History Workshop Journal*, 29.
- Delcroix, G. (1978). Le rôle de l'histoire dans l'éducation. *Cahiers de Clio*, 60, pp. 5-10.
- Demers, P. (1980). L'enseignement politique et la politisation des jeunes. *Éducation-Québec*, 11(2).
- Dewey, J. (1955). *Liberté et culture*. Paris: Aubier ed. Montaigne.
- Dewey, J. (1990). *Démocratie et éducation*. Paris: Armand Colin.
- Duffy, R. E. (1988, October). Why history? *Social Education*, pp. 460-462.
- Dumont, F. (1969). La fonction sociale de l'histoire. *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, 4, pp. 5-16.
- Engle, S. H., & A. S. Ochoa. (1988). *Education for Democratic Citizenship*. New York: Teacher's College Press, Columbia University.
- Freire, P. (1973). *Education for Critical Consciousness*. New York: Seabory Press.
- Finkelkraut, A. (1987). *La Défaite de la Pensée*. Paris: Gallimard (Folio).
- Gauthier, G. (1992). La télévision, alliée ou ennemie de l'école? *Dimensions*, 14(1), pp. 23-25.
- Godbout, J. (1983). Des peuples heureux. *Liberté*, 147, pp. 86-96.
- Lasch, C. (1981). *Le Complexe de Narcisse*. Paris: Robert Lafont.
- Laville, C. (1979). Place et rôle de l'enseignement de l'histoire, principalement dans l'enseignement secondaire pour la formation de l'homme du XXe siècle. *Bulletin de Liaison de la SPHQ*, 17(2), pp. 30-35.
- Laville, C. (1985). Minorités, compréhension mutuelle et usages de l'histoire. *Cahiers de Clio*, 84, pp. 17-34.
- Laville, C. (1991). Les Amérindiens d'hier dans les manuels d'aujourd'hui. *TRACES*, 29(2), pp. 26-33.
- Laville, C. (1992). Le loup et le clocher: Histoire et enseignement de l'histoire au Canada XIXe-XXe siècle. Dans R. Audigier, et al. (Ed.), *Enseigner l'histoire et la géographie: un métier en constante mutation*, pp. 42-47. Paris: A.N.D.P.

- Martineau, R. (1985). *S'informer de l'actualité: Motivation, compétence et formation requises*, Mémoire de M.A. (Education), UQAM.
- Martineau, R. (1990). La démocratie des maîtres. *Dimensions*, 12(1), pp. 11-16.
- McFarland, M. A. (1990, February). The social studies: Gateway to citizen voice, vision, and vitality. *Social Education*, pp. 100-106.
- Medvedev, R. (1972). *Le stalinisme, origines, histoire, conséquences*. Paris: Seuil.
- Ministère de l'éducation du Québec (1982). *Guide pédagogique: Histoire générale, deuxième secondaire*. Gouvernement du Québec: 16-3660-01.
- Ministère de l'éducation du Québec (1988). *Programme d'études: Le 20^e siècle, Histoire et Civilisations, cinquième secondaire*. Gouvernement du Québec: 16-3662.
- Moniot, H. (1990). L'enseignement de l'histoire: Pluralité honteuse ou heureuse?. Dans G. Racette & L. Forest (dir.), *Pluralité des Enseignements en Sciences Humaines à l'Université*. Montréal: Ed. Noir sur Blanc.
- Navasky, V. (Ed.) (1991, July 15/22). Patriotism. *The Nation*, 253(3).
- Noël, L. (1983). L'Histoire, un axe de signification. *Liberté* (Spécial intitulé: L'Histoire vécue), 147, pp. 5-13.
- Nora P. (1978). Mémoire collective. Dans J. LeGoff et al. (dir.), *La Nouvelle Histoire*, pp. 398-401. Paris: Retz-CEPL.
- Nora, P. (1984). Entre mémoire et histoire. La problématique des lieux. *Les lieux de mémoire-I- La République*, pp. XV à XLII. Paris: Gallimard.
- Oakeshott, M. (1962). The activity of being an historian. Dans M. Oakeshott (Ed.), *Rationalism in politics and other essays*. pp. 137-167. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.
- Orwell, G. (1950). 1984. Paris: Gallimard, Coll. Livre de Poche.
- Ozouf, M. (1985). Histoire et instruction civique. *Le Débat*, 34, pp. 147-157.
- Paz, O. (1985). *Une Planète et Quatre ou Cinq Mondes. Réflexions sur l'Histoire Contemporaine*. Paris: Gallimard (Folio Essai).
- Postman, N. (1981). *Enseigner, c'est résister*. Paris: Le Centurion.
- Postman, N. (1985). Faire entrer les élèves dans le grand débat, *Vie Pédagogique*, 34, pp. 4-10.
- Pratt, D. (1974). The functions of teaching history. *The History Teacher*, VII(3), pp. 410-424.
- Samuel, R. (1990). Grand narratives. *History Workshop Journal*, 29, pp. 120-133.
- Schwartzberg, R.-G. (1977). *L'ÉTAT-SPECTACLE: Essai sur et contre le star-system en politique*. Paris: Flammarion.
- Segal, A. (1990a). L'éducation par l'histoire. Dans F. Dumont et Y. Martin, (dir.), *L'éducation, 25 ans plus tard et après*, pp. 241-256. Québec: I.Q.R.C.
- Ségal, A. (1990b). Enseigner la différence par l'histoire, *TRACES*, 28(1), pp. 16-19.
- Ségal, A. (1991). Périodisation et didactique: le moyen-âge comme obstacle à l'intelligence des origines de l'Occident. *PERIODES: La construction du temps historique, Actes du Ve colloque d'histoire au présent*. Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales et Histoire au Présent.
- SORECOM (1980). *Les valeurs des jeunes de 16 à 20 ans*. Ministère de l'éducation du Québec, Editeur officiel.
- Watson, P. (1989). *La lutte pour la démocratie*. série d'émissions de télévision, Radio-Canada: Emission no 1.
- Yeo, S. (1990). The more it changes, the more it stays the same?. *History Workshop Journal*, 30, pp. 120-128.

Robert Martineau a enseigné l'histoire au secondaire durant quinze ans. Depuis 1982, il est conseiller pédagogique en sciences humaines à la Commission des Ecoles Catholiques de Montréal. Il a été rédacteur en chef de *Traces*, la revue de la Société des professeurs d'histoire du Québec, de 1988 à 1993. Il a assumé des charges de cours en didactique des sciences humaines dans diverses universités (Memorial, Moncton, UQAM, Montréal). Il poursuit présentement des études de niveau doctoral en Didactique de l'histoire à l'université Laval.

Robert Martineau was a high school history teacher for 15 years. Since 1982, he has served as a pedagogical consultant to the Montreal Catholic School Commission on the teaching of the humanities. From 1988 to 1993, he was editor-in-chief of *Traces*, the journal of the Société des professeurs d'histoire du Québec (Quebec Society of History Teachers). He has taught humanities education courses at various universities, including Memorial, Moncton, UQAM, and the Université de Montréal. He is currently working towards a Ph.D. in the teaching of history at Laval University.

WOMAN LISTENING

When a woman sits listening
to the quiet that surrounds her,
picking out this tune and that
between gossiping trees, flutters
of bird life, a passing truck strumming
the tarmac the other side
of the valley. . . .

When a woman sits listening,
leaning forward, screwing
up her face to hear above fiddling
grasshoppers the intermittent plink
of water dripping on water, and knits
these sounds into images passing
the slipped chords over linking
colours together, counting the stitch beats,

something twists on the spool of the afternoon
and the ball of the sun unwinds its yellow wool.

When a woman sits listening
to the pattern she's following,
picking up this thread and that
from thorn bush and gossamer to weave
in her cloth of gold,
voices of underground grow towards light,
mouths in the soil open, and stilling
the click of her needles she concentrates
on each fluctuating breath, its
scent of crushed grasses, straining
to capture each murmur that floats,
scatters and falls.

If she misses one.
it could be the only one, the one
she does not know, or knows so well
she's forgotten its secret – the one
she's been waiting for all her life.

Paddy Webb

Empowering Teachers: An answer in search of the question¹

Abstract

More and more thought and effort are given today to the question of empowering teachers. The object of this article is to examine the extent to which empowering would, in fact, solve a fundamental problem now facing the teaching profession. In order to determine the adequacy of empowerment, we must consider three questions: 1. What is the nature and extent of powerlessness in teaching? 2. What kind of power do teachers need? 3. Which conditions does this kind of power presuppose? Briefly stated, the question is: could empowering, as an answer, elude the fundamental issue, the cultural loss of a sense of moral authority?

Résumé

Depuis quelques années, les milieux d'enseignement font grand cas d'un mouvement qui entend donner aux enseignants le pouvoir décisionnel: on parle de teacher empowerment. Dans le but d'établir le bien-fondé de cette solution, nous posons les questions suivantes: 1. Quelle est la nature et l'étendue de l'impuissance professionnelle dans l'enseignement? 2. De quelle sorte de pouvoir les enseignants ont-ils besoin? 3. Quelles conditions cette sorte de pouvoir présuppose-t-elle? En somme, la question est la suivante: la solution de l'empowerment, éluderait-elle la question décisive, soit la perte du sens de l'autorité morale.

A glance at the history of education shows that it holds an ambiguous position on the social scale. On the one hand, because of its connection to the culture of learning, it is held in esteem; on the other hand, since it is a form of caring for the young, it offers great similarities to domestic work. But ambivalence is uncomfortable. The Greeks solved the problem by holding the *disdaskalos* in high esteem and charging their slaves with the

tasks of the *paidagogos*; the French had high regard for the contribution of *le gouverneur* but much less for the work of *la gouvernante*. Today, the same society that used to extol schoolteaching as a noble vocation is demanding more accountability from this large group of public sector employees. The very amount of recent literature on teacher empowerment shows that schoolteaching needs and wants to gain or reclaim some status on the social scale of occupations.

Surely, no one would argue against giving socio-political power to any occupational group. But empowering, in and of itself, takes us only part of the way. It is an answer begging such questions as: What is it that justifies the critical element of indeterminacy in any professional's intervention? In other words, on what grounds can professionals claim self-responsibility, discretionary judgement and freedom from external monitoring and supervision? This question can best be answered by considering the following related issues. First, the fact of powerlessness in school teaching: the sociological concept of mass professions and documented experience of teaching show that this is a profession in need of power. Establishing this fact imposes the second question: What kind of power do teachers need? History shows two kinds: *potestas* and *auctoritas*; teaching requires this last kind of power. But what are the conditions of possibility of that power? Examination of this question shows that *auctoritas* is based on two grounds: the epistemological and the moral.

A powerless profession

In ancient Greece, schoolteaching was the occupation of any one who found himself with no other choice: political exiles, wandering refugees, dethroned tyrants, disinherited aristocracy. A common joke about someone who had not been heard of for some time was to say: "He is either dead or teaching school somewhere" (Marrou, 1948, p. 223). In Victorian England, schoolteaching was the lot of the governess. Male teachers were also in charge of ringing bells, digging graves and the like; the minister as well might be willing to keep school on the side. In Kant's Germany, the minister transferred that duty to his assistant. Most of the time, however, the school master was neither pastor nor assistant, but a goodwill worker. When no such worker was available, anyone who knew anything, be they bankrupt merchants, disqualified students, or war invalids (Kant, 1966, p. 14) could assume the task of teaching school. Those were the facts behind J. B. Shaw's caustic "... those who can't, teach."

It is therefore understandable that schoolteaching, along with other service occupations, has sought ways to emerge from its lowly place on the scale of social occupations. In America, it has claimed the status of profession, with all the sociopolitical, personal, and economic advantages at-

tached to being a doctor, a lawyer, or a professor (Freidson, 1983, pp. 23-26). Today, schoolteaching has become what Shaw names a mass profession, along with clerical work, social work and ancillary work in health services. Mass professions are occupations staffed mainly by employees of the public sector (1987, pp. 775-786). These are managed professions where management is made ever more accountable. In mass professions, the employer requires a "package" of knowledge, skills, and personal qualities. This set of personal and professional characteristics is inculcated through job socialization and tested during selection. Any schoolteacher knows how much schools are bureaucratized and subject to external monitoring and control through detailed guidelines, supervision of syllabus coverage, visible preparation, willingness to participate in extra curricular activities, and record keeping.

In addition to labour control in the form of accountability, workers in the mass professions are constantly vulnerable to deskilling due to technological innovation. In teaching, deskilling is done not only by constantly changing methods and programs, but also by the addition of what Shaw names "pastoral responsibilities" (1987, p. 780) to the teaching load. Four decades ago, W. H. Clarke could foresee the advent of what he called "the teacher's tortured timetable" (Hope, 1950, p. 907). Recent research concurs with him (Maeroff, 1988; Giroux, 1991). What Clarke rightly anticipated is the impact of replacing the notion of teaching by that of "educating the whole child in all aspects of growth." It is, in effect, widely recognized today, that the child or student-centered ideology rates high on "nurturant effects" at the expense of "instructional effects" (Joyce & Weil, 1980, pp. 45, 50, 73, 92, 128).

Teaching means to make known or to assist in the acquisition of knowledge; it requires depth and breadth of knowledge and specialized know-how. Not everyone is a teacher. Educating, especially in the sense of the "child-centered approach" comes from *educare*² which means to nourish (as in breastfeeding), to take care of (as in tending to), and to raise (as in raising livestock). Educating can easily be understood as caring for and raising the young; parents, nannies, daycare workers, doctors, ministers, and police officers all do it in their own way. When the notion of teaching is replaced by that of educating, without mention of teachers' specific way of educating, the work-world passes from the culture of knowledge to something much more akin to the domestic environment. The emergence of the notion of educating then coincides with the feminization of the profession (Apple, 1985; Strober & Tyack, 1980) and with the fact that schoolteaching has become less and less attractive to those who wish to exercise greater independence and professional discretion in their careers (Sedlak & Schossman, 1987, p. 114). In 1992, the International Labour Organization acknowledged the "slow but unmistakable decline in teachers'

professional status" (p. 4), and this at the very time when UNESCO, UNDP, UNICEF, and the World Bank place educational concerns higher on their agenda. The international community considers that educational reform will not be accomplished without improvement of the status of teaching - a status that would attract and retain the best³. There is no denying that one of the main problems with the teaching profession is its powerlessness. Why, then, would empowering be an answer begging a question? The notion of power, once clarified, will give the answer.

What kind of power?

If, as Maeroff recognizes in the subtitle of his book, the issue facing the teaching profession is that of "overcoming the crisis of confidence", then giving or claiming power will not do. Anyone today knows that peer group power, expert power, charismatic power, can be and are easily misused. A crisis of confidence is, by definition, a moral crisis; what teachers need to reclaim, then, is a sense of moral credibility, reliability, ascendancy or, to put it in one word, moral authority. It is this sense of trustworthiness that needs restoration - i.e., a bringing back to its original state - if we are to overcome the present crisis of confidence. But power or empowering will not, in and of itself, give moral authority. This is why it is important to clarify these terms.

As Arendt (1987) explains, the Romans knew the difference between *potestas* and *auctoritas*. *Potestas* was in the hands of the representatives of the people. Diverse powers, expressed through laws, contracts, expertise, and arbitration were, in fact, strategic; they provided the means for the material organization of civilised living. *Auctoritas* was a reference transcending power and those in power. Its function was not that of devising and implementing means, but of presiding over the deliberations about ends worth choosing. In other words, *potestas* or diverse sociopolitical powers, was guided by *auctoritas*, a vision of ends worth being sought.

Roman *auctoritas* was one element of a trinity, along with tradition and religion. Tradition tied authority to the past, providing what could be seen as Ariane's thread through the maze of historical change; religion tied authority to transcendent realities which gave meaning and direction to everyday living. Authority was therefore always derived from, and attached to, something that was not itself; it was lost when it lost its ties with historical facts, moral values, symbols, and meanings that stood before, beyond and above itself. When authority was self-serving, it was, in the true sense of the word "perverted", i.e., turned against itself. Because it was, so to speak, a mediator between (past) foundations, (present) realizations, and (future) prospects, *auctoritas* was placed in elders, the senatorial *patres*, successors of the founding fathers. The very *raison d'être* of *auctoritas* was

to *augere*, "augment" or build upon the foundations, by placing the strategic decisions of those in power within the context of historical continuity and transcendent values. Choices of means were, in this way, "augmented" by their relation to chosen ends.

No one would argue for the return of Roman or any other form of imperialism. Nonetheless, certain elements of the concept of *auctoritas* could be retrieved and retained. The first most important fact to restore about authority is that it results from a favorable assessment of the moral character of a person by those very persons whose lives are touched by his or her work. Moral authority is an achievement - not an endowment, not a right, and not an *ex officio* prerogative. Persons achieve authority through dedication to work that is recognized by a community as important to that community.

A second structural dimension of authority may be found in its root concept: *auctor*, author. "Author-ity" is authorship, writes Arendt (1987, pp. 188-189). Teachers and adults need to acknowledge the fact that they are the authors, or at least the co-authors, of the world as it is. They need to stand before the young for those ideals they have espoused as artisans of civilizations. Responsible authorship towards both the world and those they have brought into it would inspire adults to preserve the world against abuse from inexperienced newcomers as well as the inexperienced from a world that could cause them harm. This kind of responsible "author-ity" is an important source of confidence and reliance - something not only the young need.

A final structural element of authority consists in the fact that it is temporary; its proper place lies, to borrow further from Arendt, "between past and future" (1987). One could say that authority stands at the crossroads; it is neither chained to nostalgic images, nor carried away by the lures of utopia. This crossroads is not a no-man's land, but a bridge marking the borders and the bonds between reality and potentiality. Persons with authority stand between foundations, realizations and projects. They are not the builders, nor even the designers of the world to come, because designing and building belong to those who will be the authors of that world. In a similar way, teachers and all educators stand between yesterday and tomorrow. For them, exercising authority consists in conveying the best realizations of the past in their present form to those who will conserve, transform and, in their turn, "author" them in ways quite unforeseeable.

Would this authority overcome the crisis of confidence? The best answer is that of the young themselves. A recent study reports teenagers' and young adults' own expressions of their judgements, needs, aspirations, disappointments, and distress (Grand'Maison, 1992; 1992b). Transcripts of

interviews show them quite at loss in a monogenerational society. They say they have missed intellectual, emotional and moral guidance (Grand'Maison, 1992b, pp. 145, 260), continuity (Grand'Maison, 1992b, p. 143), and models of maturity (Grand'Maison, 1992b, p. 260). Reading of the three first volumes of the report (two more are forthcoming) causes one to wonder whether the young generation of drop-outs has not simply walked in the footsteps of many adults around them (Grand'Maison, 1993). But a very large number of parents and teachers would rightly argue that they have done their best to give their children and teenagers what they never had. Could it be that we have omitted to give them what we did have: an anchor in the present, roots in the past, a horizon before us, and points of reference all along the way? As anyone who has had one great teacher or two will acknowledge, authority is part of a system of reliance and trust that personalizes and intensifies relationships between persons and builds community. If this is the kind of power teachers need, how can they achieve it?

Which conditions of possibility?

Professional *auctoritas* has two dimensions: a vertical or epistemological dimension, its ties with knowledge, and a lateral or moral dimension, the trust relationship it builds with those it serves. It could therefore be argued that in order to gain professional authority, teachers will first have to reconsider their attitude toward the special kind of knowledge it takes to assist someone in acquiring knowledge. They will also have to reassess their position towards the two components of moral authority, namely tradition and religion.

The first or vertical dimension of professional authority is knowledge. Teachers need to be aware of the special kind of knowledge that teaching requires, i.e., practical knowledge, that of the practitioner. While it is usually clear that this is not the researcher's theoretical knowledge, it is not always understood that it also differs from the technician's highly specialized skills. Surely, a practitioner's knowledge is geared to concrete, immediate action, but that action, unlike that of the technician, is not dictated by a *technè*, a know-how or skill to be applied in problem-solving situations that are essentially the same. Because teaching or, for that matter, treating patients or arguing a case, require some technical know-how and even "tricks of the trade", teachers are strongly inclined to conceive of method as technique. As Shaw (1987) observes, this attitude prevails in mass professions. Workers tend to ignore the wider issues; this is exactly why they are vulnerable to deskilling, ideological control, and erosion of autonomy in their own work (pp. 775; 790-793). It is therefore necessary for teachers to resist the fad of so-called "teacher-proof kits" that make them into technicians (Hlebowitsh, 1990; Smith, 1986).

The practitioner's special knowledge is *praxis*, the know-how of the artisan or the artist. This know-how requires the coming together of conceptual or speculative knowledge and actual, particular, "non-textbooks situations". No practicing surgeon would choose to ignore or to follow blindly the laws of biology or chemistry; his challenge and special knowledge consist in determining the extent to which theoretical knowledge will affect his intervention. Where *technè* requires precise skills and results in performance and effectiveness in solving problems, *praxis* demands an array of knowledges – the health sciences, the sciences of education – and results in competence, not performance. While the technician has learned answers (tricks of his trade), the practitioner knows how to find the right questions or to identify the real problem in a cluster of issues, and to devise various ways of dealing with a multidimensional situation. This is why *praxis* (or professional work) values experience and wisdom, which is the elusive kind of knowledge only found in those who know how to use various knowledges.

At the very heart of practical knowledge is critical thinking. Classroom materials constantly present critical thinking first as a skill, i.e., technical know-how, and secondly as a skill to be developed in students. What Bayrou hopes to see, namely "*une révolution magistrale*" (1990, pp. 163-191), might very well start with teachers claiming for themselves that very capacity of critical thinking. This kind of thinking would help them to detect those instances when the logic, and sometimes even the logistics of technical means start dictating educational ends. In education as in other professions, *potestas* over the choice of means tends to take precedence over *auctoritas*, the capacity to deliberate about ends worth choosing. Critical thinking is also necessary if teachers are to start examining the language of education and the ideologies it carries in its depictions of the learner, learning, the teacher, and teaching.

The second or lateral dimension of professional authority is a moral attitude of commitment and comportment (Dingwall & Lewis, 1983, p. 89). It is, in fact, the moral character, the beliefs, values or, in one word, moral integrity of a professional that inspire trust and justify his autonomy. As has been stated, authority is one of a trinity, along with tradition and religion. Restoring this sense of moral trust and reliance requires first a better sense of tradition. Tradition is not the past; it is neither the opposite of the present nor the opposition to progress, but the thread which guides a civilization through its past into the present and towards its future. Without tradition, a culture not only becomes amnesiac; it deprives itself of one very important dimension of human experience, that of depth, "for memory and depth are the same or rather, depth cannot be reached by man except through remembrance" (Arendt, 1987, p. 94). Without a sense of tradition, there can be no sense of authority since *auctoritas* rests on the foundations; and without this

sense of unshakeable cornerstone and base, a civilization cannot have a sense of permanence, durability, resilience, or solid grounding, in a world which only endures by undergoing profound change.

A sense of tradition is also necessary for personal and social identity. In his reflections on some of the malaises of modernity, Taylor (1991) identifies atomism, the view of self and self-fulfilment as "neglecting or delegitimizing the demands that come from beyond (one's private) desires and aspirations, be they history, tradition, society, nature or God" (p. 58). With this view of the self as detached from or only functionally connected with other times, other cultures, other persons, we have been led, as a culture, to forget the fact that human beings are fundamentally dialogical beings; i.e., beings who define their identity, "always in dialogue with, sometimes in struggle against, the identities of significant others" (Taylor, 1991, p. 33). In a monological, monogenerational world, the very genesis of the human mind is compromised. Restoration of a sense of authority might very well start with the realization that the atomistic mode of thinking is misleading, because it ignores the human need for something other than the immediately familiar. It destroys the very condition of realization of human identity: dialogue, a sense of exchange with, and struggle against otherness.

In education, restoring a sense of authority will mean changing the pejorative connotations that the very word "tradition" carries. Surely, no one would argue for returning to the past, and especially not to the worst aspects of the past. But one wonders whether the new education did not, in its own way, give in to the temptation of turning the timers back to zero, in the hope of new beginnings. After a few decades of overthrowing the traditions of disciplines and methods of learning, a good number of teachers are more than ready to ask themselves if progress really demands a revolution quite so Copernican. Teachers and adults find themselves, whether they want to or not, in the position of mediators between the old and the new; the quality of their intervention depends on their evaluation of that thread linking generations. Denial of any value or revolt against the connection produces atomism; making that thread into a chain produces stagnation. Only the appreciation of the nature and relative value of that thread provides that which the young themselves identify as most necessary: models of maturity (Grand'Maison, 1992).

Religion is also one of the essential building blocks of civilizations, and as Arendt explains, the other element of the trinity. Few people would deny that institutional religions have given many a thinking person reason to lose belief in their dogmas and respect for many of their leaders. Here again, it is essential to distinguish between two concepts: belief and faith.

Believing is accepting a statement as true; having faith is acknowledging and caring for some horizon of meaning and value transcending oneself. A sense of religion is a sense of faith or of being in relation with (*religare*) a world of meanings over and above the here and now. It is difficult to conceive education without a sense of values transcending both the educator and the learner. As Taylor so aptly puts it: "If the youth really don't care for (values) that transcend the self, then what can you say to them?" (1991, p. 19). But, Taylor's reader might add, if adults don't care for values that transcend the self, what do they have to say?

A considerable number of today's youth is saying, in words and action, that three decades of authenticity conceived as radical originality - and therefore rejection of models and revolt against all convention - have only sent them on a quest for spirituality. They have sought meaning and moral direction in cults, astrology, the occult, gnosticism, and all forms of syncretism. The region of Montreal has 800 such groups called new religions; the U.S. has 10,000 of them (Grand'Maison, 1992b, p. 61). The problem with these new religions is not their novelty but the fact that for their faithful, believing amounts to reverting to magical thinking.

Conclusion

This paper has shown that the nature and extent of powerlessness in the teaching profession is a well-established fact. It would therefore seem that empowering would be the only logical and adequate answer. In this case, it should be stressed that an essential part of the power attached to professional status is breadth and depth of specialized knowledge. But everyday experience and further reflection show that the sociopolitical power of professional status does not, in and of itself, answer the kinds of problems that teachers and other professionals are faced with today. This is, indeed, a crisis of confidence, a moral crisis.

This paper argues, therefore, that what needs to be restored is a sense of moral authority. This is not an *ex officio* prerogative, but an achievement, and furthermore, the result of a favorable assessment of the moral character of the person by those very persons whose lives are touched by his or her work. This is exactly the kind of reference the young are looking for today, in their quest for models of maturity. But professional status and power, in and of themselves, cannot restore that sense of reliance and trust; this is why empowering teachers is an answer in search of the question.

NOTES

1. This paper was first presented at the Third Conference of the International Network of Philosophers of Education, held in Varna, Bulgaria, August, 1992.
2. Educating could also refer to *educere*, to lead out of, to guide the child out of the limitations of the actual towards his own possibilities. Human beings are only formed by successive transformations.
3. The Report stresses the following points: 1. Teachers are not full partners at the level of decision making and formulation of educational policies; their input into decisions affecting their professional lives is restricted to implementation. 2. The bureaucratic notion of accountability is applied to education; the practice of measuring productivity in terms of input/output reduces education to an industrial process. 3. Lack of lateral career opportunities causes teachers seeking professional advancement to look for supervisory positions. 4. Teachers' workloads are made increasingly heavier with non-teaching duties such as personal care, administrative paperwork, and extracurricular activities. 5. Women who constitute the majority of members are seriously underrepresented in positions of responsibility.

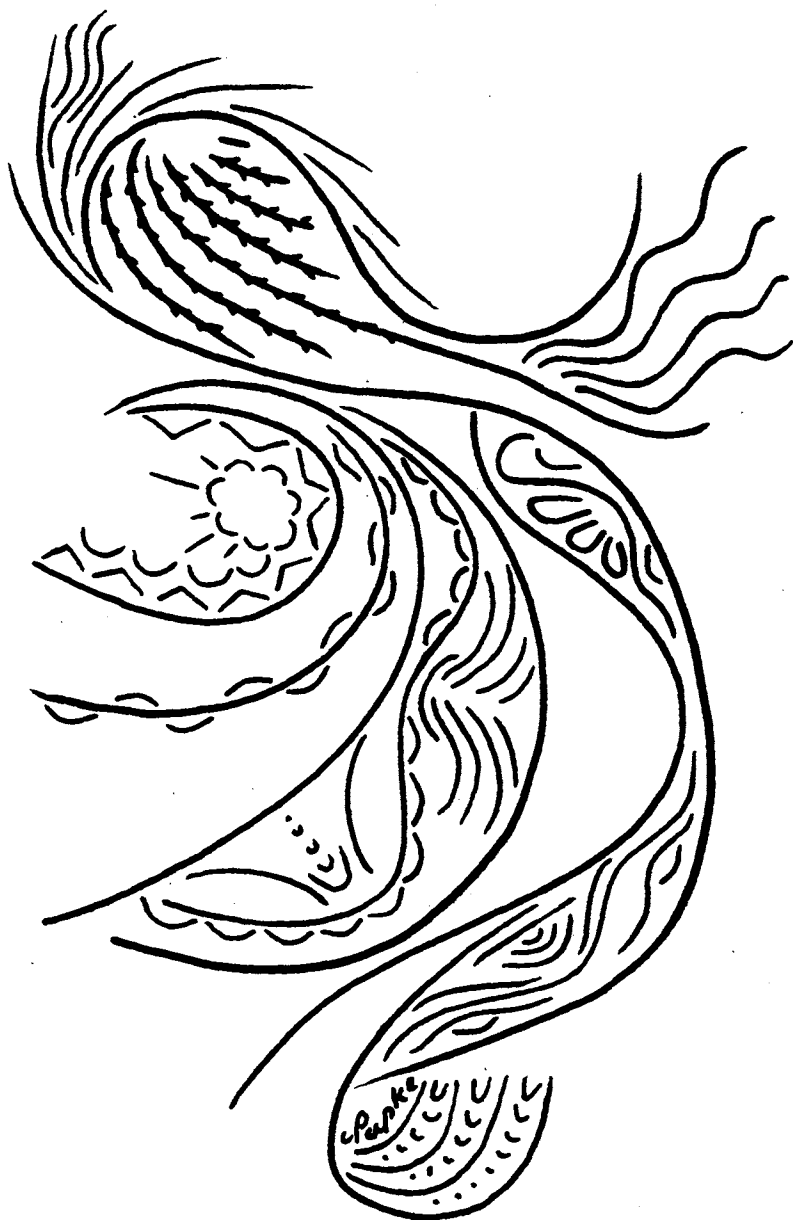
REFERENCES

- Apple, M. W. (1985). Teaching and "women's work": A comparative historical and ideological analysis. *Teacher's College Record*, 85(3), pp. 455-473.
- Arendt, H. (1954, 1987). *Between past and future. Eight exercises in political thought*. New York: Penguin Books. First printing, 1954.
- Bayrou, F. (1990). *1990-2000 La décennie des mal-appris*. Paris: Flammarion.
- Dingwall, R., & Lewis, P. (Eds.). (1983). *The sociology of professions*. London: Macmillan.
- Giroux, A. (1991). La "teste bien faite": à réinventer. *Revue canadienne de l'éducation*, 16(4), pp. 379-419.
- Grand'Maison, J. (1992). *Le drame spirituel des adolescents. Profils sociaux et religieux*. Montréal: Fides.
- Grand'Maison, J. (1992b). *Vers un nouveau conflit des générations. Profils sociaux et religieux des 20-35 ans*. Montréal: Éditions Fides.
- Grand'Maison, J., & Lefebvre, S. (1993). *Une génération bouc émissaire. Enquête sur les baby-boomers*. Montréal: Fides.
- Freidson, E. (1983). The theory of professions: State of the art. In R. Dingwall & P. Lewis (Eds.), *The sociology of professions*. London: Macmillan, pp. 19-37.
- Hope, J. A. (1950). *Report of the royal commission on education in Ontario*. Toronto: King's Printer.
- Hlebowitsh, P. S. (1990). The teacher-technician: causes and consequences. *The Journal of Educational Thought*, 24(3), pp. 146-160.
- International Labour Organisation. (1992). *Second joint meeting on conditions of work of teachers*. Final report. Geneva, Switzerland, November 20-28, 1991.

- Joyce, B., & Weil, M. (1980). *Models of teaching*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall Press.
- Kant, E. (1966). *Réflexions sur l'éducation*. Traduction, introduction et notes par A. Philonenko. Paris: Vrin.
- Kozol, J. (1983). *Illiterate America*. New York: Plume Paperbacks.
- Maeroff, G. I. (1988). *The empowerment of teachers. Overcoming the crisis of confidence*. New York: Teachers' College Press.
- Marrou, H.-I. (1948). *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Sedlack, M., & Schlossman, S. (1987). Who will teach? Historical perspectives on the changing appeal of teaching as a profession. *Review of Research in Education*, 14(3), pp. 93-131.
- Shaw, K. E. (1987). Skills, control and mass professions. *Sociological Review*, 35(4), pp. 775-794.
- Smith, F. (1986). *Insult to intelligence. The bureaucratic invasion of our classrooms*. New York: Arbour House.
- Strober, M. H., & Tyack, D. (1980). Why do women teach and men manage? A report on research on schools. *Signs*, 5(3), pp. 494-503.
- Taylor, C. (1991). *The malaise of modernity*. The Massey lectures series. CBC, Concord, Ontario: House of Anansi.

Aline Giroux is a professor in the Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa.

Aline Giroux est professeure à la faculté d'éducation de l'Université d'Ottawa



Stories of Women Who Don't Write

Abstract

This paper is a response to the writing of women preservice elementary teachers who were asked by the author to complete journal entries examining their own experience of language development and writing. The stories that emerged in the journals were alarming in terms of the consistency and clarity with which they reported on their disability with language, their disempowerment, and the history of events which led to these conditions. This paper provides an overview of their stories interwoven with discussion of current understandings about the development of language, thinking, and writing. It closes with some questions about the politics of literacy, whether writing is particularly a "women's problem", and the implications of the likelihood that many women teachers may be women "who don't write".

Résumé

Cet article porte sur la langue écrite de professeurs femmes du primaire en stage de formation à qui l'auteur a demandé de décrire leur propre expérience en matière d'acquisition du langage et de rédaction. Le constat qui en ressort est alarmant sous l'angle de l'uniformité et de la clarté avec laquelle ces femmes font état de leur incompétence langagière, de leur paralysie et des circonstances qui ont abouti à cet état de fait. Cet article donne une vue d'ensemble de leur histoire entremêlée d'une analyse des connaissances actuelles sur l'acquisition du langage, de la pensée et de l'écriture. L'article se termine par certaines questions sur la politique d'alphabétisme, et l'auteur se demande si l'écriture est un problème féminin et si au nombre des répercussions de ce phénomène, les femmes enseignantes sont peut-être des femmes qui ne savent pas écrire.

This paper raises questions about the relationship between women and writing. The women of interest are not those who voluntarily take up the pen as poets, story writers, philosophers, autobiographers, diarists, or seasoned journal writers. Instead the questions are asked about women "who don't write". The work did not begin with this end point in mind. Rather it began with an invitation to 50 women preservice elementary teachers to undertake reflective journal writing to examine their experience of language as students and now as preservice teachers. In their journal entries, all of these women claimed to be people who don't like writing, avoid it whenever possible, and would never trust it for anything important or difficult. For many, this unsatisfying relationship with language extended to speaking as well. These people reported having a history of avoiding both "discussion" courses and "essay" courses. For most students, the classroom is the first primary public space for speaking and writing. In as much as speaking and writing are important skills for participation in public life generally, these women's journals reported an unsatisfactory preparation for public life.

Major themes in the journals included: (1) the ways in which writing can provide a space for thinking and also make arduous demands on thinking; and (2) the role of group dialogue in providing oral practice in both self-expression and considering an issue from a variety of perspectives, that is, the kind of thinking required in reflective writing. These women recognized (or had come to recognize) that by never having used writing for self-expression or self-understanding they had in fact missed the opportunity for thinking itself — and through not thinking, had missed the opportunity for actively creating the self. Some confessed that they now lacked the skills to discern or articulate what they thought about anything personal and important. I am not suggesting here that the self cannot be experienced or created through means other than language. I am simply noting their acknowledgement of the particular contribution of language to thinking and self-creation.

A number of emotions were commonly expressed in the women's journals. Fear was a dominant theme — fear of being wrong, not pleasing the teacher, getting a low mark, being criticized, or being misunderstood. Many statements of anger, disappointment, and regret were expressed about lost opportunities for creativity and learning. The jargon and passive voice they had used to get by as successful students were pervasively recognized as a cover-up for never really having understood what they were talking/writing about and what the textbook authors meant. Frustration was the emotion attached to their current reality of not being able to masterfully bring language and thinking to bear on important questions and issues of real personal concern.

In this paper, to consider these women's relationship with writing, I provide an overview of what they described their current experience to be and what they reported as the histories which led to their current situation.

In providing these overviews, I relate their experiences to existing views or understandings about writing and its development. In concluding, I ask questions about the politics of literacy, whether writing is a "women's problem", and the implications of the likelihood that many teachers or prospective teachers have such histories.

Context of the Study

In 1990 I taught in a one-year, after-degree, elementary teacher education program in Toronto. Two of my classes were full-year educational psychology courses. In the fall we worked with material on Piaget, classroom management, and instructional strategies. In February through April, we worked with cognitivism, behaviourism, humanism, and information processing. In January we had one class on "hidden curriculum" and two classes on critical pedagogy. For the first of the critical pedagogy sessions, a group of five or six students in each section of the course studied a book chapter about alienation and illiteracy by Finlay and Faith (1987) and developed a two-hour class presentation.

All students in the classes were asked to write journal entries in response to the "alienation and illiteracy" class presentation. Journal writing was required for the three January classes but otherwise was not an ongoing component of the course. Some of the students were enrolled in other courses which did use journal writing throughout the year. In preparation for journal writing I gave the class an oral *precis* of Holly's (1984) work on keeping a personal-professional journal. The students' ages ranged from early 20s to early 30s. The two classes included 50 women and 11 men. The men's journals will be discussed in the section which asks whether writing is a "women's problem".

I had asked the students to submit a minimum of one and a half typewritten pages for the assignment. Almost all submissions were five to seven pages in length. In spite of their complaints and claims about being nonwriters, they were adept autobiographers in writing. They tended to begin by writing about their current situation and then moved backwards and forwards in time with ease. Typically, journal entries began with a statement about their current feelings about writing and speaking and proceeded with anecdotes to illustrate this current experience. Then they traced their significant memories of classroom writing and speaking beginning as early as grade two and continuing to the present time. Their memories were usually accompanied by analysis or interpretation as well as expressions of aspiration for their own future teaching practice. Many writers included memories from recent practicum classes and gave analyses of observed language events. Upon first reading of the journal entries I was struck by what an igniting topic language was for them and how consistent the themes and experiences were across journals. It was then that I decided to request student permissions to study the journal entries systematically.

Discomfort with Writing

No one expressed any comfort with or love of writing. Many were explicit about its difficulty or futility and the way in which writing in fact kills one's voice. The following journal excerpt is an example of the way in which this dissatisfaction was expressed.

I personally find it much easier to express myself orally because I can use my body and use expression in my voice to get my point across. The audience with whom you are speaking is familiar in that you can see for yourself if they are understanding what you are expressing. Written communication seems so final and harsh in my opinion. No matter how many flowery or expressive words you use, the tone is still flat.

This complaint is reminiscent of Gadamer's recognition that "[a] text is not to be understood as an expression of life but with respect to what it says. Writing is the abstract ideality of language" (1989, p. 392). So, do some women fail to understand the unique function of written text, or do they simply find that it fails to satisfy a primary orientation to retain the life expression of themselves and others? When I think of life expression and speaking I think of embodiment, volatility, and intersubjectivity. Not only do bodily expressions such as voice and movement convey much of the meaning, but the very content of what one thinks, feels, and is trying to say represents one moment in life and can change dramatically from moment to moment in the face of ongoing events, interaction with conversation partners or audiences, or new memories or thoughts which surface. In fact, to be speaking with others at all can seem to be a reassurance that one is part of the ongoing flow of life. What is present in the preference for speaking is at least a valuing of intersubjectivity. What is absent in this preference is perhaps the will to hand down disembodied ideas. Yet, without mastery of the craft of writing, a preference for writing is not a possible choice.

Many of the women wrote about the difficulty of getting a text to say "what you want it to". The following journal excerpt vividly highlights the way in which written text, full of ambiguity and multiple meanings, takes on a life of its own.

I have always had problems writing about my personal feelings. I know what I am feeling but it seems that I can never get it on paper. The words that express my feelings don't seem to exist or perhaps I don't know how to manipulate language in order to express my feelings. When I do finally find the right words and I start writing them down on paper,

the words seem to take over and lead me in directions that I don't want to go. They get me off topic or they start expressing things that I don't really feel. They take on a life of their own and manipulate me, the person that should be in control of what I'm feeling and writing. An example of this is when I was writing a note for my manager at work trying to tell her that besides working Fridays and Saturdays like I regularly do, I could also work during the week. I had to rewrite the note several times because each time I reread it, it was ambiguous and unclear. I finally ended up calling her on the phone and telling her.

This journal passage and many others like it attested to the greater helplessness of writing as compared to speech. As Plato once remarked, no one can come to the rescue of the written word if it falls victim to misunderstanding. Yet the activity of writing itself can be a means for the writer to think and to achieve understanding. This is not to say that speaking does not also provide opportunities for thinking and achieving understanding. It certainly can. However, writing provides a different kind of powerful and poetic space. During writing, the flow from the other is blocked so that one can take up the question of the other reflectively. There is time and space for deliberativeness — a chance to weigh, consider, and interrogate many of one's competing and conflicting ideas and experiences related to a question or issue. The record of one's thinking provided by the writing both prompts and provides an opportunity to evaluate the comprehensiveness, coherence, and persuasiveness of one's argument or interpretation. This process of reflective writing, of arriving at some point of closure about what one really thinks and believes about a question, requires considerable intensity and energy. Many of the women journal writers commented on how arduous they find the reflective writing process to be and how absent it has been in their own school experience. At the very least, women commenting on this theme wrote that it was easier to complete assignments for which one simply summarized material from books than those which required the expression of one's own views or ideas. A few wrote in more detail about why it was difficult to write one's own ideas. The following journal excerpt is an example of one of the more explicit statements.

This year, I find that even though I am spending a lot of time writing in journals, I don't think that I always succeed in expressing my personal thoughts in writing. Why? Because these are my private thoughts, my feelings, emotions, etc., and therefore require a lot of soul-searching, which requires a lot of time to think critically and I am not used to doing that. What I have been trained to do is to research a topic in various books and write down information that I have gath-

ered from these books. Here, there is no need to think critically, or to express my thoughts about the concepts. All I have to do is read and write.

This section has related the various dissatisfactions these women expressed with writing: that it is "lifeless", or that it takes on an unmanageable life of its own, and that they lack experience and skill for the reflection and critical thinking needed for self-expressive writing. The next section discusses the role of dialogue in developing the abilities for reflection and critical thinking and relates how such opportunities were absent in the histories of these women.

Dialogue, Reflection, and Self-Expression

Gordon Wells (1986, p. 65), in *The Meaning Makers*, has outlined how reflection is learned initially through conversation or dialogue with another more knowledgeable person. If experiences of this kind are numerous and positive, children come to be able to manage both roles for themselves, framing questions and interrogating their own experience in the search for an answer. In other words, the dialogue begins to be carried on internally and language becomes a tool for thinking. Many of the women's journal entries expressed a recognition of the role of dialogue in classrooms as a support to the development of critical thinking or reflection. The following excerpt is an example of their comments on this theme.

As future teachers, we must emphasize oral communication in our classroom. Every student has a particular view of a certain topic. What we must do is increase the dialogue in the classroom so that each child can express his/her own thoughts. In this way, each child will be able to look more reflectively at his/her own thoughts and the thoughts of others. This will further enable them to think more critically than before.

I can understand self-expression to be the product of reflection. I can also understand from these women's journal writings that they did not experience effective invitations or safe places for self-expression in their school experience. The following excerpts were typical statements on this theme.

Thinking back upon my own experiences at school there always seemed to be a right and wrong way of doing things. For those of us who learned quickly to give our teachers what they wanted to hear we did okay. We were the passive listeners and in the process those like myself either lost the ability or never learned to think critically to our fullest ability. To

this day I sometimes sit in class and try to figure out what the teacher would like to hear. It is almost fear of giving a wrong answer that keeps students from answering or participating in class discussions.

In my definition of what language is I wrote that language is a tool to help people communicate. But after thinking about it I believe that it's more than just a tool to communicate, it should be a tool to help you communicate your true feelings about something, not to write what you think someone else wants you to write. . . . So many times in university, and even before that, we are trained into thinking that we will write the way our teachers want us to. Sometimes I am afraid to write how I really feel because my teacher will either mark it wrong or give me a low mark. . . . And I do believe that if I were to write down how I really feel or what I'm really thinking it would be very therapeutic for me.

For so very long in school I have sat as a passive learner taking everything that I hear and see at face value. I never thought it was my place to question those in authority. I truly believe that I have been socialized. Do not question elders. I myself first remember questioning a professor in my fourth year of university. I personally feel that this was too late, better late than never.

In a number of journal entries, links were made between the classroom, the family, and society — all places where children and young people are told what is right, what is true, and what to think. Some of the women wrote that the obedience and restraint of self-expression required by their teachers was the same as that required by their parents. David Smith (1987) and Ashis Nandy (1987) have both observed that we, as adults, generally have a fear of children as new, original, and other, and have a compulsion to impose upon them our interpretations as a way of confirming the validity of these views. This predisposition to tell rather than to listen or be curious makes genuine conversation or dialogue with young people unlikely. H-G Gadamer (1989, p. 383) has described how in genuine conversation, the partners are less the leaders than the led. No one knows in advance what will "come out" of a conversation as it takes its own twists and reaches its own conclusions. Gordon Wells (1986, p. 65) has recommended that parents treat their children as equal partners in conversation, following their lead and negotiating meaning and purposes, not only to help their children talk but to enable them to discover how to learn *through* talk. David Smith (1987) has argued that one can only find one's voice in an environment where speech is well understood as having a listening aspect.

Most teachers, feeling the pressure to know curriculum or learning outcomes in advance in their classes, have probably not even tried to live the role of good conversation partners with their students. Vivian Gussin Paley (1986) has written about the difficulty of truly listening to what children are actually saying when we are mentally rehearsing what we would like them to be saying. While teachers feel pressure to be guardians of "correct" curricular knowledge, they experience even more pressure to be role models and moral guides. Yet it is most frequently a moral issue — what's right or wrong, fair or not fair, a better way to live a life — that is most likely to serve as an igniting dialogue topic for children and young people. When such topics surface, teachers can see their first responsibility to be that of modelling "correct" attitudes and values rather than recognizing and valuing the opportunity for facilitating genuine dialogue. Yet it is in the context of authentic dialogue about real and comprehensible issues that young people can orally learn the practice of viewing a question from a number of perspectives and learning to think more critically. This is the process that we hope for in individual deliberation which can support reflective writing. Yet without the model and experience of group dialogue, it can be difficult for students to know what is desired or meant by critical reflection or to have confidence in the rhythms or dynamics of the process.

The Labour of Learning the Craft of Writing

Using writing to say or share what is meant is not an easy task. Gadamer (p. 393) has written about the higher demands of style required in writing in order for the reader to be stimulated and held in productive thought. Wells (1986) has described the hard work required of the child to first learn how to cast a story in written form. Great energy and toil is required to learn the "art" of it. He emphasizes the importance of the child's "ownership" of the story if such energy and struggle is to be forthcoming. One of the women journal writers witnessed the consequences of the absence of such ownership in a grade three practicum classroom. This is her description of the event.

A personal experience I had with students using jargon was in my practicum placement, a grade three class. The students, as a class, read a story from an anthology. The teacher led some discussion afterwards and directed some questions to the students. This was to serve the purpose of ensuring that everyone understood the story. Afterwards the students were to write a summary of the story in their own words. They were allowed to use the text to refer back to. They worked quietly and diligently; the exercise seemed to be going well. It wasn't until I started reading what they were writing, however, that I discovered that it wasn't going well at all. The students were

not summarizing — they were simply extracting phrases and expressions straight from the text. They were of course careful to choose segments from the beginning, middle, and end of the story, but they were by no means attempting to express the ideas in their own words. Curious, I spoke to one student about the story. I asked her to re-tell the story to me out loud. That she could do. When I asked her why she had copied the sentences right out of the book, she said that it was different than saying it out loud.

Clearly, the very young child recognizes that writing isn't just speech written down. It is different. And it is demanding to learn.

While the women journal writers did not recall opportunities for self-expression in class dialogue, they did recall explicit invitations for it in written form. However, even when the teachers of these women may have thought they were trying to offer a safe place for self-expression in writing, they subverted the opportunity to another way. They assigned topics which were not meaningful to the students and which therefore had no chance of igniting reflection or the desire for self-expression. The women journal writers gave life history examples ranging from grade two through grade twelve experiences of being told to write for themselves and to write what they really wanted to say, but on a particular assigned topic in which they had no interest and about which there was nothing they wanted to say. Really, they said, throughout school they were writing for other people and not themselves.

It has to be acknowledged that uncovering generative themes or igniting topics for dialogue or writing is not a straightforward affair. The students themselves usually cannot name what it is that is really on their minds (Finlay & Faith, 1987). The preoccupations and concerns of students often surface in a sideways, surprising fashion in unexpected or open-ended contexts. The teacher must be oriented to the students as a researcher, being curious, and paying attention deeply in order to notice, remember, and take seriously any clues to students' preoccupations. The teacher may also need to offer open-ended, self-expressive assignments which provide a space for students' real concerns or preoccupations to surface (Ellis, 1992). Paulo Freire and many others have suggested that teachers need to research their students.

While teachers may feel that this research work is extraneous, one has only to consider these women's journals to ask what has been the cost to them of the absence of authentic writing. Some lost or failed to develop the inclination to think their own thoughts or to expect themselves to have their own opinion on anything. Most came to rely on using jargon and

mimicking the passive voice found in school text books as their only form of writing. Many came to consciously hate writing and to avoid courses that require essay writing. Some even avoided seminar courses where they would have to express their thoughts in group discussion. Each year it became more difficult to, for the first time, risk criticism of one's authentic speaking or writing. With each year many also became more aware of how unskilled or inept they were in self-expression either orally or in writing. These women are now voting, working citizens of the country and their education has left them disempowered² rather than able to use language critically and creatively to improve the various institutions they inhabit.

The Politics of Literacy

In this paper I view literacy as the ability to use language for self-expression, critical thinking, illumination, and understanding of self and others. Winterowd (1989) has noted that defining literacy is almost always a consequential political act as the working definition largely determines educational priorities and the allocation of resources. This holds true not only at the national and school district levels, but in individual classrooms. The teacher's beliefs about what is worth learning/developing and how this can be done largely dictate how classroom resources (time, materials, activities) will be allocated.

Teachers and teacher educators should consider whether students will simply learn to copy and memorize the teacher's notes from the overhead transparency or whether they will be afforded the time, space, materials, and safety to struggle to find the words to express what they do and do not understand or value about a topic. Will grade three students with apparently precocious textual abilities take home "plagiarized" summaries of stories they've read or will they learn to write by writing their own stories or ideas about their own interests or concerns? Will students experience a conversational community where they learn to think, speak, and write their own thoughts while reflecting on the expressed thoughts of others, or will there continue to be grade four students who say that they don't know what they are supposed to write for the question that asks, "Which story did you like best and why?" Will teacher educators start to worry less about whether student teachers know how to use questions that promote "higher level thinking" in group discussions and begin to worry more about whether they know how to uncover, recognize, and value igniting topics for students' dialogue and writing.

Using classroom resources to support literacy as it has been discussed in this paper requires clarity, conviction, and commitment on the part of the teacher. Better language development and better academic learning can be the short-term result although the pace may appear slower.

Teachers also require their own support and safe place to give priority to literacy of this kind. In the long-term, all students can have a better opportunity to develop their critical and creative capabilities and to have language be a more effective medium for their participation in public life.

Is Writing a "Women's Problem"?

I am not comfortable about reporting on the journal writing of the men in the two classes I taught because there were so few of them and I did not have background information about any individual students. For example, I did not know which students were or were not enrolled in other courses which required journal writing all year long. However, at the urging of early readers of this manuscript I do offer my report, but without any speculation or generalization beyond these particular male students.

There were eleven men in the two classes that completed the journal writing activity. Only one or two of them wrote in much the same way as the women did; that is, in a self-searching, self-disclosing way which drew upon their personal situations with writing and explored previous life experiences or practicum classroom events. The other men wrote in a more formal, "objective", distanced way about "the topic" and did not put themselves into the writing or so much as comment upon their personal experience of writing or language. Therefore it is unclear whether they feel that they have a problem with writing or have been disadvantaged in language development in any way.

If I ask whether writing is a problem in particular for women I cannot develop an answer on the basis of knowing how their relationship with writing is similar to or different from that of men. Yet whether men do or do not learn to write and speak any better than women do, a large body of research indicates that men are more empowered by their classroom, family, and societal experiences in a variety of ways, while by contrast, schools and society generally discourage achievement and ambition in girls (AAUW, 1991; AAUW, 1992; Clarricoates, 1978; Davies, 1989; Thompson, 1983; Spender, 1989; Walkerdine, 1984). While reiterating these and many other gender-related researches is beyond the scope of this paper, a few findings are highlighted here to underscore the multifacetedness of the empowering/disempowering conditions for males and females. In schools, male students learn to trust their own judgment and to think well of themselves as having skills and talents even if they are not highly capable academically. Their egos are better protected even though rebukes may appear harsh. The space for their self-expression and interests is more generously afforded. In the face of a curriculum about men's accomplishments, they have every reason to believe that they too will be creative. Girls, on the other hand, are more likely to learn silence, passivity, and self-doubt. They are less likely to

practise and develop the skills of self-assertion in the public space of the classroom. They are less likely to see themselves as having ability and creativity. In society in general, the social codes permit females less than equal talk time when in conversation with males, and written works receive lower evaluations if readers believe the author is female. Given the many disempowerments in place for women and the empowerments more generally available to men, I would argue that disability with language is a weightier handicap for women. Capability with writing and speaking can be understood as basic necessities for women's participation in public life given the challenges they experience simply because they are women.

Implications of Women Teachers "Who Don't Write"

Overall, the women journal writers were hopeful for the future of children now in school. They saw whole language, invented writing, dialogue, journal writing, activity-based learning, and children selecting their own topics for writing and their own questions for research as promising supports for the development of children's language and thinking as tools for self-expression, self-understanding, and understanding of others. Some were even hopeful for themselves as they reported that their journal writing experiences of recent years were starting to get results. They only wished that they could have begun the experience earlier.

This journal writing assignment itself, however, had a great focussing power in their awareness. For these women, the journal writings became sources of knowledge and critical understanding of the forces which had shaped their own language development. They became theorists of their own lives by interrogating and analyzing their own experiences. By returning to their own stories of language development they also experienced the emotional impact of those stories. Without one's own stories to give life back to abstract ideas about language development, these ideas can simply remain part of the litany of prescriptions which bombard students in teacher education programs. These women's journal writings contained many expressions of personal commitment and clarity about supporting their own students' language development. The journal writing activity itself may have been an important context for the development of those convictions and visions.

It is not clear whether preservice teachers without this kind of constructivist opportunity will have such clarity and commitment about giving priority to activities and ways of being which can give genuine support to children's literacy. Without coherence in one's theorizing and strong convictions, it is too easy in the complexity of the classroom for the left hand to undermine what the right hand is doing even when one is dutifully attempting to employ current language development principles

and practices. Further, if a teacher has not personally experienced satisfaction with the craft of writing for illumination and self-expression, how likely is it that she or he will believe in it, want it for children, and understand how to support its development? It certainly makes sense that so many language arts or writing courses for teachers focus on contributing to the participants' own experience of writing.

If women "who don't write" and who perhaps don't speak articulately or confidently in public spaces either are disempowered, will they be able or likely to empower the children in their classrooms? This is particularly a question for women who may not have named, considered, or come to understand their current circumstances with public writing and speaking. Unless such people are actively working to enhance their capability with language, can they value and understand the process well enough to fully support it in students? Even if the desire for personal growth with language is there, do most women have enough time alone for the solo activity of reflective writing? These questions about the relationship between women teachers and writing are important ones when considering how best to direct resources intended to facilitate literacy for students in schools.

NOTES

1. Finlay and Faith (1987) use the term "igniting" in concert with Freire's notion of generative themes. An "igniting" topic, as the word suggests, is one which gets people fired up. That is, people care about the topic and there is much that they wish to say about it. Other descriptors such as meaningful, relevant, provocative, stimulating, or interesting do not carry these two senses in the same manner.
2. C. M. Shrewsbury (1987) in "What is feminist pedagogy?" *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 15(3 & 4), pp. 6-14, defines power as energy, capacity, potential, or creative energy and suggests that to be empowered is to recognize our abilities to act to create a more humane social order.

REFERENCES

- American Association of University Women (1991). *Full data report: Shortchanging girls, shortchanging America*. Washington, DC: AAUW.
- American Association of University Women (1992). *The AAUW report: How schools shortchange girls*. Washington, DC: AAUW.
- Clarricoates, K. (1978). 'Dinosaurs in the classroom' — A re-examination of some aspects of the 'hidden' curriculum in primary schools. *Women's Studies International Quarterly*, 1, pp. 353-364.

- Davies, B. (1989). *Frogs and snails and feminist tales: Preschool children and gender*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- Ellis, J. L. (1992). Students' creative assignments as the data of teachers' research. Unpublished manuscript.
- Finlay, L. S. & Faith, V. (1987). Illiteracy and alienation in American colleges: Is Paulo Freire's pedagogy relevant? In I. Short (Ed.), *Freire for the classroom*. Portsmouth, NH: Boynton/Cook.
- Gadamer, H-G. (1989). *Truth and method (Second Revised Edition)*. New York: The Crossroad Publishing Corporation.
- Holly, M. L. (1984). *Keeping a personal-professional journal*. Victoria: Deakin University Press.
- Nandy, A. (1987). Reconstructing childhood: A critique of the ideology of adulthood. In A. Nandy, *Traditions, tyranny, and utopias: Essays in the politics of awareness*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Paley, V. G. (1986). On listening to what children say. *Harvard Educational Review*, 56(2), pp.122-131.
- Smith, D. G. (1987). Children and the gods of war. *Elements*, 19(1), pp. 2-4.
- Spender, D. (1989). *The writing or the sex: or why you don't have to read women's writing to know it's no good*. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Thompson, J. (1983). *Learning liberation: Women's response to men's education*. London: Croom Helm.
- Walkerdine, V. (1984). Some day my prince will come. In A. McRobbie and M. Nava (Eds.), *Gender and generation*. London: MacMillan.
- Wells, G. (1986). *The meaning makers: Children learning language and using language to learn*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books.
- Winterowd, W. R. (1989). *The culture and politics of literacy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Julia Ellis is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Elementary Education at the University of Alberta where she teaches undergraduate and graduate courses in reflective teaching, teaching as research, models of teaching, and curriculum theory. She is currently engaged in research on the development of preservice teachers' interpretive perspectives for teaching. Her recent work includes "Narrative inquiry with children: A generative form of preservice teacher research" in *International Journal for Qualitative Studies in Education* (forthcoming) and " 'If I were a boy . . .': Constructing knowledge about gender issues in teacher education" in *Curriculum Inquiry*, 23(4) (forthcoming 1993).

Julia Ellis est professeur adjoint au département d'éducation primaire à l'Université d'Alberta où elle enseigne des cours de premier, deuxième et troisième cycles sur l'enseignement réflexif, l'enseignement comme méthode de recherche, les modèles d'enseignement et la théorie des programmes d'études. Elle se livre actuellement à des recherches sur l'évolution des points de vue interprétatifs des enseignants en cours de formation au sujet de l'enseignement. Parmi ses travaux récents, mentionnons "Narrative inquiry with children: A generative form of preservice teacher research" qui doit paraître dans *International Journal for Qualitative Studies in Education* et " 'If I were a boy . . .': Constructing knowledge about gender issues in teacher education" à paraître dans *Curriculum Inquiry*, 23(4) (1993).

Viewpoint

Yarema Gregory Kelebay, *McGill University*

Is the Practicum Practical?

The exaggerated emphasis on student teaching
in higher education

*Theory without practice is dead,
and practice without theory is blind.*

– Anon

Virtually everyone I have known in education thinks the most important and relevant part of teacher education is student teaching, or the **practicum**. It is one of those unquestioned orthodoxies in our profession. When it comes to the conventional wisdom of modern educators, however, I tend to be an infidel; I think the emphasis on the **practicum** is exaggerated and ultimately misguided.

The **practicum** as such is not a problem. The problem is the exaggerated emphasis put on it in the preparation of future teachers. Field experience need not be abolished from teacher preparation, but we should consider the case for reducing it.

Those that would have the **practicum** continue to dominate teacher education are invited to contend with some of the following considerations.

When I was a student at St. Joseph Teachers College in 1966-67, we were required to do three weeks of student teaching. When I came to the Faculty of Education at McGill in 1973, the policy was seven weeks of

student teaching. Later this was raised to nine weeks, and recently McGill designed a new, improved 1-G program with 14 weeks' teaching. And the Ministry of Education in Quebec is now thinking about raising it to 700 hours during training! In other words, in my professional lifetime the duration of student teaching during teacher preparation has more than quadrupled. Just during my stay at McGill it has doubled.

I would not deny that everyone learns a little by doing in many endeavours – including teaching. What I question is the assumption that field experience is the best or only mode of learning how to teach and that there need be no limits to its duration. How to understand this conventional wisdom?

The emphasis on student teaching in teacher education is related to the disagreement about the role of theory and practice (*praxis*), content and method, principle and procedure, thought and action in education. It is related, therefore, to philosophy, and particularly to epistemology, which deals with the theory of knowledge.

The theory of knowledge which has gained ascendancy among contemporary educators is that which informs utilitarianism, pragmatism, and progressivism. It holds that man learns only by trial and error, practice, activity, and experience. To modern educators it came primarily from John Dewey (1859 - 1952) and his ideas. This is important because, as Richard M. Weaver said, "Ideas have consequences" (1948, 1984).

Dewey and the Separation of Content and Method

Traditionally teachers were trained in the Catholic St. Joseph Teachers College and in the Protestant Macdonald Teachers College. When the Quebec government decided to modernize Quebec education in the early 1960s, the blueprint for the modernization was the Parent Report. A reading of the report shows that it was completely infused by progressivist thinking. The Parent Report was but John Dewey writ large. So, a familiarity with John Dewey's philosophy is essential to an appreciation of contemporary educational thinking.

In the traditional university both content and pedagogy (method) were part of one indistinguishable body of understanding (Ong, 1958, pp. 153-4). Ironically, it was the antitraditional and antidualist John Dewey who dichotomized content and method and made method, process, procedure, manipulation, and change central to this theory of knowledge (Clark, 1957/1985, pp. 517-533). Dewey never disproved or improved upon previous theories of knowledge. He simply infused a bowdlerized version of empiricism into modern educational thought.

How disinterested was Dewey when he promulgated his doctrine? My contention is that Dewey was less scientific and objective than he portrayed or was reputed to be. Dewey was, frankly, an ideologue.

Gordon Clark, an historian of philosophy, says [Dewey's] pragmatism was a form of irrationalism in which epistemology – or the theory of knowledge – was considered a pseudoproblem. Pragmatism rejected dualism and essentialism of classical philosophy, and it rejected the role of ideas in education. Yet, it constructed a theory of knowledge which was connected to the post-Hegelian tradition articulated by Feuerbach and Marx. While claiming to be scientific, it was not science, but scientism (Clark, pp. 518-521).

Dewey's focus was not on reality, but on experience; not given or received experience, but active experience "taken with a purpose." He believed in activism and change. He saw the scientist as an initiator of change. Scientists were to tamper and experiment with reality. Ideas, then were instruments — a set of manipulations or statements of acts to be performed.

Sydney Hook, a Ph. D. student of Dewey, consistently denied that Dewey was a Marxist, but he was deeply indebted to Marxism, particularly the Marxist dictum: Philosophers have hitherto only described the world; the point, however, is to change it (Hook, 1987, pp. 111, 138-140). Dewey may not have been a Marxist but his philosophy and educational theory were profoundly connected to it.

Dewey lived a long life and wrote much on education. He studied at Columbia University, which had a strong Marxist presence when being a Marxist or declaring oneself a committed socialist was not fashionable or politically prudent, and he had a lively interest in the non-Western Third World and in his lifetime visited and taught in Japan, Mexico, and China (Hook, pp. 80-101).

After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, Lenin invited him to visit the Soviet Union. There he visited schools and was a consultant to Lenin (Hook, pp. 123-4). He served as the chief justice on ~~the~~ international tribunal (the "Dewey Commission") established by the Comintern to adjudicate on Trotsky's deviance from Stalinist orthodoxy (Hook, pp. 176, 220, 224-5, 227). Among his many writings, not a few were on the Soviet Union, the economic crisis of the capitalist world and the great depression, on teacher unionization and the need for a third political party in the United States. He was also a signatory of the first *Humanist Manifesto*, which promulgated a new secular humanism based on Feuerbach's teaching that Man created God rather than God creating Man (Nobel, 1991, pp. 33-34).

Dewey was a lifelong critic of two major intellectual traditions: the European intellectual tradition represented by Plato and Aristotle and the eighteenth-century *laissez-faire* liberal tradition of competitive capitalism. His revolt against traditional philosophy was joined by a hostility toward classical liberal democracy and free enterprise economics.

He rejected traditional education for two reasons: first, because traditional education educated for a "static social order" and he was for change; and, second, because it imposed absolute "adult standards" upon children while he accepted Rousseau's doctrine of rebellious adolescence (Ulich, 1968, pp. 315-339).

The Dethronement of Theory

In articulating his philosophy Dewey turned to Hegelian and Marxist thought and their revolutionary programs. It was Marx who first proposed the unity of theory and practice. Mere talk needed to be subordinated to real *praxis*. Marxism was the most elaborate edifice dedicated to the dethronement of theory and the demystification of the "superstructure" which hid the economic substructure and material reality.

Robert Ulich (1968) wrote:

Though Dewey makes little mention of Karl Marx in his main books, there is no doubt that the latter's conception of culture as being the superstructure of economic life, and Auguste Comte's doctrine of positivism have moulded his thought. But it was probably Darwin who most of all thinkers influenced Dewey's interpretation of civilisation. (p. 322)

This was similar to the effect Darwin had on Karl Marx.

In other words, Dewey was an adversary to his contemporary culture and educational institutions and turned to Darwinism, Marxism, materialism, and secularism to articulate his theory of "progressive" education, including its acceptance of the centrality of *praxis* as espoused by Marx and his disciples.

The increasing ascendancy of this progressivism occurred simultaneously with the professionalization of teaching and the transformation of normal schools into faculties of education at universities. Hence, progressivism and its hostility toward traditional philosophy and its emphasis on *praxis* entered into our faculties of education, and modern progressive education became increasingly socialistic.

The Place of Field Experience

The centrality of field experience in teacher training is not a self-evident truth no matter how unscrutinized by conventional thinking. Nor did field experience become central to teacher education due to empirical findings. My thesis is that it is an unquestioned opinion, often "dressed in drag," which became central to modern educational thought simply because this was considered to be progressive.

To be sure, student testimony has it that field experience is the most "worthwhile" aspect of teacher training, and the most relative component of teacher education. But that may simply be because what it stands beside pales in comparison. It has been demanded by students and we have provided it because we have been demand-side educators catering to the alleged needs of our students.

Since student teaching has been expanded under pressure of student demands and the doctrine of "student centredness" and "learning by doing" from John Dewey, the question is: What students? The mature young men and women called education students or the more voiceless and much younger students in public schools?

Quebec's school year is comprised of 180 days. Fourteen weeks of student teaching is 14 times 5 which equals 70 school days. This represents 38 per cent of the school year. The Kantian question is, What if every teacher accepted a student teacher every semester of every year? Should a young student's academic year be comprised of 38 per cent experimentation? In elementary school teacher preparation the percentage may be even higher.

May the unexamined tendency to increase the practicum in teacher education not give the impression that little of value is learned or can be learned in a professional faculty of education and that the theory taught in faculties of education is dispensable?

It is interesting that faculties of education most often compare themselves to other professional schools and student teaching most frequently to medical internship programs. But medicine is not the only analogy. Law faculties have no internships until after graduation. By way of practice, law students only have contrived "moot courts," and even the medical analogy is flawed. Interns do not conduct surgery alone. Medical internship is really a training in diagnosis and not practice.

The education practicum is based on the assumption that all or most of the schools are "good" and the lessons learned by student teachers are

educative. This, of course, is not true. By sometimes sending our students for longer periods to bad schools, we may be teaching them bad lessons.

Finally, our **practicum** is based on the myth that our student teachers do not know **what it is really like out there**. This may be the biggest swindle. This underestimates our students' intelligence and our common knowledge about the impressionability and absorptive powers of youngsters. Education students, and prospective teachers in faculties of education, for the most part have completed (in Quebec) between 13 and 16 years of public instruction in educational institutions which in their essential procedures and culture are the same, be it elementary, secondary, tertiary school or university. They know exactly what it is like out there and it is nonsense to claim otherwise.

Student teaching and field experience are ultimately theory-laden. Their prestige and centrality come not from scientific finding and systematic study, but from the doctrine of *praxis*, which is central to Marxist and progressive philosophy and thought. In other words, it is a derived article of faith.

The doctrine of *praxis* was borrowed by Dewey and translated into the notions of "learning by doing," "active enterprises," and "the project method," all imbued with a disdain for philosophy and the role of theory in education. Inherently these notions are hostile to a philosophical pedagogy.

We are, now, getting our just desserts: a general crisis in progressivism which will reverberate upon all the details of its thinking, including the doctrine of *praxis*. This will evoke a major re-examination of progressive assumptions, including the opinion that field experience and student teaching are the most important and best component of teacher education.

University teacher-graduates will have the opportunity to gain experience and practice teaching for the rest of their professional lives. So the question is, Is the one or two years of university teacher training best spent in the field, or in the proper pursuit of the mission of the university, i. e., the advancement and dissemination of knowledge?

REFERENCES

- Clark, G. H. (1957/1985). *Thales to Dewey*. Jefferson, MD: The Trinity Foundation, pp. 517-533.
- Hook, S. *Out of step: An unquiet life in the 20th century*. New York: Harper & Row, pp. 80-140; 176-227.

- Nobel, D. A. (1991). *Understanding the times*. Manitou Springs, CO: Summitt Press, pp. 33-34.
- Ong, W. J. (1958). *Ramus, method and the decay of dialogue*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 153-154.
- Ulich, R. (1968). *History of educational thought*. New York: D. Van Nostrand, pp. 315-339.
- Weaver, R. M. (1948/1984). *Ideas have consequences*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Yarema Gregory Kelebay is an Associate Professor of education at McGill University. He teaches social studies curriculum and the philosophy of education. He holds a Ph.D. in Canadian history and is the president of the St. Lawrence Institute, a Montreal-based think tank devoted to social issues.

Yarema Gregory Kelebay est professeur agrégé de sciences de l'éducation à l'Université McGill. Spécialiste des études sociales, il enseigne également la philosophie de l'éducation. Il est titulaire d'un doctorat en histoire canadienne et président de l'Institut St-Laurent, groupe de réflexion montréalais qui s'intéresse aux questions sociales.

Anon.

A Fable

Uniform Standards for Eagles and Eels

A fable related to curriculum and evaluation

One often hears of the need for redirecting the educational program to meet the manifold needs, interests, and aptitudes of the children and youth whom we wish to serve and satisfy the desires of the public which pays so well for the service. It has been said that we need "a broad, cultural, definitive, esthetic, finite, general" education for all – equally good for all. In some school circles a little fable is circulated that's supposed to have a moral relating to all this. Here is the fable. You figure out the moral.

Once upon a time the animals had a school. The program strongly emphasized the "Four Fundamentals," so the curriculum consisted of running, flying, climbing, and swimming. The animal public insisted upon equal treatment of all the little animals, so all took the same subjects. They had to be well versed in all of the fundamentals!

The Duck was excellent in swimming, better in fact than his teacher – despite Pope's injunction to "Let such teach others who themselves excel." But he made only passing marks in flying, and he was very poor in running. Because his achievement was so low in that subject – far below the norm for the grade – he was made to stay in after school to practice running. To do the extra drill on running, the Duck had to drop out of the swimming class. The drill on running was kept up until his web feet were badly worn and he was only average in swimming. But, since "average" is acceptable and respectable, nobody worried about it except Duck. After all, swimming had been his chief interest in life!

Rabbit started at the top of the class in running, but she had a nervous breakdown and had to drop out of school on account of so much make-up work in swimming. They didn't have a waterproof workbook, and she swam so slowly that it kept dragging her down. It gave her "workbookphobia".

Squirrel led the class in climbing until she developed an anxiety state over flying. Her flying teacher made her begin each flying lesson from the ground and she had to fly upward, while her natural inclination was to fly from the treetop down. She soon developed a serious frustration, got "charley horses" from overstrain at the take-off, and began getting "Cs" in climbing and "Ds" in running.

Eagle was considered a problem pupil and was disciplined severely. In the climbing class, he beat all the other pupils to the top of the tree, but he insisted on using his own way to get there – he simply wouldn't conform to the procedure approved by the course of study, explained in the textbook, and drilled in the workbook! Eagle stubbornly used his wings instead of his feet.

At the end of the session, an abnormal eel who could swim exceedingly well, and who could also run, climb, and fly a little, had the highest average and no absolute "Fs". Such a record automatically made Eel the valedictorian. The committee on honors voted Eel should be graduated "With Distinction" because he was so well rounded.

The Prairie Dogs kept their children out of school and fought the tax levy because the administration wouldn't add digging and burrowing to the curriculum. They apprenticed their children to a badger and later joined the ground hogs and gophers in starting a successful high-tuition private school with more snob appeal.

Report from the Field

Deborah Court
University of Victoria

Leslee G. Francis
University of Victoria

Teachers' Conceptions of Critical Thinking

Abstract

Seventeen teachers of kindergarten through grade twelve were interviewed about their beliefs and teaching practices related to critical thinking. Despite the range of grades and subjects they taught, a number of commonalities were found. These were an attitude of open-mindedness, methods that allow student interaction, and activities that involve students in problem-solving and argument. These categories are in harmony with much of the theoretical work on critical thinking, and this, together with the eagerness of these teachers to talk about critical thinking, are seen as encouraging signs that the time may be ripe for a school-university dialogue from which an enlightened critical thinking praxis may emerge.

Résumé

Dix-sept professeurs de la maternelle à la douzième année ont été interrogés sur leurs croyances et leurs méthodes d'enseignement au sujet de l'esprit critique. En dépit de l'éventail des classes et des matières enseignées, on a constaté un certain nombre de points en commun. Mentionnons notamment une certaine ouverture d'esprit, des méthodes qui favorisent les interactions entre élèves, et des activités qui exigent des élèves qu'ils résolvent des problèmes et présentent des arguments. Ces catégories cadrent avec une bonne partie des recherches théoriques sur l'esprit critique, ce qui, combiné à l'empressement mis par ces professeurs à parler de l'esprit critique, constitue un signe encourageant que le moment est sans doute venu d'entamer le dialogue entre les écoles et les universités, d'où pourrait peut-être émerger une praxie de l'esprit critique.

Much has been written in recent years about the nature of critical thinking, how critical thinking should be taught in schools, and how students' reasoning should be evaluated. Despite this academic debate, understanding of the nature of critical thinking, and how to teach and evaluate it, critical thinking has developed slowly in schools. Most teachers acquire little knowledge of critical thinking during their teacher education. Teaching and modelling of critical thinking in teacher education programs is rare (McLaren, 1989). Schools change slowly, not only because teachers are often too consumed by their daily tasks to pursue the learning of new methods and philosophies in depth (Fullan, 1982), but because the school as an institution tends to protect the status quo and offer institutional resistance to change that is other than cosmetic (McLaren, 1989). Nevertheless, many teachers do stress critical thinking as an educational goal, though their efforts to teach it may be undermined by classroom management policies that demand obedience, not critical thought, from children (McCaslin & Good, 1992). As well, many students come from troubled backgrounds and are less than receptive to anything the school offers.

Some researchers have found that even when teachers value and do their best to teach critical thinking, they tend to use assessment methods that stifle critical thinking (Orton & Lawrenz, 1990; Stiggins, 1987). This is partly due to institutional restraints and partly to lack of knowledge of alternate assessment methods. Another research finding is that the opportunity to talk freely in a guided situation positively affects students' reasoning. Recent studies of cooperative learning indicate that when students have the opportunity to reason together about content they grow in reasoning ability (Eeds & Wells, 1991; Smith, 1991; Taylor, 1991). And finally, there is the finding that teachers who ask open-ended questions and who do not insist that their own interpretation of a problem is the authoritative one foster more critical thinking than do teachers who retain the role of "fount of all knowledge" (Miller, 1990; Orton & Lawrenz, 1990).

Definitions of Critical Thinking

Ennis (1987, 1989) defined critical thinking as "reasonable reflective thinking that is focussed on deciding what to believe or do" (1989, p.4), a widely accepted definition. Ennis' list of skills and abilities is similar to Beyer's (1985, p.272) more succinct list. Beyer defined critical thinking as comprising a number of different operations, the main ones being,

... distinguishing between verifiable facts and value claims; determining the reliability of a source; determining the factual accuracy of a statement; distinguishing relevant from irrelevant information, claims or reasons; detecting bias; identifying unstated assumptions; identifying ambiguous or equivocal

cal claims or arguments; recognizing logical inconsistencies or fallacies in a line of reasoning; distinguishing between warranted or unwarranted claims; determining the strength of an argument.

However, as Selman (1989) has pointed out, these should not be seen as sequential operations or steps in a particular process, but as "reconstructed" aspects of reasoning which are idiosyncratic, sometimes repetitive or circular, and may involve intuitive leaps. Selman sees reasoning ability being learned in much the same way we learn our native language, so that we are able to follow the rules and standards, but often know them only tacitly. If this is the case, teaching critical thinking becomes much more complex than teaching a set of discrete skills. It will involve modelling, example, and practice as well as explicit reference to the intellectual standards which must be honored. Rather than teaching "thinking skills" at specific times in the school day, a commitment must be made to critical thinking as an ethic, a way of life (Sears & Parsons, 1991) and involve the creation of a "critical thinking classroom" (Court, 1991) in which the spirit of reason permeates and guides all activities. If critical thinking is viewed in this way then teaching it is not really something new and different on the educational scene, but involves the kind of intellectual engagement that some teachers have always sought to engender. If it is possible to "capture" some of what such teachers do, then we may be able to formulate credible rules of practice that can be used to inform teacher education and professional development.

It sometimes seems fashionable in academic circles to assume that professors know more about concepts like critical thinking than do teachers. While academics certainly have more time to develop and articulate theory, and to analyze educational concepts, teachers know more about how these concepts "live" in "the messy world of practice" (Schon, 1983). There are teachers who have made a thoughtful commitment to critical thinking, and we can learn important things from studying their practice and their conceptions. In the interviews reported here, we purposely did not ask teachers to define critical thinking or say what they think good critical thinking is. We wanted instead to gain a rich picture of their conceptions from descriptions of their practice.

Purpose and Outcome of the Study

Despite the personal, professional, and institutional restraints on teachers' learning and teaching of critical thinking, we are in an era of high interest in this topic. If we want to improve both preservice and inservice teacher education, develop materials that will be helpful for teaching and evaluating critical thinking, and begin to change some of the environmental

factors that make schools infertile ground for critical thinking, we need to know where teachers are in terms of their understanding, their practice, and their needs. This study sought to shed light on these factors.

Method

The interview study reported here is part of a larger study (Francis & Court, in preparation) which involved sending questionnaires on critical thinking teaching practice to teachers of kindergarten through grade twelve. One section of questions on the questionnaire dealt with demographic information, one section asked about the frequency of use of a number of different approaches such as commercial "thinking programs" and teaching approaches drawn from the literature on critical thinking, and one section asked teachers to indicate their level of agreement with a series of statements about critical thinking. Some of these statements concerned definitions of critical thinking, some concerned the environment in which critical thinking would likely take place, and some concerned teachers' practices. Of the 120 teachers who completed these questionnaires, 17 agreed to a half-hour telephone interview. The purpose of the interviews was to obtain qualitative data on teachers' classroom practice and their beliefs about critical thinking. Analysis of the quantitative data, and of the relationship between the qualitative and quantitative data, is underway. The present paper reports the results of the 17 interviews.

All of the 17 teachers interviewed were committed to critical thinking as an important educational goal. Nine of the 17 were male and eight female. Seven taught elementary school and ten high school. The seven elementary teachers were generalists except for one who taught learning assistance. Of the ten high school teachers, four taught English, one English and Social Studies, two Fine Arts, one Science and Computer Science, one Business Education, and one Industrial Education. The interviews were conducted over a six-week period. Teachers were telephoned at prearranged times at their homes in the evenings. Interviews were tape recorded and the tapes transcribed. Transcripts were read through several times to gain familiarity with the responses, then answers to each question were summarized and similar answers were grouped into categories. From these categories four central themes emerged.

Results

Interviews were structured around five questions:

(1) *Describe a successful lesson you taught recently in which your students were doing good critical thinking.* Lessons described had students involved in taking and arguing a position; analyzing and solving a problem;

and collecting or generating information. Most teachers stressed that to do good thinking, students had to be able to talk, preferably to each other. Almost all of the lessons described involved students, for at least part of the time, in cooperative work or group discussion.

(2) *How do you know your critical thinking instruction is working? What kinds of evidence are you able to collect?* Most teachers said they find evaluating thinking a difficult area and they feel unsure of themselves because the evaluation is quite subjective. Only one teacher mentioned testing. All the others said that they listen in on group discussions, talk individually with students, and evaluate their writing. The criteria by which they evaluate students' thinking are growth in depth and thoughtfulness of ideas; growth in independent problem-solving ability (independent from the teacher); ability to give evidence for claims; ability to generate ideas; and tenaciousness in pursuing the solution to a problem.

(3) *What factors work against your teaching of critical thinking?* In answer to this question most teachers mentioned a number of factors such as their own poor training and lack of knowledge; pressure to cover the curriculum (mentioned by teachers of grade seven and up); students' closed minds, their lack of motivation and their addiction to the "right answer"; large class size; the difficulty of dealing with varying abilities in class (because it seems to inhibit discussion); the teacher's old beliefs and habits and addiction to the "right answer"; teacher isolation and the need for time to plan together; the rigidity of the secondary timetable; and the need to discipline and "manage" students. One teacher who said religious fundamentalism is strong in her area complained about the need to censor some political topics and literature, and one said that he does not know by what standards to judge thinking.

(4) *What factors help you teach critical thinking?* Some teachers mentioned more than one factor. Items mentioned were the teacher's personal ability, teaching methods, and belief in the importance of critical thinking; the opportunity to talk and plan with other teachers; the administrative stress on problem-solving, discovery, and student self-evaluation; and a supportive school environment, principal, and school district.

(5) *What would be the ideal conditions for you to teach critical thinking?* Teachers were asked to fantasize about the ideal world and how they would design it if they could have any conditions they wanted for teaching critical thinking. Most teachers gave more than one response. Items mentioned were abundant funding, resources, and media; larger blocks of uninterrupted time; large classrooms with movable tables; smaller class size; better teacher training and inservice; time for teachers to plan and teach together; changing the evaluation system away from exams; freeing

both teachers and students from their old habits and biases; and freeing the educational system from censorship.

Themes identified

Four main themes run through these responses. They are not discrete, in that most of the teachers expressed ideas relating to more than one theme. These themes are: an **attitude** of open-mindedness, a **method** that allows interaction, and **activities** that involve students in problem-solving and argument.

Open-mindedness. A pervasive attitude and atmosphere of open-mindedness ran through these teachers' descriptions of what they do and how they would like the world to be for critical thinking to flourish. Freeing both students and teachers from their past habits and biases, engaging students in discussion and problem-solving that do not lead to a predetermined right answer, and freeing the school system from censorship are manifestations of open-mindedness. Also related to this idea are the structural ways these teachers would like schools to change - away from examinations and to a more flexible timetable that gives teachers time to work together and gives them larger blocks of time with students. Open-mindedness means being open to new ideas, to be able to change, to accept other points of view. It is a desirable attribute of students, teachers, and the educational system itself. One teacher said: "What I want most is to foster the understanding in my classroom that there is no right or wrong way to go about doing things, that learning and thinking are a continual process, that things are always changing, and to try to get them away from the idea of 'what's the right answer, how am I supposed to do this, what's the teacher looking for'." Another teacher said: "All teachers need to have a healthy dose of self-doubt, so they're always questioning, they never assume that they've got it right, they're always approximating their goal."

Interaction. One of the strongest notions to come through in these interviews was that for students to think critically they must be able to generate, explore, and refine their ideas in interaction with others. This is not to say that there are not individual phases of thinking, reading, and writing. But these teachers expressed repeatedly their belief (grounded in experience) that exposure to others' views, critical analysis of ideas, weighing of evidence, and the refining of arguments is best done in a forum of collaboration and debate. The teachers themselves, by expressing their desire for time to plan and team teach with colleagues, showed how much they value interaction. One's ideas can only go so far, it seems, in one's own head. Their sharpening and refinement occur best in a public forum. A primary teacher said: "I feel that the key to the thinking that's going on in my classroom is the sharing - I think that talking and thinking go together.

If they just have to sit there and have their own little thoughts, they don't get the chance to flex their ideas against others' ideas."

Problem-Solving. In terms of what teachers actually get students to do under the rubric of critical thinking, problem-solving is prominent. This takes many different forms depending on the content. The industrial education teacher in this study described having students, in pairs, choose a material (such as wood, steel, or glass), research its properties in the library (both the librarian and the physics teacher having been called on to contribute their expertise), then set about to solve the problem: designing a desk organizer according to certain parameters, refining the plans in light of the material's properties, then finally going into the shop and building it. A fine arts teacher described having students discuss in groups an ambiguous phrase like "Boulevard of Broken Dreams", then solve the problem: reinterpreting the phrase in visual terms and creating a piece of art. This would be followed by a group critique. A primary teacher described having students do dramatic role plays in which they had a problem to solve, such as finding a wallet with a lot of money in it on the street. These would then be discussed by the whole class. A key element in all of these descriptions of problem-solving was that the problem be open-ended (within some parameters of acceptability and possibility). In no sense are students supposed to "discover" a predetermined right answer. Even in mathematics, where teachers might be expected to adhere closely to the notion of a right answer, teachers described having pairs or groups of students design and then solve a problem, so that they were not "discovering" the answer to the teacher's problem. A grade seven teacher described having groups of three decide on an item they really wanted to buy, research and discuss what a fair price would be, imagine that the item was on sale and specify a reasonable discount, then together calculate the final price. One intermediate teacher described his stress on problem-solving as "responsibility training. Teaching a child to be individually responsible is the main thrust for all my programs, and that includes content as well as how to get along with each other."

Argument. A number of teachers described having students take and argue a position on a particular issue. This was more likely than problem-solving to be an individual activity, though an individual's position was usually discussed in group or whole-class settings. Teachers described asking students to research and then write a position paper about the Gulf War, to write an essay ranking three short stories using critical concepts learned in class, to argue for or against the historical validity of Richard III. There were no such lessons described for primary teachers, who tended more toward idea generation followed by problem-solving. Senior teachers were also more likely to list "giving evidence for claims" as a criterion against which they measured their students' growth in critical thinking

ability. There is some overlap between "argument" and problem-solving in that in some of the activities classed as problem-solving, students did in one phase have to argue their position. The primary drama lesson described above, for instance, involved having students defend the approach they took to dealing with the wallet found on the street.

Discussion

We were impressed with these teachers' dedication to the ideal of a critical thinking classroom, and with the ways they described their students engaging in generation of ideas and with each other. Many of the teachers did express feelings of inadequacy in terms of assessing critical thinking, but these feelings did not appear to inhibit, as some other researchers (Orton & Lawrenz, 1990; Stiggins, 1987) have found, the teachers' attempts to teach critical thinking. This may be because these 17 teachers are exceptionally dedicated to promoting critical thinking. They are not representative of the general teaching population, in that their interest in critical thinking made them agree to be interviewed. It is not unreasonable, however, to assume that there are other classrooms like theirs. Clearly these are not classrooms that live by the textbook, the worksheet, and the right answer. While these teachers are struggling to identify the standards by which they can evaluate students' thinking, their intuitive valuing of open-mindedness, the ability to generate ideas, to work together to design solutions to diverse problems, and to be able to take and argue a position on current events, literature, and personal decisions embodies many of the characteristics of critical thinking that Beyer (1985) and others have identified.

Although these teachers suggested that abundant high-quality resources and funding for things like teacher planning time and better physical space would help them teach critical thinking, much can be done to improve critical thinking teaching practice without great expense. Our sense is that increased dialogue between academics, who can help with the articulation of intellectual standards, and teachers, who understand the life of schools and can generate creative ways to translate theory into practice, is what is called for. Rather than waiting for institutional restrictions like examinations or the valuing of obedience to change, those dedicated to critical thinking should strive to learn and improve their own practice. Perhaps this will change the institutions.

The enthusiasm and even hunger with which the teachers in this study greeted the chance to talk about critical thinking bodes well for a school-university dialogue from which enlightened critical thinking praxis may emerge.

REFERENCES

- Beyer, B. (1985). Critical thinking: What is it? *Social Education*, 270-276.
- Court, D. (1991). Teaching critical thinking: What do we know? *The Social Studies*, 82 (3), 115-119.
- Eeds, M., & Wells, D. (1991). Talking, thinking and cooperative learning. *Social Education*, 134-137.
- Ennis, R. (1987). A taxonomy of critical thinking dispositions and abilities. In J. B. Baron & R. J. Sternberg (Eds.), *Teaching for Thinking* 9-26. NY: Freeman.
- Fullan, M. (1982). *The Meaning of Educational Change*. Toronto: OISE Press.
- McCaslin, M., & Good, T. (1992). Compliant cognition: The misalliance of management and instructional goals in current school reform. *Educational Researcher*, 21 (3), 4-17.
- McLaren, P. (1989). *Life in Schools*. White Plains, NY: Longman.
- Miller, S. (1990). Critical thinking in classroom discussion of texts: An ethnographic perspective. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Boston, MA., April, 1990.
- Orton, R., & Lawrenz, F. (1990). A survey and analysis of factors related to the teaching of critical thinking in junior high mathematics classrooms. *Journal of Research and Development in Education*, 23 (9), 143-155.
- Schon, D. (1983). *The Reflective Practitioner*. NY: Basic Books.
- Sears, A., & Parsons, J. (1991). Toward critical thinking as an ethic. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 19 (1), 45-68.
- Taylor, A. (1990). Integrating critical thinking and creative thinking in the cooperative learning model: Implications for addressing the frame of reference for these two distinct processes. Paper presented at the National Conference on Cooperative Learning, Baltimore, MD., July, 1990.

Deborah Court is an Assistant Professor of social studies education in the Faculty of Education, Department of Social and Natural Sciences, at the University of Victoria. Her research interests include critical thinking, cooperative learning, and teachers' practical knowledge.

Leslee G. Francis is an Assistant Professor of mathematics education in the Department of Social and Natural Sciences, Faculty of Education, University of Victoria. She is involved in both preservice and inservice teacher education, teaching courses in mathematics content, mathematics methods, problem-solving, and computer applications in education. Her research interests lie in the areas of problem-solving, reasoning, and critical thinking, and the impact of technology on students' thinking and learning.

Deborah Court est professeur adjointe d'études sociales à la faculté des sciences de l'éducation, au département des sciences sociales et naturelles à l'Université de Victoria. Ses intérêts de recherche sont axés sur l'esprit critique. L'apprentissage coopératif et les connaissances pratiques des enseignants.

Leslee G. Francis est professeur adjointe de mathématiques au département des sciences sociales et naturelles de la faculté des sciences de l'éducation de l'Université de Victoria. Elle participe à la formation des enseignants avant l'emploi et en cours d'emploi, donne des cours sur le contenu des mathématiques, les méthodes mathématiques, la résolution de problèmes et les applications de l'informatique en éducation. Elle s'intéresse à la résolution de problèmes, au raisonnement et à l'esprit critique et à l'impact que la technologie peut avoir sur la réflexion et l'apprentissage des élèves.

Book Reviews

**Chris M. Anson, Joan Graham, David A. Joliffe,
Nancy S. Shapiro, Carolyn H. Smith (Editors).
SCENARIOS FOR TEACHING WRITING :
Contexts for Discussion and Reflective Practice.
Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1993.
160 pp. \$16.95.**

Composition is a growth industry. Over the past three decades, there has been a revolution in the teaching of writing at elementary, secondary, and post-secondary levels of education. Universities are instituting (or resurrecting) compulsory writing courses, textbook sales are booming, and the number of journals and conferences dedicated to writing theory, research, and practice is increasing every year. Composition instruction, once a dreary collection of drills, hoary bromides, and formulaic prescriptions, has become an exciting and challenging area of pedagogy. This renewed interest in writing has attracted scholars from other fields, and composition has grown from a service course to a multidisciplinary endeavour.

Unfortunately, along with this growth has come a severe shortage of qualified writing instructors, particularly at the university level. Traditionally, graduate students and junior faculty in English departments have been responsible for writing instruction and, typically, they have received little or no training. Although specialists are beginning to emerge from the handful of North American doctoral programs in composition and rhetoric, the lack of qualified composition teachers remains a major problem for university writing programs. *Scenarios for Teaching Writing* is a response to that problem.

The book "offers six chapters of 'real-world' scenarios about different aspects of teaching writing, each containing issues for discussion"

(p. x). The goal of the book is to help new writing instructors anticipate the types of problems they might encounter when working with students. As a result, the details of classroom "reality" are important to the authors, who devote very little space to the theory or research that supports the practices they describe. At times the book sounds like those docudrama promotions one hears on American television :

...we have assembled these scenarios from actual events that occurred in our own writing programs... The sample syllabi, assignments, papers, journal entries, and transcripts of group conferences are all *real*. (pp. x-xi)

The chapters focus on several common concerns of writing teachers: creating assignments; using readings; responding to students; teaching grammar, usage, and style; managing conferences and small groups; and designing courses. Each chapter contains four to six scenarios, and each scenario ends with a series of questions for individual reflection or group discussion. In addition, there is a very helpful bibliography of "professional sources": books and articles of general interest or specific relevance to each of the chapters.

The ideal audience for *Scenarios for Teaching Writing* is a class or seminar for graduate students or new composition instructors. The situations described are the daily fare of writing teachers: the problems of second language students; the conflicts that arise from the cultural, linguistic, and ideological diversity that is common in the contemporary classroom; the assignments that backfire; the offensive journal entries; the unexpected or unproductive responses to evaluation.

The classroom stories have an authentic air, a complexity and perplexity familiar to teachers of writing. The pedagogical disasters they report, though varied, have a common origin: the ambiguous and contradictory relationship between writing teacher and writing student. Is the teacher an expert, a fellow writer, an editor, a mentor, and an arbiter of good taste, style, and political correctness? How can teachers reconcile the student's freedom of thought and expression with their own opinions and values, on the one hand, and the academy's desire for Standard English and adherence to disciplinary norms, on the other hand? *Scenarios for Teaching Writing* does a good job of bringing these dilemmas to life, and for the new teacher of writing it offers a detailed map of the composition classroom's pedagogical minefield.

Unfortunately, the book's helpful and vivid accounts of classroom life are undermined by some less positive features. The many questions that follow each scenario are distracting for the solitary reader, who is not able

to engage in the group discussion that the questions are designed to promote. And many of the stories are left unfinished, their dilemmas unresolved. (What happened, for example, to the teacher who was charged with suppressing free speech when she advised a student not to write an anti-abortion essay?) The book's steady diet of problems might also bother the reader who is looking for activities and assignments that work.

Ideally, writing teachers would gather with colleagues, graduate students, and new teachers within their own institutions to discuss the kinds of situations and concerns that *Scenarios for Teaching Writing* describes. Sadly, this is rarely done. In the absence of such discussions, this book offers valuable insights to the many isolated and unprepared teachers of writing, and should help them discover that they are not alone.

Anthony Paré
McGill University

Isabelle Knockwood.

OUT OF THE DEPTHS : The Experiences of Mi'kmaw Children at the Indian Residential School at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia.

Lockeport: Roseway Publishing, 1992.

159 pp. \$14.98.

How could they do this to children?

Isabelle Knockwood writes in the introduction to her book that she began writing stories about her childhood as a way "... to make sense of everything that was wrong about [her] life. ..." Much of what she wrote dwelt on the time she spent at the Indian Residential School in Shubenacadie. After finishing each story she would destroy it "... so that no one could see it." After moving back to Shubenacadie as an adult she began to interview former students about their experiences at the school. She became a student at Saint Mary's University, and began to rewrite the reminiscences in manuscript form. It is one of the best written books I have ever read.

By now there has been a lot of attention given to the native residential and mission schools run by religious orders in Canada. The media have focussed on the physical, emotional, and sexual abuse native children suffered in those schools. This book details those experiences from the perspective of the children. In the writer's eyes this autobiography is part of the healing from that suffering. The religious orders and the Canadian government have issued apologies, but, as the writer says, they "... can do little to mend the damage caused by the suffering of generations of Native children. ..."

to engage in the group discussion that the questions are designed to promote. And many of the stories are left unfinished, their dilemmas unresolved. (What happened, for example, to the teacher who was charged with suppressing free speech when she advised a student not to write an anti-abortion essay?) The book's steady diet of problems might also bother the reader who is looking for activities and assignments that work.

Ideally, writing teachers would gather with colleagues, graduate students, and new teachers within their own institutions to discuss the kinds of situations and concerns that *Scenarios for Teaching Writing* describes. Sadly, this is rarely done. In the absence of such discussions, this book offers valuable insights to the many isolated and unprepared teachers of writing, and should help them discover that they are not alone.

Anthony Paré
McGill University

Isabelle Knockwood.

OUT OF THE DEPTHS : The Experiences of Mi'kmaw Children at the Indian Residential School at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia.

Lockeport: Roseway Publishing, 1992.

159 pp. \$14.98.

How could they do this to children?

Isabelle Knockwood writes in the introduction to her book that she began writing stories about her childhood as a way "... to make sense of everything that was wrong about [her] life. ..." Much of what she wrote dwelt on the time she spent at the Indian Residential School in Shubenacadie. After finishing each story she would destroy it "... so that no one could see it." After moving back to Shubenacadie as an adult she began to interview former students about their experiences at the school. She became a student at Saint Mary's University, and began to rewrite the reminiscences in manuscript form. It is one of the best written books I have ever read.

By now there has been a lot of attention given to the native residential and mission schools run by religious orders in Canada. The media have focussed on the physical, emotional, and sexual abuse native children suffered in those schools. This book details those experiences from the perspective of the children. In the writer's eyes this autobiography is part of the healing from that suffering. The religious orders and the Canadian government have issued apologies, but, as the writer says, they "... can do little to mend the damage caused by the suffering of generations of Native children. ..."

The schools were established for the overt purpose of assimilation. The government's objective at the time, never disguised, was the eventual abolition of the Department of Indian Affairs by assimilating natives into the dominant white culture. One way in which this was accomplished was through discouraging native language in the schools. For children away from their families for the first time, expected to speak a language they didn't know, this was a terrifying time, especially when failure to conform meant punishment.

There are other examples of culture conflict as well. In Mi'kmaw culture a child was not supposed to maintain direct eye contact. In the residential school, however, this was interpreted as insolence, rewarded with punishment. Through discouraging native culture, conflict became domination. Every attempt was made to root out native culture, and subordinate the children to religious and cultural traditions foreign to them. "Those who established the Indian Residential Schools across Canada regarded all we had learned from our parents and grandparents with contempt and hatred."

There were many ways in which the students were punished for failure to conform: threats, ridicule, systematic humiliation, being made to go hungry, being confined in a soap closet under the stairs, being pinched and hit, arbitrary withdrawal of privileges, forced feeding of vomit, shaved heads, physical beatings and strappings, sexual assault, even actions amounting to criminal negligence and manslaughter. "Day after day, week after week, month after month and year after year for seven, eight, or nine years, this was the atmosphere we ate our meals in – an atmosphere of fear of the unknown, the unexpected, and the reality that you could be the next."

Even the education received was rudimentary. Not only was the native school abusive, but it was a poor school as well. The training in English was inadequate, and the emphasis on religious ritual was great. Many of the girls were taken from classes to work in the laundry and the boys to work in the stables, thus interfering with learning anything other than manual skills. There was no reward for good work, and often the only way to know the right answer in class was to see that answers which were punished must be wrong.

Native schools are an important period in the history of Canadian schooling. They exemplify how state interests in domination can be embodied in cultural practices; they show how racism can be embedded in institutional structures. This book in particular is important in that it is from the perspective of a native woman. It provides an understanding of the experiences of being a student in the school.

It is a tragic story from an infamous time. It's a horror that they did these things to children.

Chris McCormick
Saint Mary's University

John P. Portelli and Sharon Bailin (Editors)
REASON AND VALUES : New Essays in Philosophy of Education
Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises, 1993
228 pp., \$20.95

Reason and Values: New Essays in Philosophy of Education is the third such collection to appear in Canada during the last decade. Donald Cochrane's and Martin Shiralli's *Philosophy of Education: Canadian Perspectives* (1982) pointed to the influence of the "London Line," in general, and that of R. S. Peters, in particular, as the dominating force in Canada at the time. For Cochrane and Shiralli, the efforts of Peters were "very therapeutic" (p. 3) primarily because he was responsible for introducing "the astringent demands of ordinary language analysis and the methods and issues of British ethical theory and epistemology" (p. 4). In 1988 William Hare and John Portelli edited *Philosophy of Education: Introductory Readings*, a text intended for use in classes in philosophy of education for preservice teachers. As less than half the authors were Canadian and, indeed, it included a paper by Peters himself, *Introductory Readings* may be said to have carried on the "London Line." With *Reason and Values*, Portelli teams up with Sharon Bailin to both sample current work of the younger philosophers of education in Canada and to show that such current work, in the words of an introductory chapter by William Hare ("Continuity and Controversy in Philosophy of Education") addresses "substantive and normative issues in education more directly and explicitly, utilizing the sophisticated techniques which became part of the philosopher's repertoire in the analytic period but also drawing on the insights and principles of earlier philosophers of education" (p. 2). Hence the title: where "reason" draws attention to the analytical component in the new philosophy of education, "values" highlights its substantive and normative dimension. But has the "London Line" in fact been superseded in the new work?

The argument of the leading and keynote paper, Portelli's "Analytic Philosophy of Education: Development and Misconceptions," is straightforward. For Portelli, recent criticism of analytical philosophy in education has failed to take into account that after the mid-1960s, "with the work of Peters and his followers, an important shift took place in the way conceptual analysis was approached" (p. 22). What had happened was that "the issue

It is a tragic story from an infamous time. It's a horror that they did these things to children.

Chris McCormick
Saint Mary's University

John P. Portelli and Sharon Bailin (Editors)
REASON AND VALUES : New Essays in Philosophy of Education
Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises, 1993
228 pp., \$20.95

Reason and Values: New Essays in Philosophy of Education is the third such collection to appear in Canada during the last decade. Donald Cochrane's and Martin Shiralli's *Philosophy of Education: Canadian Perspectives* (1982) pointed to the influence of the "London Line," in general, and that of R. S. Peters, in particular, as the dominating force in Canada at the time. For Cochrane and Shiralli, the efforts of Peters were "very therapeutic" (p. 3) primarily because he was responsible for introducing "the astringent demands of ordinary language analysis and the methods and issues of British ethical theory and epistemology" (p. 4). In 1988 William Hare and John Portelli edited *Philosophy of Education: Introductory Readings*, a text intended for use in classes in philosophy of education for preservice teachers. As less than half the authors were Canadian and, indeed, it included a paper by Peters himself, *Introductory Readings* may be said to have carried on the "London Line." With *Reason and Values*, Portelli teams up with Sharon Bailin to both sample current work of the younger philosophers of education in Canada and to show that such current work, in the words of an introductory chapter by William Hare ("Continuity and Controversy in Philosophy of Education") addresses "substantive and normative issues in education more directly and explicitly, utilizing the sophisticated techniques which became part of the philosopher's repertoire in the analytic period but also drawing on the insights and principles of earlier philosophers of education" (p. 2). Hence the title: where "reason" draws attention to the analytical component in the new philosophy of education, "values" highlights its substantive and normative dimension. But has the "London Line" in fact been superseded in the new work?

The argument of the leading and keynote paper, Portelli's "Analytic Philosophy of Education: Development and Misconceptions," is straightforward. For Portelli, recent criticism of analytical philosophy in education has failed to take into account that after the mid-1960s, "with the work of Peters and his followers, an important shift took place in the way conceptual analysis was approached" (p. 22). What had happened was that "the issue

of value neutrality had been scrutinized, and its primacy abandoned" (p. 24). Further, according to Portelli, analytic philosophers of education, for the past twenty years, "have never maintained that analysis has a therapeutic function. All they claim is that by getting clearer about certain concepts we will be in a better position to adequately tackle educational issues" (p. 25).

As it happens, I was one of those recent critics of analytical philosophy of education.¹ I maintained that analytical philosophy, whether before or after the 1960s, was never neutral in respect to values, as Portelli suggests. There are three ways one can view the activity of philosophical analysis in education. In its basic methodological sense, analytical philosophy seeks to examine the logical structure of arguments, listening for tacit background assumptions, and so on. In that sense, everyone practicing philosophical analysis of education today is an analytical philosopher. A second sense relates to the content or subject area of analysis in general and the legitimacy of the role of substantive or normative issues in education in particular. Few today would disagree that such issues constitute a legitimate object of analysis. There is, however, a third sense of philosophical analysis of education, one which relates to those background values guiding and informing the process of analysis in the first two senses. My claim is that Portelli's "important shift" was so only in respect to the second sense of philosophical analysis, that substantive and normative issues were now seen as legitimate objects of analysis in philosophy of education. Further, my claim is that while Peters and his followers invoked a normative position in respect to those substantive issues (sense two) which they did not have (or did not specify) they denied a normative position in the activity of analysis itself (sense three) which they did have.

Citing C. D. Hardie and D. J. O'Connor as his principal "pre-shift" philosophers, Portelli claims that,

The first analytical philosophers of education emphasized method. Although refuting a position on the grounds of inconsistency may have indirectly committed them to some position, they did not aim to defend any particular position. These philosophers felt that philosophers of education should take a neutral stance and that their role as philosophers was not to make practical suggestions. (p. 16)

Portelli's point is that philosophers prior to the mid-1960s practiced analysis in its neutral methodological, sense-one fashion, without raising substantive or normative issues. However, this will come as news to Hardie and O'Connor. For Hardie (1962) the traditional philosophers "have been exposed as impostors" (p. 209) while for O'Connor (1965) normative issues in education "should be recognised for what they are. An undiagnosed value judgement is a source of intellectual muddle" (p. 107). Far from taking a neutral stance, the logical-positivist background values (sense three) of

Hardie and O'Connor determined that statements for the truth of which neither any observation statement nor any axiom of mathematics was relevant was, in effect, meaningless. While, of course, since neither Hardie's nor O'Connor's own statements were derived from observation statements nor from the axioms of mathematics, their assertions, under the ruling, must also be meaningless and they themselves must be unmasked as impostors, the point here is that philosophical analysis in education was never the neutral activity Portelli portrays. This is true as well for the "post-shift" philosophers, but not in the fashion Portelli suggests.

One might cite "post-shift" philosophers of education who, Portelli notwithstanding, did maintain that conceptual analysis was therapeutic and value neutral.² However a better way may be to show that Peters himself suggested that his practice of analysis (sense three) was indeed value neutral, while it was nothing of the sort. For Peters the "revolution in philosophy" heralded by Ludwig Wittgenstein had changed the nature of philosophy and the role of the philosopher himself. Modern science had eliminated philosophical speculation about the nature of the world. Post-revolutionary philosophers, therefore, would concern themselves only with the second-order clarification of those concepts which flourished at the first order. This would be done by the examination of the language in which those first-order concepts were embodied. For Peters (1966) the philosopher now had only a "spectatorial role" (p. 60), he could no longer "issue high level directives for education as well as pronounce on God, freedom, immortality, and the meaning of life" (1972; pp. 26-27). "To paraphrase Wittgenstein," Peters (1977) observed, "conceptual analysis leaves everything as it is" (p. 19). While analysis issues no directives, what it does do, according to Peters (1972), is "to spotlight the point at which decisions have to be made" (p. 17). All that is desired is "a detached and clear-sighted view of the shape of issues and institutions" (1966: p. 45). This clear-sighted view is obtained by examining ordinary language use. As concept possession, according to Peters (1970), "goes with the ability to use words appropriately, what we do is to examine the use of words in order to see what principle or principles govern their use. If we can make these explicit we have uncovered the concept" (p. 4).

While Peters' "spectatorial role" may permit him to raise normative issues for analysis, it also prevents him from issuing any high level directives. To say, for example, that education necessarily involves "worthwhile activities" (since that is what we mean when we say "education") does seem to fall short of what we mean when we say "normative."³

While claiming a neutral, "spectatorial" role for the new philosopher, however, Peters was far from neutral in his exercise (sense three) of philosophical analysis. In an early critique of ordinary language philosophy, Ernest Gellner (1959) pointed out that: "The general public often supposes that Linguistic Philosophy is an attack on metaphysics. But metaphysics

was a red herring. In reality, it is simply an attack on thought" (p. 198). Peters is a linguistic philosopher. He shares the background values of linguistic philosophy: a naturalism contained in the view that the world is what it is and ordinary language reflects what it is - that is why confusions and perplexities will be dissolved once we "get clearer" about the use of words; paradoxically, there is also a nominalism contained in the view that meaning is derived from an infinite number of self-contained language games existing independently of any reference to an extra-linguistic reality and within which all "moves," if performed in accordance with the "rules," are legitimate; a conservative "nightwatchman" view of philosophy, on guard against all possible confusions and distortions of ordinary language; finally, an *a priori* bias, a pre-judging of the issues - analysis, in maintaining that once we have cleared up certain concepts we will be in a better position to tackle the issues (as Portelli does above) assumes that we can tell, without knowing what the real solutions will be, what the preconditions for their solution are. This is, of course, the question: If meaning is use and the varieties of usage are legion, whose usage is to be paradigmatic? Gellner amusingly but not, perhaps, untruthfully suggests, "The folk whose simple but sound folk-culture is being defended and preserved against specious, theoretical philosophy is the folk of North Oxford, roughly" (p. 239).

In spite of the fact that Portelli, in effect, has been defending analytical philosophy in education, particularly that after the mid-1960s, in contrast to those "traditional" forms which he implies it has superseded, he concludes, oddly, by stating that "one may get the impression that I am arguing that analytical philosophy of education is the only legitimate way of doing philosophy of education and that analytic philosophy of education has reached an ideal stage. This is not the case" (p. 26). One did rather get the impression that, if it had not yet quite reached an ideal stage, analytical philosophy of education was, for Portelli, the only legitimate way of doing philosophy of education. However, it turns out that what Portelli really maintains is that "there is no such single thing as the right method in philosophy - a view which does not amount to saying that any method is always of equal philosophical worth" (p. 26; *italics in original*). But if all philosophical methods are not of equal worth, then that implies criteria to distinguish one from the other, those methods which are more worthy from those which are less. Portelli has raised a substantive (sense two) issue. Will he give it (sense three) treatment by revealing his criteria of philosophical worth? Unfortunately, he does not reveal what those criteria might be. One can only suppose that they must go with the ability to use words like "philosophical worth" appropriately, and, if we can examine their use to see what principle or principles govern their use, only then will we have uncovered the concept.

Portelli's paper endorses the "London Line" as exemplified in Peters' linguistic philosophy. Where such philosophical analysis might raise substantive and normative questions in education, it does so only in the (sense

two) form of the examination of ordinary usage while concealing (sense three) the background values of a conservative linguistic naturalism in terms of which such analysis is conducted. Will the remainder of the papers in *Reason and Values* continue the "London Line?"

The second section of the book, "Reason and Critical Thinking," contains papers by Sharon Bailin and Mark Selman. Bailin's "Rationality and Intuition" seeks to expose a "false dichotomy" between reasoning viewed "as always taking place within rigidly bounded and highly rule-governed frameworks" (p. 40), as opposed to intuition, where "the answer seems to come out of nowhere" (p. 39). Bailin maintains that "the absence of explicit conscious deliberation does not indicate that a process is not reasonable or rational" (p. 41). But is being reasonable equivalent to being rational? Does not being reasonable imply more than simply being rational? One might also ask whether this is still a real question after the work done by people like Polanyi⁴ in philosophical psychology. The interest, perhaps, is not so much in Bailin's view that reason and intuition are not separate mental activities but rather in the way she shows this. In a manner which relies more on personal insight, she does not examine how we use words like "rationality" and "intuition" (and thereby departs from the "London Line"), nor does she slide into a thorough-going intuitionism which assimilates rationality to how we happen to feel about things. The object of Bailin's analysis was to reveal "important educational implications." As a result of the rejection of the rationality-intuition dichotomy, Bailin concludes that "an emphasis on rationality does not imply routine performance, nor does it preclude affective engagement with the material studied" (p. 47). But didn't we know that already?

Mark Selman's "Critical Thinking as a Social Practice" marks a return to the "London Line." Set in a rather numbing dialogue form (the teacher-savant and his student-stooge) Selman seeks to show that people go wrong when they think "of good thinking as being good because it involves a certain sequence, a certain set of steps or operations" (p. 55). The reason people go wrong is that "terms such as 'ability' or 'skill' are used so casually and outside contexts in which they have their natural home" (p. 56). For Selman, words like "skill" and "ability" have their "natural home" in connection with public social practices rather than with following a certain set of steps or operations. But how did Selman know that was their "natural home?" Well, when one thinks critically one satisfies public standards of care, sensitivity, imagination, open-mindedness, fairness, and imagination. That is what it means, for Selman, to "think critically." Besides, Wittgenstein said so. It was, according to Selman, "one of the major kinds of errors that Wittgenstein took such effort to warn us about" (p. 56). Perhaps it's time for us to be warned about Wittgenstein's warning.

Section Three, "Values: Moral and Aesthetic," contains four papers. Eamonn Callan's "Faith, Worship, and Reason in Religious Upbringing"

makes the unsurprising claim that one cannot, simultaneously, endorse the "rational critical principle," that is, "the assent we are entitled to give to a set of claims in the field of religion should be appropriate to the strength of the arguments and evidence relevant to its truth" (p. 67), while engaging in "wholehearted acts of religious worship" (p. 69). It is unsurprising since it is the rational critical principle and not those wholehearted acts which determine what shall count as appropriate arguments and evidence.

Do women tend to respond more readily to situations requiring benevolence and men more readily to those requiring justice? And if situations requiring benevolence tend to elicit a direct response while situations requiring justice tend to elicit a response based on duty, does this mean that such tendencies mirror a private (benevolence: connection) - public (justice: separation) split based on gender lines? Debra Shogun ("Gender and Moral Agency") maintains, contrary to some feminist theorists, that there is not a simple gender alignment between care and connection on the one hand and justice and separation on the other. For Shogun, "Women's tendency to connect may indicate that women tend to respond directly to others in moral situations requiring either benevolence or justice. Men's tendency to separate from others by emphasizing autonomy and rights may, on the other hand, be an indication that men tend to respond to duty rather than directly to those in moral situations" (p. 90). Shogun concludes that if there are these gender differences in response to moral situations, then "boys, more than girls, may require more regular, prolonged attention to people in moral dilemmas" (p. 91). Yes, they may. But is this an empirical or an impressionistic point Shogun is making? Women's tendency to connect "may" indicate a direct response; men's tendency to separate "may" indicate a response based on duty; boys "may" require more attention to people in moral dilemmas. Allan Bloom (1988) once pointed out in respect to feminist writing, that there is "a mystique around all the related issues, requiring that men have to change" (p. 70). Placed as it is in the conditional, Shogun's paper may constitute a contribution to that mystique.

Good art, for Plato, must serve a moral purpose. Indeed, he would ban works of art from his Republic which were seen to undermine its moral fibre. In what is now seen by some as an illegitimate move, he wanted to apply the principles of morality to those of aesthetics. Sharon Bailin ("The Bad and The Beautiful") wants to explore "whether the notion of appreciation, which is a central concept of aesthetics, might also be a fruitful concept for illuminating the moral realm, and might be a useful notion for moral education" (p. 93). Bailin wants to apply the principles of aesthetics to those of morality. The reason she wants to do this is because feminist theorists have taken issue with the view that the aim of moral reasoning is to reach agreement where claims conflict. They have asserted, as Bailin does here, the need for an "alternative moral theory, one which puts relationships at the

centre, which emphasizes the role of caring and emotion, and which asserts the importance of the concrete particulars of moral agents and moral situations" (p. 95). As Bailin points out, however, the central function of aesthetic judgements "is to foster appreciation of the work in question and this does not necessarily entail arriving at a conclusion or agreement between parties" (p. 96). Further, she observes that "although appreciation seems to be an end in itself for aesthetic discussion, it is not enough to appreciate a moral situation for its own sake. One also has to act" (p. 100). Then what is the point of applying the notion of appreciation to the moral realm? For Bailin, it "might help us to see that caring and empathy are not incompatible with principles and rational morality, but that they are, rather, complimentary" (p. 101). But has anyone ever said that they were not compatible?

Stuart Richmond's "Once Again, Art Education, Politics, and the Aesthetic Perspective" might be read as a reply to Bailin's attempt to employ the aesthetic perspective in the moral realm. For Richmond, the aesthetic realm is autonomous and so, presumably is the moral. The aesthetic perspective "focuses attention on art as a subject of study in its own right, rather than on art as a means for the transmission of messages that more properly become the object of interest" (p. 106). With the pluralism of cultural perspectives following attempts to deconstruct traditional curriculum patterns along political, social or gender lines, arguments citing the importance of the aesthetic perspective in any broadly valid sense become, for Richmond, "a cause for embarrassment, a sign of the speaker's attachment to discredited conceptions, or perhaps a sign of intellectual naivety" (p. 106). Richmond is against the view that value in art is relative to group interest, a view contained in Bailin's harnessing the aesthetic perspective to that "alternative moral theory." For if morality adopts the aesthetic perspective and the aesthetic perspective is relative to this or that group's preferences, then the feminist perspective must thereby assume parity with traditional moral forms.

Is literacy a double-edged sword? In addition to its liberating qualities, can it be used also to cultivate passivity and powerlessness? Suzanne de Castell's "Literacy as Disempowerment: The Role of Documentary Texts," the first of two papers on the fourth section, "Literacy," claims that this is just the role of school texts which "function as evidence of the truth, not as explanations of it. Textbooks are treated like documents: they are not to be challenged, neither are they to be interpreted" (p. 122). All knowledge, for de Castell is socially constructed, but where no distinctions are made between facts and constructed factual statements, such documentary texts produce homogenized "communities of knowers, all of whom know 'the same thing'" (p. 124). The distinguishing feature of such "communities of knowers" is their passivity. In de Castell's view, the text functions as "a

potent form of mass-scale epistemological socialization into a particular intransitive relation to documentary reality" (p. 124). A "critical de-interpretation must be in order," de Castell concludes, "if textbook knowledge is to be comprehended, rather than simply parroted back in assignments and exams" (p. 125). In her call for "critical de-interpretation," de Castell reveals herself as an empowerment theorist, one bent on liberating passive Canadian "communities of knowers" whom she appears to view as a northern variety of Friere's Brazilian peasant. However, no evidence is forthcoming that they all know the "same thing" (whatever that might be), or that all they do is parrot back textbook knowledge in exams and assignments. Again, how does de Castell know that no "critical de-interpretation" occurs in classrooms. Where are the actual teachers, the students? Is de Castell just making an impressionistic point? And if all texts are either fictional or documentary as de Castell claims, then her own text must itself be documentary (although there might be an argument here), functioning to disempower the reader and turning us all into passive "communities of knowers."

The "crux of the meta-problem" in the teaching of literature, for Deanne Bogdan ("Toward a Rationale for Literary Literacy"), is "the gap now existing between transformation and enculturation as the two related but discrete goals of literature education" (p. 134). How can literature education steer a path between initiation into the values and ideals of social identity achieved through a traditional pedagogy of detached literary analysis while, at the same time, taking into account the new goals of reader-response theory embodied in a pedagogy of class discussion and journal writing aimed at the validation of the experience of minorities and women? Bogdan takes issue with the "humanist legacy of the 19th century, in which the 'right' values wrought by the moral-literary sensibility were deemed to emanate from the study of literature *sui generis*" (p. 134). Bogdan's point is that for current theorists wishing to attain multicultural sensitivity through the literature curriculum, "the power of literary naming, the emotional force of literature, is still regarded as unproblematic" (p. 137). While such naming can culminate in validation, it can also result in alienation. Is Bogdan an "enculturationist" or a "transformationist?" The issue reduces to what one means by "literary literacy." For Bogdan, the concept "would embrace both engagement and detachment, both the feeling of coming to know certain 'truths' about oneself and/or the world, and getting distance on that feeling" (p. 142). Bogdan, it seems, is both.

In "Democracy and Schooling," the first paper in the last section, "Autonomy: The Student and the Teacher," Eamonn Callan argues that "extensive student participation in the government of schooling, and perhaps even full-blown democratic schooling, become reasonable policies to adopt under conditions that should not be difficult to bring about" (p. 151).

For Callan, such participation should extend to the point that it does not encroach destructively on teaching. It is incumbent on those against such participation, he maintains, "to show that there are special features of authoritative decision-making in schooling such that student participation is or is likely to be incompetent, even in the circumstances I am considering" (p. 159). Callan raises and meets the objections of those against extending authority to the students, particularly the argument based on the principle of competence. Since, for Callan as for Aristotle, educational ends are realized within the processes through which we pursue them, maximizing student competence in decision-making necessarily follows from the view "that schooling should be centrally concerned with encouraging autonomy" (p. 166). Have schools, in fact, achieved little in the way of encouraging such autonomy? In that case, for Callan, "there is little point either to their efforts or to the authority structure of schooling itself" (p. 168). So much for the schools. But Callan's argument simply presupposes the validity of its premise, that is, that the encouragement of autonomy is the central concern of the school. Curiosity compelled me to take a poll of the teachers at my secondary school.⁵ Only two of those who responded identified what could be construed as "autonomy" as the principal aim of education. Well, so much for the teachers.

On reading the title of John Portelli's "Dare We Expose the Hidden Curriculum?" one might suppose some startling revelation was in store. This is not the case. In a return to (sense two) analytical philosophy of education, Portelli merely seeks to examine the various ways we can use the word "hidden" in connection with the curriculum, and to recommend that once we have become aware of something which is hidden, we make it explicit in the interests of trustful teacher-student relations. That is all. In examining what it means to be "hidden," Portelli constructs a calculus of permutations and combinations existing between teacher and student involving whether the learning was intended and/or recognized by the teacher and whether such learning was recognized by the student. There are some eight possible combinations using these variables, and Portelli examines each one. If one wonders why he did this, reference must be made to one of the first principles of linguistic philosophy. In Portelli's words, "Although one usually refers to the hidden curriculum, which may give the impression that there is some universal essence of the concept, the analysis clearly identifies different kinds of hiddenness which arise from different contexts involving different relationships between at least the teacher, students, and what is learnt" (p. 179). But if there is no universal essence of the concept, how, to paraphrase Peters (1970, p. 31) paraphrasing Wittgenstein on the concept of "games," does Portelli "know which samples to lay out in order to look for similarities?" Independently of his possession of the concept of "curriculum" in terms of which such variations were deemed appropriate, in other words, how did Portelli know which variations

of relationships between teacher, students, and what is learnt to analyze? Finally, the concept "hidden curriculum" for most of us means instruction implicitly conveyed along with the visible curriculum, that neither teacher nor students explicitly recognize it. With such recognition, the hidden curriculum is no longer hidden. It becomes part of the visible curriculum. With his calculus, involving as it does explicit teacher/student recognition, one wonders whether Portelli himself is in possession of the concept.

Why are teachers disempowered? Why have calls for greater teacher empowerment contained in studies such as the Holmes Group had such limited results? For Murray Ross ("Teacher Empowerment: Unmasking Disciplinary Power") the answer lies in the fact that "teacher empowerment arguments which aim at liberating teachers from Weberian cages of bureaucracy fail to appreciate the debilitating effects of expert discourse" (p. 199). What has happened, according to Ross, is that it is not bureaucratic or "juridical" power, political power granted to those who have earned the right to exercise it which has disempowered teachers, but rather it is "disciplinary" power, power exercised in the form of the "normalizing discourses of educational research." Such normalizing discourses serve to infantilize both students and teachers. With process-product research (time-on-task; effective classroom management techniques, etc.) "students are not expected to think critically about what their teachers tell them or about the contents of their texts. Therein lies the maintenance of immaturity in students" (p. 206). In the case of teachers, teacher effectiveness research "is a rudimentary attempt to standardize the way teachers teach. It represents an effort to establish pedagogical norms of effectiveness which would be definitive of good practice and the means by which poor teaching could be identified" (p. 206). Such process-product and teacher effectiveness research has resulted in an environment of "subtle coercions" which "lessen the status of teachers and enhance the prestige and power of those who will diagnose, then set out to solve the problems generated in the disciplined environment" (p. 210). The solution, for Ross, lies in teachers "taking a critical stance toward educational research which sets out to develop universally valid generalizations regarding the best way to teach and learn" (pp. 211-212).

One's immediate reaction to Ross' "subtle coercions" is that he vastly over-estimates the impact of educational research on the classroom teacher. There are two reasons for this. The first is that teachers, on the whole, are not intellectuals in the sense that they do not read journals of education in which the results of such educational research might be found. That is simply the case. The second reason is an extension of the first, the thorough-going pragmatism of the classroom teacher. While teachers might become indirectly aware of such results from "in-service" sessions or from administrative directives, there is a generally profound suspicion of all such

initiatives coupled with a specific sense of their irrelevance to classroom practice. Such attributes may cause despair in university departments of education, but they do serve to inoculate the classroom teacher against those "subtle coercions." There need be no fear that Ross' "critical stance" (while perhaps not quite in the form he envisages it) in respect to that educational research which sets out to develop universally valid generalizations regarding the best way to teach and learn will collapse in the face of those "normalizing discourses."

With the increasing pressure placed on schools to produce a skilled workforce able to compete in a society in the process of being transformed from industrial to service production, demands for the re-organization of the teaching profession are likewise increasing in intensity. Responses to these demands for change range from new models of the "reflective practitioner," the restructuring of teacher education in the universities, to the re-organization of the profession itself. It is in respect to the last response, particularly that embodied in "Teacher Education in Ontario: Current Practice and Options for the Future," that Howard Woodhouse ("Teachers, Professionalism, and Critical Autonomy") directs his attention. The report envisions an expanded role for experienced teachers. Freed of much of their classroom responsibilities, these teachers would be involved with curriculum construction, school administration, and enforcement of standards of teaching practice. For Woodhouse, this kind of response to the re-organization of the profession "would do irreparable harm to education" (p. 216). This is so, according to Woodhouse, for two different but related reasons: (1) because the report's account of professionalism is "inconsistent and likely to hinder the teaching process" (p. 217), and (2) because the proposal's call for teachers to become "reflective, critical and inquiring" presupposes a personal autonomy eliminated by its account of professionalism. For Woodhouse, the report proposes to replace the individual autonomy of teachers with a collectivist professionalism "that is quite likely to be more tyrannical than the present system" (p. 218). The abandonment of the teacher's personal autonomy "entails the denial of education as a process of independent inquiry within and among the various disciplines comprising the curriculum" (p. 218). Woodhouse sees the report as recommending nothing less than "a throwback to an earlier age of guilds that held a monopoly over the knowledge that they possessed and exerted secrecy over that knowledge, as well as over strict methods of induction into the patriarchal brotherhood" (p. 219). Teachers, for Woodhouse, require the status of independent practitioners. This is because the foundational disciplines they teach "demand such autonomy if they are to be practiced in ways that enhance the growth of teachers and students alike" (p. 221) and because of their "pedagogical knowledge gained from the discipline of education and the practice of teaching itself" (p. 221). The report, in Woodhouse's view, "deprives teachers of the very personal autonomy that is integral to being

professional" (p. 221). Woodhouse's second point, that the proposal's call for teachers to become reflective and critical thinkers is rendered inoperative in the absence of such personal autonomy, leads him to his conclusion that if "teachers were afforded greater opportunities to engage with their students in critical inquiry, in the sense of asking questions about both disciplines and reality that shows either to be in need of revision, then schools would become dynamic places that encourage the open, critical and reflective discussion of ideas and the openness to student interests and needs that is too often lacking in schools today" (p. 225).

As with Eamonn Callan's student autonomy and Murray Ross' critical stance, one feels again a certain slippage between department of education theory and actual classroom practice. With Woodhouse's claim that reform of the teaching profession will come not by means of the formation of some new hierarchical pedagogical guild but rather through the personal transformation of teachers themselves, one senses a background theory of either unreconstructed "ivory-towerism" or a profound conservatism. In other words, is his picture of the classroom teacher engaging his students with questions which show either his discipline or reality to be in need of revision quite right? Exactly what, in Woodhouse's view, will serve as the basis for the personal transformation of teachers? If Woodhouse is against the present system, lacking as it is in critical and reflective discussion of ideas and openness to student interests on the one hand, and the hierarchical guild as proposed by the Ontario study on the other, what exactly is he proposing? What are Woodhouse's recommendations for the reformation of the teaching profession? We never do find out.

Reason and Values: New Essays in Philosophy of Education is not optional reading for those in the field. In addition to revealing an overview of current developments in the discipline itself, in the present case a gradual departure although not yet a complete break with the "London Line," *Reason and Values* provides a snapshot of (sense three) philosophical analysis in education, that is, an insight into those background values guiding and informing the process of analysis itself as exercised by its most prominent Canadian practitioners. In the same way, for those in the field in the broader sense, for those who are either practicing or intending classroom teachers, *Reason and Values* provides at least part of that theoretical dimension required of the "reflective practitioner." Finally, where issues in education and their study have become one of today's most important concerns, *Reason and Values* provides the basis for an intelligent appreciation of those issues for the general reader.

NOTES

1. See D. Cato's "Getting Clearer About 'Getting Clearer:' R.S. Peters and Second - Order Conceptual Analysis." *Journal Of Philosophy of Education*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1987. pp. 25-36.
2. For example, R.D. Archambault (1972) praises the therapeutic qualities of analysis as involving "the treatment of common puzzles" (p. 5). Israel Scheffler (1958) points out that in applying analytical methods in philosophy what we are concerned with is with "the removing of perplexities that arise in our attempt to say systematically and clearly what we are doing in education and why" (p. 4). Jonas Soltis (1968) claims that "Peters clearly exemplifies the stance of neutrality as well as the technique of asking revealing prior questions" (p. 14).
3. David Adelstein (1972) has stated that "conceptual analysis, in determining how we decide what is "worthwhile," begins by asking why some subjects are taught on the curriculum and others are not. The existing system is taken, therefore, as already containing the reasons: it is merely a matter of elucidating them. Why, for example, teach science, history, and literary criticism, rather than games? Well, the former, Peters shows us, have a whole range of words associated with them, 'far ranging cognitive content', 'progressive development', 'excellence', etc. which games do not have. We always suspected there was a reason for studying science rather than cricket, and this is it." (p. 133)
4. While Bailin does cite Polanyi, oddly, she also approvingly refers in extended fashion to Edward de Bono, whose "mechanism of mind" precludes the exercise of his "lateral thinking." See D. Cato's "Dr. de Bono's Mechanical Philosophy," *The McGill Journal of Education*, Vol. 21, No. 1. 1986. pp. 39-52.
5. The question read: "Would it be possible, in no more than one sentence, for you to indicate what you believe is the main goal or aim of secondary education? (More general than 'learn some history'; more specific than 'intellectual, moral and spiritual development'.)" In spite of the fact that only one sentence was asked for, only sixteen out of over one hundred teachers replied.

REFERENCES

- Adelstein, D. (1972). *The "philosophy of education," or the wisdom and wit of R.S. Peters*. In Trevor Pateman (Ed.), *Countercourse: A handbook of course criticism*. London: Penguin.
- Archambault, R. D. (1972). *Philosophical analysis and education*. New York: The Humanities Press.
- Bloom, A. (1988, October 17). A most uncommon scold. *Time*, pp. 70-71.
- Cochrane, D. B., & Schiralli, M. (1982). *Philosophy of education: Canadian perspectives*. Toronto: Collier MacMillan Canada.
- Gellner, E. (1959). *Words and things*. London: Victor Gollancz.
- Hardie, C. D. (1962). Some concepts for education in the light of recent philosophy. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 11 (3), 209-240

- Hare, W., and Portelli, J. P. (1988). *Philosophy of education: Introductory readings*. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises.
- Hirst, P., & Peters, R. S. (1970). *The logic of education*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- O'Connor, D. J. (1965). *An introduction to the philosophy of education*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Peters, R. S. (1966). The philosophy of education. In J. W. Tribble (Ed.), *The study of education*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Peters, R. S. (1972). The aims of education: A conceptual inquiry. In R. S. Peters (Ed.), *The philosophy of education*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Peters, R. S. (1977). *Education and the education of teachers*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Scheffler, I. (1958). *Philosophy and education*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Soltis, J. (1968). *An introduction to the analysis of educational concepts*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co.

Dennis Cato
Pierrefonds Comprehensive High School

INDEX **VOLUME 28**

Anon.	A Fable	477
Barclay, James R.	The Regulative Theory of Temperament	181
Bérard, Robert Nicholas	Practice Teaching in Canada's Independent Schools	13
Binda, K.P.	Teachers' Perceptions of Social Studies Attributes	65
Cole, Andra L.	A "Whole School" Approach to the Practicum	115
Court, Deborah	Teachers' Conceptions of Critical Thinking	479
Dao, Kim Chi	Cognitive Functioning Indicated in Questions Asked by the Adult Visitor to the Museum	231
Dufresne-Tassé, Colette	Cognitive Functioning Indicated in Questions Asked by the Adult Visitor to the Museum	231
Duquette, Cheryll	Collaborating with Teachers in the Selection of Teacher Education Candidates: One experience	105
Edmonds, Edward L.	Small Primary Schools in the Shetland Islands	45
Edwards, Reginald	The Education of a Principal: Sir William Peterson – Principal of McGill (1895 – 1919)	373
Ellis, Julia L.	Stories of Women Who Don't Write	455
Falardeau, Mireille	L'attention en classe: Fonctionnement et applications	289
Foster, William F.	Moral and Religious Instruction in Quebec: Some legal issues	33
Francis, Leslie G.	Teachers' Conceptions of Critical Thinking	479
McGill Journal of Education, Vol. 28 No.3 (Fall 1993)		507

Giroux, Aline	Empowering Teachers: An answer in search of the question	443
Huntley-Maynard Jean	English Catholic Education in Quebec: An annotated bibliography	133
<i>In Memoriam</i>	Ronald H. Tall	150
	Paddy Webb-Hearsey	476
	Robert E. Wilkinson	345
Kelebay, Yarema Gregory	Is the Practicum Practical? The exaggerated emphasis on student teaching in higher education	469
Kulawiec, Edwin P.	Stephen Leacock: The humourist-as educator	303
Lapointe, Thérèse	Cognitive Functioning Indicated in Questions Asked by the Adult Visitor to the Museum	231
Lin, Jing	Chinese Teachers' Social Status and Authority in the Classroom: A historical perspective	213
MacDonald, Colla J.	The Teaching Practicum: Issues and complexities	313
Magnuson, Roger	A Profile of Private Schools in Quebec	3
Martineau, Robert	Apprendre l'histoire dans une société démocratique	421
McNay, Margaret	A "Whole School" Approach to the Practicum	115
Murphy, H. Joseph	Practice Teaching in Canada's Independent Schools	13
Nichol, Dorothy	<i>In Memoriam: Robert E. Wilkinson</i>	345
Neil, Graham I.	<i>In Memoriam: Robert E. Wilkinson</i>	345
Papke, Clifford	Graphics, Nos. 1, 2, 3	Passim
Patel, Vimla	Sexual Beliefs and Practices by Women in Urban Zimbabwe	253
Patel, Vimla	A Tribute to Guy Groen	145
Patel, Vimla	A Tribute to Lynda J. Percival	343

Percival, Linda J.	Sexual Beliefs and Practices by Women in Urban Zimbabwe	253
Poëllhuber, Bruno	L'attention en classe: Fonctionnement et et applications	289
Poissant, Hélène	L'attention en classe: Fonctionnement et et applications	289
Pokorna, Vera	Personality of Children with Learning Dis- abilities: A study of pedagogical and psycho- logical services in Czechoslovakian schools	97
Russel, Eva	<i>In Memoriam: Paddy Webb-Hearsey</i>	476
Stalikas, Anastassios	Patterns of Greek Language Usage Among Greek Children: A preliminary study	269
Talbani, Abdulaziz	Intercultural Education and Minorities: Policy Initiatives in Quebec	407
Talley, William M.	Editorial: Education in unique settings	1
Talley, William M.	Editorial: Theory and field-based research	177
Talley, William M.	Editorial: Looking back, looking forward	371
Walker, Keith D.	Striving for Integrity in Educational Policy-Making: An ethical metaphor	77
Ward, Angela	Communicative Competence in Small Group Talk: Contrasting cases	327

REVIEWS

- Anson, Chris M., Joan Graham, David A. Joliffe, Nancy S. Shapiro,
Carolyn H. Smith (Editors)
**Scenarios for Teaching Writing:
Contexts for discussion and reflective practice**
Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1993
(By: Anthony Paré, 489)
- Bullough, Jr., Robert V., J. Gary Knowles, Nedra A. Crow (Editors)
Emerging as a Teacher
New York: Routledge, Chapman & Hall, 1992
(By Tom Russell, 347)
- DePass, Cecille, John L. McNeill, Matthew Zachariah (Editors)
New Challenges for Development Education in Canada in the Nineties
Canadian and International Education, 20, 1991
Calgary, AB: Faculty of Education, The University of Calgary
(By: Alan E. Wheeler, 169)
- Gold, Muriel
The Fictional Family: In drama, education, and group work
Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1991
(By: Carmen Guanipa-Ho, 160)
- Greenberg, D.
A New Look at Schools
Sudbury, ON: Sudbury Valley School Press, 1992
(By: Nora Mitiche, 152)
- Greenberg, Daniel & Mimsy Sadofsky (Editors)
**Legacy of Trust:
Life after the Sudbury Valley School experience**
Framingham, MA: Sudbury Valley School Press, 1992
(By: Kenneth Teitelbaum, 353)
- Hunt, David E.
The Renewal of Personal Energy, 1992
Toronto, ON: OISE Press,
(By: Susan M. Drake, 155)
- Johannessen, Larry R. (Editor)
**Illumination Rounds:
Teaching the literature of the Vietnam war**
National Council of Teachers of English, 1992
(By: Yvonne Baldwin, 360)
- Knockwood, Isabelle
**Out of the Depths: The experiences of Mi'kmaw children
at the Indian Residential School at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia**
Lockeport: Roseway Publishing, 1992
(By: Chris McCormick, 491)

Magnuson, Roger

Education in New France

Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1992

(By: Stanley B. Frost, 157)

Nemiroff, Greta Hoffmann

Reconstructing Education: Toward a pedagogy of critical humanism

Toronto, ON: OISE Press, 1992

(By: Arnold Keller, 173)

Portelli, John P. & Sharon Bailin (Editors)

Reason and Values: New essays in philosophy of education

Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises, 1993

(By: Dennis Cato, 493)

Racette, Geneviève, & Lina Forest (rédactrices en chef)

Pluralité des enseignements en sciences humaines à l'université

Montréal, QC: Les éditions Noir sur Blanc et Paris: Éditions Entente, 1990

(By: Aline Giroux, 367)

Rygiel, Mary Ann

Shakespeare Among Schoolchildren

Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1992

(By: Anthony Paré, 167)

Simon, Roger I.

Towards a Language of Hope and Possibility:

Teaching against the grain

Toronto, ON: OISE Press, 1992

(By: Carmel Borg & Peter Mayo, 161)

Waterland, Liz (Editor)

Read With Me

Lockwood, UK: Thimble Press, 1988

Apprenticeship in Action

Lockwood, UK: Thimble Press, 1989

(By: Mike Corbett, 361)

Workman, Brooke (Editor)

Teaching the Sixties:

An in-depth, interactive, interdisciplinary approach

Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1992

(By: Heather Trump, 358)

Yancey, Kathleen Blake (Editor)

Portfolios in the Writing Classroom: An introduction

Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1992

(By: Audrey Berner 151)

Le McGill Journal of Education paraît trois fois par an, en hiver, au printemps et à l'automne.

Tarif d'abonnement, port payé: 25\$ pour une année.

Prix du numéro: 10\$.

L'abonnement est payable au *McGill Journal of Education* et toute demande doit être adressée au 3700, rue McTavish, Montréal (Québec) Canada H3A 1Y2. Téléphone: (514) 398-4246; télécopieur: (514) 398-6968.

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

© Faculté des sciences de l'éducation, université McGill.

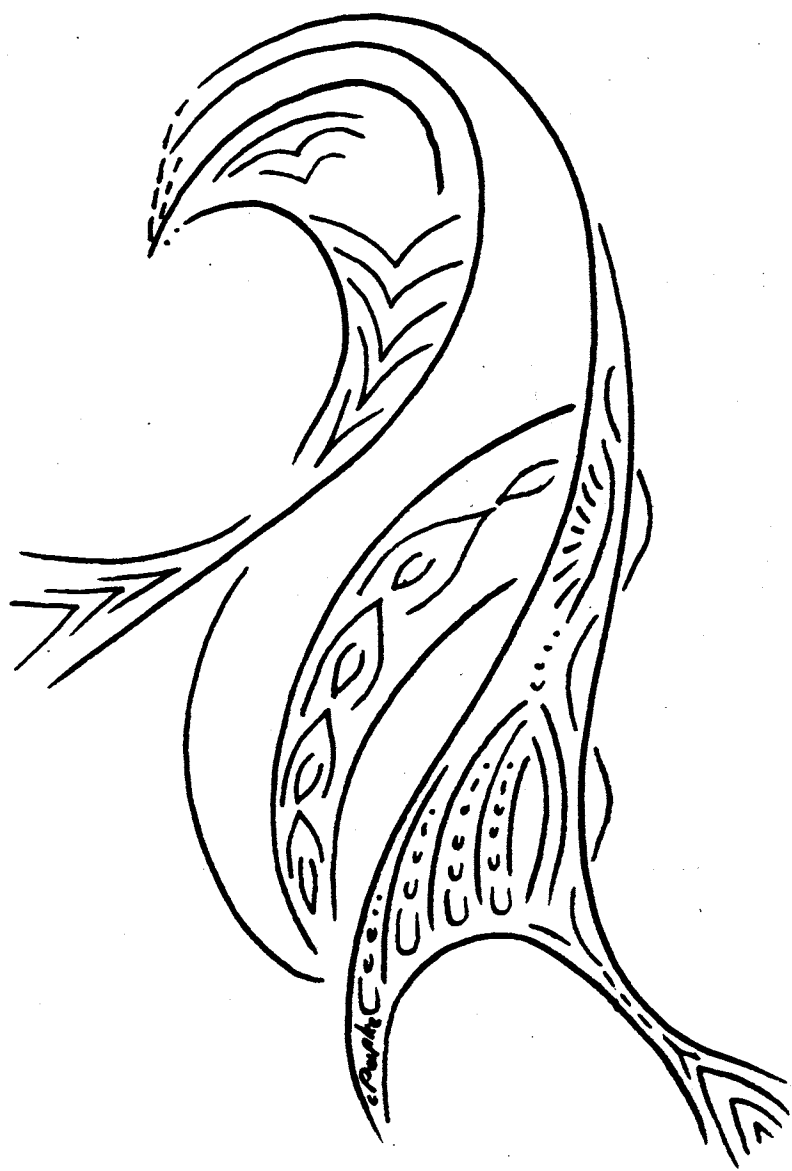
Review Board/Comité consultatif

Anthony Adams
Cambridge University
Isa Aron
Hebrew Union College, Los Angeles
Rodney Bain
University of Western Ontario
Dan G. Bachor
University of Victoria
Clermont Barnabé
McGill University
John Baugh
Stanford University
André Brassard
Université de Montréal
Pierre Calvé
University of Ottawa
James Draper
*Ontario Institute
for Studies in Education*
Eleanor Duckworth
Harvard University
Collette Dufresne-Tassé
Université de Montréal
Avigdor Farine
Université de Montréal
Mona Farrell
Concordia University
François Gagné
Université du Québec à Montréal
Léonard Goguen
Université du Moncton
Gerald Grace
University of Durham (England)
Nancy E. Hicks
University of Regina
Paul Hirst
Cambridge University
Robert M. Hodapp
University of California, Los Angeles
Kenneth E. Hoeltzel
*State University of New York
at Plattsburgh*
Henri Holec
Université de Nancy II
Wayne K. Hoy
Rutgers University
Roselmina Indrisano
Boston University
F. Ishu Ishiyama
University of British Columbia
Henning Johansson
Luleå University (Sweden)
Lannie Kanevsky
Simon Fraser University

Arnold Keller
University of Victoria
Edward W. Keyserlingk
McGill University
David D. Kumar
Florida Atlantic University
Y.L. Jack Lam
Brandon University
Jacques Lamontagne
Université de Montréal
Winfred Lehmann
University of Texas at Austin
Johan le Roux
*University of Stellenbosch
(South Africa)*
Donald M. Little
University of Victoria
Colla J. MacDonald
University of Ottawa
Charles P. McFadden
University of New Brunswick
Robert Mulcahy
University of Alberta
Allan Nelsen
Mount St. Vincent University
Carole Oglesby
Temple University
Hélène Poissant
*Lehman College,
The City University of New York*
John P. Portelli
Mount St. Vincent University
Martin Quigley
University of Calgary
Douglas Ray
University of Western Ontario
Bruce Roald
Dalhousie University
Douglas A. Roberts
University of Calgary
D.H. Saklofske
University of Saskatchewan
Ronald Smith
Concordia University
Ronald Sultana
University of Malta
Claude Trotter
Université Laval
Léon Van Dromme
Université du Québec à Montréal
Karen Watson-Gegeo
University of California, Davis
Norman Watts
Acadia University

Table of Contents

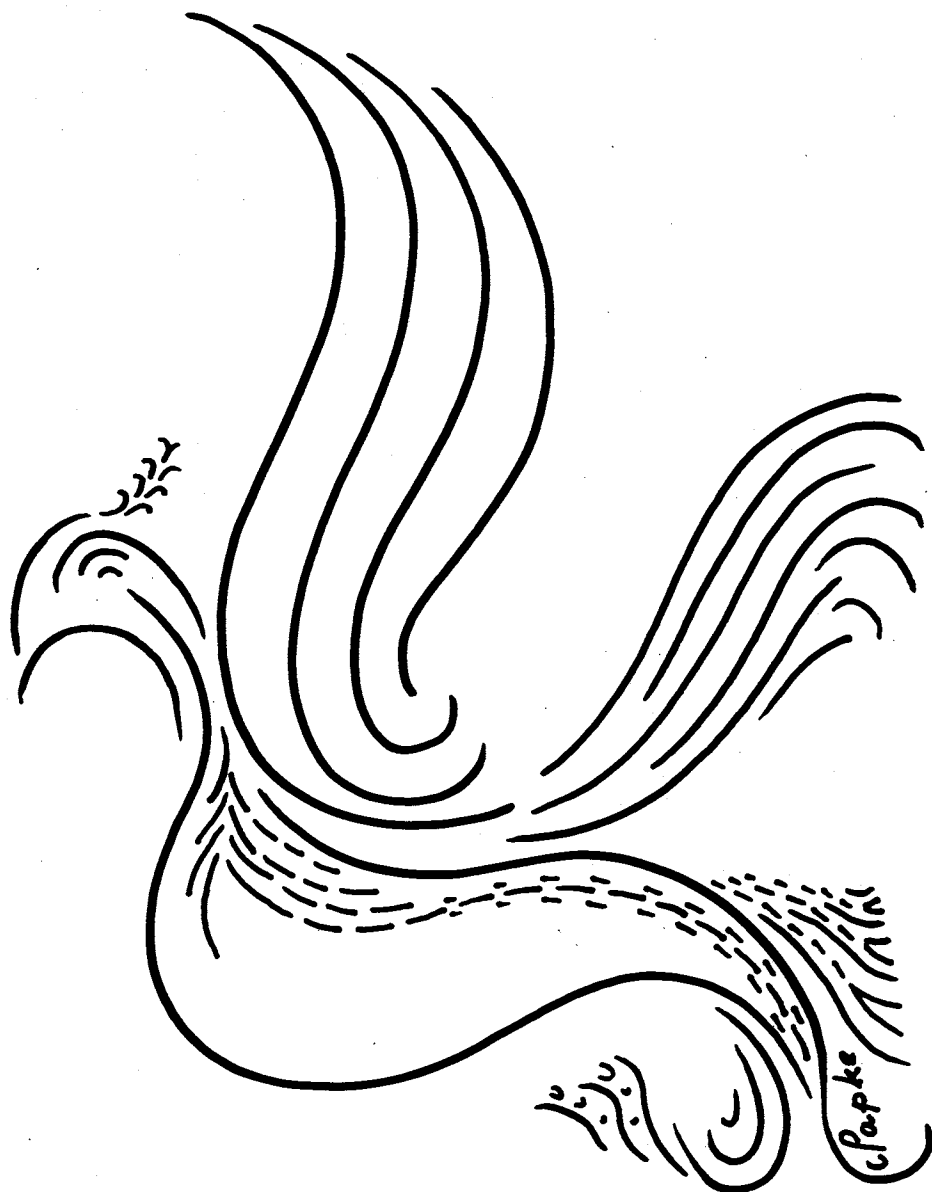
Editorial	WMT	371
Looking back, looking forward		
The Education of a Principal	Reginald Edwards	373
Sir William Peterson – Principal of McGill (1895 - 1919)		
Intercultural Education and Minorities: Policy initiatives in Quebec	Abdulaziz Talbani	407
Apprendre l'histoire dans une société démocratique	Robert Martineau	421
Empowering Teachers: An answer in search of the question	Aline Giroux	443
Stories of Women Who Don't Write	Julia L. Ellis	455
Viewpoint		
• Is the Practicum Practical? The exaggerated emphasis on student teaching in higher education	Y.G. Kelebay	469
In Memoriam:	Eva Russel	476
Paddy Webb Hearsey		
A Fable	Anon.	477
• Uniform Standards for Eagles and Eels: A fable related to curriculum and evaluation		
Report from the Field		
• Teachers' Conceptions of Critical Thinking	Deborah Court Leslee G. Francis	479
Book Reviews		489
Index – Volume 28		507
Graphics	Clifford Papke	Passim
Poems	P. Webb-Hearsey	420, 442



The McGill Journal of Education

The *McGill Journal of Education* serves a distinct purpose and role in the field of educational research, theory, and practice in Canada. Its foremost purpose is to provide a window on developments in education in Quebec, where English education is conducted within a French-speaking milieu, and where French education is conducted in partnership with a large English-speaking minority. Because of this relationship, both English- and French-speaking universities contribute papers that reflect the developments in education from their own singular perspective. In addition, the *Journal* serves as a Canada-wide and international forum for writers and researchers in diverse and unique settings to present their ideas and findings. No other education journal in Canada offers such a distinct contribution in the field of scholarly publishing. The *Journal*, while celebrating the uniqueness of education in Quebec, solicits and values the scholarly research from an international audience, thus making it possible for scholars of international status to become acquainted with historical as well as recent developments in education in Quebec, specifically, and in Canada, generally.

Le but et le rôle du *McGill Journal of Education* sont bien précis en ce qui concerne la recherche, la théorie et la pratique dans le domaine de l'éducation au Canada. Son tout premier objectif est de faire connaître les progrès dans le domaine de l'éducation au Québec, où l'enseignement en anglais est donné dans un milieu francophone et où l'enseignement en français est donné en collaboration avec une importante minorité anglophone. En raison de ce lien, les enseignants anglophones et francophones rédigent des articles qui font état des progrès dans le domaine de l'éducation de ce point de vue particulier. De plus, les théoriciens et les chercheurs provenant de milieux divers et uniques se servent du *Journal* comme une tribune, à l'échelle nationale et internationale, pour présenter leurs idées et les découvertes de leurs recherches. Aucun autre journal portant sur l'éducation au Canada n'apporte une contribution aussi unique dans le domaine de l'édition savante. Le *Journal*, tout en mettant en valeur le caractère unique de l'éducation au Québec, laisse une place de choix aux écrits savants d'un public international qu'elle apprécie, ce qui permet aux spécialistes connus à l'échelle internationale d'apprendre l'histoire de même que les progrès récents en ce qui concerne l'éducation au Québec, en particulier, et au Canada, en général, ce qui, en retour, peut faciliter l'avancement dans le même domaine dans leur propre pays.



Publication Guidelines

The *McGill Journal of Education* accepts English or French articles in the form of theoretical essays, descriptive reports of research, critical reviews of books, and commentaries on current educational issues and policies. Poetry and graphics are accepted occasionally. All written material should be double-spaced and furnished in quadruplicate, and must follow the style described in the American Psychological Association Publication Manual, 3rd edition. Each copy should have a separate title page containing the author's name, which should not appear on the manuscript itself. A desirable length of articles is between 10 and 15 pages. Articles (except book reviews) must be accompanied by a 100-200 word abstract (if possible, in both English and French), and a short biographical note about the author(s). It is assumed that articles submitted for consideration have not been simultaneously submitted to any other publication. Authors whose articles are accepted for publication will be requested to assign all rights to copyright to the *Journal* by means of a standard form. The period of time between submission of the article and the decision from the editor and reviewers (if submitted for review) may be from six weeks to three months.

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.

All submissions should be addressed to the Editor, McGill Journal of Education, Faculty of Education, McGill University, 3700 McTavish Street, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3A 1Y2. (Telephone: 514 398-4246; Fax: 514 398-6968).

Directives de publication

Le *McGill Journal of Education* accepte des articles en anglais ou en français; il peut s'agir d'essais théoriques, de rapports de recherche descriptifs, de critiques de livres et de commentaires sur les questions et les politiques d'actualité dans le domaine de l'éducation. Nous acceptons à l'occasion des poèmes et des illustrations. Tous les documents écrits doivent être dactylographiés à double interligne, nous être remis en quadruple exemplaire et suivre les règles de style énoncées dans le Manuel de publication de l'*American Psychological Association*, 3^e édition. Chaque article doit avoir une page titre séparée contenant le nom de l'auteur, lequel ne doit pas apparaître sur le manuscrit proprement dit. La longueur des articles doit se situer entre 10 et 15 pages. Les articles (à l'exception des critiques d'ouvrages) doivent être accompagnés d'un résumé de 100 à 200 mots (si possible en anglais et en français) et d'une courte notice biographique sur l'(les)auteur(s). Il est entendu que les articles ne doivent pas avoir été soumis simultanément à une autre revue. Les auteurs dont l'article est retenu pour être publié doivent céder leurs droits d'auteur au *Journal* au moyen d'un formulaire standard. Le délai qui s'écoule entre la soumission de l'article et la décision du rédacteur et des examinateurs (s'il y a lieu) de le publier peut être de six semaines à trois mois.

Le *Journal* a un très vaste lectorat qui dépasse les spécialistes du domaine de l'éducation. La terminologie employée doit être compréhensible par des profanes et des universitaires. Si les références, les notes, les tableaux, les graphiques et les figures sont des éléments essentiels des articles savants, il ne faut pas en abuser pour ne pas détourner l'attention du lecteur ou créer une impression de fouillis.

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) 398-6968.

McGill Journal of Education

Faculty of Education

3700 McTavish St.

Montreal, P.Q., Canada

H3A 1Y2



BOOK RATE
413755