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Teaching Tolerance:
Multicultural and anti-racist education

Christopher Lyons & Mona Farrell

Teaching as Tacit Integration

Dennis Cato

The Implications of Postmodernism
for Moral Education

Alexander McKay

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Editorial

A good range of ideas

As Canadian society becomes more and more culturally diversified, the schools likewise bring together students of many cultures in the classroom. The last decade has given witness to the need for teachers to know how to teach tolerance for students' cultural differentness so that, to some extent, anti-racist attitudes may be combated. Christopher Lyons and Mona Farrell have developed some ideas on some effective means of incorporating multicultural and anti-racist education into the curriculum by reviewing some of the most current literature.

Michael Polanyi's theory of "tacit knowing" or tacit integration is the basis for Dr. Dennis Cato's paper which proposes "to ground the teaching act in a theory of mind by delineating both the structure and process of the teaching act." Polanyi's theory is used as a means of viewing teaching as tacit integration, and the ideas presented on this subject in Dr. Cato's paper offer some alternative views on the act of teaching.

The topic of moral education in the context of postmodernist thought is the subject of Alexander McKay's paper, in which he reviews the basic features of postmodernism and follows this with a discussion of Richard Rorty's "proposal to replace Enlightenment concepts of objectivity and morality with an emphasis on ethnocentric solidarity as a preferred means of developing social norms." In light of the ever-increasing number of ethnic groups sharing the same space and resources, McKay's paper presents some provocative ideas for those teaching moral education.

Professors Williams and Schiralli have summarized their findings in a survey of Canadian university presidents' perceptions of campus life

issues. It is interesting to note, in this paper, the order in which university presidents view the severity of certain campus life issues which have made newspaper headlines in the past few years.

The World Bank's lending policies relative to higher education and research are examined in Thomas Eisemon's paper, which focuses primarily on the Bank's strategies for reforming and rehabilitating higher education and research in Eastern Europe. The outcomes of recent projects in Brazil, China, and Hungary are reviewed for the purpose of demonstrating how the World Bank has been influenced in viewing key issues involved in the restructuring of Eastern Europe's higher education systems.

Prof. Sanders has written a humorous paper on what he calls "edspeak and the double adjectival vacuity" that has become so prevalent in the literature on research in education. His table that explains how to use this rhetorical device will, no doubt, be the subject of much discussion among those who have become weary of "edspeak".

Michael Pagé speculates on how the objective analysis of one situation or an observation obtained in a specific domain can be beneficial to the resolution of problems in other domains. In this instance it is a comparison of preventive epidemiology and the field of education.

In the Field Reports, Prof. Bert Horwood, of Queen's University, and Prof. Ruth Dempsey, of the University of Ottawa, report on their findings in two pieces of field-research. Horwood reports on a naturalistic study of an integrated curriculum and points out that integration does not happen just because subjects are combined. There is more to it than that. Dempsey's study deals with a collaborative school-based approach to field experiences (or student teaching). Her study emphasizes the importance of structuring the student teacher's experience so that there is a form of developmental collaboration between the student and all persons in the school environment.

W.M.T.

Teaching Tolerance:

Multicultural and anti-racist education

Abstract

The need for multicultural and anti-racist education has rarely seemed so urgent. New episodes in the story of old hatreds in India, Bosnia, and Germany remind us of just how thin the veneer of civilization is. Nor can Canadians take comfort in the assumption that intolerance is something that exists elsewhere. Although our body count is tiny in comparison, racism has been a continuing problem here. The purpose of this paper is to establish the need for multicultural and anti-racist education to combat this and to present what the literature has generally identified as the most effective means of incorporating it into the curriculum of our schools. Naturally, a topic as controversial and politically charged as this has its share of disputes. These will also be included in order to complete the survey of the topic.

Résumé

Jamais l'urgence d'une éducation multiculturelle et anti-raciste ne s'est manifestée avec autant d'acuité. La résurgence des haines séculaires en Inde, en Bosnie, et en Allemagne témoigne une fois de plus de la fragilité du vernis de la civilisation. Non pas que les Canadiens puissent prétendre que l'intolérance n'existe qu'ailleurs. Même si notre poids numérique est intime en comparaison, le racisme a toujours été un problème dans notre pays. L'objet de cet article est de définir la nécessité d'une éducation multiculturelle et anti-raciste pour combattre ce phénomène et de présenter ce que les textes et ouvrages publiés sur la question ont généralement identifié comme le moyen le plus efficace de l'incorporer aux programmes d'études de nos écoles. Naturellement, un sujet aussi controversé et politiquement sensible que celui-ci soulève de multiples débats. Ceux-ci seront également pris en compte pour brosser un tableau aussi complet que possible de la question.

The Need to Teach Tolerance

Global trends in discrimination

Racism and other forms of intolerance have become a growing problem in contemporary society. The New World Disorder has featured high levels of communal violence. Old animosities have erupted into new atrocities throughout the world. In Bosnia, the ethnic cleansing campaign carried out by the Serbians has utilized mass murder and rape as a way of removing Muslims and Croats from Serbian-held areas. In India, sectarian violence reminiscent of Partition broke out after Hindu fanatics destroyed the mosque at Ayodhya. In Europe, Neo-Nazism and other racist political movements have cashed in on high levels of discontent by scapegoating visible minorities, refugees, and immigrants. Their activities have included murder and fire-bombings. Racism and intolerance are global problems.

Discrimination in Canada

Although we are fortunate in not being faced with anything on this scale in Canada, we cannot allow ourselves to be complacent. We are not immune to discrimination, as our history shows us. For example, federal government policies towards Native Canadians were studied by the South African government when it was developing the Apartheid system. The internment of Japanese-Canadian citizens during the Second World War, the ban on Asian immigration, and the denial of voting rights to Asians on the West Coast are all indicative of a hostile attitude towards minorities.

Some teachers feel that despite the current world situation and Canada's history of racism there is no need for anti-racist education. This belief is based on the feeling that Canada is basically a fair and liberal amalgam of cultures. This attitude has, in many instances, led to ambivalence towards anti-racist education (Echoles & Fisher, 1992).

Although intolerance has not reached Bosnian levels, there is considerable grounds for concern in Canada. Racism, sexism, anti-Semitism, homophobia, and other forms of discrimination are widespread in Canada today. In January 1993, Trevor Kelly became the fourth black man and the seventh visible minority to be fatally shot by Montreal police since 1987 (out of a total of eight) (Picard, 1993). For many observers this reaffirmed the belief that racist attitudes predominate on the force. Discrimination against blacks is commonplace, and affects many aspects of their lives. Blacks are twice as likely as whites to be turned down when looking for an apartment, and ninety-four per cent of

Canadian job agencies are asked by clients to reject workers because of their colour (Statistics cited in March 21, 1992 anti-racist campaign material produced by Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, 1992).

Other forms of discrimination are also prevalent in Canadian society. Over the past two years several Montreal Synagogues and Jewish cemeteries have been vandalized by Neo-Nazis. Violence against women is rampant. *The War Against Women*, a parliamentary committee report, stated that at least ten per cent of Canadian women were sexually and/or physically abused by their current or former partners each year. Furthermore, 120 women were murdered by their partners in 1991, a thirty-three per cent increase over 1990 (Vienneau, 1993).

In January 1993 two gay men were killed in Montreal, which brought the number of murders of men presumed to be gay to eleven since 1989 (Lalonde, 1993). One can only conclude that discriminatory attitudes are alive and well, and that there is a need to address these issues in our schools.

The development of discriminatory attitudes amongst children

The prevalence of discrimination in society has a direct bearing upon the development of attitudes and beliefs amongst children. Research studies have shown that awareness of racial and ethnic differences begin to develop in children at the age of three or four, and that attitudes towards these differences mirror those of adults by the age of eight (Milner, 1987; Ramsey, 1987; Roe, 1982).

Stereotyping by children grows out of a variety of developmental factors. The Social Adjustment Theory emphasizes the need of children for emotional support from their immediate environment (Roe, 1982). As a result, they will adopt the attitudes of their families and friends out of the need to belong.

Children's attitudes towards early perceived differences are also shaped by the fact that they are usually exposed to a single, exclusionary point of view when they evaluate differences (Ramsey, 1987). Obviously, parental attitudes are very important, but they do not necessarily have to be explicitly discriminatory to foster negative stereotypes. For example, parental unease around certain people, the defacto segregation that exists in most family's social lives, as well as stereotyped media portrayals, contribute to children's attitudes towards those whom they perceive as different (Ramsey, 1987).

Children's avoidance of cognitive dissonance – the tension or discomfort experienced when a deeply held value or belief is challenged – reinforces their biases by impeding the incorporation of information

which would challenge their attitudes, such as having friends from a variety of backgrounds (Ramsey, 1987). Children learn to discriminate differences by the time they go to school.

Immigration trends

An additional reason why anti-discriminatory education is needed is based on the changing ethnic composition of the country. As reported in the *Globe and Mail* (Mitchell, 1992), Canada's declining birth rate and aging population are threats to the country's long term economic stability. Immigration levels have therefore been raised to 250,000 a year in order to fill the demographic short-fall, as well as to acquire needed skills and investment capital (Mitchell, 1992). Since the removal of racial barriers in immigration policy in the late 1960s, the origin of Canada's immigrants has shifted from Europe, particularly the United Kingdom and Italy to Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean.

This has changed the face of Canada particularly in large urban centres. Over fifty per cent of the immigrant population has settled in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver. As a result, immigrants make up thirty-eight per cent of the population of Toronto, and thirty per cent and seventeen per cent of the population of Vancouver and Montreal, respectively (Statistics Canada, 1992). For many people, this change is an uncomfortable one. The Canadian sociologist John Porter has described Canada as a "vertical mosaic" (Porter, 1965). According to his analysis, the country has been dominated in socioeconomic and political terms by the charter groups, made up of anglophones and francophones. Beneath these groups, in a stratified arrangement, were those of other racial and ethnic backgrounds. Those that were most similar to the charter groups enjoyed higher status, whereas those more distant were allocated lower ones. As a result, nonwhites were seen as the most distant, foreign, and least desirable citizens, fit only to do the most degrading types of work. Blacks and Asians were not accepted as real Canadians, regardless of how many generations they were here. This was reflected in Canada's immigration policy until the 1960s.

Cognitive dissonance theory would dictate that many white Canadians do not easily accept a multicultural view of the country, despite the adoption of the policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework by the federal government in 1971. Nor does exposure to different ethnic groups alone guarantee that people will change their attitudes. In a comparative study of grade five and six students in schools with a high and low density of visible minorities (thirty and ten per cent) in Scarborough, Ontario, it was found that white students in both schools had a highly negative opinion of blacks and East Indians (Ijaz & Ijaz,

1981). Thus contact does not guarantee acceptance. It is obvious that a multicultural and anti-racist approach to education is needed to counter the prevalence of ethnic bias and stereotyping, and to help students adjust to an ethnically diverse society.

Multicultural and anti-racist Educational Programmes

Definition of terms

The concept of multicultural education has evolved over the past twenty-five years. It grew out of the social justice movements of the 1960s, when minority groups and other victims of oppression fought against discrimination and sought equal and fair representation in institutions such as schools (Grant, 1992).

Multiculturalism, as defined by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, is: "... education which values cultural pluralism. Multicultural education rejects the view that schools should seek to melt away cultural differences or the view that schools should merely tolerate cultural pluralism ... to endorse cultural pluralism is to endorse the principle that there is no one model America" (Grant, 1992, p.20).

Recently, the concept of anti-racist education has been included in the curriculum, in recognition of the fact that racist attitudes, which are acquired quite early by many children, must be addressed directly in the classroom (Milner, 1987). Multicultural and anti-racist education programmes can be analyzed in three major aspects which encompass the teacher and other staff, the curriculum, and special classroom projects. These will be analyzed in the sections below.

The teacher and professional staff

The fact that teachers play a vital, if not the primary, role in the success of multicultural and anti-racist education is well documented in the literature (Ashworth, 1982; Echols & Fisher, 1992; Grant, 1992; Hessari & Hill, 1989; Kehoe, 1984; Ramsey, 1987; Roe, 1982; VanBalkom, 1991). The first step in ensuring that teachers can transmit a sense of tolerance to their class is by ensuring that they recognize their own biases and try not to relay them to the students. For example, the teacher may have a tendency to call on boys more than girls, assume that Asian students are good at math, or expect blacks to be troublesome.

Given that teachers are role models and authority figures, their attitudes can reinforce or contradict stereotypes. In a survey of high

school children in Quebec conducted in 1990 by the Provincial Education and Cultural Communities Departments, one-third of the students of Haitian origin in the Montreal area reported that they felt that they were less supported than other students at school and felt discriminated against. This in turn contributed to a more general feeling of having less opportunity to succeed than other students (Bagnell, 1993). Thus a societal bias was widely reproduced in the schools and helped to foster a sense of learned helplessness amongst black students.

Teachers need to be trained to successfully teach a multicultural and anti-racist curriculum. Mallea and Young (cited in VanBalkom, 1991) propose three areas of skills that are required to do this: the personal, professional, and the community-oriented. Personal skills, according to Cummings (cited in VanBalkom, 1991), relate to adopting teaching methods that empower students. Professional goals include cross-cultural communications skills, knowledge of other cultures, and the ability to critically use teaching and assessment tools. Community skills are the ability to involve different cultural communities in the education of their children. Despite the need for these skills, not one of the universities in Alberta surveyed by VanBalkom (1991) had mandatory multicultural instruction in their teacher training courses. Ashworth (1982) promotes the use of in-service training not only for teachers, but for all staff and administrators who work with students and the public.

There are also suggestions that the hiring and promotional practices of school boards should give more consideration to visible minorities. It is felt that schools need to reflect the community's composition, as well as provide positive role models for students. Henley and Young (1981), however, state that quota systems have little support in Canada.

Curriculum content and materials

At the school board and classroom level, it is important to ensure that the curriculum content and class materials reflect ethnic and cultural diversity. School boards such as the Toronto Board of Education have established task forces to review curriculum materials for cultural bias, generate new multicultural material, and ensure that the curriculum represents ethnic diversity (Henley & Young, 1981).

The first step in implementing a multicultural programme is to remove material that has an ethnocentric bias. For example, history courses that portray the "discovery" of America by Europeans is inaccurate and inappropriate. So is the portrayal of Natives as savages, either noble or otherwise, or as history's perpetual losers. The social sciences should generally include pluralistic representations of peoples and places.

Science courses can also employ diversity. Teachers can present inventors of various backgrounds and emphasize the scientific achievements of nonwestern societies. The fact that technological development is dependent upon the needs and materials available in a particular society should also be stressed. To realize just how silly an ethnocentric attitude towards scientific discovery can be, one need merely recall the character of Checkov in the television show *Star Trek*. In one Cold War inspired exchange, the character claimed that practically everything ever invented was Russian.

One must also be sensitive to the portrayal of stereotypes in choosing reading material. Tiedt and Tiedt (1990) recommend that books be assessed in terms of the realistic portrayal of ethnic groups, fair representation of other people (e.g. the elderly, women), and attempts made at breaking down existing stereotypes. They provide a scorecard for evaluating books on the basis of these criteria. The curriculum should include ethnic visibility, as well as a variety of family arrangements, such as divorced or deceased parents, nontraditional gender roles and the physically disabled. This not only exposes students to differences in a positive light, but also acts as reinforcement for those who are under or misrepresented. Bibliographies of reading material which features this diversity are available, and there are a number of works listed in Tiedt and Tiedt (1990).

In developing a curriculum that is inclusive, it is important to emphasize the common elements that are shared by many groups (Roe, 1982). Kamra and Wood (1987) have noted that too often multicultural education focuses on what makes people different. This can reinforce the discrimination that children develop at an early age, and thus work against stated goals. Highlighting the similarities amongst people is a more effective way to promote intergroup understanding.

Classroom projects

Classroom projects are an important addition to the multicultural and anti-racist curriculum, but they should not be the sole component of it. Nor should they be used indiscriminately (no pun intended). Although the literature abounds with projects and plans for the preschool to grade twelve level, it is necessary to assess their effectiveness. There are a set of guidelines which can be used to determine this.

A crucial first step is to assess the attitudes of children and their parents, as well as intergroup relations in the community (Ramsey, 1987). By doing this one can ensure that the activities undertaken in the classroom are relevant to the students.

It is equally important to assess programmes to gauge what their long-term effect on attitudes are. Ijaz and Ijaz (1981) found in their study of two elementary schools in Scarborough, Ontario, that students had highly negative attitudes towards blacks and East Indians, despite the fact that multiculturalism was promoted both in the curriculum and in extracurricular activities, and that the teaching staff and administration were dedicated to the programme. They concluded that this failure was due to the methodology and content of the programme, which emphasized cultural differences and was taught in the standard course approach.

Ijaz and Ijaz (1981) revised the programme by incorporating activities and role playing methods, and by emphasizing cultural similarities and the sources of cultural diversity. Traditional Indian folk customs and games were taught and performed by a member of the community during weekly seventy-minute sessions held over a nine-week period. By engaging students at the affective level as well as at the cognitive level, and by fostering a sense of kinship and understanding between Indian and Canadian cultures, the programme had a beneficial effect on the students' attitudes towards East Indians. This improved attitude was still there when measured three months after the programme concluded.

Class projects should be preceded by an assessment of the attitudes held by students and their families, and the conditions in the community. Their effectiveness should be measured after the programme is completed to see if it had a positive influence on attitudes. Multicultural and anti-racist curricula have also been under attack recently from those who feel that they have gone too far and have become a way for particular groups in society to promote ideas and values which are not accepted by the main stream. This situation is best displayed in the ongoing debate over the multicultural curriculum adopted by the New York Board of Education in 1989. *Children of the Rainbow* contains a section dealing with the changing concept of family. It encourages teachers to discuss families headed by same-sex couples so that children of these families do not feel alienated and so that all students are presented with a tolerant attitude towards gays and lesbians.

One local school district rejected the curriculum in whole, and four others removed the section on same-sex families. Opponents of *Children of the Rainbow* argued that the inclusion of gay and lesbian issues undercut the moral and religious values of the schools. Supporters of the curriculum argued that the opposition was ignoring reality and that their decision would encourage homophobia at a time when violent attacks against gays were increasing (Myers, 1992).

Conclusion

The need for a curriculum that combats discrimination is obvious. One need merely consider the degree of racism which exists in the world, its prevalence in Canada today, and its early acquisition by children to see this. Recent immigration trends provide yet another reason for the importance of a curriculum that prepares students to adjust to an increasingly diverse society, as well as one that reflects the changing face of the classroom. The literature shows near unanimous agreement on some fundamental aspects of multicultural and anti-racist curriculum. Quality multicultural programmes, which are student-activity oriented and which emphasize cultural similarities as well as the sources of cultural diversity, have shown that they can have considerable influence on children's attitudes.

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Teaching as Tacit Integration

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to ground the teaching act in a theory of mind by delineating both the structure and process of that act as an instance of Michael Polanyi's theory of "tacit knowing," his distinctive feature of all human consciousness. The paper opens with a brief account of how the activity of teaching is currently conceived, and is followed by a sketch of Polanyi's theory of tacit integration. The paper closes with a view of the teaching act seen as an instance of such tacit integration, through a tripartite structure consisting of general pedagogical skills, pedagogical knowledge of subject matter, and philosophical reflection of a pedagogical nature.

Résumé

Cet article vise à fonder l'acte d'enseignement sur une théorie de l'esprit en délimitant à la fois la structure et le processus de l'acte d'enseignement en tant qu'instance de la théorie de la "connaissance tacite" de Michael Polanyi, selon qui cette connaissance serait une caractéristique distinctive de toute conscience humaine. L'article s'ouvre sur une brève description de la façon dont l'activité pédagogique est actuellement conçue; vient ensuite une brève description de la théorie d'intégration tacite de Polanyi. L'article se termine sur un aperçu de l'acte d'enseignement en tant qu'instance d'une telle intégration tacite par le biais d'une structure tripartite comprenant les aptitudes pédagogiques générales, la connaissance pédagogique de la matière et les réflexions philosophiques à caractère pédagogique.

A theory of teaching presupposes a theory of mind in terms of which the act of teaching may be seen as a particular manifestation. Teaching has been traditionally "observed" by means of an "observation grid" which rates, in numerically ascending order, things like "professional qualities," language use, evidence of preparation, and "delivery," a range of "observables", from sequential development, pacing, and class management to encouragement of learners, evaluation of learning, and "closure." The observation grid fails to take into account (1) the conceptual substratum underlying its "measured observables," (2) the nature of the teaching act itself conceived independently of, and prior to, its overt exercise, and (3) the structure of the processes which are occurring within the teacher while engaged in the act of teaching. What is required of the observation grid is a conceptualization of the teaching act such that its measured observables derive coherence. Thus, what is required is some theory of mind in terms of which the act of teaching may be seen as a particular manifestation.

Various psychological theories relating to the nature of the activity of mind and, by extension, to the nature of the activity of teaching, are not themselves the outcome of some antecedent feats of psychologizing but, rather, are the outcome of prior philosophical reflection. Psychology will never of itself reveal either the nature of mind or the activity of teaching. However, philosophical conceptions of mind as found in philosophy of education have not been particularly successful either in shedding much light on the mental operations involved in the teaching act.

The Romantics and the Formalists

The proponents of different philosophical conceptions of teaching fall roughly into one of two general categories, "romantics" and "formalists." For the romantics, who see the activity primarily in terms of a range of personal qualities or attributes, teaching is ultimately an idiosyncratic activity, one where the teacher is not made but born. Michael Oakeshott (1972) points out that where "instructing" concerns the transfer of information, "imparting", the real mission of the teacher, involves communication of "the tacit or implicit component of knowledge, the ingredient which is not merely unspecified in propositions but is unspecifiable in propositions" (p.167). However, Oakeshott's "imparting" is unclear as to just how something which is unspecifiable in propositions can be communicated. Its structure and process are not articulated. Its exercise is idiosyncratic. R. S. Peters (1967), in spite of his linguistic approach, may also be found among the romantics. He points to a "contagion" between teacher and student, of "subsidiary processes" where "[i]f the teacher gets too self-conscious about them, the business gets blurred. He has to have what Lawrence called 'the holy ground' between teacher and

taught" (p. 12). Like Oakeshott, Peters never gives greater specification to the crucial concept of those subsidiary processes.

At the other end of the continuum from the romantics are the formalists, those who attempt to characterize the activity of teaching in terms of some "objective" feature, whether conceived in observable terms or in terms of attributes logically entailed in the "concept of teaching". The romantics failed to clarify the activity of teaching by rendering it idiosyncratic, however the formalists fail to engage the activity at all. Teaching, according to some (Dearden, 1967; Ennis, 1981), is viewed as a "polymorphous concept". One could be engaged in a whole range of different behaviours and still be engaged in teaching. However, this concept becomes empty because that range of behaviours cannot be infinitely polymorphous.

Israel Scheffler (1973) claims his "rule model" of teaching constitutes a happy compromise between a mechanical "impression model" and an intuitive "insight model", but goes on to say that teaching is "more analogous to lion-hunting than to spelling with respect to rules. No rules designed to improve the likelihood of success are both exhaustive and helpful to the would-be teacher, at least as far as we can tell" (p. 71). One is left wondering, as a consequence, what the content of Scheffler's rule model might be.

Paul Hirst, the British analytical philosopher of education, initially derived teaching practice from the particular "form of knowledge" in which it was embedded. In the case of history, Hirst (1967) pointed out that "before we can carry out any empirical investigation of teaching methods we are faced with the difficult task of getting clear what is involved in, say, thinking historically, and thus in learning to think in this way" (p. 45). He subsequently (1982) reversed this view, maintaining that "[n]o understanding of educational activities in terms of formal disciplines can . . . ever provide an adequate basis for determining a body of professional practices" (p. 178). As a result there can be no such empirical investigation of teaching methods since no understanding of the activity of teaching can ever be derived from the relevant formal disciplines.

Recently, in what appears to be a return to the original Hirstian perspective, Hunter McEwan (1989) maintains that "[w]hat is needed to illuminate the nature of the act of teaching something to someone, then, is to provide a clearer understanding of the nature of teachers' thinking about the subjects they teach" (p. 67). McEwan proposes the expression "pedagogic interpretation" where (1) a distinction is made between "explanation" which relates to matters concerning the natural world, and "interpretation" which relates to what is already known about the world,

and (2) the teaching act is to be seen as an exercise in interpretation, where teachers “adapt the content of instruction (what is known about the world) to the minds of their students” (p. 68). McEwan never reveals just why it is wrong to speak of explanation in connection with, say, history or why it is wrong to speak of interpretation in matters relating to the natural world. The major difficulty is that he never shows what is involved in that understanding of the nature of teachers’ thinking about the subjects that they teach or what is involved in adapting the content of instruction to the minds of their students. When one is engaged in pedagogic interpretation one is **necessarily** engaged in teaching since that is what “teaching” means, but McEwan’s process of adapting the content of instruction to the minds of students is never shown.

Like the romantics, the formalists touch upon aspects of the teaching act, but fail to engage the nature of that activity itself because a unifying theory of mind, which provides the foundation of any theory of teaching, is absent. Within the conceptual space provided by the extremes of the romantic and formalist views, an attempt will be made here to give an account of the teaching act as embedded in and as a manifestation of the theory of mind contained in Michael Polanyi’s theory of “tacit integration,” a concept which ascribes common structure and process to all conscious, purposive human activity.

Tacit Integration

Structure of tacit integration

For Polanyi, all acts of consciousness are structured by relying “subsidiarily” on a range of clues or “particulars” while directing focal or explicit attention to the object, performance, or meaning under scrutiny. Such subsidiary awareness was not to be confused with subconscious or preconscious awareness. “Focal and subsidiary awareness are definitely not *two degrees of attention* but *two kinds of attention* given to the *same particulars*” (Polanyi, 1961, p. 463. Italics in original). For example, one can give either focal attention to the words on this page, or one can give them subsidiary attention while directing focal attention to their meaning. When one relies subsidiarily on the words while directing focal attention to their meaning one does not do so in a formal or explicit sense, but rather in an informal, tacit sense. We are aware of the words in terms of the meaning upon which we have fixed our attention.

Such subsidiary-focal awareness, for Polanyi (1975), structures all conscious activity. Further, such awareness is not automatic but rather “is formed by the act of a person who integrates one to the other” (p. 38). This unavoidably person quality of tacit integration renders the concept of a wholly explicit, focal, or “objective” way of knowing meaningless.

In Polanyi's structure of subsidiary-focal awareness, subsidiary awareness is subsidiary only by virtue of its function in the "tacit triad" where the person (A) integrates the clues (B) into their bearing on the object of explicit awareness (C). As a result of their so functioning, the subsidiary particulars now "look different" than they did in isolation since "we are aware of that from which we are attending to another thing in the appearance of that thing" (Polanyi, 1964, p. 59). This "phenomenal" aspect of tacit knowing indicates, for example, that we are aware of the features of a friend's face tacitly, only in terms of our focal awareness of the total appearance of his face.

In addition to its functional and phenomenal aspects, the act of tacitly integrating clues into their bearing on the object of explicit attention serves to bestow meaning upon those clues. With the "semantic" aspect of tacit integration, Polanyi (1959) points out that we now become aware of the particulars "in terms of the whole on which we have fixed our attention" (p. 30). The total appearance of the friend's face renders its features meaningful, such features being the particulars of that "comprehensive entity" which they jointly constitute. Finally, since the act of tacit integration establishes a meaningful relationship between subsidiary particulars and the object of explicit awareness, the "ontological" aspect of tacit knowing renders it identical "with the *understanding* of the comprehensive entity which these two terms jointly constitute" (Polanyi, 1967, p. 13. *Italics in original*). In other words, there is no way in which we can transcend our own acts of tacit integration, our own understanding of a comprehensive entity, and proceed to compare such understanding with that entity independently of our understanding of it. There can be no depersonalized acts of knowing.

Process of tacit integration

As the *from-to* structure of tacit integration is present in all acts of knowing, ranging from perception to discovery, so the process of tacit integration (what Polanyi calls "indwelling") embodies the activity itself across the spectrum of awareness. To understand — to perform acts of tacit integration — is to come to live in the object of such understanding in a relationship similar to that which we know almost exclusively by relying upon it for the purpose of attending to something else.

Our body is a collection of such things; we hardly ever observe our own body as we observe an external object, but continually rely on it for observing these objects outside, and manipulating them for our own purposes. Hence we may identify the knowing of something by attending to something else as the kind of knowledge we have of our own body by living in it. (Polanyi, 1961a, p. 299)

Indwelling, the process of understanding, extends from the skilled use of tools through knowing other minds to our theories and generalized view of the nature of things. We indwell in our own conceptual frameworks to render reality meaningful, and, in so doing, we are necessarily committed to that framework in terms of which meaning is made. We cannot scrutinize our spectacles while using them to scrutinize something else. Since all acts of knowing are grounded in a range of subsidiary particulars by virtue of which those acts derive their meaning, such integrations are irreducible to an "objective" analysis of that range of particulars since the basis of such an analysis must have its basis in a further framework to which the one doing the analysis is himself then committed. Similarly, tacit integrations are irreversible in the sense that they cannot be traced backwards to their origins by a series of formal steps. When we shift our attention from the meaningful result of an integration and focus on the subsidiaries "their integration is wiped out. The subsidiary particulars cease to have a bearing on their prospective target and are reduced to an aggregate of meaningless objects" (Polanyi, 1969a, p. 88).

For Polanyi, tacit integration constitutes a claim to know, a claim with universal intent and not, as with subjectivism, merely the articulation of a purely passive experience. "Insofar as the personal submits to requirements acknowledged by itself to be independent of itself," Polanyi (1962, p. 162) maintained, "it is not subjective; but insofar as it is an action guided by our individual passions, it is not objective either. It transcends the disjunction between subjective and objective." In Polanyi's transcendence of the subjective-objective dichotomy, as embodied in acts of tacit integration, egress from the bifurcation of romantic or formalist accounts of the act of teaching may be envisaged. There emerges between these two extremes a hierarchical and interrelated construct, each part of which contains its own subsidiary-focal structure, and each part of which stands in subsidiary-focal relation to the other part.

Teaching as Tacit Integration: In General Terms

The hierarchical and interrelated construct has as its base a number of general pedagogical skills, the exercise of which may be characterized in subsidiary-focal terms. At the median level, those general subsidiary skills themselves become subsidiary to a distinctly pedagogical knowledge of subject matter which itself is a product of subsidiary-focal acts of tacit integration. Finally, there is a philosophical reflection of a pedagogical nature, the "semantic" whole on which we have fixed our attention and in terms of which the particulars (i. e., general pedagogical skills and pedagogical knowledge of subject matter) derive their coherence or meaning. It is in terms of such philosophical reflection of a pedagogical nature, now tacit, now focal, that the standard of pedagogical skills and

knowledge may be assessed. Teaching viewed as an exercise in tacit integration at these three levels seeks, on the one hand, to avoid a formless romanticism by virtue of its structure; on the other hand, by virtue of the process of indwelling, it similarly seeks to avoid an empty formalism.

It is not difficult to sketch the act of teaching as tacit integration in structural terms. In respect to the functional aspect of tacit integration, the teaching act may be conceived as one in which the teacher's awareness is directed from a range of distinctly pedagogical particulars towards its focal target, the skillful and effective performance of the teaching act itself. As with other acts of tacit integration, teaching is triadic in nature since the teacher (A) relies upon those particulars (B) in making them bear upon, or jointly integrating them into, the object of explicit or focal awareness (C). The range of subsidiary pedagogical particulars looks different than it did in isolation before the particulars were integrated into the triad as "ingredients" of the teaching act itself. With respect to the semantic aspect of tacit knowing, the act of teaching now becomes the meaning of those pedagogical particulars and we are aware of them in terms of that coherent entity of which they constitute the component parts. Finally, the ontological aspect of teaching as tacit integration serves to underwrite that activity conceived as a real comprehensive entity.

The process of teaching viewed as an act of tacit integration becomes an act of indwelling in those pedagogical particulars which we assimilate as part of ourselves and which we project into the act of teaching. This indwelling presupposes a commitment to such particulars in the sense that one cannot, while teaching, strike a posture of doubt or of impartiality towards them. In the same way, the teaching act is irreducible to that which is explicitly known in its terms, and the process of pedagogical indwelling is irreversible in the sense that one could not trace the process back to the subsidiaries. In effect, any description or assessment of the teaching activity can be done only by a comparable act of indwelling, where, by "comparable" is to be understood as indwelling in another, yet not unrelated, tacit framework of subsidiary particulars. Is this merely another manifestation of the romantic view? As with all human activity, there is necessarily a residuum of unspecifiability and in this the act of teaching is no exception. Yet teaching must submit to standards acknowledged to be independent of its own particular exercise. As such, teaching viewed as tacit integration is not idiosyncratically subjective, yet, because it is also an action guided by individual passions, it is not formalistic either. It transcends the disjunction between romanticism and formalism.

The subsidiary particulars of the teaching act viewed apart from their integration dissolve into meaningless objects, thus an unspecifiability attaches to any attempt to reverse the process of tacit integration involved in the teaching act back to those subsidiary particulars. Since the integration of the subsidiaries is of a different order than their simple enumeration, a complete mapping of those subsidiaries of which the teaching act is the focal embodiment will never capture the concept. Again, since the subsidiary particulars of the teaching act viewed apart from their integration dissolve into meaningless objects, an unspecifiability attaches to any attempt to reverse the process of tacit integration involved in the teaching act back to those subsidiary particulars.

Hierarchical and interrelated structure

In spite of unspecifiability, an indistinct yet coherent outline of teaching as tacit integration may be glimpsed by reference to its hierarchical and interrelated structure as embodied in general pedagogical skills, a pedagogical knowledge of subject matter, and philosophical reflection of a pedagogical nature.

General pedagogical skills. Viewed apart from their tacit integration into skilled teaching performance, general pedagogical skills will dissolve into meaningless particulars. They must be embodied in a particular act to be observed, but it makes no sense to say, like some (Barrow, 1990), that the notion of generic pedagogical skills makes no sense. In the same way that artistic skills are not observable independently of their embodiment in works of art and skillful application of the principles of justice are not observable independently of their embodiment in concrete courtroom judgments, so general pedagogical skills are not observable independently of particular classroom performance. These skills do not exist focally in the form of some sort of free-standing entities, but rather subsidiarily, as the tacit framework within which successful performance is embodied.

In addition to acts of perception and scientific discovery, the execution of skillful performance of any kind results from the successful integration of what Polanyi calls the "premises" of that skill by the performer into such attention to its execution. Such premises, according to Polanyi (1962),

... cannot be discovered focally prior to its performance, nor even understood if explicitly stated by others, before we ourselves have experienced its performance, whether by watching it or by engaging in it ourselves. In performing a skill we are therefore acting on certain premises of which

we are focally ignorant, but which we know subsidiarily as part of our mastery of that skill, and which we may get to know focally by analyzing the way we achieve success (or what we believe to be success) in the skill in question. (p. 300)

Three levels of unspecifiability attach, then, to any account of skillful performance: (1) the premises of a skill cannot be discovered prior to experiencing its performance; (2) in the performance of that skill the performer her/himself is focally ignorant of the premises of its exercise; (3) after the performance of the skill we may get to know the premises of its exercise focally by analyzing the way we had achieved success, but we might also be mistaken. In the case of general pedagogical skills, those who have not taught skillfully will not even understand the premises of skillful teaching; the skillful teacher is unaware, in the course of teaching, of the very premises which render that teaching skillful; finally, such premises of skillful teaching might be understood focally by an analysis of skillful teaching, but, on the other hand, they might not be.

A distinction should be made between those premises which are unique to the individual and those which are, at least in principle, transferable to beginning teachers. Three examples of transferable premises of teaching are articulated here.

(1) *Structuring*. Nothing of value happens in a classroom without a subsidiary structure, and such a structure does not occur fortuitously. To be effective, structure must be unobtrusive and fluid. Conceived in terms of both content and time, structure should function tacitly while focal attention is directed towards the ebb and flow of classroom dialogue. In skillful teaching performance, structure is never in the focal mode. Further, structure, though subsidiary, is not itself rigidly so since it is in interaction with a host of other subsidiary, and sometimes focal, currents at play in the classroom.

(2) *Distancing*. Skillful teachers monitor the effects of their influence on their students since their purpose is neither to pirouette nor to attempt to produce carbon copies of themselves. Distancing relates to that complex of subtle interactions which spring from the distinctive nature of the student-teacher relationship, one designed to allow the student space to develop. It is a subsidiary skill which finds its expression in establishing nonauthoritatively the limits of student freedom in the classroom, the tacit boundaries of appropriate conduct and expression. The skill can be achieved at least in part by precept.

(3) *Pedagogical questioning.* Teaching is neither merely lecturing nor instructing but rather a dialogical exercise in which the teacher relies subsidiarily not just on structure and content but also on the character and ability of particular students to respond in such a way that development occurs. Pedagogical questioning is the quintessential general pedagogical skill. While it is neither a mechanical exercise nor a diffused, unfocused activity, skillful questioning is that skill by which the student-teacher dialogue is initiated, sustained, directed, and enriched. It is a skill transferable to beginning teachers more by apprenticeship with one already skilled in the art than by explicit precept.

Pedagogical knowledge of subject matter. Knowledge of a particular subject area, organized, articulated, and shaped by dialogical communication with students for the purpose of understanding is a special case of tacit integration, amenable to analysis in terms of the structure and process of subsidiary-focal awareness. Pedagogical knowledge of subject matter is not to be confused with a simple knowledge of subject matter since the latter in no way entails the ability to teach it, but consists rather of pedagogical skills shaped by both a knowledge of and a feeling for a particular subject domain which jointly bestow upon such skills their distinctive nature. Embodied in a particular subject domain, pedagogical skills derive coherence in terms of the subject matter on which we have fixed our attention.

A pedagogical knowledge of subject matter is to be distinguished from general pedagogical skills not only in terms of their distinctive functions in the subsidiary-focal relation but also because such knowledge of subject matter is articulated knowledge. In the act of producing an articulation, language itself lies in the subsidiary mode while it is brought to bear upon its focal target, the meaning of that articulation. Correspondingly, in the act of comprehending an articulation, language lies in the subsidiary mode while it is brought to bear upon understanding the meaning of that articulation. A pedagogical knowledge of subject matter may therefore be given greater specification in terms of what Polanyi (1974) has referred to as acts of "sense-giving" and "sense-reading".

Suppose we travel in a country we have not visited before. By the end of the morning we will be full of new experiences and may report them by letter to a friend so that he may read our message and try to understand our experiences. This is a sequence of three integrations. The first is an intelligent understanding of sights and events, the second the composing of a verbal account, and the third the interpretation of this verbal account with a view to repro-

ducing the experience which is reported. The first two integrations are the work of one person, while the third is done by another person, the friend addressed by the first. We may note also some variation in the character of the three consecutive integrations. The first triad is mainly cognitive; it has the structure we met in the process of perception and, more strikingly perhaps, in the identification of a specimen by an expert. The second triad, which puts the result of the first into words, resembles more the performance of a practical skill, while the third returns once more to the cognitive type. The first triad is more a sense-reading, the second more a sense-giving, and the third, once more, a sense-reading. (p. 186)

With slight variations, Polanyi's complete act of communication, his "triad of triads," may be seen as paradigmatic of the act of teaching as tacit integration. In the initial act of sense-reading, the intelligent understanding of sights and events, we find the counterpart in the teacher's intelligent understanding of his subject matter, where, by "intelligent" is now to be understood not only the structuring or patterning of subject matter for comprehensible transmission by way of dialogical "communication between student and teacher, but also some" **conception** of his subject matter which serves as the basis of such structuring or patterning.

Since it involves conveying the meaning acquired by an intelligent knowledge of subject matter, the second triad, that of sense-giving, may well constitute the quintessence of actual pedagogical performance. In what Polanyi called "conceptual subsumption," the letter-writer conveyed his meaning by the use of universal terms, words which can apply to a range of objects and ideas which can differ in every particular. There is no explicit procedure to account for the subsumption of particulars under a general term. For example, the conception of a "tree" for Polanyi (1974)

... arises by the tacit integration of countless experiences of different trees and pictures and reports of still others; deciduous and evergreen, straight and crooked, bare and leafy. All these encounters are included in forming the conception of a tree, which is what we mean by the word 'tree'. (p. 191)

In the same way, with a pedagogical knowledge of subject matter, teachers tacitly integrate countless encounters with the concepts distinctive of their subject domain as they grope for words to convey them. No

explicit procedure can account for the words they use in the classroom nor for their assessments of significance, adequacy of explanation, and so on. Those previous encounters with concepts distinctive of their subject area are brought to bear as clues to the conceptions under which they are subsumed; the conceptions, in their turn, serve as exemplifications of those encounters by virtue of which they derive their meaning. In addition, previous pedagogical experience is subsumed jointly with previous acts of conceptual subsumption related to subject matter. It is in connection with these previous experiences that distinctive methods of pedagogical sense-giving arise, methods now conceived not in some narrow rule-governed sense but rather as they relate to ethos and style which then, in their turn, become subsidiary to the performance.

The third and final triad may also be applied to the teaching act itself. Where a truly dialogical relation exists between student and teacher, pedagogical knowledge of subject matter involves alternative acts of sense-reading and sense-giving. Not only do the teachers sense-read their subject matter and convey its meaning to the student in acts of sense giving, they also sense-read the responses of the students, their particular acts of sense-giving so that they can, if required, modify their further acts of sense-giving. Where the recipient of the letter was passive, in the pedagogical encounter the student actively intervenes in the teacher's acts of sense-giving. It is this dual activity of sense-giving and sense-reading on the part of both student and teacher, an activity which again is inaccessible to any explicit procedure, which defines what is meant by a pedagogical knowledge of subject matter.

Philosophical reflection of a pedagogical nature. Where a pedagogical knowledge of subject matter harnessed undifferentiated general pedagogical skills in the performance of pedagogical acts of sense-reading and sense-giving, so now philosophical reflection of a pedagogical nature constitutes the "distal pole" of such knowledge and skills in terms of which they derive **their** meaning. The exercise of pedagogical skills and acts of pedagogical sense-reading and sense-giving, in other words, are not isolated performances but rather acquire coherence to the degree to which they are the embodiments of philosophical reflection of a pedagogical nature. Such reflection may be seen as a broader, sustained act of sense-reading in the domain of educational theory and its manifestation in pedagogical practice whereby one comes to have some conception of what one is doing.

By tacitly relying on theoretical understandings while in the activity of teaching, understandings of either a foundational or teleological nature, one may acquire what Polanyi called "connoisseurship". It is important to point out that Polanyi (1967) made no distinction between theoretical and practical knowledge since,

[t]hese two aspects of knowing have a similar structure and neither is ever present without the other. This is particularly clear in the art of diagnosing, which intimately combines skillful testing with expert observation. I shall always speak of 'knowing,' therefore, to cover both practical and theoretical knowledge. (p. 7)

In the activity of teaching, theoretical understandings in the "art of knowing" become the tacit counterparts of the premises of skillful performance where, like the art of diagnosing, the performers "know many more things than they can tell, knowing them in practice, as instrumental particulars, and not explicitly, as objects" (Polanyi, 1962, p. 88). In its turn, the exercise of pedagogical connoisseurship functions to enrich one's theoretical understanding, one's philosophical reflection of a pedagogical nature. Theory and practice function in a symbiotic, but also in a tacit, relation. Where general pedagogical skills provided the tacit framework for the operation of a pedagogical knowledge of subject matter and such knowledge, in its turn, the framework for philosophical reflection of a pedagogical nature, so now such reflection animates and guides that knowledge and those skills.

Conclusion

Oddly, in view of its centrality, the act of teaching is one of the most under-theorized aspects of educational theory. Under the aegis of a positivist intellectual hegemony, the act of teaching was seen as reducible to a series of overt behaviour as measured on an observation grid. The difficulty was not only that the purportedly "objective" observation grid was never itself objective but that the teaching act viewed from the perspective of the teacher himself was never engaged. Similarly, where psychology in general purports to be one of the "sciences of man", the conceptions guiding its practice are not themselves "scientific" but rather philosophical. The consequence is that psychology needs philosophy to "get started," but this need was precisely what positivism in its various psychological guises denied. Finally, philosophy of education itself attempted to portray the activity of teaching in evocative but ultimately empty terms, an emptiness resulting from the absence of a theoretical base in terms of which that portrayal might gain some coherence. The present paper constitutes an attempt to provide such a theoretical base. The act of teaching is here seen as a manifestation of Michael Polanyi's theory of tacit integration in which there exists a hierarchical and inter-related structure of pedagogical skills, knowledge, and philosophical reflection all standing in a subsidiary-focal relation to the other by virtue of the act of the teacher who indwells in them.

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The Implications of Postmodernism for Moral Education

Abstract

This article examines postmodernist thought in terms of its implications for moral education. The basic features of postmodernism are described with particular focus on its rejection of the modernist notion of reason. This is followed by a discussion of neopragmatist Richard Rorty's proposal to replace Enlightenment concepts of objectivity and morality with an emphasis on ethnocentric solidarity as a preferred means of developing social norms. The concluding section argues that this postmodernist approach has the potential to violate the fundamental precepts of democratic living, and therefore may provide an inadequate framework for the theory and practice of moral education.

Résumé

Cet article étudie les répercussions de la pensée post-moderniste sur l'enseignement moral. Les principales caractéristiques du post-modernisme sont décrites sous l'angle du rejet de la notion moderniste de la raison. Il s'ensuit un débat sur la proposition du néopragmatiste Richard Rorty qui vise à remplacer les concepts d'objectivité et de moralité des Lumières par la solidarité éthnocentrique comme moyen privilégié de développement des normes sociales. Dans sa conclusion, l'auteur explique que cette vision post-moderniste risque de violer les préceptes fondamentaux de la vie démocratique et constitue par conséquent un cadre inapproprié à la théorie et à la pratique de l'enseignement moral.

Introduction

As a form of cultural critique, postmodernism began to garner considerable attention during the mid-1970s, and has enjoyed an increasingly popular reputation as an incisive mode of inquiry for a number of disciplines including, among others, the study of philosophy, art, literature, history, sociology, and education. Adding to this broad scope is the fact that the term *postmodernism* is given to several distinct, yet vaguely connected, schools of thought. These include the poststructuralism of Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault, the contemporary Marxism of Frederick Jameson and Terry Eagleton, the neopragmatism of Jean-Francois Lyotard and Richard Rorty, as well as aspects of feminist scholarship which employ a postmodern critique of patriarchal society. Not surprisingly, this diversity of application and perspective makes postmodernism difficult to define, other than to say in the most general way that "postmodernism refers to a distinct shift in the way that humanistic intellectuals view the relation of their cultural work to the society at large" (McGowan, 1991, p. 1).

In light of this broad scope, a comprehensive analysis of postmodernism and its multitude of potential implications for education in general, and moral education in particular, is beyond the reach of a single essay. My intention here is to examine the basic features of postmodernist thought, placing particular emphasis on the neopragmatist strain articulated by Richard Rorty, and in so doing, pinpoint some basic questions that postmodernist philosophy might raise about the theory and practice of moral education. In the second section of this paper I will suggest that if moral education is to promote a democratic way of life, it is necessary that it encourage students to include basic philosophical principles such as equality and justice in the process of moral deliberation. In conclusion, I will argue that postmodernism's rejection of principled moral deliberation may constitute justifiable grounds for questioning its legitimacy as a philosophical framework for a moral education that is consistent with the ideals of democratic living.

From Modernity to Postmodernism

Like all movements or trends in the social sciences, the emergence of postmodernism cannot be seen as a self-generating or ahistorical phenomenon. According to Aronowitz and Giroux, "Postmodernism can only be understood in terms of its problematic relationship with the central features of the modernist tradition" (1991, p. 64). In the political sense, this "problematic relationship" reflects a discouraged reaction to modern democratic society's failure to deliver on its promise of justice, freedom, and equality for a variety of marginalized and exploited groups.

First and foremost, postmodernism is a refutation of the modernist belief that Enlightenment appeals to reason, once rigorously applied, would produce a just society. Employing a line of argumentation similar to that of Nietzsche, postmodernists like Richard Rorty bluntly proclaim that

... the traditional Western metaphysico-epistemological way of firming up our habits simply isn't working anymore. It isn't doing its job. It has become as transparent a device as the postulation of deities who turn out, by a happy coincidence, to have chosen *us* as their people. (1991, p. 33)

The modernist idea that truth could be found without appeal to external deities or authorities but rather through self-generated principles of objective reason and science is, according to the postmodernist, a ruse. It is a deception, postmodernists claim, partly because the principles of modernity have

been largely drawn from cultural scripts written by white males whose work is often privileged as a model of high culture informed by an elite sensibility that sets it off from what is often dismissed as popular or mass culture. (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991, p. 58)

In effect, the grand narratives of Western literature and the Plato-to-Kant-canon of philosophy do not lead toward truth, moral virtue, and ultimately freedom, but rather represent a monopolization of meaning which by its very nature excludes and dominates those outside the privileged cultural and intellectual elites. In other words, these literary and philosophical traditions do not in reality offer objectivity or scholarly disinterestedness, but instead constitute "ideological expressions of particular discourses embodying normative interests and legitimating historically specific relations of power" (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991, p. 68).

Central to postmodern theory is the claim that modernist attempts at objective reasoning in fact operate as a means of creating, maintaining, and legitimizing power. The equation of modernist reason and the legitimization of power relations is evident in the work of many postmodernists. Poststructuralist Michel Foucault (1978) focused on what he refers to as discourses of knowledge-power, which he sees as overwhelmingly potent mechanisms in the regulation of society. Neopragmatist Jean-Francois Lyotard argues that "[r]eason and power are one and the same thing. You may disguise the one with dialectics or prospectiveness, but you will still have the other in all its crudeness: jails, taboos, public weal, selection, and genocide" (cf. McGowan, 1991, pp. 182-183).

The idea of reason being inextricably equated with the workings of power strongly implies that the modernist concept of autonomy, the conviction that individuals and social groupings can define themselves and conduct social relations independent of external determinants or influences, must be rejected. Taking the place of the concept of autonomy is the conviction that human beings are often nothing more than the products of historical contingencies. The more pessimistic postmodernists argue that the notion of an autonomous emancipatory transformation of personal or social life is a delusion. This reason-as-power equation provides postmodernism with its explanatory framework to account for the failure of modernist appeals to objective reason to do anything other than deeply entrench the capitalist racist patriarchy which is Western culture's historical legacy.

The postmodernist political project is to deterritorialize modernism and redraw "its political, social, and cultural boundaries, while simultaneously affirming a politics of racial, gender, and ethnic difference" (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991, p. 68). For the Marxist wing of postmodernism, modernity has provided the cultural framework through which capitalism has become an all-consuming monolith, the "totalized terrain" of contemporary Western life. From this perspective, "[p]ostmodernism's overt political goal is the disruption of this hierarchical totality, a disruption to be enacted by empowering the suppressed differential components within that totality" (McGowan, 1991, p. 17).

In sum, the postmodernist attack is rooted in the belief that the modernist faith in a transcultural ahistorical reason evoking a transcendental subject, has served only the privileged and worked to deny difference under the guise of universalizing categories. Postmodernism intends to replace the abstract universalizing of modernity by focusing on the historical contingencies that produce certain types of discourse and the plurality of voices which come into contact during these discourses. As Rorty suggests, "The notion that Western reason suppresses differences in constructing identities leads to a compensating emphasis on particulars" (1991, p. 24).

The most immediate problem plaguing the politics of postmodernism is that the "emphasis on particulars", the hoped-for public discourse affirming racial, gender, and ethnic difference, provides **only** the rationale for insisting on what postmodernists call a "free and open encounter" where a plurality of voices is recognized. This position, however, tells us little about how a free and open encounter will result in anything more adequate than a discourse mediated by abstract reason. As McGowan points out, "There remain considerable difficulties in outlining what a practical politics of heterogeneity would look like, not

to mention how we might begin to put such a politics into practice” (1991, p. 21). Rorty replies to criticism of this kind by stating that in a free and open encounter, truth will prevail.

On this view, to say that truth will win in such an encounter is not to make a metaphysical claim about the connection between human reason and the nature of things. It is merely to say that the best way to find out what to believe is to listen to as many suggestions and arguments as you can. (Rorty, 1991, p. 39)

As I will argue later in this paper, in a discussion of postmodernism’s implications for moral education, a reply of this sort is unsatisfactory.

The postmodernist critique of modernist traditions – in terms of their propensity to monopolize discourse under the guise of objectivity – is, in many ways, compelling. On one hand, it reveals the obvious: that the shaping of Western social, political, and cultural traditions has been the exclusive domain of an extremely narrow, highly privileged group. The deconstructionist techniques of postmodernism, in particular, have provided a provocative means of demonstrating that this privileged group’s stewardship as architects of Western culture has reflected that group’s world view and worked to promote and maintain its interests. On the other hand, the poststructuralists have, at times ingeniously, illustrated how the often subtle social construction of knowledge, appearing as the natural order of things, has a powerful influence over human affairs. For example, Michel Foucault’s (1978) *History of Sexuality* illustrates how individuals’ personal identities have been created – and subsequently controlled – through the social construction of a particular “sexuality” to which people have become subject. These selected modes of postmodernist inquiry can meaningfully enrich the social sciences and usefully broaden the scope of public discourse.

Despite these accomplishments, the postmodernists, in order to present a coherent, consistent philosophical system, must continually confront the question of objectivity in addressing philosophical issues. In attempting to make an unbreakable and irresolvable equation of Enlightenment reason with the structures of power and domination, the postmodernist intends, in part, to demonstrate that identifying the conclusion of a truly rational subject, in the Enlightenment sense, is an unachievable task. Like other theories which may be broadly characterized as relativistic, at the core of postmodernism is the claim that objectivity is a myth: “Each picture of reality is a product of personal or social factors, and although such pictures can be compared with each other, they cannot be compared with the world itself” (Gottlieb, 1991, p. 30).

What distinguishes much of contemporary postmodernism from other relativistic philosophical perspectives is that while various forms of antifoundationalism stress that what counts as rationality at any given time is not fixed and is open to critical deliberation, postmodernism, when taken to its logical conclusion, attempts to refute the legitimacy of rational deliberation based on Enlightenment concepts such as equality and justice. As a result, postmodernism can be described as resolutely antifoundational, seeking not to deal with the workings of power by developing rational or principled criteria for resolving power differentials, but rather by basing any possibility of emancipation by first insisting that criteria genuinely drawn from abstract reason simply do not exist.

Of the postmodernist scholars, it is American neopragmatist Richard Rorty who has most explicitly fleshed out the question of objectivity. Rorty has become one of contemporary philosophy's most influential and talked-about philosophers (Gottlieb, 1991). Rorty chooses not to oppose objectivity by employing terms such as "subjectivity" or "relativity", but rather seeks to contrast objectivity with a concept of human solidarity. He proposes that this quintessential philosophical debate can be set up in the following way.

There are two principle ways in which reflective human beings try, by placing their lives in a larger context, to give sense to those lives. The first is by telling the story of their contribution to a community. This community may be the actual historical one in which they live, or another actual one, distant in time or place, or a quite imaginary one, consisting perhaps of a dozen heroes and heroines selected from history or fiction or both. The second way is to describe themselves as standing in immediate relation to nonhuman reality. This relation is immediate in the sense that it does not derive from a relation between such a reality and their tribe, or their nation, or their imagined band of comrades. I shall say that stories of the former kind exemplify the desire for solidarity, and that stories of the latter kind exemplify the desire for objectivity. Insofar as a person is seeking solidarity, she does not ask about the relation between the practices of the chosen community and something outside that community. Insofar as she seeks objectivity, she distances herself from actual persons around her not by thinking of herself as a member of some other real or imaginary group, but rather by attaching herself to something which can be described without reference to any particular human beings. (Rorty, 1991, p. 21)

In rejecting the Enlightenment, Rorty believes that as human beings we will be better served if we can become "moved solely by the desire for solidarity, setting aside the desire for objectivity altogether. . ." (1991, p. 27). Rorty, however, does not aim at a transcultural or universal human solidarity, but rather pins his hopes on an ethnocentric sense of community that has no foundation except shared hope and the trust created by such sharing. "To be ethnocentric is to divide the human race into the people to whom one must justify one's beliefs and the others" (Rorty, 1991, p. 30). In the absence of any universal human values, the shared values of one's community provide the sole criteria for discerning truth, and one's community must be granted "a special privilege. . . or we pretend an impossible tolerance for every other group" (Rorty, 1991, p. 29). In other words, a meaningful dialogue between communities which do not share basic values is futile, and Rorty argues that it is only important that each community "be responsible only to its own traditions, and not to the moral law as well" (1991, p. 199). This emphasis on ethnocentric solidarity as a method of making sense of one's life provides the basis for discerning how a postmodernist community might conduct social relations and, in so doing, address moral concerns.

Implications for Moral Education

What are the implications of postmodernist theory for moral education? This is a question worthy of investigation for two reasons. First, although scholars such as Aronowitz and Giroux (1991), and others, have proposed that a postmodernist approach to education may contribute to a more egalitarian society, the question of how adopting this approach would shape the theory and practice of moral education has yet to be explored within the literature on moral education. Second, although many postmodernists would no doubt consider this question irrelevant, since they suggest that terms like "moral are no longer very useful" (Rorty, 1989, p. 58), as long as human beings find themselves, in the course of interpersonal relations, asking "What ought I to do and how do I decide?" and as long as educational programs intend to facilitate decision-making of this kind, the task of working out postmodernism's implications for moral education remains a relevant enterprise.

My purpose in the remainder of this paper is not to provide an exhaustive analysis and critique of postmodernism's implications for moral philosophy, but rather to focus on some initial questions which provide a starting point for examining the implications of postmodernism for moral education. These key questions revolve around the issue of whether a moral education faithful to the central tenets of postmodern theory can adequately promote the ideals of democratic living. I will suggest that a justified critique of a postmodern approach to moral

education may be grounded in the argument that a postmodern approach to questions involving moral deliberation has the potential to violate the fundamental precepts of democratic living, and may therefore provide an inadequate framework for the theory and practice of moral education.

How do postmodernists propose that we address questions that might conventionally be described as moral? As might be expected, moral principles have little or no place in postmodernist discourse. The idea that an individual can step outside of the self to apply a rationally derived moral rule to a given situation is invalid. As such, the Kantian distinction between morality and prudence is false, because the objective rationality underlying the Kantian moral principle is itself an illusion. Once this claim is accepted, the concept of morality itself is dissolved.

Since the classic Kantian opposition between morality and prudence was formulated precisely in terms of the opposition between an appeal to principle and an appeal to expediency, is there any point in keeping the term 'morality' once we drop the notion of 'moral'? (Rorty, 1989, p. 59)

As noted earlier, according to Rorty, it is through a free and open encounter within one's ethnocentric community that norms for social behaviour ought to be derived. Norms only achieve legitimacy and justification through a communicative consensus within the community. The closest Rorty comes to defining what might conventionally be called morality is to echo the concept put forth by John Sellars who argues that morality is a matter of "we intentions", with the immoral defined as "the sort of thing we don't do" (cf. McGowan, 1991, p. 194). In essence, for Rorty the closest we can get to the truth in any given situation is to determine "the facts about what a given society, or profession, or other group, takes to be good ground for assertions of a certain sort" (cf. McGowan, 1991, p. 195).

From a postmodernist perspective, aside from a communal consensus, arriving at these assertions is process without any substantive criteria. Rorty states that, "We should avoid the idea that there is some special virtue in knowing in advance what criteria you are going to satisfy, in having standards by which to measure progress" (1991, p. 37). Further, he suggests that "... the goal of inquiry (in any sphere of culture) is the attainment of an appropriate mixture of unforced agreement with tolerant disagreement (where what counts as appropriate is determined, within that sphere, by trial and error)" (1991, p. 41).

What procedural guidelines would be followed in a moral education classroom which took its cue from postmodernist philosophy? First,

students would be encouraged to interrogate the values underlying the metanarratives of Western culture. The biases and power differentials inherent in this tradition would, in the process, be exposed. Second, students would be encouraged to recognize and affirm the plurality of voices, representing a variety of marginalized groups, as equally valid. Third, as students reflect upon and debate issues, they would be encouraged, in a free and open encounter, to reach (by trial and error) an agreement within their own ethnocentric groupings. Having done so, the students could happily deduce that their conclusions were fully justified and came as close as possible to approximating truth. Subsequent evaluation of these conclusions could only be based on ensuring that the "we intentions" of the particular ethnocentric community involved had been expressed. Although a postmodern framework for moral education of this kind could certainly be said to offer ample opportunity for students to exercise freedom of choice in moral decision-making, it also leaves open the possibility of affirming choices that are directly contrary to the foundations of democratic living.

While there are a variety of models of moral education embodying differing conceptions of morality, it is a truism that "moral education continues to be conceived and justified in the light of democratic principles" (Hersh, Miller, & Fielding, 1980, p. 13). These principles bestow individuals with certain inalienable rights regarding liberty, justice, and equality. In theory, democratic society is grounded, in part, on a commitment to these principles as ideals upon which individuals and institutions ought to govern their behaviour and mediate their disputes. As Guttman suggests,

Democracy must be understood not merely (or primarily) as a process of majority rule, but rather as an ideal of a society whose adult members are, and continue to be, equipped by their education and authorized by political structure to share in ruling. (Guttman, 1989, cf. Pearson, 1992, p. 84)

In this sense, in a democratic society, "moral thinking is essentially thinking about the fundamental values by which we profess to live" (Duncan, 1979).

Although many social and educational theorists have moved beyond strict adherence to modernist precepts, most contemporary accounts of the meaning of democracy and democratic education still presuppose that democracy cannot exist without strong commitments to the values of equality and social justice (Goodman, 1992). In order to apply criteria such as equality and justice to moral thinking, one must

rely on some form of critical and rational deliberation. Deliberation of this kind is at the very heart of democratic living. Guttman (1987) argues in her well-received and widely-cited work, *Democratic Education*, that the opportunity for critical and rational deliberation is an indispensable component of a democratic education.

She calls for 'critical deliberation' as a hedge against indoctrination; 'rational deliberation' to help children make hard choices where habits and authorities offer no clear guidance, or where laws violate the 'basic principles of democratic sovereignty. . . .' (Weinstein, 1991, p. 10)

As I shall now suggest, rational deliberation, based on basic philosophical principles, is a necessary ingredient of a moral education that contributes to democratic living. Postmodernism may be justifiably questioned as a legitimate framework for moral education based on its rejection of such principles.

Contrasting the extreme antifoundationalism of postmodernism to the Enlightenment appeal to objectivity appears to set up an irreconcilable binary opposition. Or put another way, according to Rorty (1991), one can make sense of life by seeking *either* solidarity or objectivity. An example of a philosophical perspective that attempts to move beyond a rigid or highly formalistic conception of objectivity while maintaining a recognition of the importance of rationally derived principles as central to democratic living is Jurgen Habermas' (1987) *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*. Although Habermas acknowledges that attempts at objective reason are created and exercised within the human mind, this in itself does not, in his view, obliterate distinctions between truth and falsity or right and wrong. Nor is the truth or the right simply the equivalent to what we might agree upon at a given time and place. While reason may be inescapably situated, this does not imply that we must dispense with it. Rather we must, according to Habermas, recognize the transcendent quality that claims of reason, truth, and justice represent to us as human beings. Thus, serving as humanely created ideals, reason, truth, and justice serve as a means through which traditions can be criticized and moral discourse mediated. In sum, although Habermas appears sympathetic to some aspects of postmodernism, he retains a reliance on objective reason as a grounding for democratic society.

According to Habermas, then, contemporary society is plagued by too little rather than too much reason. This brief sketch of Habermas' perspective toward the role of rationally derived principles in contributing to democratic living helps elucidate the central question that postmodernism raises for moral education. In order to contribute to the

creation and preservation of a democratic society, should moral education encourage students to rigorously apply principles of reason, justice, and equality as the modernist tradition would suggest? Or should students be encouraged to dispense with such principles in favour of the ethnocentric “we intentions” of postmodernism?

Although it is clearly an ethical necessity within a multicultural world striving for equality between peoples to openly articulate, acknowledge, and respect ethnocentric perspectives in moral deliberation, such perspectives must, in a genuinely just society, ultimately pass the test of legitimacy via the criteria of democratic principles.

As John Ralston Saul has recently observed:

One sign of a healthy Western civilization is that within a relatively integrated moral outlook – for example, agreement on democratic principles – a myriad of ideas and methods are brought face to face, through civilized conflict the society’s assumed moral correctness is constantly tested. This tension – emotional, intellectual, moral – is what advances the society. (1993, p. 135)

Thus, it is through the application of democratic principles that moral correctness is tested in the deliberative process. The tensions between a plurality of competing viewpoints are mediated through the application of such principles and as a result the deliberative process is explicitly intended to respect procedural guidelines which contribute to democratic living. It is precisely in this regard that postmodernism may provide an inadequate framework for moral education. Can a process of moral deliberation that disregards principle satisfy the requirements of genuinely democratic decision-making?

As noted earlier, postmodernism’s rejection of the existence of objective reason invalidates the justification of universal principles. As Misgeld points out, even the attempt to justify a universal principle which states that “[v]iolations of the personal and bodily integrity of human beings are to be avoided at all costs”, since “[n]o society which accepts such violations can be said to be good”, represents a definite stance against postmodernism (1991, p. 17). A postmodernist framework for moral education would, by necessity, discourage the evoking of the above principle or any other. This is so because if a framework for moral education endorses such a principle, it must also derive its legitimacy from it. A pedagogy which endorsed even the most basic universal principle would directly contradict the essence of postmodernism which suggests that such principles are merely part of the deception of Enlight-

enment thinking. It is self-evident that a framework for moral education which sidesteps even a principle that addresses the personal and bodily integrity of human beings leaves the door open for "we intentions" that violate the fundamental precepts of democracy.

A postmodernist framework for moral education might be defensible if it provided some kind of procedural corrective for reflecting on "we intentions" that violated basic human values. One of the most disturbing aspects of postmodernism is that it has little or nothing to say in response to the charge that "we intentions" might lead to repression, discrimination, or other violations of human rights. As Pearson argues, "Ironically, a democratic society must prohibit the 'freedoms' to repress and discriminate in order to protect the freedoms of members of the society and to allow the reproduction of the society" (1992, p. 86). It is this very problematic conceptual void inherent within postmodernism that begs the question, "Which discourse would enable us to distinguish between reactionary and progressive possibilities in the postmodern criticism of culture?" (Misgeld, 1991, p. 18). It is only by reference to modernist principles of liberty, equality, and justice that such distinctions are possible.

Rorty's emphasis on the unforced agreement on the part of an ethnocentric community as the basis for developing social norms is also a potential threat to basic principles of democracy. Rorty argues that "there is no way to beat totalitarians in argument by appealing to shared common premises, and no point in pretending that a common human nature makes the totalitarians unconsciously hold such premises" (1991, p. 42). But what if the "we intentions" arising out of ethnocentric solidarity are themselves totalitarian? Indeed, it may be argued that although ethnocentric solidarity can contribute to community cohesiveness in the battle against injustice, it also has provided the impetus for violence and brutality in places such as the former Yugoslavia, Northern Ireland, the Middle East, and India, to name just a few. The progressive struggles for racial equality in the United States and South Africa, although boosted by a sense of ethnocentric solidarity, were grounded first and foremost in the demand for social justice as a universal right for all people. In a truly postmodernist world, this demand for social justice as a universal right would, at best, count only as one point of view among many others, no matter how totalitarian they might be.

As we move toward the end of the century, the social, technological, and economic fabric of Western society is in a state of transition. The postmodernists have certainly been correct in anticipating the need, in this new era, to recognize the plurality of convictions and world views, each of which represents a distinct set of voices calling for equality and

justice. The postmodernists are, however, mistaken in believing that a rejection of reason and morality will contribute to the attainment of social justice. On the contrary, if we are to pursue social justice in a society characterized by diversity, the ideals of a rational morality are indispensable as procedural mediators as the plurality of convictions inevitably clash. To do otherwise leaves the door open to a perpetual conflicting factionalism with little hope of a just society.

Should we be weary of postmodernism's implications for moral education? The preliminary analysis of this question, presented here, suggests that a postmodernist approach to moral education may be questioned on the grounds that it is inconsistent with the fundamental tenets of democratic moral deliberation. With regard to moral education, it is necessary to investigate in more detail how the progressive aspects of postmodernism might be reconciled with a continued commitment to the principles of democratic living. As I have noted, among the strengths of postmodernism is its insistence on recognizing and affirming the plurality of voices coexisting in a society characterized by social and moral diversity. Does mediating fundamentally different beliefs about what counts as legitimate means of moral deliberation necessarily require dispensing with modernist concepts of principle as postmodernists, such as Rorty, claim? Or can abstract principles of social justice which appear crucial to genuinely democratic decision-making adequately account for and respect ethnocentric diversity? As various forms of moral education challenge young people to address issues of social justice, and as postmodernism becomes an increasingly prominent mode of inquiry in Western educational institutions, these questions warrant further research.

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Canadian University Presidents' Perceptions of Campus Life Issues

Abstract

This paper reports the findings of a survey in which Canadian university presidents were asked to indicate the prevalence of 20 selected campus life issues at their institutions. The presidents were also asked to indicate the extent to which these same 20 campus life issues increased or decreased over the previous five years. Seventy-five per cent of all Canadian university presidents responded to this survey. When the mean responses to each of the questions were ranked in descending order, student preoccupation with future career, lack of student interest in broader, intellectual issues, student apathy, and alcohol abuse topped the list of campus life issues perceived to be most prevalent at the present time. Antipathy towards women activists and theft were also deemed to be quite prevalent, though not as much as the first four issues mentioned. Except for alcohol abuse, the presidents believed that all these issues increased in prevalence over the previous five-year period.

Résumé

Le présent article fait état des résultats d'un sondage dans le cadre duquel on a demandé aux recteurs d'universités canadiennes d'indiquer la prévalence de 20 problèmes donnés de la vie universitaire dans leur établissement. On leur a également demandé d'indiquer dans quelle mesure ces 20 problèmes de la vie universitaire s'étaient aggravés ou au contraire atténués par rapport aux cinq années précédentes. Soixante-quinze pour cent de tous les recteurs des universités canadiennes ont participé à ce sondage. Lorsque les réponses moyennes à chacune des questions sont classées par ordre décroissant, on constate que les

problèmes de la vie universitaire qui prédominent à l'heure actuelle sont la préoccupation des étudiants face aux débouchés de carrière, le manque d'intérêt de étudiants pour les questions intellectuelles plus vastes, l'apathie des étudiants et l'abus de boissons alcoolisées. L'antipathie à l'égard des femmes activistes et du vol est également perçu comme un problème courant, mais pas autant que les quatre premiers mentionnés. En dehors de l'abus de boissons alcoolisées, les recteurs estiment que ces problèmes ont pris de l'ampleur par rapport à la période quinquennale précédente.

Little comprehensive research has been conducted on social conditions on Canadian university campuses. A thorough understanding of social conditions is important, as they exert a great impact on the quality of education. An education extends beyond what a student is "taught" in the classroom. The attitudes and behaviours that a student develops in response to the social environment outside of the classroom are as much a part of the learning experience as taking lectures notes or writing examinations. It is impossible to improve the quality of campus life by addressing only academic issues. This sentiment is expressed in the mission statement of the University of Guelph:

Students in university do not simply take courses or enrol in academic programs. Much of their life is spent outside the classroom, laboratory or study. It is important then that this part of their experience be enriched and that it contribute to their educational development. (p. 11)

Background

Despite the importance of the topic and the publicity it has received, there has been little formal study of social conditions on Canadian campuses. Most of the research, which has been done in Canada, focuses on two specific areas - substance abuse and gender issues.

A study of 5,000 university students at four Ontario universities (Gliksman, Eng, & Smythe, 1989) revealed that a disturbing number of students are alcohol abusers. Thirty per cent consume 15 or more drinks each week. Very few students, on the other hand, have tried illicit drugs such as cocaine or LSD (p. 21).

While alcohol use has always been a part of university life, the alcohol-induced death of a young man at the University of Guelph raised awareness of the consequences of alcohol abuse. A young man choked on his own vomit and died after a night of heavy drinking. His death

prompted an inquest into the link between alcohol abuse and university life (*Globe and Mail*, Sept. 19, 1989).

The issue of sexual harassment on campus has garnered considerable attention in the mainstream media. The publicity has come about mainly as a result of blatant incidents, such as a professor leering at a female swimmer at a University of Toronto pool (*Globe and Mail*, March 28, 1989), male students mocking an anti-date rape campaign at Queen's University (*Toronto Star*, November 2, 1989), or the discovery of sexist graffiti on the wall of Osgoode Hall (*Toronto Star*, April 21, 1990).

Sexual discrimination is not always as blatant as sexual harassment but it is nevertheless pervasive on Canadian university campuses, according to a study conducted by Dagg and Thompson (1988). It is exhibited in such things as the failure of female academics to achieve promotion and tenure.

A study of psychological, physical, and sexual abuse of women in Canadian university dating relationships (DeKeseredy, 1988) concluded that, "women abuse is a serious social problem in southern Ontario universities as well as in various U.S. institutions of higher learning" (p. 71). The majority of the respondents in this survey admitted to having psychologically abused their female dating partners. Very few (only 2.6% of the entire sample) admitted to sexually abusing their dating partner (p. 54). The author did feel, however, that his study underestimated the true extent of women abuse in Ontario universities.

Sexual harassment is not the only kind of harassment present on Canadian campuses. Newspaper reports reveal the presence of harassment based on race and sexual orientation (*Globe and Mail*, February 8, 1990, p. A12; *Vancouver Sun*, April 4, 1990, p. B2). Interest in these issues is not just confined to the media. At the national conference of the Canadian Association of College and University Student Services, held in June 1990, workshops were devoted to the issues of racism, sexism and homophobia, and sexual assault.

In his 1990 report, *Campus Life: In Search of Community*, Ernest Boyer attributes much of the prejudice and intolerance on campus to the increasing diversity of both student backgrounds and lifestyles. Although the study is based on data from American universities, the findings are germane for Canadian universities, which too are experiencing an increase in the diversity of their student population (Statistics Canada, Cat. 81-209). "Many campuses," Boyer argues, "have not been successful at building larger loyalties within a diverse student body and there is

disturbing evidence that deeply ingrained prejudices persist" (p.4). Some of this prejudice finds expression in offensive language or other acts of incivility.

Boyer's study is based on extensive on-site interviews with American university presidents and a national survey of American college and university presidents conducted by the American Council on Education in 1989. Lack of student participation in campus events was the most extensive problem reported by the presidents (76% said that lack of student involvement is a moderate to major problem). "Students are spending little time pursuing intellectual interests beyond the classroom," said Boyer, "The goal of many is getting a credential. . ." (p.3).

According to a report in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, professors at many U.S. institutions acknowledge that students have been concerned about grades and the job market for years. The anxiety over getting good grades, however, has lately intensified to an uncomfortable degree. The article suggests this anxiety is caused by pressure from parents who are spending a lot of money to send their children to college and therefore expect them to excel academically. Students are reluctant to take risks and broaden their horizons, by working for student government or joining student-run clubs, for fear that these activities will cut into their study time (January 31, 1990, p. A33, A34).

As a first attempt to gain a more comprehensive picture of campus life in this country, the authors surveyed Canadian university presidents and asked them to 1) comment upon the prevalence of a selected group of social issues; 2) indicate the success of their institution in achieving a caring and inclusive community for faculty and students; and 3) list the kinds of student services they provide and student nonacademic disciplinary measures they follow.

This study is based on the perceptions of university presidents. Whether these impressions are deemed to be an accurate representation of the situation on campus is, for the authors, an open question. But, as these presidents are situated at the crossroads of all campus concerns, eliciting their views would seem a valuable first step in assessing campus climates and the quality of campus life.

Method

The presidents of 66 Canadian institutions responded to the survey which, on the basis of a population of 88 universities, represents a response rate of 75 per cent. The survey itself was divided into four

sections. This paper reports primarily on the first two sections as well as one question in the fourth section of the survey.

The first section was designed to assess the prevalence of a selected group of 20 attitudes and behaviours – which will hereafter be referred to as campus life issues. These issues were chosen by the authors based on a review of academic studies of campus life at North American universities, reports that appeared in the academic and mainstream press, discussions with colleagues at their own and other institutions about “hot button” issues, proceedings of annual conferences of student affairs professionals,² and finally their own experience dealing with social problems on campus.

Table 1
Campus life issues at 66 Canadian universities

1. Alcohol abuse	11. Racial Harassment
2. Antipathy towards women activists	12. Religious bigotry
3. Closed-mindedness	13. Sexual harassment
4. Date rape	14. Student apathy
5. Drug abuse	15. Student preoccupation with future career
6. Harassment of homosexuals	16. Student protests
7. Incivility	17. Theft
8. Lack of student interest in broader, intellectual issues	18. Town-grown relationships
9. Language group bigotry	19. Vandalism
10. Offensive language	20. Violence

The respondents were asked to assign a ranking of 1 through 7 to each of the above-identified campus life issues: 1 indicating that it is not at all prevalent and 7 indicating it is extremely prevalent at the respondent's institution.

The second set of 20 questions in the survey asked the presidents whether they thought the above-mentioned issues increased or decreased in prevalence over the previous five years. Again, respondents gave each of the campus life items a score of between 1 and 7, 1 indicating the issue declined markedly, 4 indicating it remained relatively constant, and 7 indicating it increased dramatically.

The third section of the survey was designed to get some sense of the campus as a community: Do faculty and students have a sense of belonging? Do they interact outside of the classroom? Do students receive sufficient guidance and an introduction to university life? Respondents were asked to give nine statements a score of 1 to 5, 1

indicating that they disagreed strongly, 3 indicating they had no opinion, and 5 indicating they agreed strongly.

The fourth section was comprised mainly of closed-end questions in which the presidents were asked to indicate the number and kind of student support and orientation services available at their institutions. Presidents were also asked to describe student nonacademic discipline policies and procedures. Finally, an open-ended question asked presidents to list three "problem areas" among their students that were likely to cause the most difficulty in the next two or three years.

While the campus life issues in the first two sections of the survey are admittedly wide ranging, they share one common characteristic in that they all impact to some degree on the quality of student life. Some of these issues can be defined and quantified relatively easily; theft for example could be the number of robberies reported on campus in a given period. Other issues defy strict definition. Rather than ignore the issues that are more difficult to define and measure or impose a definition, the authors allowed presidents to use their own judgement in determining the nature and extent of the 20 attitudes and behaviours, the assumption being that presidents should have the knowledge and experience necessary to make such judgements. Minor differences in the interpretation of some of the issues was expected but the authors did not feel the differences would be so great as to make comparisons misleading. The analysis was mainly descriptive in nature. Frequencies were calculated for all applicable data. The mean and standard deviation were derived from these frequencies. Cross-tabulations were run on the responses to each of the first forty questions and a list of 13 university characteristics (size, location, type, degrees offered, program range, region, student/faculty ratio, age of institution, source of students, operating income, affiliation, gender mix, and research intensity), but no statistically significant relationships were found, owing in part to the small cell sizes.

Results

Campus life issues: Current prevalence

A rank ordering of the presidents' mean responses to the question: "Indicate the extent to which the following attitudes or behaviours are prevalent at your institution?" revealed that student preoccupation with future career is perceived to be most prevalent on campus. This is followed by low interest in broad, intellectual issues and student apathy.

Nearly 50% of the presidents believe that student preoccupation with future career is strongly characteristic of their institutions. Only 7.5% feel this issue is not at all prevalent, the lowest such response for the entire battery of 20 questions.

Table 2

*Presidents' perceived prevalence of 20 campus life issues:
Mean responses ranked in descending order*

	Mean Response
1. Student preoccupation with future career	5.11
2. Low interest in broad intellectual issues	4.32
3. Student apathy	4.05
4. Alcohol abuse	3.91
5. Antipathy towards women activists	3.42
6. Theft	3.38
7. Closed-mindedness	3.34
8. Sexual Harassment	3.17
9. Vandalism	3.09
10. Offensive language	3.03
11. Incivility	2.89
12. Town/gown relations	2.67
13. Harassment of homosexuals	2.56
14. Racial harassment	2.44
15. Language Group Bigotry	2.38
16. Drug abuse	2.36
17. Date rape	2.27
18. Student protests	2.24
19. Violence	2.18
20. Religious bigotry	2.05

The second most prevalent issue, according to the presidents surveyed, is the lack of interest in broader, intellectual issues. Nearly all of the presidents (91%) believe this issue is at least moderately prevalent. Just under one-fifth have the impression that it is extremely characteristic of their institutions.

The third highest-ranked item, in terms of the mean response, is student apathy. Like the previous issue, nearly one-fifth (18.2%) of the presidents feel that student apathy is extremely characteristic of their schools. The slightly lower mean response (and therefore lower rank) accorded this issue stems from the fact that over 15% of the presidents feel student apathy is not at all prevalent. This compares to only 9% of the respondents for lack of student interest in broader, intellectual issues.

The fourth highest-ranked campus life issue and the highest-ranked issue of a "non-academic" type is alcohol abuse. Although ranked just below student apathy, the mean response (3.91) indicates it is perceived to be somewhat less prevalent than the three aforementioned issues. Ten per cent of the presidents feel that alcohol abuse is extremely characteristic of their campuses, while 16.6% feel that it is not at all prevalent.

Antipathy against women activists, while not identified by any of the respondents as extremely prevalent, ranks fifth in terms of its relative prevalence on campus. More than half of all the respondents (52.3%) believe this antipathy is at least moderately prevalent.

Theft is perceived to be the sixth most prevalent campus life issue, even though 29.2% of all responding presidents feel it is not at all prevalent on their campuses. Most respondents (66.2%) feel this behaviour is at least moderately prevalent but few (4.6%) feel it is extremely characteristic of their universities.

Closed-mindedness amongst the student population ranks seventh followed by sexual harassment in eighth place. While none of the presidents surveyed feel that sexual harassment is extremely prevalent, roughly 43% feel it is present to at least some degree.

The mean scores indicate that vandalism, offensive language, and incivility are not perceived to be extremely prevalent. They are nevertheless more frequently observed than the harassment of individuals on the basis of their race, sexual orientation, or mother-tongue.

While alcohol abuse stands fourth among all of the campus life issues identified, the presidents feel that drug abuse is much less common. The mean response (2.36) ranks it only 16th. Most of the presidents agree on the low incidence of this behaviour, as indicated by the low standard deviation in the responses to this question.

According to the Canadian university presidents surveyed, "date rape" is not perceived to be a highly prevalent campus life issue. Date rape ranks only 17th out of all the campus life issues identified in this survey. Only 15% of the respondents feel that "date rape" is at least moderately prevalent. Perhaps what is most interesting about this particular issue is the response pattern. Six per cent of the respondents did not assign a value to this issue - the highest missing number for any of the questions on the survey.

Student protests and on-campus violence are not frequent occurrences, according to the respondents in this survey. These issues rank 18th and 19th respectively in terms of their prevalence on campus. Of the 20 campus life issues identified, religious bigotry is by far the least prevalent.

Campus life issues: Perceived changes

In the second set of 20 questions in this study, respondents identified the extent to which the attitudes and behaviours identified in the first set of 20 questions, increased or decreased over the previous five

years. Not only are student preoccupation with future career and lack of student interest in broader, intellectual issues most prevalent on Canadian campuses at the present time, they are also the two issues which, presidents believe, increased to the greatest degree over the last five years. Nearly three-quarters of all the respondents feel the increase in student preoccupation with future career was dramatic. Less than 2% feel the issue decreased in prevalence.

In the first set of questions, theft was identified as the sixth most prevalent issue currently on Canadian campuses. When ranked according to its increasing prevalence over the last five years, theft moves up three places to third place. Over one-third of the respondents (36.4%) feel theft increased significantly over the last five years.

University presidents feel two other campus life issues increased over the last five years – antipathy towards women activists and student apathy. Antipathy towards women activists ranks fourth in terms of its increased incidence on campus. Forty per cent of the respondents feel this increase in antipathy was significant.

Student apathy ranks fifth in terms of its increased incidence on campus. Nearly one-third of the respondents (30.3%) feel student apathy increased over the last five years.

While university presidents believe that five potentially-troublesome issues increased in prevalence over the last five years, they also perceive that over the same period, 15 other issues declined. Drug abuse experienced the biggest drop. More than 60% of the university presidents feel drug abuse declined over the last five years. Only 3% feel it increased. Alcohol abuse is also on the wane, according to these university presidents. Over 40% feel the abuse of this substance declined. The marked decline in the prevalence of another campus life issue - student protests – paralleled the increase in student apathy. While nearly one-third of the presidents feel that student apathy increased, more than 40% feel the level of student protest declined over the previous five years.

Problem areas likely to cause the most difficulty

In an open-ended question in section four of the survey, presidents were asked to consider problem areas that might originate among students at their institution over the next two or three years and indicate the three problems that were most likely to cause difficulty. Thirty-five per cent of the presidents said that financial concerns, for example, concern over increasing tuition costs and shrinking financial aid, would be most likely to cause them difficulty in the next two or three years. The second most often mentioned problems were alcohol abuse and gender issues. Each were mentioned by 27% of the presidents. The third most often

mentioned problem area was inadequate facilities. Twenty-one per cent of the presidents said that inadequate facilities (and inadequate funds to remedy the problem) were most likely to cause them difficulty in the short run. Lack of student involvement and interest in activities outside of the classroom was the fourth most often mentioned problem area. Twenty per cent of the presidents felt this issue was likely to cause the most difficulty.

Discussion

This survey of Canadian university presidents reveals that of the 20 campus life issues identified, student preoccupation with future career, low interest in broad intellectual issues, and student apathy are perceived to be most prevalent.

The authors did not interview any of the presidents to seek explanations for the prevalence of these particular issues. Axelrod's (1990) examination of Canadian student life suggests that "the chronically unstable economy. . . has led to an intensity in the classroom, a preoccupation with grades, a greater desire to consume rather than question knowledge and a more evident concern with the educational pay off rather than the educational process" (p. 24). Horowitz (1989) suggests that the growing disinclination of students to broaden their intellectual horizons or participate in campus life is a reflection of the dominance of particular student subcultures – the "new outsiders", who originally came to the fore in the 1970s, and the "old outsiders" who are at present the fastest-growing group. Horowitz says outsiders began as traditionally-excluded groups (women, Jews, visible minorities) who viewed a university education as a way of overcoming their disadvantaged social position. The "new outsiders" are generally middle-class students who, concerned that increased competition might prevent them from achieving the material prosperity of their parents, focus on grades in order to get into professional schools. This leaves them little time for political protests or campus hi-jinks. The "old outsiders" are nontraditional students – mature and part-time students who have work and family commitments in addition to their studies and simply do not have the time to participate in campus life to the extent of "traditional" students.

While not as prevalent as the aforementioned issues, alcohol abuse is, nevertheless, a fact of Canadian university life. In terms of the mean response this issue ranks fourth. It is a troubling testament to the enormity of the problem that despite a perceived dramatic decline in alcohol abuse over the last five years, it is still one of the most prevalent issues on Canadian campuses.

While there certainly is an impression among the presidents that students over-indulge in alcohol, the same cannot be said of drugs. Most presidents feel that instances of drug abuse are extremely rare. The presidents also feel that "date rape", student activism, violence, and religious bigotry are among the least prevalent issues on campus. The perceived low incidence of "date rape" may simply be a reflection of the fact that date rape is difficult to identify and is frequently not reported. It is much easier, on the other hand, for presidents to gauge the level of student activism. It is hardly surprising that protest activity is down among students whose primary interest appears to be getting a degree and getting a job. The perceived decline may also be a reflection of the change in the style of student activism. While student protests have not disappeared altogether, gone are the days when student leaders could rally the entire student body to protest for social change. Student activists now represent narrower interests and are more likely to work within the university system in order to generate change.

Not only is the disinclination of students to broaden their intellectual horizons and to participate in campus life beyond the classroom most prevalent at the present time, but these two issues appear to be on the rise. Two other issues - theft and antipathy towards women activists - are also perceived to be increasing. Antipathy towards women activists ranks highly, both in terms of its current prevalence on campus and its perceived increase over the last five years. It is ironic that in terms of attitudes on campus, the backlash against those who identify and speak out against sexism and sexual harassment is perceived to be more prevalent than the problems themselves. This may reflect what Dagg and Thompson (1988) referred to, in their comprehensive examination of sexual harassment on Canadian university campuses, as "anti-women ambience".

While issues such as student preoccupation with future career, low interest in broad, intellectual issues, and student apathy are viewed by presidents to be the most prevalent, they are not the most problematic. It is the rising cost of an education and the students' ability to finance it that presidents believe will cause the most difficulty in the near term. While the lack of student involvement and interest in activities other than formal studies is not at the top of the presidents' list of problems, the fact that it is the fourth most often mentioned problem area does indicate that it is of concern to them.

Concern over alcohol abuse surpasses its prevalence on campus. It is the fourth most prevalent of the 20 issues identified, but the second most often mentioned problem area. The presidents feel that gender

issues are as likely as alcohol abuse to cause difficulty over the next two or three years. However, none of the gender issues are as prevalent as alcohol abuse. Antipathy towards women activists is the fifth most prevalent issue followed by sexual harassment in the eighth spot and date rape in the 17th spot.

The above comparison illustrates that prevalence is not always a factor in the perceived seriousness of an issue. The nature of the area of concern is itself an important consideration. How much interest or controversy surrounds a given issue on a given campus or in the larger society? How much time and resources are involved in dealing with these issues on a daily basis? How is the prevalence of these attitudes and behaviours measured? Data on these and other related questions need to be obtained before a clearer picture of the quality of Canadian campus life can be obtained.

Notwithstanding these limitations, a comparison of the results of this survey with the results of the 1989 survey of American college and university presidents (American Council on Education, 1989) reveals some interesting similarities and differences. In the U.S. survey, the presidents were asked, "What three campus life issues have given you the greatest concern?" Alcohol abuse was mentioned most frequently by the presidents (45%). Four other issues were mentioned by more than 10% of the presidents. These include: student apathy (30%), campus security and crime (25%), inadequate facilities (18%), and interracial/intercultural relations (13%).

A comparison of these results with the Canadian presidents' responses to the question, "What three problem areas are most likely to cause difficulty at your institution over the next two or three years?" reveals that financial concerns are ranked very low by the U.S. presidents (only 4% said this issue has given them great concern) but very high by the Canadian university presidents.

Given its high rank on the list of concerns of both Canadian and American university presidents, alcohol abuse is obviously a problem that transcends national boundaries. Concern over this issue is somewhat higher, however, among the U.S. presidents.

While both Canadian and American university presidents agree that alcohol abuse is a big problem, they differ dramatically on campus security and crime and gender issues. Not one Canadian president indicated that crime was likely to cause them difficulty over the next two or three years. One-quarter of the U.S. presidents on the other hand, said that this was an issue of great concern to them.

Concern about gender issues is very high on the Canadian presidents' list of concerns. The only gender-related issue mentioned by the U.S. presidents is sexual harassment and even then only 2% said it is an issue of great concern to them.

Canadian and American university presidents share a similar level of concern over inadequate facilities but lack of student involvement is viewed as more of a problem in the United States than Canada.

NOTES

1. Depending on the institution, the CEO is variously called the president, principal, rector, or vice-chancellor. For the purposes of this paper, president will be used generically.
2. The proceedings of the national conference of the Canadian Association of University and College Student Services held from June 17th to June 20th, 1990, at the University of Toronto.

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World Bank Lending for Higher Education and Research:

Lessons and implications for Eastern Europe

Abstract

World Bank strategies for reforming and rehabilitating higher education and research systems in Eastern Europe are examined in the context of its world-wide lending experience in higher education. Information is presented on the kinds and distribution of Bank higher education investments from 1963 to 1991. Attention is given to recent projects in Brazil, China, and Hungary that have significantly influenced the way the Bank has understood key issues involved in restructuring higher education and research systems in Eastern Europe. The importance of creating the right incentives for institutions and researchers is emphasized as well as the fragility of economic and political systems in the region.

Résumé

Les stratégies de la Banque Mondiale au titre de la réforme et de la revalorisation de la recherche et de l'enseignement supérieur en Europe de l'Est sont examinées sous l'angle des prêts internationaux qu'elles concèdent dans le domaine de l'enseignement supérieur. Des données sont fournies sur la nature et la répartition des placements effectués par la Banque Mondiale dans l'enseignement supérieur entre 1963 et 1991. L'auteur centre son attention sur les projets récents au Brésil, en Chine et en Hongrie qui ont considérablement influencé la manière dont la Banque a saisi les problèmes clés liés à la restructuration de la recherche et de l'enseignement supérieur en Europe de l'Est. La nécessité de créer des mesures d'incitation appropriées pour les établissements et les chercheurs y est mise en valeur au même titre que la fragilité des systèmes politiques et économiques de cette région du globe.

The World Bank's lending strategy for human resource development in Eastern Europe emphasizes the importance of restructuring education and training systems to facilitate the transition to market economies. Projects have generally combined initiatives directed to transforming the organization and content of vocational and technical training with support for efforts to break down the compartmentalization of the higher education and research systems.

The World Bank's first major education sector investment after the dramatic political changes of the late 1980s was a 1991 loan to Hungary which included programs designed to promote development of new interdisciplinary fields of study and research neglected during the socialist period, upgrade scientific instrumentation in universities and government scientific institutions, increase opportunities for young scientists, and expand foreign language training. These were intended to support introduction of normative financing of public higher education institutions and establishment of an autonomous foundation to allocate research support in basic sciences on an open competitive basis. Other project components supported reform of secondary vocational and adult training.

In Poland, an educational restructuring project is being appraised that will support reorganization and reform of vocational and technical education, including creation of new higher technological institutes offering short-cycle programs to prepare students for employment in the industrial and service sectors. In Bulgaria, a project is being prepared with components intended to strengthen career guidance and vocational training, improve monitoring of student performance and program effectiveness, and to establish new funding mechanisms to support research mainly in applied scientific fields important to private sector development.

While these projects reflect the diverse circumstances and different priorities of the borrowing countries, there are many commonalities. Bank investments support the "structural adjustment of the human capital producing sectors . . . to the new political and economic realities," particularly "the change in the function of labor markets from social welfare and redistribution to economic productivity and efficiency" (Harbison, 1991, pp. 7-8). The introduction of market mechanisms has led to sharp reductions in industrial output throughout the region and, combined with decreased subsidization and privatization of some public enterprises, increasing unemployment. This has focused concerns on the need for comprehensive national strategies for retraining the labor force, restructuring the relationship between education and the employment sector as well as for maintaining and eventually increasing human re-

source and capital investment in modernizing the technological bases of production systems.

This paper examines Bank strategies for reforming and rehabilitating higher education and research systems in Eastern Europe in the context of its world-wide lending experience in higher education since 1963. The overall objective is to show how the Bank is attempting to apply lessons learned to its evolving lending program in higher education investments from 1963 to 1991. The first section describes the volume of lending and distribution of projects. The second considers projects in Brazil, China, and Hungary that have significantly influenced the way the Bank has understood the key issues involved in restructuring higher education and research systems in Eastern Europe. The final section draws attention to special circumstances that the Bank must take into account if its present and future lending activities are to be effective.

World Bank Patterns of Investment

Since 1963 the World Bank has had a prominent role in supporting the development of higher education systems in Latin American, Caribbean, African, Middle Eastern, Asian, and many European countries (Eisemon, 1992). In all, 281 higher education projects with 432 higher education components have been supported, amounting to a total Bank investment of more than US\$5 billion. That represents about one third (37%) of lending for education during the period of 1963 to 1991. World Bank investment in higher education has grown from an average of 17% of lending for education in the 1960s to 37% since 1986.

The World Bank became involved in lending for higher education at a time when many countries in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean were becoming independent and when rapidly developing bureaucrasies, to manage public investments, were designed to stimulate economic growth. Between 1963 and 1975, a majority (61%) of projects supported universities. In the early 1970s, the justification for large donor and government investments in higher education, particularly in university development, were being questioned. Rate of return analyses suggested that developing countries were "over-investing" in higher education and that resources should be redirected to primary education.

This theme was amplified in World Bank educational research and policy statements throughout the 1970s and early 1980s. The 1971 Education Sector Policy Paper proposed more emphasis on primary and even nonformal education. The 1974 Education Sector Working Paper criticized the disproportionate allocation of education resources to secondary and higher education that served the modern sector, resulting in underfinancing of basic education which was the more efficient and more equitable investment.

The 1980 Education Sector Policy Paper, the most recent statement of World Bank policy for investment, focused on equity issues and on expanding access to basic education within the framework of measures to promote cost effectiveness and external efficiency. It raised concerns about reliance on manpower forecasting and the enthusiasm of many developing countries for vocational training, though it favored investments in polytechnics and other forms of technical training as an attractive alternative to high cost university studies. The number of World Bank investments involving universities declined between the mid-1970s and mid-1980s. Nevertheless, the volume of lending grew more than 50%, and higher education's share of education lending increased from 30% to 43%.

The volume of higher education lending has continued to grow although its share of education investments has declined somewhat. Nearly all of this relative decline can be attributed to rising support for primary education. In other words, the competing requirements of the higher education and primary education subsectors have been accommodated by the expansion of assistance for education generally.

Investment in European and Middle Eastern, and especially in East Asian, countries has grown more rapidly than lending to African or Latin American and Caribbean countries. In the most recent period (1986 - 1991), East Asian countries - principally China and Indonesia - accounted for 33% of project investments and nearly half (47%) of higher education lending. Lending to South Asian and European and Middle Eastern countries has also grown in recent years.

Table 1

Total higher education lending by region, 1963-1991 (Millions US\$)

Region	63-70	71-75	76-80	81-85	86-91	Total
	\$ M %	\$ M %	\$ M %	\$ M %	\$ M %	\$ M %
Africa	15.6	43.3	69.7	111.7	279.0	519.3
	30.2	13.4	12.0	7.3	10.8	10.2
E. Asia	11.9	108.0	214.4	1,103.1	1,219.0	2,656.4
	23.0	33.0	37.0	72.0	47.0	52.0
S. Asia	17.4	54.0	22.6	67.9	569.3	731.2
	34.0	17.0	4.0	4.0	22.0	14.0
EMENA*	3.0	104.9	264.5	149.9	357.4	879.7
	6.0	33.0	46.0	10.0	14.0	17.0
LAC**	3.7	12.4	7.4	100.4	165.5	289.4
	7.0	4.0	1.0	7.0	6.0	6.0
Total	\$51.7	\$322.6	\$578.6	\$1,532.9	\$2,590.1	\$5,075.9

* Europe, Middle East, North Africa

** Latin American countries

Table 2***Total lending by type of institution supported, 1963-1991 (Millions US\$)***

Institution	63-70	71-75	76-80	81-85	86-91	Total
	No. \$ M %	No. \$ M %	No. \$ M %	No. \$ M %	No. \$ M %	No. \$ M %
Universities	10 \$32.3 63%	25 \$187.6 58%	26 \$268.0 46%	23 \$824.5 54%	38 \$899.7 35%	122 \$2,212.1 44%
S&T Research Institutes	0 \$0.0 0%	1 \$2.8 1%	0 \$0.0 0%	3 \$129.5 8%	13 \$604.8 23%	17 \$737.0 15%
Polytechnics	3 \$4.1 8%	9 \$32.6 10%	6 \$66.9 12%	9 \$149.5 10%	10 \$566.5 22%	37 \$819.6 16%
Technical Institutes	7 \$8.1 16%	30 \$75.2 23%	34 \$189.9 33%	19 \$240.1 16%	17 \$209.9 8%	107 \$723.1 14%
Teacher Training Institutions	15 \$7.2 14%	33 \$24.4 8%	34 \$53.7 9%	34 \$189.4 12%	33 \$309.2 12%	149 \$584.0 12%
Total	35 \$51.7 100%	98 \$322.6 100%	100 \$578.6 100%	88 \$1,533.0 100%	111 \$2,590.1 100%	432 \$5,075.9 100%

World Bank lending for higher education has been mainly directed to institutions which supply education systems with teachers to facilitate expansion of school enrolments or the productive sectors with technicians. Since 1986, for instance, about a third (30%) of higher education investments have supported teacher training and 24% have been directed to polytechnics or technical training institutions. The proportion of university projects has increased slightly since the early 1980s - to 34% in the period 1986 - 1991. Support for national scientific institutions which carry out advanced training and research is very recent. Together with universities that in many developing countries employ most scientists and engineers engaged in research and development, World Bank lending to these institutions between 1986 and 1991 accounted for nearly half (46%) of project investments and 58% of higher education lending.

Lending Experiences, Lessons Learned

Rehabilitating China's higher education and research system

The Bank's lending program to China illustrates the range of activities it supports, the successes of a comprehensive integrated approach to rehabilitation of higher education systems as well as some of

the difficulties experienced in transforming the training and research systems of countries with socialist economies. Nine projects have supported strengthening the different tiers of the higher education subsector within the framework of China's Four Modernizations Plan of 1980. The first project (1980) provided \$285 million for improving scientific and technological training at about a third of the country's elite national universities.

World Bank funding facilitated construction and/or rehabilitation of university laboratories and libraries, updating instructional and research programs with foreign scientific expert assistance, and upgrading the professional qualifications of academic staff through foreign training. Project implementation was guided by a Chinese Review Commission comprised of many of the country's leading scientists as well as by an International Advisory Panel. Somewhat similar international advisory structures were developed and implemented successfully in earlier Korean science and engineering projects.

The next three projects, two agricultural training projects (1983, 1984) and a polytechnic/television university project in 1983, were concerned with expansion of agricultural and technical universities and specialized training and research institutions like the National Rice Research Institute. A Second University Development Project was approved in 1985 to strengthen economics and engineering programs at 35 national universities supervised by government ministries. But neither this project nor the previous ones were intended to address in any significant way the increased pressure for expansion of the country's very selective system of higher education. They were mainly designed to enable China's elite higher educational institutions to catch up in scientific training and research after a long period of professional isolation during the Cultural Revolution.

The Provincial Universities Project (1986) embraced the largest, most diverse component of the higher education subsector - 60 of the country's more than 700 second-tier medical, technical, agricultural, and comprehensive universities. Although the project gave importance to quality improvement measures such as staff development, curricular reform, and investments in laboratories and libraries, more importance was placed on expansion of enrolment than in earlier projects. The project was implemented in the context of a radical decentralization of the State Education Commission's responsibility for financing and directing the growth of higher education at the provincial level.

Subsequent projects have supported university presses to increase the availability of instructional texts (1989) and one of the most recent, the Key Studies Development Project (1991), attempts to strengthen postgraduate training and research at 133 State Key Laboratories and

Special Laboratories, either at selected national universities or in institutes administered by the Chinese Academy of Science. A large network of State Key Laboratories was established in the early 1980s to concentrate research and training resources at centers of excellence designated by the State Planning Commission. Seventy-five laboratories, selected through a competitive peer review process, will receive support for research and postgraduate training. Priority has been given to proposals fostering collaboration between university departments and research laboratories. A particularly innovative feature of this project is a pilot program to improve laboratory management. As in the early university development and polytechnic projects, international program advisory groups will be established to monitor activities, except in this case the panel chairperson and most members will be Chinese.

Over the course of more than a decade and through multiple project investments, China's higher education system has been strengthened considerably. At the end of the Cultural Revolution, the government embarked on a massive effort to join the Newly Industrialized East Asian countries in terms of the production of scientists and engineers, and to promote technological innovation in agriculture and industry through increased access to scientific and technological expertise in other countries. World Bank assistance has facilitated China's re-entry into the international mainstream in many fields of scientific training and research. By the mid-1980s, the mainstream scientific output of Chinese scientists and engineers had grown considerably, reflecting the country's new scientific, education, and development priorities and increased international scientific cooperation. The qualitative expansion of scientific and technological training has been impressive, so much so that since 1988 the State Education Commission has frozen university intake out of concern for the qualitative implications of rapid enrolment expansion.

There were also important curricular reforms in engineering education and applied social sciences. For instance, in engineering, the number of different degree programs has been reduced from 665 to 100. Programs are still overly specialized by comparison to many industrialized countries where engineering education is organized on the premise that an engineering career involves performing various assignments requiring a wide range of practical expertise as well as a sound theoretical training and some social science knowledge in preparation for managerial responsibilities. Despite the Chinese effort to delink engineering education from manpower planning and create a labor market for engineers, the state-owned enterprises remain the principal employer of engineering graduates and the configuration of an engineer's professional responsibilities changed slowly until very recently.

The reform of programs in economics and financing was perhaps more successful. These were radically changed with profound long-term

implications for the training policy cadres who have played a central role in transforming the country's economy. In 1991, undergraduate programs in economics and finance at 250 universities and colleges were directed by the State Education Commission to begin using the new market economics syllabi developed by expert panels of Chinese and foreign scholars. "This would not have been possible," Hayhoe notes, "without Chinese consensus on both the need and direction of curricular reform, including recognition that western social science training models could be adapted to the Chinese situation" (Hayhoe, 1989, p. 62).

Supporting scientific training and research in Brazil

Like many Eastern European countries, Brazil is a major producer of science and technology and scientists and technologists. But it has not derived full benefit from its substantial research and training capacities for several reasons. The country's research and development capabilities are mainly concentrated in the public sector (Schwartzman, 1991). There is a very low level of private investment in research and development, and because of large, protected, oligopolistic internal markets, there are few incentives for technological innovation by private firms or state-owned enterprises (Dahlman, 1984; Schwartzman, 1991). Moreover, the country's work force is poorly educated and largely unskilled.

For many years, the World Bank provided little assistance to higher education apart from what was necessary to support Brazil's agricultural research system and expand further research on nonfossil fuels and the ecology of the Amazon basin. No rationale had been developed for greater involvement in the higher education system. Indeed, from a sectoral perspective, there was little justification for major investment.

The Science and Technology Project approved in 1985 reflected a radical change in the World Bank's approach. Better exploitation of the country's agricultural, mineral, and other natural resources was presented in this project as requiring increased investment in the country's infrastructure for scientific and technological training and research strained by the rapid growth of enrolments during Brazil's economic miracle from 1964 to 1979 and, subsequently, by economic crisis. A rationale for investment was developed, focusing on the implications of investments in research and training for economic growth and the country's poor performance on science indicators relative to OECD and many Asian countries.

Sector work identified the principal weaknesses of Brazil's higher education and national research systems as: (a) dispersion of scarce resources "across too many discrete activities" with the result that projects are inadequately funded; (b) "mismatch between availability and orien-

tation of scientific and technological expertise and the unexploited natural resource base"; (c) poor scientific support services and access to scientific information; and (d) ineffective mechanisms for setting scientific and educational priorities and funding projects (World Bank, 1985).

A human resource subprogram to expand postgraduate and diploma training in higher education institutions located in regions rich in natural resources, but scientifically and educationally less developed, was funded together with a large targeted research grants program in applied scientific fields open to researchers in universities and government scientific institutions. Procedures for peer review of research proposals were strengthened. A second scientific research and training project was approved in 1990 to "consolidate the fragile institutional reforms made in the first project, such as open competition, peer review and decentralized planning" (World Bank, 1990, p. 12). The project continues the focus on the public sector research system and "activities which the private sector will not finance." Additional funding is provided to the fields in the applied sciences supported by the earlier project and two more were added: materials science and environmental studies. Almost half of project funding will be expended for purchase of scientific equipment.

Much of the rationale presented for these project investments rests on the assumption that Brazil is not producing enough high quality science and well trained scientists and engineers. The problem is insufficient research and training capacities rather than insufficient utilization of the country's public higher educational and research assets by productive sectors. Yet the appraisal report for the most recent project draws attention to many areas of concern. The public sector, it notes, may finance as much as 90% of total science and technology investment, a much higher proportion than in many OECD and East Asian countries (World Bank, 1990, p. 34). While state funding has declined from the early 1980s as a result of continuing austerity, federal government spending on basic research has remained stable, reflecting "the political power of the Science and Technology community" (World Bank, 1990, p. 35). Ten per cent of national investment in advanced scientific training and 40% of competitive research funding, most of which is captured by universities, is derived from World Bank loans (Wolff, 1991, p. 6).

Macroeconomic reforms introduced by the federal government in 1990 have profound implications for whether the country will ultimately benefit from investments in expanding its higher education and research system. Protected internal markets are being opened and firms encouraged to compete, with tariffs being reduced substantially. State-owned enterprises which account for a substantial share of national research and development investment will soon be privatized. Such measures might lead to greater utilization of the research and training capabilities in

universities and in government scientific institutions. Much will depend on the policies the country develops to stimulate private investment in research and development and also on investment in increasing the educational and skill level of the labor force.

Reforming Higher Education and Research in Hungary

The political and economic context of the Bank's 1991 investment in reform of Hungary's higher education and research system is more dynamic than in either China or Brazil. A radical reform of the structure and financing of higher education and research is being supported in order to expand access to higher education, encourage curricular reforms, and unify the country's higher education and research systems which are presently the responsibility of different ministries and scientific academies.

In conjunction with the implementation of the World Bank project, a Higher Education Law was presented to the national parliament in 1992 to re-organize the public higher education system, allow public institutions to levy fees, change the procedures for allocating state support to students and institutions, legitimize the establishment of private institutions, and create funds to support research, institutional rehabilitation, and innovation as well as to establish new policy structures to guide the growth of the higher education system (COHE, 1991).

The Higher Education Law brings all public and private higher education within the authority of the ministry responsible for higher education which will be advised by a Committee for Higher Education and Research comprised of representatives of the various ministries concerned with higher education, university records and administrators of government scientific institutions, and local and even foreign experts. The Committee will formulate norms for financing public and private institutions and make recommendations to parliament on public expenditure for higher education through the ministry.

Although higher education will continue to be supplied primarily by the state, public and private institutions will compete for state support. Support will be distributed to institutions and students through various funds. Students will receive payments from the state Student Fund for part of the costs of accommodation, boarding, textbooks, and, in addition, loans to pay these and other costs interest-free for ten years. A Tuition Fund will provide support to institutions based on their efficiency and other parameters of performance as well as the costs of the programs they offer. Budgetary incentives will foster qualitative improvements and curricular innovations.

The Higher Education Research Fund will selectively support proposals from institutions that fall outside the mandate of other national research councils while the Facilities Fund can be accessed by institutions for extraordinary capital investments. Universities and colleges will be allowed to determine and allocate intake except in the case of certain professional faculties (e.g., medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine) whose enrolment will be controlled by the Committee for Higher Education and Research. The institutions will be able to obtain additional income from private sources without reduction of their operating budgets, set salaries and wages of academic and nonacademic staff, and manipulate other aspects of their cost structure, subject to minimum accrediting standards adopted by the Committee for Higher Education and Research to determine eligibility for support from the Tuition Fund.

The project shares some features of the China and Brazil projects described above, especially the reliance on open competitive funding mechanisms to motivate reforms, with the difference that the scope of the reforms supported is much broader. A "catching up" with the Higher Education in Europe Fund will be established with a World Bank credit to provide incentives to institutions to introduce new programs, integrate the research functions of government scientific institutions with the teaching activities of universities as well as to promote collaboration with other European institutions. The Fund provides interim support for the comprehensive reforms envisaged in the Higher Education Law.

Implications for Future Lending in Eastern Europe

While it is premature to speculate about the outcome of the Bank's project in Hungary, there are several lessons that can be drawn from the earlier investments in China and Brazil in fostering reform of higher education and research that are pertinent to other countries whose economies are in transition.

First, though a great deal of change can be accomplished by creating incentives and providing funding for institutional reforms, the macroeconomic environment must be supportive. That is particularly the case of reforms designed to increase the curricular flexibility and responsiveness of training programs to emerging labor market needs. Where progress toward creating open markets and expanding the role of the private sector is slow, curricular reforms that anticipate changes in the labor market will be difficult to carry out as the Bank's experience with engineering education in China illustrates.

In scientific and technological fields, the problem is compounded by the sharp decline in industrial output that usually accompanies market

reforms. At least initially, open markets do not generate new investment in research and development activities or much demand for scientists and engineers – whatever their training. Unemployment of scientists and engineers has risen rapidly throughout Eastern Europe and enrolments in scientific and technological fields have fallen in several countries. This suggests that reform efforts should concentrate on developing programs in fields in the applied social and natural sciences, especially economics, management, and the environmental sciences, that were largely neglected during the socialist period, and for which there is already evidence of a growing demand for graduates.

Second, the establishment of unitary, transparent, competitive funding mechanisms to overcome the fragmentation of the higher education and research systems characteristic of many Eastern European countries is not likely to produce a radical change in the structure of these systems in the absence of more fundamental financing reforms of the kind contemplated in Hungary. In China and Brazil, competitive research and training-funding mechanisms have the more limited and more achievable objective of increasing international scientific cooperation and promoting institutional collaboration. They have been effective in sustaining research and training activities in scientific and technological fields under conditions of resource scarcity. However, there are clearly no long term solutions to the compartmentalization of scientific training and research. A change in the way core budgets for teaching and research institutions are generated and allocated is needed.

The strategy in Hungary is to diversify sources of support for training and research and to supplant existing funding mechanisms with new funds administered by agencies that will enjoy considerable autonomy *vis-à-vis* the ministries responsible for universities and government scientific institutions. Predictably, the proposal has provoked strong opposition from the sectoral ministries, such as the ministries of agriculture and health which operate their own training and research institutions, as well as from the scientific academies.

Third, prospects for reform are not likely to improve without greater political stability and legitimacy and more attentiveness on the part of governments and the Bank to the democratic context of the reform process. The scientific communities of Eastern Europe are politically powerful like those in China and Brazil, but their claims on scarce public resources are generally weaker, largely because of their formerly privileged status during the socialist period. Nevertheless, reforms are no longer promulgated; they must be politically negotiated with the parties concerned.

The establishment of participatory parliament forms of government after 1989 led to greater political autonomy for higher education and scientific institutions. The governance and management of these institutions was democratized and state intrusion reduced considerably except, significantly, insofar as their financing is concerned. Meaningful autonomy in how institutions raise and utilize resources and in regard to matters affecting their costs, such as levels of remuneration, is essential to both financing and curricular reforms. But mechanisms of accountability acceptable to higher education and scientific institutions as well as to the state will be necessary to support further devolution of government control.

An important legacy of the socialist period is a pervasive (and well founded) distrust of the executive organs of government, especially by elected parliamentarians. This is exacerbated both by the proliferation of political parties and interest groups and by frequent changes in government. The result is that legislation involving reform of higher education and scientific institutions is highly detailed, crafted to circumscribe government authority in implementation, and receives intense political and public scrutiny. Passage of important reform legislation is stalled in Hungary, Romania, and in an increasing number of other Eastern European countries.

Finally, even under the most favorable circumstances, multiple investments will be required to support the reform process in Eastern Europe. The World Bank will have to work with governments in formulating a long-term comprehensive investment strategy as it did in China throughout the 1980s, supported by a series of project investments directed simultaneously to different institutional components of the higher education and research system. Funding for curriculum reform, rehabilitation of instructional and research infrastructure, staff training, and other qualitative improvements must be mutually reinforcing and provided in conjunction with increased national investment, both public and private. High priority should be given to assisting governments to strengthen management of their higher education and research systems and institutions.

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Edspeak and the Double Adjectival Vacuity

Abstract

Educational thought is jeopardized by a particularly empty form of educational discourse, here dubbed "Edspeak." One of the chief rhetorical devices of Edspeak is what might be called the "double adjectival vacuity." The semantic properties and political advantages of this pervasive rhetorical device are discussed.

Résumé

La pensée pédagogique est menacée par une forme particulièrement vide de discours pédagogique à laquelle on a donné le surnom anglais de "Edspeak." L'une des principales caractéristiques rhétoriques de Edspeak est ce qu'on pourrait appeler la "double vacuité adjectivale." L'auteur analyse les propriétés sémantiques et les avantages politiques de ce procédé rhétorique omniprésent.

When I think in language, there aren't 'meanings' going through my mind in addition to the verbal expressions: the language is itself the vehicle of thought.

Ludwig Wittgenstein
Philosophical Investigations

Over thirty years ago, James Koerner in *The Miseducation of American Teachers* (1963) complained that educators had abandoned the English language and put in its place a "pernicious patois" that Koerner dubbed "Educanto." Koerner's complaint was not just that educators

lacked a felicitous prose style or wrote in a particularly unfriendly technical jargon. Rather, his charge was (and still is) more serious than that:

Educanto is a deadly serious phenomenon: it masks a lack of thought, supports a specious scientism, thrives on slogans and incantations, and repels any educated mind that happens upon it. Until Education can carry on its business in decent English, most other reforms are handicapped, for they cannot even be discussed intelligibly. (p. 21)

In the last chapter of *Miseducation*, “English or Educanto?,” Koerner gives numerous examples of the ludicrous excesses of Educanto – all of which were culled from the so-called “professional literature” in education, that is, from various journal articles, books, and textbooks in such fields as educational psychology, educational administration, curriculum studies, and so on.

As appalling as the language of this professional literature is, there is an even more virulent form of Educanto which, in deference to George Orwell’s original insight about the political uses of language, ought to be called “Edspeak.” Edspeak is a kind of regional dialect of Educanto – an even more pernicious patois which one is most apt to hear in the political domain of education. Edspeak is the *lingua franca* of educational task-force reports, ministry documents, educational mission statements, school board directives, tendered research proposals, curriculum guidelines, and the like. This degenerate off-shoot of Educanto typically sounds (or reads) something like this:

If future teachers are to foster meaningful performance-based outcomes, they will need to adopt flexible teaching-and-learning strategies that promote both essential individualized competencies and positive collaborative experiences.

This particular sentence is fictional and contrived, but anyone reasonably familiar with this political “underliterature” of education will, I trust, vouch for its verisimilitude. Even though the sentence is made-up, it is (to put it oxymoronicallly) a genuine imitation. What accounts for the sentence’s verisimilitude is, I believe, its heavy reliance upon a particular rhetorical device that I will call “the double adjectival vacuity.” This device is perhaps the single most common stylistic feature of Edspeak. As my label suggests, its construction consists of two successive adjectives followed by a noun – but not just any kind of adjectives or any kind of noun.

If you re-read the contrived sentence above, you will see that it contains four instances of the double adjectival vacuity: meaningful performance-based outcomes; flexible teaching-and-learning strategies; essential individualized competencies; and positive collaborative experiences.

With a minimum of intellectual effort, it is easy enough to recycle the same sentence frame by simply substituting four new double adjectival vacuities in place of the old ones, to wit:

If future teachers are to foster [life-long cognitive skills],
they will need to adopt [effective school-based initiatives]
that promote both [practical resource-based programs] and
[supportive community-based partnerships].

Again, I presume the reader will agree that this new sentence also sounds all-too-familiar. What accounts for this odd recursive feature of Edspeak? The explanation, I think, lies in the special semantic properties of the adjectives and nouns strung together in the double adjectival vacuity.

On the following page is a table that lists some twenty such vacuities. Each row of the table (reading from left to right) gives an example of this common Edspeak locution. Some are contrived; most are genuine. All are composed of actual adjectives and nouns that appear repeatedly in two recent specimens of Edspeak: one, a ministry curriculum document (1992) and the other, a board of education reaction paper (1991).

The table, however, discloses an especially alarming feature of these vacuities, that is, their near-random interchangeability. To illustrate, pick a word, any word, from each of the table's three columns and then arrange them in A-B-C sequence. Almost invariably, you will have coined an authentic bit of Edspeak. For example, if I use my telephone area code (519) as a random means for selecting words from the three columns, then I get: innovative global competencies. Now it wouldn't surprise me if, somewhere in the burgeoning Edspeak literature on global education, someone has written about "today's need to develop innovative global competencies for tomorrow's challenges. . ." or some such. I admit that this particular randomly-generated vacuity (innovative global competencies) sounds a little more awkward than others which one might assemble more deliberately, say, "effective global leadership." But even so, awkwardness of expression in Edspeak is really only a matter of very slight degree!

Table 1
Edspeak Vacuities

	A	B	C
1.	changing	global	needs
2.	meaningful	performance-based	outcomes
3.	flexible	teaching-and-learning	strategies
4.	essential	individualized	evaluation
5.	innovative	educational	decision-making
6.	positive	collaborative	experiences
7.	life-long	cognitive	skills
8.	effective	school-based	initiatives
9.	personal(ized)	cross-curricular	competencies
10.	practical	resource-based	programs
11.	supportive	community-based	partnerships
12.	flexible	broad-based	technologies
13.	continuous	professional	development
14.	comprehensive	classroom-based	activities
15.	creative	cooperative	problem solving
16.	continuous	goal-based	assessment
17.	holistic	integrated	knowledge
18.	ongoing	team-oriented	planning
19.	quality	student-focused	instruction
20.	active	in-school	leadership

Like the three-column table, there are children's books which are based upon the same sort of syntactic principle. Their pages are cut and put together in such a way that various parts of simple sentences can be permuted and aligned to create novel sentences. So, for example, parts of a sentence, such as "Father walked the dog," can be swapped with those of another, say, "Sister ate the cake," to produce such amusing childish nonsense as "Father ate the dog" or "Sister walked the cake." But everyone, even the young child, knows that these jumbled sentences are nonsense. How is it then that the vacuous nonsense of Edspeak manages to escape detection – even by adults?

Clearly, the answer lies in the special kinds of adjectives and nouns that typify Edspeak. Consider the list of nouns in column C of the table, that is, experiences, technologies, outcomes, and so on. These nouns are at or near the very highest level of abstraction and generality. Without further specification, they can (and do) refer to almost everything, in general, and, therefore, nothing, in particular. It is their rarefied level of abstraction that virtually guarantees their vacuity. These nouns, without some further modification, are essentially empty or without referents. Koerner describes a similar class of abstract nouns in *Educanto* which he calls "ritual words" or "words that serve any purpose with any subject on any occasion" (p. 292).

Now consider the list of adjectives in column A of the table, that is, creative, innovative, supportive, practical, and such. These adjectives, like the nouns, are also flexibly abstract. But more importantly, nearly all of these adjectives are ringed with a positive halo. Almost all carry essentially positive connotations. For most linguistic purposes, they are “good” adjectives. To verify this semantic property, one need only consider their opposites: uncreative, noninnovative, unsupportive, impractical.

There are, however, a few adjectives in column A whose positive connotations are somewhat peculiar to educational usage, especially, continuous, changing, ongoing, active, and the like. These dynamic or motile adjectives serve to invigorate or enliven Edspeak’s depictions of public education – an image obviously at odds with its reputation for inert bureaucracy and static tradition.

These positive adjectives are frequently combined with the super-nouns to produce any number of common phrases in Edspeak, for example, creative leadership, challenging initiatives, supportive partnerships, and so on. But such vacuous phrases, while not exactly meaningless, are still too abstract or decontextualized to serve, by themselves, the specialized educational purposes of Edspeak. What is needed is some way of locating these desirable generalities in educational space. This is usually accomplished by simply adding the kinds of adjectives listed in column B, that is, global, goal-based, student-focused, and the like. These adjectives not only give the vacuity an educational twist, but they often convey a specious kind of tangibility or location. Their addition helps vaguely to anchor or locate the vacuity in educational reality. This is why, I suspect, an uncommon number of these adjectives are suffixed with the word “-based.” This suffix, by itself, asserts that something (no matter how vague) is solidly grounded.

So here are the basic steps for composing a double adjectival vacuity. First, choose a highly abstract (preferably trendy) noun whose possible referents are virtually limitless. Then modify this super-noun with a “good”, all-purpose adjective to give it a positive spin. Finally, insert a second adjective between them that will ground the vacuity in some broad educational locale.

By reducing the construction of vacuities to a three-step formula, I do not mean to suggest that someone speaking or writing in Edspeak consciously applies such a formula. The formula is merely a way of highlighting several of the definitive features of Edspeak. Isolating these features helps to make plain the pernicious consequences of this educational patois, that is, how Edspeak mostly subverts intelligent thought and discussion about education.

The “substance” of Edspeak consists almost entirely of highly abstract nouns, that is, nouns which have no specific meaning or clear reference. The super-nouns of Edspeak function more like semantic place holders that are capable of taking on any number of meanings or interpretations – which is why any combination of adjectives and nouns in the table seems to make sense. Unlike the concrete, “Father-ate-the-dog” absurdities of the children’s books, it is more difficult to distinguish sense from nonsense in Edspeak. In fact, it is perhaps more accurate to describe Edspeak as mostly without sense (that is, meaning) rather than as nonsense (that is, foolishness). This lack of specific meaning, nevertheless, implies that people who communicate in Edspeak, quite literally, do not know what they are talking about. The all-purpose generalities of Edspeak are incapable of sustaining focused discussion and argument.

There are, of course, certain obvious political advantages associated with such empty discourse. “School-based initiatives” (as they say) wrapped in the grandiloquence of Edspeak are nearly unintelligible and, hence, almost impossible to discuss or criticize responsibly. If you then impart to such “initiatives” a further positive adjectival spin (say, innovative school-based initiatives), then even responsible criticism and resistance can be made to seem like insubordination or willful noncompliance.

In addition, the vacuous, unbounded proposals of Edspeak are likely to be compatible with any number of actual “school-based” circumstances. Such “flexible initiatives” allow their political sponsors either to claim any successes or disavow any failures that result from their implementation. The inherent equivocations of Edspeak thus serve to frustrate the demand for accountability in public education. In short, because education is governed and administered by a top-down bureaucracy, the linguistic liabilities of Edspeak turn out to be political assets.

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Résolution de problèmes par voie de similitude avec celui de la santé:

L'efficience des moyens

Résumé

L'analyse objective d'une situation ou l'observation faite dans un domaine peut permettre des approches bénéfiques ou une meilleure connaissance dans un autre domaine. Les enseignements d'un paradoxe de l'épidémiologie de prévention nous ont paru particulièrement pertinents dans le domaine de l'éducation. Ce paradoxe, traduit comme hypothèse à l'essai, suggère que: 1. des mesures introduites pour l'ensemble des étudiants ne sont pas nécessairement bénéfiques pour chacun; 2. l'accroissement des moyens financiers ne garantit pas l'accroissement équivalent de la qualité de la formation; 3. des mesures particulières introduites sur une base sélective seraient plus aptes à produire des effets individuels bénéfiques. En outre un ensemble de considérations infirme, par analogie, le postulat selon lequel l'injection de ressources financières supplémentaires dans le secteur de l'éducation et de l'enseignement contribuerait à en accroître la qualité. À partir de constatations choisies, cet article ouvre la voie à la recherche de similitudes fructueuses entre la santé et l'éducation de façon à trouver des éléments de solutions à des problèmes analogues.

Abstract

The objective analysis of a situation or an observation obtained in a specific domain can be beneficial to the resolution of a problem or contribute to a better understanding in another domain. The understanding from the prevention paradox of preventive epidemiology is particu-

larly relevant to the field of education and teaching. Transposition of this paradox as a working hypothesis suggests that: (1) a measure introduced for the benefit of all the student population offers little to each participating individual; (2) the increase in financial resources does not necessarily cause an increase in quality of schooling; and (3) measures introduced on a selective basis could be more beneficial to particular individuals. Furthermore, along with this analogical argumentation, a number of considerations indicate the fallacy of the argument according to which additional financial resources are necessary to the improvement of quality of teaching and schooling. Selected findings in this article, along with many field-tested experiences, suggest that fruitful similitudes between education and health might contribute to resolution of similar problems.

Aucun domaine de connaissances n'est isolé ni le fruit fortuit de générations spontanées. D'aucuns pourraient aujourd'hui opérer une division entre les sciences et espérer objectivement pouvoir résoudre des problèmes que l'ensemble des connaissances fait paraître comme la résultante d'interactions réciproques ou complémentaires. Pourtant, en dépit de l'affaïssement de frontières entre les sciences, le discours scientifique est encore largement morcelé et cloisonné, notamment par le jargon technique et spécialisé. On ne peut toutefois croire que ce qui est compris en termes spécialisés ne puisse, s'il est réellement compris et qu'il correspond à la réalité, pouvoir s'exprimer ou s'expliquer par un discours ouvert, clair et accessible à tous. Il devient alors possible de tirer du bagage massif d'un domaine de connaissances la quintessence du sujet. Des analyses objectives d'une situation faites dans un domaine peuvent alors permettre de mieux énoncer des approches de résolution de problèmes ou de développer une meilleure connaissance dans un autre.

Cette synergie dans le sens de l'intégration interdisciplinaire des connaissances devrait largement être acquise dans les domaines des sciences de la santé et de l'éducation. La situation charnière qu'elles occupent au sein de nos vies milite d'ailleurs en faveur d'efforts en ce sens; et, la complexité des situations, l'accumulation massive de connaissances spécifiques et complexes et la nécessité d'en faire surgir une cohérence les exigent. Toutefois, une vérité d'expérience est que la pratique ne s'inscrit pas dans ce sens. Ainsi, il n'est pas évident que tel ou tel problème ou domaine d'étude de l'épidémiologie ou de la psycho-éducation passe la rampe de la compréhension réelle entre spécialistes. Tant et si bien que la santé publique et le niveau d'éducation (d'instruction du moins) ne peuvent qu'en souffrir, les principaux intéressés, voire les principaux intervenants non-spécialistes de la santé publique ou de l'éducation, étant souvent dissociés des "outils" ou des moyens spécialisés ou confondus par les attitudes scientistes.

La corrélation entre niveau de santé et d'éducation et niveau de santé et richesse nationale répartie constitue un indice évident pour qu'il faille porter attention à ces influences mutuelles. Il est bien connu que l'accroissement de la scolarité (paramètre statistiquement mesurable) constitue une garantie de succès pour les futures politiques de santé. Les pays en voie de développement où l'espérance de vie a le plus augmenté sont ceux où le niveau d'éducation a le plus progressé (OMS, 1978; Banque Mondiale, 1991). Le Japon fournit un exemple particulièrement éloquent du lien qui existe entre l'accroissement de l'espérance de vie en peu d'années (un indicateur important de la santé), la richesse économique et la priorité accordée à l'éducation. Ainsi, un ensemble de données retrace, par le biais d'un langage qui incorpore les mesures des méthodes quantitatives, ce que la sagesse des enseignements classiques nous donnait déjà à comprendre, à savoir la relation étroite entre la santé physique et morale, et l'éducation.

Les deux domaines se rejoignent également dans la manière assez commune des sociétés industrialisées de poser les décisions collectives à propos de la nature et de l'allocation des ressources afin de rencontrer les besoins perçus de la population. D'une manière ou d'une autre les objectifs fondamentaux des systèmes d'éducation ou de santé visent à restituer une certaine égalité – une justice sociale – devant la santé ou l'éducation, indépendamment des inégalités sociales ou autres. Il y a donc là un terrain d'interventions où une plus grande réflexion à la lumière de paramètres communs peut suggérer l'amélioration des connaissances des mécanismes empiriques et contribuer à influencer les processus décisionnels ou, mieux, les conceptions profondes.

Ainsi, sans avoir la prétention d'avoir établi une relation rigoureuse entre les deux domaines, il apparaît assez clairement fondé que des prémisses de certains problèmes dans un domaine puissent être liés à ceux de l'autre. A la réflexion, tant la santé publique que l'éducation (traduits en termes d'indicateurs spécifiques) peuvent bénéficier de la mise en lumière de similitudes, de l'énonciation de situations de problèmes ou de paradoxes également valides dans l'un ou dans l'autre des deux domaines.

L'intention de cet article se situe dans une perspective interactionniste selon laquelle établir un tel rapprochement peut servir à mieux élucider des problèmes dans l'un ou l'autre domaine. On peut en effet conjecturer que la transposition d'une solution dans un premier domaine pourrait, si elle est traduite en termes objectifs et rationnels, se traduire en des approches bénéfiques; que l'observation faite dans un domaine puisse déboucher sur une meilleure connaissance d'un certain type de problème dans un autre domaine. L'objet particulier et circonscrit de cet article est de dégager d'une situation de problèmes en santé

publique, exprimée par le paradoxe de la prévention, des similitudes avec le domaine de l'éducation et de l'enseignement; et, de présenter les conséquences qui découleraient alors logiquement de l'analogie. Une réflexion complémentaire tirée de la problématique de l'évaluation de l'efficacité des moyens mis en oeuvre dans le domaine de la santé pourrait également suggérer comment mieux traduire des théories ou des modèles éducatifs en pratique ou en vérifier la validité.

De la santé à l'éducation: de paradoxes jumeaux

L'énoncé selon lequel l'injection de ressources financières supplémentaires dans le secteur de l'éducation et de l'enseignement contribuerait à accroître la qualité de l'enseignement est largement véhiculé. Il a valeur de postulat et il sert d'élément charnière à toute une gamme de revendications, notamment exprimées dans le monde syndical. Je ne veux pas orienter mes arguments dans ce sens; ce débat n'est pas mon problème. Toutefois, en sciences économiques, la loi des rendements décroissants nous enseigne qu'à partir d'un certain niveau l'accroissement d'une quantité d'intrant ne produit plus un accroissement proportionnel de l'extrant. Il y a effet de saturation et, dans certains cas, un effet de régression est observable.

Le sens commun ne nous habitue pas, surtout en période de croissance économique soutenue, à ce genre de réserve quant à l'efficacité des moyens lorsqu'il s'agit de domaines qui touchent l'intégrité de notre être, telles la santé et l'éducation. Une hypothèse de base ne joue alors pas, à savoir que les ressources intrantes sont limitées. Pourtant, lorsque cette contrainte joue ou qu'elle est prise comme paramètre contrôlé, le domaine de la santé constitue un terrain où l'influence ou la manifestation des phénomènes reliés à cette loi des rendements décroissants tombe sous le sens: on ne peut plus ignorer de prendre en compte un effet de saturation des effets bénéfiques en terme du niveau de santé, des apports supplémentaires de moyens technologiques ou de ressources financières. Or cet effet est largement manifeste. Si tel n'était pas le cas, il suffirait d'accroître les dépenses reliées à la santé pour que le niveau de la santé publique soit d'autant amélioré. Un ensemble de données prouve que tel n'est pas le cas, que la relation est alors nécessairement beaucoup plus fine et plus nuancée. Ainsi, il n'y a pas de relation directe entre le niveau des dépenses alloué au secteur de la santé des pays industrialisés et le niveau de santé mesuré par des indices tels la longévité et le taux de mortalité infantile (Schieber & Poullier, 1991; Banque Mondiale, 1991). De plus, on ne peut pas réellement établir que le niveau d'investissement ait une influence sur le niveau de santé; un ensemble de paramètres plus subtils, telles les valeurs de la société et la correspondance de la structure

du système de santé aux besoins des individus, serait sans doute plus pertinent (Khon & White, 1976).

Ce rapprochement entre santé et éducation sur la base de l'efficacité des ressources en regard des objectifs trouve un écho complémentaire dans un paradoxe du domaine de la santé publique qui regroupe un ensemble de considérations qui peuvent aider à comprendre certains mécanismes empiriques susceptibles de jouer également dans le domaine de l'enseignement et de l'éducation.

Le domaine de la médecine préventive a en effet révélé un paradoxe (Rose, 1981) selon lequel une mesure qui contribue à apporter de grands avantages en terme du niveau de santé à la communauté offre en fait peu d'avantages à chacun des individus. En corollaire, une mesure mise en oeuvre pour l'ensemble n'aura des répercussions bénéfiques que pour quelques-uns. Ceci amène plusieurs conséquences, à savoir:

1. Pour influencer sur un comportement de masse (habitudes alimentaires, emploi du tabac, port de la ceinture de sécurité etc.), il faut tenter d'agir sur des paramètres déterminants des comportements sociaux, à savoir les facteurs sociaux, économiques et éducatifs. Au demeurant, la pierre angulaire du niveau de santé publique et de la qualité de vie qui en découle résiderait dans l'hygiène de vie que favorisent grandement l'éducation et l'accès à des richesses et à la prospérité collectives pour l'ensemble de la population (OMS, 1978; Banque Mondiale, 1991). Une certaine corrélation existerait entre le niveau de vie et plus exactement le niveau socio-économique (par effet de sélection, de minimisation des risques, par la nature des comportements, etc.), l'accès aux soins de santé et l'espérance de vie.

2. Beaucoup d'efforts doivent être consentis de manière à observer quelques changements significatifs au niveau de la santé de l'ensemble de la population. Ainsi, l'introduction accrue de moyens techniques coûteux et sophistiqués atteint un seuil limite de sa capacité à relever le niveau de la santé publique. Des dépenses plus élevées par habitant ne se traduisent pas non plus nécessairement en un niveau de santé supérieur de la population (Khon & White, 1976; Banque Mondiale, 1991).

3. Les considérations 1 et 2 entraînent que l'efficacité des moyens consacrés à la santé dépend de plus en plus de l'introduction de mesures sélectives telles que le dépistage, les interventions auprès de groupes identifiés à risques, l'accès aux soins primaires de qualité, et l'introduction de moyens technologiques en raison des effets, de l'efficacité et des avantages comparés. La nature profonde des points 1 et 2 milite aussi dans le sens d'un raffinement des approches en fonction de la sensibilité

aux différents paramètres influant sur le niveau de santé, et éventuellement sur la santé de chacun.

A l'essai, nous proposons l'hypothèse qu'un paradoxe analogue existe dans le domaine de l'enseignement; et, que des conséquences analogues devraient pouvoir être observées. Nous suggérons le terme "paradoxe des systèmes d'enseignement et d'éducation" pour signifier à la fois la décroissance de l'efficacité marginale des ressources et la divergence entre les effets bénéfiques d'une mesure générale pour le niveau d'éducation (et de culture générale) de la population et les avantages réels pour les participants individuels.

Par analogie, la formulation générale de ce paradoxe jumeau pourrait être que le suivant: des mesures introduites pour l'ensemble des étudiants (par un régime pédagogique uniforme, par exemple) ne produisent pas nécessairement des effets bénéfiques pour chacun des étudiants. Toujours par analogie, les implications ou les conséquences de cette hypothèse à l'essai seraient:

1. que les effets d'entraînement de la culture et de la santé générale de la population, de l'accès aux enseignements primaires et à un système d'éducation de qualité offrant une solide éducation de base, qui permettrait l'adaptation aux changements et la correspondance de la formation aux impératifs socio-économiques, seraient déterminants quant aux objectifs visés;

2. que l'accroissement des moyens financiers dans un sens large ne garantit pas d'accroissement équivalent de la qualité ou du niveau utile de formation; et,

3. que des mesures ou des techniques particulières (relatives à la programmation, au régime pédagogique, à la pédagogie, au contenu didactique, etc.) introduites sur une base sélective seraient plus aptes à produire des effets bénéfiques pour chacun des participants et à se traduire en une qualité de la formation.

Nous obtenons ainsi une confirmation, par une voie certes différente, de l'influence d'un ensemble de paramètres qui, au-delà d'un certain seuil de ressources financières, pourraient être plus importants que les accroissements relatifs des dépenses. On pourrait objecter que cette forme d'argumentation n'apporte rien qui ne soit déjà réellement connu. Pourtant chacune des implications précédentes infirme la valeur de "croyances-postulats" qui sont au cœur de l'incohérence du système d'enseignement dans un sens large. Il n'est pas de notre propos de développer à fond cette affirmation, ce serait là l'objet d'une toute autre étude d'ailleurs largement réalisée par de nombreux auteurs. Toutefois soulignons que le point 1 nous dit que les services du système d'éducation

et d'enseignement composent seulement un des facteurs constitutifs du niveau d'éducation (dans le sens d'instruction) et de formation en général. Le point 2 infirme totalement les argumentations qui font du niveau des budgets une condition essentielle à la qualité de l'enseignement. Le dernier point infirme la pratique générale au sein des régimes pédagogiques; il contredit l'idée même d'une généralisation d'un même régime pédagogique universel aux modalités invariantes sur la base d'un principe égalitariste. L'ensemble de ces considérations s'inscrivent au sein d'analyses de ce qui forme une éducation de qualité et une formation continue pragmatique qui seraient garantes d'une capacité d'adaptation vitale au sein de notre monde en perpétuel changement et, par analogie aux soins primaires en santé, d'une plus grande chance de survie, donc d'un heureux vieillissement!

Discussion

La discussion critique de théories concurrentes fait partie de la démarche scientifique. Paradoxalement elle va bien plus loin que ce genre de chose dont nous nous satisfaisons dans la vie courante pour le règlement de notre propre vie. Les systèmes d'éducation et d'enseignement, par leur régime pédagogique, leur curriculum aussi, influencent à la fois le cours de notre vie, la démarche en matière scientifique et, dans un sens large, l'adaptation à un monde en évolution. Pourtant on ne semble pas faire état de ce que ni le régime pédagogique ni les modèles d'enseignement ne sont jamais réellement soumis à des règles d'évaluation de l'efficacité propre ou de validation avant leur essai en tant que régime régulier. Sans ces efforts de vérification de la validité de planifications fonctionnelles particulières, construites à partir d'éléments d'une connaissance dispersée, l'intégrité de notre santé "culturelle" est laissée à la merci du hasard.

Le paradoxe de la prévention que nous avons soumis par similitude comme toile de fond particulière du domaine de l'enseignement présente très simplement et avec clarté l'évidence de la fausseté de certains arguments tels ceux qui pourraient faire équivaloir qualité de l'enseignement et accroissement des budgets. Pourtant, il serait plus raisonnable de croire en la validité d'une approche qui pose le problème en terme de la nature et de la justesse des interventions, des méthodes et des programmes à partir d'une formation de base, équivalente, par similitude, aux soins primaires en santé publique.

Dans le domaine de la santé, de plus en plus, les hypothèses du sens commun ou l'efficacité présumée de procédures ou de traitements sont testées, notamment par les études épidémiologiques, les études cliniques randomisées ou certaines techniques de prise de décision clinique. Ainsi, le paradoxe de la prévention a été mis en lumière dans le

cadre de l'évaluation de programmes et d'études de prévention. Le même effort de vérification des hypothèses, dans un sens large, n'apparaît pas clairement ou ne se dégage pas avec la même évidence dans le domaine de l'éducation. Des modèles ou des techniques sont introduits sans que leurs efficacités réelles en terme de ce qui forme l'éducation, voire de manière plus restrictive par rapport à des indicateurs de ce qui constitue un apprentissage efficace, ne soient méthodiquement éprouvées. Ainsi, par analogie, sans développer ici plus avant les raisons de le faire, il serait nécessaire que les techniques pédagogiques et les programmes ne soient introduits que dans le cadre d'une évaluation systématique et continue de leur efficacité propre et réelle.

Nous n'avons pas le sentiment d'avoir épuisé la voie des similitudes fructueuses entre la santé et l'éducation. Nous n'avons pas non plus l'intention d'établir une relation directe et rigide entre les prémisses d'un problème en santé et d'un autre en éducation. Tel n'était pas notre but dans un si bref texte. Mais l'analogie, les similitudes et la compréhension d'un paradoxe dans un domaine permettent de recréer un milieu de simulation propice à des observations privilégiées qui permettent de faire surgir des évidences qui n'apparaîtraient pas sous la seule dimension d'une science isolée. Nous nous servons de l'analogie afin de recréer à l'essai une proposition visant à éclairer une situation de problèmes.

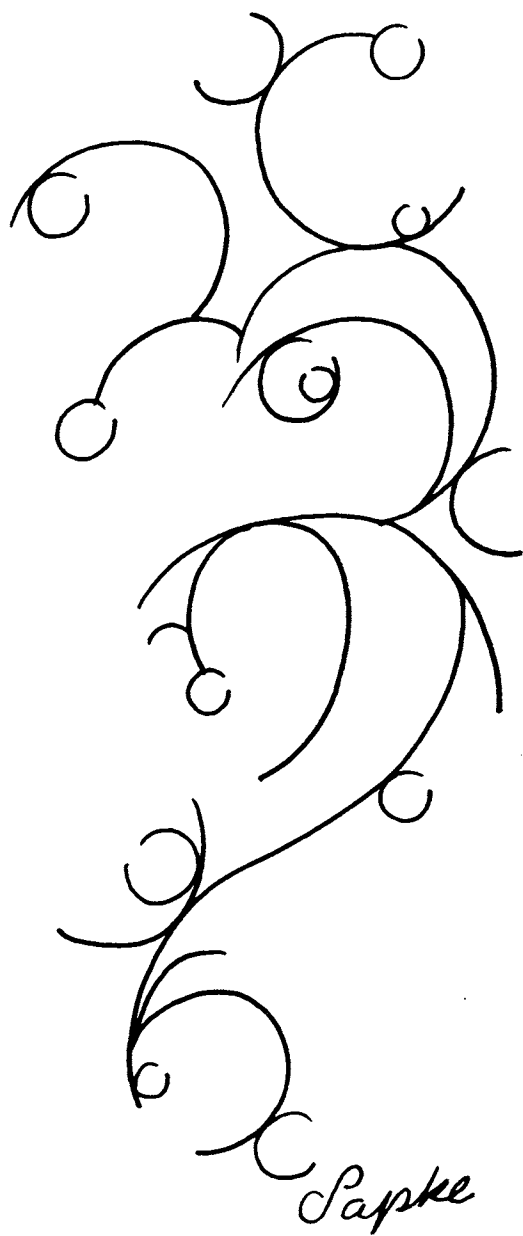
Nous prétendons toutefois ouvrir la discussion de façon à produire des éléments d'analyse de problèmes sur une base plus vaste que la seule perception disciplinaire ou quantitative à partir desquels il serait possible d'amorcer des solutions à des problèmes communs ou similaires. Nous soulignons donc que cette approche est de nature à éclairer ou à favoriser le développement des connaissances.

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Report from the Field

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Integration and Experience in the Secondary Curriculum

Abstract

A naturalistic study of an integrated curriculum package in a secondary school shows that, from the students' perspectives, integration does not happen because the subjects are combined together. Rather, analysis of the students' statements, combined with other sources of information such as parent interviews, participant observation, and the teacher's plan book, reveals four integrating factors which transcend the disciplines. The four factors which students experienced are complete process, authenticity, community, and responsibility. The critical presence of such factors leads to explication of two different ways of understanding curriculum integration. One way is to think of integration as combining the subjects together in close proximity of time and space. The other way is to think of integration as arising from general factors, such as those identified, which cut across all subjects.

Résumé

Une étude naturaliste des programmes d'études intégrés dans une école secondaire révèle que selon les étudiants, l'intégration n'a pas lieu en raison du simple fait que les sujets sont regroupés ensemble. En revanche, l'analyse des déclarations des étudiants combinée à d'autres sources d'information comme des entrevues avec les parents, l'observation des participants et le livre de plan des enseignants révèle quatre facteurs d'intégration qui transcendent les disciplines. Ces quatre facteurs sont selon les étudiants le processus complet, l'authenticité, la communauté et la responsabilité. La présence cruciale de ces facteurs explique deux façons différentes de comprendre l'intégration des programmes d'études. L'une consiste à voir dans l'intégration la combinaison des sujets dans une étroite proximité de temps et d'espace. L'autre consiste à voir dans l'intégration le résultat de facteurs généraux comme ceux qui sont précisés et que l'on retrouve dans tous les sujets.

Now that it's the end of the course, I realize that we've really been through a lot together. We've frozen our butts in cramped little snow shelters and drilled a lake with more holes than there is in a pound of Swiss cheese. We've braved a life-threatening soap explosion and we've walked for days and days with incredibly heavy packs on our backs. And at the same time witnessed Amy swim through every creek on the Western Uplands Trail. We've made laundry hampers out of trees and we've scaled a rock face at Owl's Head Peak. Some of us have experienced the Chrysler Magic Wagon Sound Experience! (laughter) It was really tough going through Green Mud Lake, and just all the portaging and canoeing on the canoe trip.

But the thing that we've really been through together, the thing that we've seen together, is each other. More than anything else. To me TAMARACK has let me get to know other people more than I would in a normal classroom. It's not that TAMARACK has built new character in each one of us, but it's brought out the one that was hidden inside. In times when we were challenged in a situation, in a crisis, or even when we were feeling tired and a little bit silly, we could see what each other was like in a real situation. And it's not something where you can hide behind your other friends or run to your parents for help. "We need you right now, to do your part."

In February we began as just classmates and acquaintances and co-workers, but as the class went on, we've gotten to know each other. And I know that now, even though at some points on the trips, I've had differences of opinion with some of you, and, you know, we've had difficulties, but I feel that in each one of you I see a friend. I think you guys are really a great bunch of people, because not everyone has the guts to take this course, to try something new. We have had to break out of a mold and just do what we want to do. Personally, I think it's really great to discover what I am capable of doing. I know that I can do a 120 km canoe trip and carry my pack and canoe, and I can scale a vertical rock face. And some of us can light a fire in the rain and build a bridge. I can even go into a complete stranger's house and have a conversation with them (sic) for over an hour and actually have a good time at it. I'm really proud of myself for doing this. And I'm proud of each one of you as well. (Student's videotaped evaluative statement.)

Mrs. McW. read us some poetry of the season. Some of it was beautiful. Some a little strange, but all good. It makes you think and reflect. We sang a bit and I went out to watch the stars. It's lovely, the starlight reflecting off the snow, the stars twinkling, dancing pinpoints of light against the deep black/blue sky. (Student journal entry.)

In this program you don't learn from one teacher and one text book, you learn from everything. You learn from your experience; you learn from observing and asking questions; you learn from everything you do and people you meet. This is what life's all about: You make friends, you work together, you learn. You go out into the world for half a year and you just live life. (Videotaped evaluative statement.)

The desire to integrate school subjects has been strong and continuous for most of the twentieth century. As Roland Case (1991) puts it, "Who would want learning to be fragmented?" But desire has not been matched by performance if we are to judge by the persistent survival of isolated instruction based on the disciplines and by the continual stream of reports of short-lived attempts at integration.

The commonest view of integration in the literature treats the integrated curriculum in exactly the same way as any other curriculum, namely, from the point of view of the separate disciplines. This view describes attempts in schools to combine disciplines in various ways. It is grounded in the disciplines and treats integrated curriculum as though it were, in itself, a discipline. Because this way of working with integration involves some form of temporal and spatial proximity of distinct disciplines, I have termed it the "fruit cocktail" view of integration.

In this paper, I will draw on a naturalistic investigation of students' experiences in such a "fruit cocktail" curriculum package in a secondary school to identify four factors which contribute to successful integration. In this case, success is determined, not by external criteria, but by the perceptions of the students as confirmed by parents and teachers. The main thrust of the findings is to show how integration happens, not so much from putting school subjects together into a shared time and place, but from certain types of general experience which transcends disciplines.

The TAMARACK Program¹

There is a trend in Ontario secondary schools to offer courses in a package taught by one or two teachers dedicated to a single class (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989). Because the teacher has no other

students and the students have no other teacher, the group is free of the usual timetable constraints. Thus it is possible to organize sustained experiences inside and outside school. One major claim of this arrangement is that it promotes integration of the disciplines combined in the package by allowing them to come close together in time and space.

Program description

TAMARACK is one such package. It was offered for the first time in the winter semester of 1991 and was the first integrated package ever offered in the school. The program combined Ontario senior credits in environmental science, physical education, and English. The content highlights of the program were producing a magazine of oral history (Wigginton, 1986; Mackenzie, 1991), wilderness trips in challenging and environmentally significant areas, and two experiments in local research laboratories under the direction of working scientists. In addition there were numerous related short events such as making field trips, working with guest experts, and writing for various publications (Doubt & Ramsey, 1991).

The mode of instruction was experiential, thus students were expected to take charge of events within reason. For example, the teacher identified local old-timers who would be willing to give the students interviews for the magazine, but the students had to set up the appointments, organize transportation, and master interviewing skills based on interaction with guest journalists and the like.

The instructional pattern was to provide the minimum preliminary instruction required to define the task and ensure safety. It was common for students to talk over the possibilities and their implications before proceeding. Where a new skill was required, there were intervals of practice with coaching and feedback. Students were responsible to perform the work and subsequently to report it in some form. It was common for them to engage in evaluative discussions about progress, success, and difficulties. Meaning and learning emerged not only in the thick of the experiences but in the follow-through conversations. This pattern conforms closely to Joplin's (1981) definition of experiential education.

The experiential pattern prevailed in all aspects of class life from planning cooking groups for a trip to making sense of poetry read around a campfire. The centrality, primacy, and even urgency of the students' direct experience with every part of the course was a powerful driver in developing the transcendent qualities which lead to integration.

In TAMARACK there was also active involvement of parents. Teacher and parents met several times before and during the program to discuss progress and concerns, particularly those related to fundraising and parental support with transportation for trips.

The class comprised six females and six males in their third or fourth year of high school. Ability levels were mixed. The program operated within a supportive school context but with some points of friction related to the relative separation of the class from the mainstream timetable. Two examples were the difficulty of participating in the school's annual musical theatre production and the maintenance of romantic connections with partners outside the class.

The class had a large classroom of their own and access to a laboratory and darkroom. The bulk of the work in school, such as transcribing interviews, hearing guest presentations, and discussing issues, took place in the classroom. The school's location made it easy to get outside for training day hikes and visits to local establishments, like one old-timer's sugar bush where students helped with the sugar operation. There was also a nearby research facility which made the research experience possible.

The investigation

A set of preprogram interviews were audio-recorded with six students and six sets of parents, not necessarily from the same families. The intent of these interviews was to record the expectations and motivations of participants. A set of mid-point interviews was conducted with all the students and with the same parents as before. Finally, some four months after the semester ended, another set of student and parent interviews was conducted. The last two sets of interviews were intended to elicit evaluative opinions about the progress and success of the program primarily from the students' points of view.

Further sources of data were field notes from participant observation episodes, students' journals and videotaped self-evaluations, teacher's day-books, and a recorded group interview conducted just at the end of the course by a research assistant who spent six weeks participating in the program as a staff member. All information was collected with the informed consent of all those consulted, and only after ethical review. The interview transcripts and other documents have been analyzed and this analysis is the source from which the following picture emerges?

Findings

The preliminary interviews support the belief that students expected, among other more important things, that their work would be unified in some way. During the mid-point interviews, students denied that there were connections among their subjects, despite having the subjects combined. The observations at this stage indicated that students were not finding any more integration than they experienced in the regular timetable.

At the end of the semester, in the flush of successfully producing a quality magazine and completing a particularly demanding wilderness canoe trip, students were beginning to articulate a sense of unity and coherence within TAMARACK. The first evidence of this was the content of the videotaped statements made by each individual student as a terminal evaluation for the project.

What emerged bore no relationship to "fruit cocktail", that is, to discipline-based, integrated curriculum language. Students did not speak about integration happening due to the proximity of discipline segments in time and space. Keeping a journal while working on a forestry field project did nothing, in their minds, to integrate environmental science and English. Nor did they say that generic processes and skills, like problem-solving or writing, bridged the disciplines. Instead, they identified transcendent qualities which were personally and socially significant but otherwise quite irrelevant to the disciplines. It was their personal, direct experience of these qualities in a sustained way that was like a batter to bind disciplinary elements together into an integrated whole.

I have identified four factors in the students' experience which are the transcendent qualities integrating the TAMARACK curriculum: complete process, authenticity, community, and responsibility. The first-hand nature of the students' experiences with these qualities is central to their power in effecting integration.

Complete process

We went to see the Canadian Geographic [editor] and we learned that magazine production was going to be pretty darned hard. Well it was. Pretty darned hard! There was a lot of work involved. But I'm glad we did it . . . I can't wait to see the first issue. (Videotaped evaluative statement.)

Complete process refers to productive undertakings in which students performed a complete, or nearly complete, series of steps. For example, a guest taught how to make black ash pack baskets. The process began with students removing the bark from the logs and pounding the wood to peel off long flexible strips of the desired widths. When the logs were reduced to strips, the students began to construct the pack baskets, attending to size and design features. The finished products were eventually put into use. One preliminary step, namely, cutting the logs, was the only one not performed by the students.

Complete process was a hallmark of virtually every element of the program. Students participated in each aspect of magazine production from getting the stories, through editing, layout, cover decisions, financ-

ing, printing, and sales. Similarly, they participated in the planning decisions and implementation for the trips. Scientific work began with problems and moved through experimental design, experiment, observation, analysis, and report writing.

Complete process is intrinsically integrating. It is impossible to stay within the boundaries of any discipline, but on the contrary it is essential to draw on several disparate disciplines and crafts. This appeal to other disciplines is not driven by teachers' design but by the intrinsic demand of the problem.

Furthermore, students found the complete process very satisfying in that they had an experience of the whole, ending with tangible products almost unimaginable, given the starting point. The experience of complete process in TAMARACK was in striking contrast to the truncated processes experienced more frequently in regular school subjects.

Every program feature revealed complete process, and it is possibly the single most important feature underlying the students' perception of integration. The reason is that complete processes almost always transcend discipline boundaries and provide more of a whole view of the world than processes in which large parts are either already done by someone else for the student or are left out.

Authenticity

We worked in the Forestry, and that was one of the things I enjoyed most, because we learned an awful lot – like Tom and I would do genetic engineering related to plant transformations. And we were actually doing an experiment for a paper that's to be published. You had to be extra careful. You got to see how a real lab worked. (Videotaped evaluative statement.)

Authenticity was the quality most frequently mentioned by students in the final interviews. They valued the fact that their work was embedded in the real world (as they perceived it) outside of school. Even the in-school work existed to serve action in and for the outer community. Experiments done as research assistants under the direction, and in the laboratories, of working scientists were commonly cited as an example. Students appreciated not only the science involved but also the fact that they worked regular laboratory hours with the same privileges and duties as if they had been employed in the facility. Students were sensitive to the isolation of the world of school and to the relative inconsequence of school work. For them, work outside school or with school outsiders counted; it made a difference in the world.

Another set of events reinforced the students' experience of authenticity. They made appearances as guest speakers at schools and service clubs. They were interviewed for radio and television programs. They wrote for the local paper. Such public accounts of the program placed it even more firmly in the real world.

Analysis of the teacher's plan book revealed that he sometimes used simulations to focus and develop group interaction, especially cooperation in difficult decision-making situations. Simulations are the counterfeit of authenticity. In a like way, there were frequent training sessions to practice skills such as interviewing, journal writing, navigation, snowshoeing, water chemistry tests, and canoeing. These might have been offered as examples both of incomplete process and lack of authenticity; however, students put this kind of work into the context of being important preparation for the real thing. The contrived problem of getting everyone in the class to stand simultaneously on a suspended, short plank was valued by the students because it gave critical rehearsal of group process skills required in earnest later. Thus even the simulations were accorded a place in the transcendent category of authenticity.

Authenticity works as an integrating factor because students see the outside world as a kind of unity. People in the daily round don't move from discipline to discipline in an ordered, scheduled way as happens in school. The disciplines are present; people do behave in disciplined ways but in a much more free-flowing sequence.

Community

... the relationship between students has to be really strong. And at first that builds up slowly because you really don't know the others. That's a key thing because you're with them every day, and the relationship you have with them will help you get things done and have fun. (Interview transcript.)

... it was really neat to see everybody change the way they did. Everybody would help everybody else, and they weren't just being concerned for themselves. (Videotaped evaluative statement.)

"Community" is my word for a common characteristic which students invariably called "friendship." I have not used their word because observations suggest that in many respects the excellent working relationships which were termed friendships were much more in the way of tolerance, respect, and courtesy. The point is that the students put very high value on the interactions among class members and on the commu-

nal good. It was singularly important to them to be part of a close-knit and caring group. They accomplished this sense of community by learning to recognize and appreciate each other's qualities.

The teacher's plan book shows that he deliberately and continuously developed community, starting even before the TAMARACK semester began. Pre-semester fund-raising events demanded that every student participate. This preliminary investment in the program set the tone for commitment and for the need to work productively with classmates regardless of personal preferences and idiosyncrasies. The first week of class work introduced carefully staged, progressive, adventure elements (Schoel et al., 1990) which required the class to come to grips with issues of leadership, participation, respect for individual differences, and sharing. Perhaps the most important skill the students had to learn was how to express their ideas and feelings to one another. Giving and getting negative feedback in a constructive way was difficult but critical to building community. Ongoing adventure problem elements, like a winter stream crossing, were paralleled by encounters with real-life problems - for example, designing a class T-shirt. Similar discussions attended work on both types of problems.

Community promotes integration because it provides the safe but stimulating climate within which students can begin to push back their unexplored limits and horizons. Each student has a social network for support in the event that a risk does not pay off. The adventure work provides the framework for experiencing and talking about risks and how to deal with them. Detailed talk about group work, when sustained, also promotes honesty which allows disagreement to surface and be dealt with. When the community of risk-takers is known by the students to include the teacher, as it did in this case, the supportive climate is even stronger. Risks inhere in trying to do things that are new or things that have been failed before, or things that one believes are impossible. In every case, boundaries have to be crossed. In such a community, customary disciplinary boundaries do not pose much of a barrier.

Responsibility

The stuff we were doing was stuff we wanted to learn and stuff we just learned along the way. We learned a lot by our mistakes. In normal school, you know, we have a test and you lose marks. But in this stuff it wasn't the teacher saying you did this wrong, and this wrong. It was yourself saying I could have done this better if I had done something else. It was us that made the difference. (Videotaped evaluative statement.)

The fourth transcendent factor contributing to integration is responsibility. The majority of the students were reckoned to be responsible people before they began the course but, as they explained it, in regular school they felt responsible only for themselves as individuals. "It's up to me to get my assignments done."

In TAMARACK they felt they had the same responsibility for school work as in other classes, plus additional responsibility related to the developing community and to the outside community where much of their work was done. Doing a good job on organizing trip food was not only a matter of one's own comfort and nutrition but also affected everyone else's welfare. Getting a scientific report right was important for the host scientist as well as for the student author, and also for the reputation of the class for doing good work.

Responsibility was quantitatively greater than in regular school work because students took charge of critical elements of every undertaking. For example, the class held a final banquet at which parents and others close to the program were guests. The teacher provided the locale, the students prepared and cooked an excellent barbecue, including salads and desserts prepared or organized by themselves. Afterwards, there were the usual speeches and presentations but with the difference that students were central in organizing and implementing the event.

Responsibility was also qualitatively different from regular school work because the axis of responsibility shifted beyond the usual responsibility between individual students and teacher. It grew to include responsibilities to classmates for work that had been shared out (like planning evening campfire programs) and responsibilities to members of the outside community (such as interview subjects).

Responsibility works as an integrating factor because it ensures that students are fully committed to the processes. It leads to pride in the entire enterprise and a feeling that they are in charge of what is going on. The students used the word "our" frequently when referring to the magazine. They felt that the curriculum belonged to them and that they had made it what it was. In many respects that feeling was justified, given the number of options they explored and decisions they made. Only fully responsible students can feel that they possess the keys to their education. That feeling is proof against fragmentation regardless of the disciplinary elements that may be introduced from time to time.

Discussion

The "fruit cocktail" view of curriculum integration is exemplified in the literature and in the TAMARACK program. Case (1991) offers a comprehensive account of eight formal components of curriculum inte-

gration which provides a useful framework within which any attempt at integration can be fully described in terms of the disciplines involved. Fogarty (1991) describes ten ways of relating disciplines to each other on a kind of continuum from less to more fully integrated. Most descriptions of integrated programs in action (for examples, see Crane, 1991; Jacobs, 1991; Palmer, 1991) show that this view of integration arises within the disciplines and persistently respects disciplinary integrity. It is as though teachers were chefs faced with a variety of fruit which they wished to cut together into some kind of melange. The issues are which fruits to choose, what relative proportions to select, and how finely to chop them.

TAMARACK can be described in the same terms. The timetable arrangements permitted the disciplines to be brought together into the same time and place. One of the clearest examples is the winter camp work which combined in one day snowshoeing to a distant lake by map and compass (physical education), water sample measurements (environmental science), and poetry reading (English).

In this account, I do not mean to disparage curriculum integrations based in the disciplines and grounded in teachers' disciplinary expertise. Fruit cocktail is a very fine dish with much potential for variation and high quality nutrition, but it does have the characteristic that the component fruits retain their individual identity. The degree of integration is limited. This judgment is that of the students in their mid-point interviews: proximity of curriculum elements does not render them integrated.

Another view of integration exists. It is grounded in a broad view of education which assumes that the disciplines are there to be learned and used, but holds a much larger social and human perspective on what education is about. Proponents of this view rarely use the word integration because they begin the process from a different starting place than the disciplines. That starting place is the student and some general theory about the nature of education and human development in personal and social contexts.

James (1968) asserts that "three fundamental human behaviours are enquiry, making and dialogue" (p.76). In oversimplified terms, enquiry is driven by curiosity and means finding out about something or explaining it by any number of means; making is supported by originality and it is the creative and productive aspect of work; dialogue, in her sense of it, means the expression of wonder, even reverence . . . an essentially nonpurposive enjoyment and appreciation of one's world. Dialogue includes a spiritual dimension. For James, unity in curriculum demands that all three elements be present, quite independently of the way in which the disciplines or their overlapping processes may be arranged.

In a similar way, Waldorf schooling, carefully geared to the readiness of the students and to all of "hand, head, and heart," and the transformational aspects of curriculum put forward by Miller (1991), give other examples of transcendent approaches to integration. Gibbons's (1976) vision of the "new" secondary school is perhaps the best well-developed view of what integration could be. For Gibbons, students' work would be found in all nine cells of a 3-by-3 matrix made up of experience, study, and production activities with personal (individual), interpersonal (social), and impersonal (academic) contexts. Gibbons's vision was strongly grounded within the school's outer community.

These transcendent views of integration are more like a fruit cake than a fruit cocktail. The disciplines persist in recognizable chunks that make sense, but they are imbedded in a pervasive and unifying batter in which raw materials are unrecognizably transformed.

Some current program descriptions show transitions and intermediate stages between the two views, as though someone were pouring a bit of cake batter over fruit cocktail. Beane (1991) describes a middle school integration with both disciplinary and transcendent features such as attention to the emotional life of the students. A thematic curriculum described by Aschbacher (1991) has its origins in the disciplines but moves to include transcendent issues such as the need to challenge students and to create community.

Drake's (1991) vivid description of the struggles of teachers to put integration into practice highlights two critical steps in the transition, namely, the need to let go of established disciplinary values and habits and the need to modify mandated curriculum guidelines.

Conclusion

The TAMARACK students gave accounts of their experiences which strongly support the belief that integration happens through the action of transcendent factors. In their particular case, the factors were complete process, authenticity, community, and responsibility. These factors were present as a direct result of the teacher's intention to maximize the students' experiences with them. I suspect that the experience of challenge may be another factor in TAMARACK which further study will reveal. These four factors have strong relationships to the transcendent characteristics given in the literature.

There is no reason to think that the TAMARACK case contains all of the possible transcendent components which could enhance integration. Other curriculum packages could well reveal that qualities such as

craftsmanship, esthetics, service, or ceremony would provide the necessary transcendent value. Whether or not such speculation is justified must await further investigation.

Finally, it is important to recognize that, in TAMARACK, it took several months for the students to begin to recognize that the curriculum was coming together for them. I draw the moral that it takes time and sustained intensity for the transcendent factors to have their effect. Fruit cocktail can be assembled relatively quickly, but a fruit cake takes longer to bake and season.

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NOTES

1. TAMARACK was chosen as a title because it combined simplicity with a hint of the Upper Ottawa Valley landscape where the tamarack is a beautiful but tough tree of the wetlands. The linkages of culture and terrain appealed to the organizers of the program.
2. This picture of the program has been validated by the teacher, Mr. W.F. Patterson, for whose willing help and collaboration I am most grateful.

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Report from the Field

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Learning Through Collaboration:

**A collaborative school-based approach
to field experiences**

Abstract

Recent research on "collaborative cultures" (Biott & Nias, 1992; Fullan & Hargreaves, 1991; Rosenholtz, 1989) has stressed collaborative approaches for working towards change in schools. The development of such approaches, however, requires a movement away from the present dominant paradigm of teacher education as training. This paper reflects on and describes the structure and development of a collaborative school-based approach to field experiences.

Résumé

De récentes recherches sur le rapprochement école-milieu de formation (Biott & Nias, 1992; Fullan & Hargreaves, 1991; Rosenholtz, 1989) insistent de plus en plus sur la valeur des approches de collaboration pour provoquer des changements dans les écoles. Toutefois, le développement de telles approches implique une distanciation du paradigme actuel de la formation à l'enseignement. Cet article décrit et examine la structure et le développement d'une telle approche de collaboration entre l'école et le milieu de formation.

The teacher for the twenty-first century will need to be adaptable and equipped with a variety of higher order management and interpersonal skills. She will need to understand herself and others, be able to assess new developments and evaluate action in a very sophisticated way, and be a self-motivated, life-long learner. This complexity requires the development of new ways of educating students as teachers. (Ashcroft, 1992, p. 44)

The purpose of this paper is to reflect on and describe the structure and development of a collaborative school-based approach to field experiences based on this new paradigm.

Background and Context of Study

The English teacher education program at the University of Ottawa is an eight month after-degree program leading to a B.Ed. degree. Candidates have excellent academic records, prior experience working with children, and many are approaching teaching as a second career.

Students involved in this study are part of a program which operates as one option given student teachers in the primary-junior section of the teacher education program. The program was set up by the Faculty of Education after a comprehensive study of programs in response to a major review of teacher education in Ontario (Fullan & Connelly, 1987; Ontario Ministry of Education & Ministry of Colleges and Universities, 1988) which called for a recasting of teacher education as a collaborative venture "into a continuum marked by reflective practice and life-long learning" (p.6).

Rationale and Purpose of this Study

If we are to prepare teachers for the twenty-first century what is required is a paradigm shift: a change from a medieval-type apprenticeship training model of field experiences where the student teacher is primarily concerned with fitting in, with pleasing the associate teacher, to an inquiry mode, where all the partners (student teacher, associate teacher, and faculty advisor) view the student teacher as a student of teaching "involved in discovering, testing, reflecting and modifying" (Guyton & McIntyre, 1990, p. 520, citing Cruickshank). Thus, for the student teacher the orientation for field experiences is changed from a passive to an active role and "from the practical to the analytic" (Guyton & McIntyre, p. 520). Such a shift involves a movement away from the present dominant paradigm of teacher education as training which "assumes an established teacher role into which all potential teachers must fit and against which they will be evaluated" (Bullough & Gitlin, 1991, p. 37).

The shift away from an apprenticeship training model opens up the possibility of developing teacher education programs that model the inquiring and critical approach to teaching which is at the heart of reflective practice (Schon, 1987). Indeed, such an approach makes possible a new reconceptualization of teacher education: teacher education as perspective transformation (Diamond, 1991).

Let us consider what is meant by perspective transformation. For Mezirow (1991), an important missing dimension in the social theories that have given rise to present learning theory is meaning - how meaning "is construed, validated, and reformulated - and how social conditions influence the ways in which people make meaning of their experience" (Mezirow, 1991, p. xii). This concern for meaning is integral to the concept of perspective transformation. "Perspectives provide principles for interpreting the meaning of our experiences" (Mezirow, 1990, p. 3). In other words, our perspectives are like lenses through which we view the world. Perspective transformation involves a redefinition of these perspectives, a change of lenses. However, for perspective transformation to occur a process of critical reflection is required - which then "results in the reformulation of meaning perspectives to allow a more inclusive, discriminating and integrative understanding of one's experience" (Mezirow, 1990, p. xvi). "We grow," says Daloiz (1986), "through a progression of transformations in our meaning-making apparatus, from relatively narrow and self-centered filters through increasingly inclusive, differentiated, and compassionate perspectives" (p. 149).

It is to this type of process Diamond (1991) is alluding when he proposes that teacher education be reconceptualized as perspective transformation. Recent research on "collaborative cultures" (Rosenholtz, 1989; Fullan & Hargreaves, 1991; Biott & Nias, 1992) has stressed collaborative approaches for working towards change in schools. But where to start? The practice teaching triad was chosen as a focus for the study since it brings together the key players: the student teacher, associate teacher, and faculty advisor, and the school and university elements of the program.

This investigation then is an attempt to address how we might go about developing school-based collaborative approaches to field experiences based on a new paradigm of teacher education as transformation. Specifically, the project in the study setting involves a three-year case study (Merriam, 1988) which seeks: (1) to understand more fully the ways in which a collaborative, school-based approach to field experiences may be structured and developed in a manner that allows each of the partners in the triad to make their specific contribution to teacher education; (2) to identify the kinds of learning opportunities constructed by participants in a collaborative school-based field experience and to examine how these differ from those afforded by traditional field experiences; and (3) to develop role descriptions for each of the triad members in the context of a collaborative framework. The next section of the paper describes the structure and organization of the project.

Organization of the Project

The study project has as its basic unit a cohort of twelve student teachers (one seminar group), twelve associate teachers, one home cluster of schools, and one faculty supervisor. The project has three main elements: school elements, university elements, and school-university links.

School elements of the project

A home cluster of four schools provides the context for field experiences. The schools are chosen to represent different cultures, school boards, and geographic locations: rural, suburban, multicultural/inner city, and one urban school in a high-tech area. Three or four student teachers are placed in each school for their field experiences, consisting of about 11 weeks in all. Students are expected to work in at least three out of the four schools as a means of gaining access to different school cultures, socio-political issues, administrative styles, and school resources.

Student teachers are encouraged to participate on a voluntary basis in additional school-based activities: parent-teacher events, school concerts, staff development seminars, and curriculum workshops.

University elements of the project

The university elements of the project include all the courses in the regular preservice program: pedagogical courses in language, the arts, science, mathematics, and social studies; foundational courses in learning, psychology, and philosophy; a course in legal and professional organizations; and one optional course in values or religious education. Through these courses faculty members seek to introduce student teachers to the foundations of education and open them up to a lifelong study of teaching.

In the school context, student teachers are required to conduct mini-field inquiry projects around the topic of school culture – for example, a study of community groups and parent involvement in the school, as well as small scale classroom learning inquiries centred on the learning of a single student in a specific area over time, or the development of a classroom learning centre, in science or language, over a period of time.

The university element of the program also includes the reflective teaching seminar, which takes place on a weekly basis when student teachers are on-campus. During these seminars, a case methods approach is used as a strategy to develop student teachers as reflective practitioners (Richert, 1991).

School-university links of the project

School-university links include the following: (a) triad conferences, (b) associate teacher and faculty advisor conferences, (c) field journals, (d) shared readings, and (e) a joint planning seminar.

Triad conferences. The triad conference is conducted once each semester on one of the school sites in the home cluster. The conference involves all the student teachers in the seminar group, associate teachers, and the faculty advisor as a community of learners in oral inquiries about children, teaching, planning, and decision making. The conference is planned as a collaborative affair and involves all the triad members in its development and presentation. The conference includes time for (a) responding to questions by student teachers, (b) brief input sessions by associate teachers and the faculty advisor growing out of needs identified by both associate and student teachers, and (c) the sharing of classroom resources.

Associate teacher – faculty advisor conferences. These conferences have as their focus the progress of the individual student teacher. Conferences are conducted at each school site once during each field study session. Feedback is used by the faculty advisor to counsel individual student teachers. In addition, the areas of concern identified are used as a basis for input during on-campus courses.

Field journals. Two types of journals are used in the project. Associate and student teachers are invited to develop dialogue journals that are intended to provide student teachers with a way to describe, reflect on, raise questions, and gain input about their classroom experience in an ongoing manner throughout the year. The second journal is kept as an accompaniment to the reflective seminar and is shared on a regular basis with the faculty advisor.

Shared readings. These readings grow out of reciprocal suggestions on current educational issues from members of the triad. The articles are sometimes used as a conference component or as a basis for journal reflection. In addition, associate teachers have access to the course outlines and readings for the on-campus elements of the program.

The joint planning seminar. The joint planning seminar is the final meeting of the year. It brings together at the university or school site the faculty advisor, student teachers, associate teachers and principals from the schools involved in the project to consider, reflect on, and evaluate the learning gained over the year, and to plan together for the upcoming year.

In the upcoming section of this paper I discuss and reflect on some of the learning gained in the first year of the project.

Starting the Project

The first year was an exploratory one for the project – a year to become familiar with the literature, engage the partners in dialogue, and test the framework for the project. The project involved one seminar group (12 student teachers), twelve associate teachers, three principals, one faculty advisor, and one home cluster of three schools.

In sharing reflections reference will be made to the effectiveness of the overall organization of the project, some main events, and some emerging issues.

The project as a tool to facilitate collaboration

The overall framework of the project worked well to provide members of the triad with a common focus - the shared endeavour of facilitating the student teaching experience. However, this did not happen by chance. Faculty members in this study have chosen over the years to align themselves with a cluster of seven or eight schools. Each faculty member then works with the principals in these schools to place their students for field experiences. Therefore, the principals, associate teachers, and faculty advisor in the project had a history of working together in these schools. Furthermore, the specific goals of the project, as well as its general framework arose out of shared concerns about practice teaching and the problems of teacher education in general. As a result, this effort at collaboration was rooted from the start in a shared sense of purpose and mutual respect. Could such a project have evolved otherwise? Perhaps. But since the traditional practice teaching triad does not have a history of democratic dialogue, establishing relations and dispositions of trust in such cases may have taken longer.

Of course, student teachers are new each year. So relationships of trust between students and the faculty advisor have to be established anew each year and in a limited time. In this regard, the reflective teaching seminar provided an excellent base. For one thing, the seminar group is small. Furthermore, student teachers are enthusiastic about this aspect of the program as is evidenced by answers in their journal to a question on whether the role of the faculty advisor should be maintained:

You need someone that you can go to first with questions and feel you have special attention, unlike the other 120 in the large group. . . The faculty advisor provided assist-

ance with placements appropriate to my goals and needs for development. She provided intervention before my practicum to pave the way for a positive beginning. (Journal, 3/9)

We had a special friend on the faculty for support. . . My associates have known my advisor for some time. They are honest with one another. Between the two of them, I know I got the whole story on my progress as a learning teacher. (Journal, 1/9)

From a school perspective, the project gave rise to a renewed sense of energy around the student teaching experience. Associate teachers, for example, had lots of questions. They wanted to know more about the on-campus program: what had been done to date on lesson planning, on whole language? Were they providing the right kind of direction and support for the student teacher? How did what they were doing as individual teachers compare with what other associate teachers were doing in the other schools? These and similar questions were common during early school visits.

Another area of note, in relation to the schools, was a significant increase in opportunities for student teachers to become involved in extra-school activities. Early in the fall principals and associate teachers provided students with timelines for upcoming events. As a result, student teachers gained opportunities to attend professional development activities at both the school and board levels. Some also attended staff meetings and others were invited to sit in on parent-teacher meetings. In turn, student teachers assisted on a voluntary basis with school concerts, Chinese New Year celebrations, winter carnival, and several sports-related events.

Learning together

The highlight of a year of learning together culminated with the joint planning seminar. This session took place at one of the school sites used in this study after school during the final week of the university program. It involved nine of the twelve associate teachers, all the student teachers (twelve), the three school principals, and the faculty advisor. The purpose of the seminar was to consider, reflect on, and evaluate the learning gained over the year, and to plan together the program for the upcoming year.

In preparation for the seminar, the faculty advisor requested from student teachers a list of the items, strategies, and experiences that had

best helped them learn during field experiences. Four specific areas of learning were identified by the student teachers: (a) getting to know the school community, (b) practice teaching, (c) feedback from the associate teacher, and (d) other school learning opportunities. In consultation with triad members it was decided that this information, combined with perspectives from associate teachers on the same issues, should be summarized in written form to provide the basis for reflection during the joint planning seminar. A copy of this summary, "Becoming a teacher: Support for the journey" was then distributed to each person in the project.

The following representative comments catch the flavour of the dialogue between triad members during the first joint planning seminar.

Getting to know the school community

I appreciated being introduced to other staff members and being made to feel comfortable and welcomed. I felt more welcome in some schools than others. (Student teacher)

Getting an orientation to the school building including the rules for parking was a big help. My associate teacher also showed me how to use the school equipment and provided me with some basic supplies. (Student teacher)

I found information booklets that highlight school expectations and procedures helpful. (Student teacher)

We have school information booklets. That's something we could do. I never thought of it. (Principal)

In one school, I was provided with my own storage cupboard in the classroom and offered a desk and shelf space in the teacher preparation room. It really meant a lot. (Student teacher)

The latter situation was not, however, the case for every student, as Vilot's comments in her journal demonstrate:

My teacher welcomed me on the first day with: "There's no space for your things!" instead of "Hello". It's almost a metaphor. . . . If an associate teacher can take a moment to clear a storage cubicle before we arrive, she is also thinking: "How will I fit this person into the lives of my children over the next two weeks. . . ." (Journal, 3/4)

Feedback on practice teaching

The following comments give a sample of the dialogue on the topic of feedback by associate teachers during the seminar.

For me, regular feedback was the single most helpful aspect of my practice teaching. Daily feedback was best.
(Student teacher)

Receiving a class list and timetable on Day 1 was really helpful. One of my teachers gave me class photos too.
(Student teacher)

My associate teacher created a teaching practice notebook for me. He wrote comments on every lesson I did. He also made suggestions. By the end of the fourth week in his classroom I really felt I knew how to work well with Gr. 5 students and I had a full book of comments on my teaching. Here it is! (Student teacher)

Thanks, Susan. Actually, I am very demanding of student teachers. I start them teaching as soon as possible. As far as I am concerned, that's the way to learn. But I also believe in providing solid support and lots of feedback. Susan was very open to suggestions. She just bloomed over the four weeks. (Associate teacher)

My teacher and I did a dialogue journal. We did one page each. Sometimes, I wrote down my reflections on the events of the morning or the afternoon. I identified what I thought had gone well and made suggestions as to ways I would approach things differently the next time. My teacher responded on the next page. Other times, she wrote comments on my lessons that morning and I responded over the lunch hour. She also provided concrete suggestions and posed questions related to the next day's work. Interestingly, our comments were sometimes almost identical.
(Student teacher)

Some teachers didn't tell you anything until the end of the first week. I felt I wasted a lot of time. I could have improved more if I had had more direction. (Student teacher)

We would be able to give better feedback if we knew what was happening at the university. Could something be worked out so we could be better informed next year?
(Associate teacher to faculty advisor)

Sure, there are lots of ways we might do that. Actually, the introduction of a 'reflective log planner' as a component of the reflective seminar is presently under discussion at the faculty. Perhaps we could use that or come up with an adaptation of it to fit our own needs. (Faculty advisor)

Further discussion on practice teaching during the seminar tended to focus on what activities are appropriate for the various levels of field experiences and how these activities should be sequenced and evaluated. A divergence of opinion was evident among associate teachers, a fact that had not escaped one student teacher who had already noted in his journal: "Every associate teacher expects different things" (Journal, 13/10).

Two concrete recommendations for the following year grew out of the joint planning seminar. Firstly, a request that a brief biography of each student teacher be sent by the faculty advisor to associate teachers before the students arrived for field experiences. Secondly, principals and associate teachers requested that some strategy be put in place to inform them as to what student teachers had been taught at the university before they arrived at the school for field experiences.

In the previous section, I have shared some of the learning gained in the first year of the project. In this section, I wish to return to the earlier concern of this study: the shift from an apprenticeship training model of teacher education to teacher education as transformation.

Teacher Education as Transformation: The Project

For Diamond (1991), teacher education as transformation involves "rebuilding of teachers' perspectives through the close and collaborative study of their own teaching experiences" over the course of their careers (p. 122). Can a collaborative approach to the practice teaching triad then provide a vehicle for teacher education as transformation?

Based on the data gained in the first year of this study, the answer tentatively appears in the affirmative for three reasons.

Firstly, the practice teaching triad as construed in the context of this project views teaching and learning from the start as problematic,

and creates a space for triad members to come together to reflect on teaching and learning. Specifically, the triad members are drawn into dialogue around how best to respond to the learning needs of children as encountered by the student teacher in a specific learning context. Such dialogue may, in turn, open triad members up to an examination and critique of their own learning, which over time has the potential to result in their gaining more expanded, more differentiated understandings about learning and learning to teach (perspective redefinition or transformation). A collaborative approach to the practice teaching triad, therefore, demands a democratizing of the student teaching triad and suggests a notion of a more critical and inquiring approach to supervision than is found in traditional teacher education programs (Gore, 1991).

Secondly, since members of the practice teaching triad represent teachers at different stages in their careers and, as is to be expected, therefore, at different stages along the learning continuum, the triad provides a concrete example of the teaching profession in action as a lifelong learning career.

Finally, the involvement of student teachers from the start in action research (mini-field inquiry projects) acknowledges "an appreciation of the student teacher as an autonomous, self-motivated learner who, together with teachers and teacher-educators can develop the dispositions and capabilities to research their own practices" (Tickle, 1987, p.5).

Learning through collaboration, however, provides no panacea. As the dialogue between members of the triad, for example, continued back and forth during the joint planning seminar and at other times during the year, familiar problems from the literature on field experiences emerged. These included the importance of interpersonal relationships, time and institutional restraints, and different power relations (Gore, 1991).

Interpersonal relationships between triad members are different for each triad. Getting to know and be comfortable with each other on a personal and professional level requires a real effort from each member. Such partnerships cannot be mandated. Rather, they are characterized by a certain spontaneity and informality (Hargreaves, 1990). As such they take time – sometimes more time than triad members have to give.

We were unable to secure funds to get release time for associate teachers, for example, so meeting times depended on informal arrangements made by principals, or meetings after school were scheduled. Time is also a constraint for faculty advisors, who in this situation must arrange their schedules to fit those of associate teachers. Additionally,

such close collaboration with school staff exposes faculty advisors to requests to become involved in other related activities: teacher professional development, for example, and at the school level, such things as judging public speaking contests or submissions to the science fair. All of this is appropriate and can be enormously enriching for all partners, but it is also time intensive, involving more hours than faculty workloads allow. A solution to this problem requires collaboration between schools and universities at the institutional level.

Student teachers however, were unanimous in their support for the importance of building such partnerships. As one student wrote in her journal: The three participants find it hard to see life from the others' moccasins at times. A collaborative approach benefits all. (Journal, 9/10)

The shift away from an apprenticeship training model of teacher education also involves a shift in power. Consider, for instance, the student teacher who wrote in her journal:

I disagree entirely with the way my associate teacher disciplines students. She screams and shouts at them. I think her behaviour is completely inappropriate. I don't want to work with this teacher. (Journal, 3/4)

And from the same student. . .

Student teachers would learn more during practice teaching if associate teachers would invite them to describe their strengths (music, gym, etc.) and generate assignments from them; rather than pre-decide what student teachers will "cover" before even talking to them! (Journal, 3/6)

Certainly, from a research perspective there is much work to be done in this area. As Guyton and McIntyre (1990) point out: "Research on the organization of student teaching has not addressed institutional and power issues. Close examination of field programs. . . could lead to an understanding that informs practice" (p. 522).

Conclusion

At this writing, the second year of the project has just drawn to a close. The focus in year 3 will focus on the third goal of the study: an attempt to develop role descriptions for each of the triad members in the context of a collaborative framework. Commitment among the partners remains high. The project has opened up for members of the practice

teaching triad opportunities to construct together shared understandings and meanings about teaching and learning to teach and to model new ways of being together in partnership. Thus, it is hoped, this study represents one more step on a continuing journey to understand how best to educate teachers for the 21st century.

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Book Reviews

Two Dewey-eyed scholars

R. Freeman Butts.

**IN THE FIRST PERSON SINGULAR:
THE FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION.**

**San Francisco, CA: Caddo Gap Press, 1993.
101 pp. \$12.95.**

Boris S. Gershunsky.

RUSSIA IN DARKNESS. . . ON EDUCATION AND THE FUTURE.
San Francisco, CA: Caddo Gap Press, 1993.

82 pp. \$12.95.

Richard M. Weaver was right when he said ideas have consequences. A demonstration of this is Professor R. Freeman Butts' pamphlet, *In the First Person Singular*. This tract shows that the ideas hatched at Teachers College, Columbia University, following World War II removed the teaching of philosophy and metaphysics at Teachers College and replaced it with the more progressive "psychological and social foundations of education," which eventually helped destroy American education.

This book contains three previously unpublished papers about the origin and meaning of educational foundations, representing "three major generative periods of professional activity and writing in Butts' career in the foundations of education, each about two decades in length."

The first essay, "Reflections On Forty Years in the Foundations Department of Teachers College," deals with the years 1935-55. The second, "Teachers College and International Education," deals with the 1955-75 period. And the third, "A Civics Lesson for All of Us," deals with the period 1955 to the present. All three essays are about what Butts called "the tasks of the foundations of education."

Butts was there, so to speak, "at the creation," because the dismantling of philosophy and the establishment of the "foundations movement"

occurred at Teachers College in the 1930s, that low and dishonest decade on the left. Butts is one of the last remaining members of that demolition crew, so his essays are of historical interest. They show how the left perpetrated its scam through the use of euphemism, disguising its ideology as a new understanding of philosophy, now called foundations.

Butts was well-groomed for his task. In 1927 he went to that nest of radical anti-American social and labour history – the University of Wisconsin, where he did “interdisciplinary studies” under Professor Meiklejohn. There Butts was traumatized by the Great Depression, which shattered his faith in American democracy and capitalism. In 1932 he moved into the School of Education at Wisconsin, and amidst the education courses discovered not only “the new social history” of Charles and Mary Beard, Vernon L. Parrington, Arthur M. Schlesinger Sr., and Dixon Ryan Fox, but also the writers in *The Educational Frontier* – Wm. H. Kilpatrick, George Counts, Harold Rugg, Jack Childs, Bruce Raup, Ed Brunner, Goodwin Watson *et al.* John Dewey, the guru of the gang at Columbia, goes unmentioned.

In 1935, with his newly acquired Ph.D. from Wisconsin, Butts went to New York and Teachers College at Columbia to join these troublemakers in the recently formed Division of Foundations of Education. At Columbia he taught the required Education 200-F course, the transmission belt of foundation ideas. The emphasis was not to be on America’s achievement, accomplishment, and legacy, but rather on problems, conflicts, “contradictions in our culture” (read capitalism), and the aim of the course was “to deal with areas common to the various fields of educational endeavour and to provide them all with a basic understanding and a common outlook and language and discourse.” This was Teachers College’s version of educational “socialist realism” hidden behind words like “inclusiveness” (read real democracy), “integration” (read egalitarianism), “necessary orientation” (read laws of history), “common outlook” (read collectivism), “language and discourse” (read newspeak).

Outside the classrooms Teachers College was allegedly a bubbling cauldron, in which stewed a refreshing “conflict of ideas, activism and constant controversy.” In 1941 that objective scholar from the London School of Economics, Harold J. Laski, was a visiting professor at the school. Ironically, the idea of replacing philosophy with the “psychological and social foundations of education” was mapped out within the confines of the “Philosophy Club.” What was good for the goose was not good enough for the gander.

After World War II and the start of the Cold War the foundations idea became diluted. But by 1950 it was resurrected and reapproved by the department. The syllabus said: “The task of educational foundations

centres upon. . . a study of the *culture* and of human behaviour. . . the *total* educational enterprise. . . every teacher should understand. . . the conflicts in society. . . and be a professional *worker* in a democracy" (italics reviewer's).

The question was: "What is the educational task in our culture?" To answer it foundations was to draw upon three resources: the University disciplines, community and citizen activities, and the institutions of education. These routes were to be "opened" to gain "educational direction and *power*." Foundations was to deal with "policy in areas of unresolved problems in the culture. . . with the greatest possible commitment to democratic beliefs, purposes and goals. . . and the maximum possible community of understanding. . . as a means of redirecting the social and cultural role of education.

In other words, education was to be redirected. It was to turn away from the child and toward society. It was not to teach children to be good, but to reconstruct society to be egalitarian. It was education for social engineering.

The gang at Columbia defined the emerging trends and critical problems. Seven such problems cited were:

1. Achieving a stable peace in a divided world by *sharing the world with communism* and creating a world order based on diversity and pluralism. This was their version of the doctrine of moral equivalence between East and West.
2. The control of energy and resources in a civilization of rising industrialism. This was the programme for nationalizing production and setting "limits to growth." Hence, socialism would catch up with capitalism and the two systems would converge.
3. The reconstruction of democratic theory. This was an acceptance of Lenin's criticism of "formal democracy" in the name of "real democracy" based on "centralization, security and planning," or wanting to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat.
4. New designs for the community based upon the appreciation of rural-urban conflicts and class-consciousness. This was their disdain for bourgeois nationalism and a preference for class-consciousness and patriotism for the proletariat.
5. New methods of learning. Individual pursuit of excellence and competition were to be replaced by "group learning, action and work as a creative experience." In other words, socialist co-operation in education rather than capitalist competitiveness.
6. The reconstruction of personal relationships. Foundations was to "change family and sexual morality." This was to replace traditional morality with a new morality by experimenting with the Ten Commandments.

7. Reorientation of outlooks. That meant "religious reconstruction and the reconstruction of philosophical outlooks based upon materialism, secularism and naturalism." This was nothing short of brainwashing with John Dewey's Humanist Manifesto.

Butts then gives a good example of double-speak disguised as candour. On the one hand, "We were by no means monolithic in our views, there were always sharp differences, but there was a kind of common furniture to our minds and outlook." And on the other, "The ideology was predominantly reformist rather than neutral, value-laden rather than value-free, and possessing a humanitarianism committed to improve or alleviate the human condition through educational means. Our politics ranged from New-Dealism to Socialism."

What a range! No wonder it was exciting. While the world was faced with Stalin and the Gulag these moral crusaders were making a tempest in a teapot about the senator from Wisconsin who knew only too well that many of the professors of his home state were up to. Perhaps, to use one of Karl Marx's favourite phrases, "it was no accident" that Senator McCarthy developed an inordinate fear of communism in Butts' home state of Wisconsin.

Butts says, "Our sympathies were with labour, the poor, the underprivileged – as we thought *all* teachers should be." They are, Professor Butts, they still are.

The second essay deals with comparative and international education, in other words what one pundit called "globaloney." We learn that Butts was the Father of Comparative International Education. Four brief observations about this essay.

First, this part (pp. 35-81) was a complete disaster because in my copy of the book pages 55-70 were simply missing. Second, still, I could surmise that, having realized that the American working class was not about to revolt and that America was not going to go socialist, Butts and Teachers College turned their attention to the underdeveloped Third World, or what Mussolini called "the proletarian nations." Second, Butts describes his brief unsuccessful attempt to rename the teacher as an "educationary," that is, a secular missionary decolonizing agent. Fortunately this failed. Third, Teachers College then concentrated on educating foreign students. By 1956 the number of foreign students was up to four hundred a year, which was twenty-five per cent of all foreign students studying education in the United States. They came from fifty-four different countries, the largest contingent being from Canada. (That's how we became infected with the 'foundations' disease.) Fourth, most of

the conferences on educating the Third World that Butts attended seemed to have taken place in Aspen (Colorado), Hawaii, Australia, Japan, Hong Kong, and Singapore. As Professor David Lodge, a satirist of all things ludicrous in the education world calls it: "Nice work."

The last essay, first published in 1991, is really a senescent's plea to use the occasion of the American (1976) bicentennial as a "history and civics lesson" for all of us and to turn the United States of America into a classroom. Why? Because, says Butts, a guy like Robert Bork was nominated to the United States Supreme Court. Luckily he didn't make it. But unfortunately David Souter and Clarence Thomas did. And because the United States federal government does not do enough to alleviate poverty, unemployment, crime, insufficient health care, discrimination against minorities and women, and inequality in educational opportunity. *And* because the government does not do enough to enhance multiculturalism or to challenge the Western canon. I think you get the picture.

What I want to know is, with a record and ideas such as this, how did Butts end up at the Hoover Institution?

* * *

Another tract from the Caddo Gap Press which recently landed on my desk is Boris S. Gershunsky's *Russia in Darkness. . . On Education and the Future*. His short (82 pp.) book and his so-called reformist ideas just confirm to me the damage done by the universal dissemination of John Dewey's secular-humanism, the educational philosophy Lenin imported from Columbia in the 1920s.

For whatever reason, Professor Gershunsky has written an unreadable book. Either his own English is wooden, or he had an awful translator. The book is a mix of the telling and the trivial, yet it addresses an intriguing subject.

The preface, written by Gerald H. Read, gives a historical sketch of the Gorbachev years up to the declaration of independence by the Russian Federation in June of 1991 and its enactment of a new education law to "departyize, decommunize, democratize, deideologize, demonopolize, decentralize and humanize the educational system."

Given this new dispensation, Gershunsky makes proposals for the future of Russian education. He begins with an open letter to Boris Yeltsin [*sic*] and speaks of the "callapsoidal state" that Russia is in and the deplorable situation in its schools. If Yeltsin is serious about reform he must become all the more so about education. In other words we have here the echo of H.G. Wells – "education or catastrophe?"

The introduction begins with a curious attack upon *Pamyat* (memory), the chauvinist, Slavophile, right-wing, anti-semitic movement that has reared its ugly head in post-Communist Russia. But while *Pamyat* must surely be of concern, it is hardly the biggest problem facing Russia. Already Russia has Zhirinovsky, who makes the *Pamyat* sound like an altar boy.

Then Gershunsky asks: "What has happened? Why has the mechanism of state self regulation disintegrated so quickly? What lies behind the in-depth processes of the crash of outwardly attractive socialist and Communist ideas?"

One is not sure if he is lamenting the disintegration of socialism or the fall of Gorbachev. Were Gorbachev's *glasnost* and *perestroika* too little too late or too much too early?

(Realizing this was not going to be an easy read I got myself a glass of vodka to help make the prose a little more penetrable just as Professor Gershunsky was about to provide what he called "an educational-politological analysis," and here is what I *think* it says.)

Education in what was the workers' homeland is backward. Educational achievement has decreased catastrophically because education has been "outside of priority spheres." I suppose this means government has not spent enough money on education.

The good professor elaborates five weaknesses in the educational system: schools are too isolated and remote from the frontiers of knowledge; not enough emphasis is put on vocational education, and the vocational education that exists is delivered poorly; there is no continuity or sequence in schooling; teacher training is nonexistent or inert; and, finally, there has been a general decline of interest in knowledge.

All this is aggravated by social pathologies such as: national rivalries and ethnic tensions; abject poverty; widespread crime; endemic immorality; apathy and cynicism; runaway alcoholism; the absence of a work ethic; irresponsibility; and, alas, materialism – not *dialectical* materialism, just materialism. In a word, Russia is deformed, or, as Gershunsky says, it is suffering from "foundational deformation."

Indeed, seventy years of Marxism produced only a totalitarian state which completely destroyed civil society and all the mediating institutions that once stood between the individual and the state. Life in Russia is truly "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short."

The only way out of this catastrophe is education. Gershunsky argues for more funding, better equipment and facilities and, over the course of a long and meandering discussion, he cites Thomas Kuhn and calls for a philosophical transformation, "a new paradigm" which will deideologize and humanize education and ground it in a "love of wisdom and the pursuit of truth." Education must change from serving the needs of the collectivity and be based on the individual needs of students. And this must start now.

That's how the book ends. It appears that he thinks if you espouse a little bit of something that sounds like individualism you will win your American audience and make your case and perhaps get a few speaking invitations. But "individualizing education" and making the case for individualism are hardly the same thing.

The redeeming feature of the book is its testimony about the catastrophe in Russia, which again shows our progressive educationists the utter havoc and ruination that Marxism (and that is "really existing Marxism") has wrought. But Gershunsky's outlook is still rooted in a statist, centralized, and secular vision. There is no mention of private education, church-run education, home-schooling, there is no discussion of the canon or the curriculum, and nothing about values or religion.

Paradigms do not evolve, amend themselves, or change. They get buried with their holders in the grave. So long as Russia does not go through a thorough process of decommunization, in effect burying it, there can be no change.

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William Hare.
WHAT MAKES A GOOD TEACHER?
London, ON: The Althouse Press, 1993.
203 pp., \$20.95.

What makes a good teacher? Everyone understands that good teachers know their material, get along well with their students and make learning fun. William Hare, in his book, *What Makes a Good Teacher*, raises other issues that define "good" teachers. He discusses such virtues as humility, courage, open-mindedness that teachers must have.

This book raises the question of who should teach our children. Hare argues that the moral and ethical values that teachers should have,

The only way out of this catastrophe is education. Gershunsky argues for more funding, better equipment and facilities and, over the course of a long and meandering discussion, he cites Thomas Kuhn and calls for a philosophical transformation, "a new paradigm" which will deideologize and humanize education and ground it in a "love of wisdom and the pursuit of truth." Education must change from serving the needs of the collectivity and be based on the individual needs of students. And this must start now.

That's how the book ends. It appears that he thinks if you espouse a little bit of something that sounds like individualism you will win your American audience and make your case and perhaps get a few speaking invitations. But "individualizing education" and making the case for individualism are hardly the same thing.

The redeeming feature of the book is its testimony about the catastrophe in Russia, which again shows our progressive educationists the utter havoc and ruination that Marxism (and that is "really existing Marxism") has wrought. But Gershunsky's outlook is still rooted in a statist, centralized, and secular vision. There is no mention of private education, church-run education, home-schooling, there is no discussion of the canon or the curriculum, and nothing about values or religion.

Paradigms do not evolve, amend themselves, or change. They get buried with their holders in the grave. So long as Russia does not go through a thorough process of decommunization, in effect burying it, there can be no change.

Yarema Gregory Kelebay
McGill University

William Hare.
WHAT MAKES A GOOD TEACHER?
London, ON: The Althouse Press, 1993.
203 pp., \$20.95.

What makes a good teacher? Everyone understands that good teachers know their material, get along well with their students and make learning fun. William Hare, in his book, *What Makes a Good Teacher*, raises other issues that define "good" teachers. He discusses such virtues as humility, courage, open-mindedness that teachers must have.

This book raises the question of who should teach our children. Hare argues that the moral and ethical values that teachers should have,

need to be addressed by faculties of education which, at present, tend not to teach “values”. He discusses the differences between the mechanics of teaching and the ethical principles that define the way teachers teach. The book devotes individual chapters to each of the virtues of: humility, impartiality, open-mindedness, empathy, enthusiasm, judgment, and imagination, discussing what the terms mean and how teachers display or, in some cases, do not display such qualities.

Hare has raised some very significant points. The best teachers are those who display these virtues and use them to compliment the mechanics of teaching. Therefore, educators should read books like this one that address such issues. Unfortunately, Hare tends to repeat ideas and examples to the point of annoyance. He constantly refers to Socrates as an example of a teacher with the best values, and Jim Keegstra as one with the poorest. While these two people do represent the poles of teaching, the constant referral to them becomes irritating.

Furthermore, readers may have problems with the writing. Hare uses very complex structures, thus often losing meaning. Sentences, such as the following, create comprehension problems:

Her conclusion, namely that feminists who do not take certain arguments seriously should not be dismissed as closed-minded, does not require the view that open-mindedness is only exercised within a certain conceptual framework which is itself, presumably, impervious to criticism. (p. 21)

Such writing occurs throughout the book. Clarity seems to be one of the virtues which Hare has omitted – though “mechanical”, it is as vital as all the others. What a pity that a book that says such important things should be so difficult to read. People who should hear its concerns may never get through it.

Audrey Berner
McGill University

Clive Dimmock (Editor).
SCHOOL BASED MANAGEMENT AND
SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS.
London: Routledge, &
New York: Routledge, Chapman & Hall, 1993.
241 pp. \$18.95.

Throughout the developed and developing world there is an increasing interest in finding ways and means to improve the quality of education being provided by schools. In *School Based Management and School Effectiveness*, Clive Dimmock sets forth three objectives for the text: first, to foster an empirically driven debate on school based management; second, to provide a comparative perspective from which the debate can develop; finally, to provide readers with clear conceptual and empirical links among school based management, school improvement, and school effectiveness. To accomplish these objectives, Dimmock provides a collection of writings from international researchers from six countries, who are pursuing the quest to improve school effectiveness. The text provides both conceptual and theoretical insights into the modern day concerns.

The first four chapters of the text explore the linkage between school based management practices, the principal's behaviour, improvement of the curriculum, and student performance. Chapters five to seven look at the principal's values, the decentralization of decision making, school based learning, and evaluation practices. The last four chapters explore a wide assortment of ideas that help set a research agenda for school based management, school improvement, and school effectiveness. It is a research agenda that is daunting.

The text is well written; however, it is geared to the more sophisticated consumer of educational research. It is recommended to those who are interested in improving school performance.

Charles Lusthaus
McGill University

Recycling Discredited Pedagogies

**THE LONDON FILE:
PAPERS FROM THE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION,
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
London: The Tufnell Press, 1993.**

**David Buckingham (Editor).
CHANGING LITERACIES:
MEDIA EDUCATION AND MODERN CULTURE.
28 pp., £3.95.**

**Graham Haydon (Editor).
EDUCATION AND THE CRISIS IN VALUES:
SHOULD WE BE PHILOSOPHICAL ABOUT IT?
25 pp., £3.95.**

**Clare Hake (Editor).
PARTNERSHIP IN INITIAL TEACHER TRAINING:
TALK AND CHALK
36 pp., £3.95.**

**James Tooley (Editor).
A MARKET-LED ALTERNATIVE FOR THE CURRICULUM:
BREAKING THE CODE.
42 pp., £3.95.**

Edward Lederman recently wrote that education-ese has always done a good job of camouflaging the recycling of discredited pedagogies. This is the case with these essays. However, educational thought is in such a state of desperate destitution that it was a pleasure to read them. All four are well-written, cogently argued and clear in conviction regardless of the redressed heresies they espouse. At least they were forthright and easy to contend with.

I write in the order which I read them. Haydon writes about the crisis in values, or, rather, he posits that something has happened in education "which lends itself to talk about crisis." John Patten, the British cabinet minister responsible for education, is cited about the decline in religious belief and observance and so is his call for "a religious revival." This something is the plurality of standards in education and the coexistence of differing values. Haydon says there is a diversity which was always there but hidden, and which has not been

made public by the media. This proliferation of values is not a decline, it is only a new "lack of faith in moral discussion." We do not need normative philosophy on education, but "a practical philosophy *in* education." We need applied philosophy done by teachers as neutral chairpersons implementing method on practical disagreements and issues. Why? Because philosophers are not throwers of lifelines but swimming instructors.

In the 1960s Mao Zedong was quoted about not serving a plate of fish, but rather teaching one how to fish, thus providing not a meal but food for life. Today it is swimming instructors.

Haydon's argument turns into another appeal for critical thinking to cope with diversity. This is a rewarmed version of Dewey and McLuhan. The process is the thing, the medium is the message. (Haydon is another example of the fact that the English are no good at philosophy. They really don't need it because they have etiquette.)

* * *

David Buckingham's essay is about the teaching of English versus something called media studies. It is about high-brow and low-brow culture. His essay is the case for media education or low-brow culture as a fundamental educational entitlement for all. This is because through media "our identities are formed."

Literacy is formed, he says, in the interaction between technologies, institutions, texts, and audiences, followed by a discussion of each of these elements.

Technologies are interactive but have "contradictory consequences" because they are "gendered and classed." In other words our identities are formed by our response to the media, Buckingham's version of reader response to literature. In this approach, of course, all responses are valid and equally valid. There is no best response or interpretation; there is no ultimate common meaning.

Institutions are the locus of control of the means of production but also more importantly the locus of the "control of the production of meaning." They produce a meaning that viewers should respond to skeptically. Deregulation cannot automatically be equated with greater "choice and diversity." In other words the messages of capitalist television must not be trusted or assented to regardless of the response of viewers.

Buckingham does not really want viewer response to media. He wants viewers' positive responses to be re-educated into negative ones.

Our response to Oliver Stone's *JFK* or to Warren Beatty's *Reds* should be positive. Our response to Charlton Heston, Ronald Reagan, William F. Buckley, and Pat Buchanan should be negative.

In his discussion of text there is expressed a "fear of Americanization" which contradicts the confidence that viewers will respond to texts as they see them. Buckingham talks about the content of Americanized text as infused with violence, sexism, consumerism, and merchandizing. In other words, infused with capitalist themes and not the socialist ones of pacifism, androgyny, scarcity, and bureaucratizing. If media texts celebrated sodomy, socialism, and surrender Buckingham would have no "fear of Americanization." It would then be a case of sensitive and caring "Sweden"-ization.

On audiences, Buckingham says they have been fragmented, diversified, and there are alternative social identities. In other words, with cable, broadcasting has become "narrow"-casting. This is no good, because leftist broadcasters have lost control. Dan Rather is no longer a secular pope.

* * *

Clare Hake talks about teacher training and the role of the practicum in it. The essay discusses theory and practice in teacher education and the place of the university and the school in teacher preparation.

For the Conservatives, the teacher training system in universities embodies the idea and methods which have made British education the laughing stock of Europe. It is based on half-baked sociological and psychological theories. Therefore, there have been onslaughts against theory-heavy teacher education. But, "the balance between university-based and school-based training has shifted in the latter's favour." The simple and obvious point the author does not make is that university theory has been in favour of school-based training for the past generation. It has been learning by doing for the past thirty years.

The author says that the theory manufactured and applied in schools model has failed. Yes it has, but the theory has been a theory of praxis. Theory as such has not failed; a particular theory has failed.

The author then argues that "professional activity has an epistemology of its own." In education this is known as "reflection in action," otherwise known as "reflective practice," in which theory is not dichotomized from experience.

I was happy to learn, and I did learn that reflective practice comes from where everything else about modern education comes from, John

Dewey. In 1933 Dewey wrote *How we think: A restatement of the relations of reflective thinking to the educational process*, where he first proposed the notion of reflective practice.

The author then describes the Oxford Internship Scheme, in which there is an assault on Aristotle's Second Law of Thought – the Law of Contradiction, which says that something cannot be and not be at the same time. This, we learn, is crude and disabling. The way to transcend Aristotle is through collaboration, compromise, consensus, partnership, interdependence, and empowerment.

* * *

After I finished James Tooley's essay, I thought, "Poor fellows." This essay, however, is slightly different. It is against a standard "national curriculum," and for entrusting the curriculum to the market because a market-led curriculum would be liberating and empowering and would facilitate egalitarian ideas. But, he says, "I do not mean privatizing educational provision, selling of schools, instituting fee paying and so on. I mean liberating the demand and supply sides of education within a state-provided service." He proudly continues: "Note. . . that it is not parents and students who decide the curriculum. This is still up to professional educationists – teachers, head teachers, textbook writers, curriculum visionaries, to decide what we teach. It is circumscribed professional control."

Tooley is an educational Gorbachev who still can't shake his affinity for something called a socialist market.

But, for the most part I enjoyed the essays, because they represented an attempt at an ordered retreat – the most difficult of military manoeuvres.

Yarema Gregory Kelebay
McGill University

Books Received

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

- Allan, John A.B. & Nairne, Judith. (1993). *Class discussions for teachers and counsellors in elementary school, 2nd Ed.* Toronto, ON: Guidance Centre, The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. (144 pp. \$9.95).
- Anisef, Paul & Axelrod, Paul (Eds.). (1993). *Transitions: Schooling and employment in Canada.* Toronto, ON & Lewiston, NY: Thompson Educational Publishing. (209 pp. \$19.95).
- Bailey, Karen R. (1993). *The girls are the ones with the pointy nails. An exploration of children's conceptions of gender.* London, ON: The University of Western Ontario, The Althouse Press. (136 pp. \$19.95).
- Beach, Richard. (1993). *A teacher's introduction to reader-response theories.* Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. (209 pp. \$12.95 [NCTE members \$9.95]).
- Bizzaro, Patrick. (1993). *Responding to student poems. Applications of theory.* Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. (236 pp. \$19.95 [NCTE members \$14.95]).
- Boggiano, Ann K. & Pittman, Thane S. (Eds.). (1992). *Achievement and motivation: A social-developmental perspective.* New York: Cambridge University Press. (291 pp. \$44.95).
- Coleman, John C. (Ed.). (1993). *The school years: Current issues in the socialization of young people.* New York & London: Routledge. (209 pp. \$69.95 cloth, \$16.95 paper).
- Cooley, Dennis (Ed.). (1992). *Inscriptions: A prairie poetry anthology.* Winnipeg, Manitoba: Turnstone Press. (314 pp. \$18.95).
- Crimmel, Henry H. (1993). *The liberal arts college and the ideal of liberal education: The case for radical reform.* Lanham, New York, London: University Press of America. (390 pp. \$49.50 cloth, \$29.50 paper).
- Cutuly, Joan. (1993). *Home of the wildcats: Perils of an English teacher.* Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. (92 pp. \$12.95. [NCTE members \$9.95]).
- Davis, James E. & Salomone, Ronald E. (Eds.). (1993). *Teaching Shakespeare today: Practical approaches and productive strategies.* Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. (301 pp. \$19.95 [NCTE members \$14.95]).
- DiPardo, Anne. (1993). NCTE Research Report No. 24. *A kind of passport: A basic writing adjunct program and the challenge of student diversity.* Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. (202 pp. \$16.95 [NCTE members \$12.95]).
- Dixon, R.G. Des. (1992). *Future schools and how to get there from here: A primer for evolutionaries.* Toronto, ON: ECW Press. (504 pp. \$16.95).

- Dultz, Ron. (1993). *Educating the Entire Person*. Reseda, CA: Ron Dultz Publishing. (103 pp. \$8.00).
- Flower, Linda, Wallace, David L., Norris, Linda, & Burnett, Rebecca E. (Editors). (1993). *Making thinking visible. Writing, collaborative planning, and classroom inquiry*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. (315 pp. \$19.95 [NCTE members \$14.95]).
- Gill, Kent (Ed.). (1993). *Process and portfolios in writing instruction*. (Classroom Practices in Teaching English, Vol. 26). Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. (99 pp. \$11.95 [NCTE members \$8.95]).
- Gill, Kent (Ed.). (1993). *Ideas for the working classroom*. (Classroom Practices in Teaching English, Vol. 27). Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. (178 pp. \$12.95 [NCTE members \$9.95]).
- Giroux, Henry A., & McLaren, Peter (Eds.). (1993). *Between Borders: Pedagogy and the politics of cultural studies*. New York & London: Routledge. (280 pp.).
- Hare, William. (1993). *Attitudes in teaching and education*. Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises. (136 pp.).
- Hult, Christine A. (Ed.). (1994). *Evaluating teachers of writing*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. (189 pp. \$19.95 [NCTE members \$14.95]).
- Hurlbert, C. Mark & Totten, Samuel (Eds.). (1992) *Social issues in the English classroom*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. (344 pp. \$18.95 [NCTE members \$13.95]).
- Jennings, Arthur. (1992). The London File: Papers from the Institute of Education, University of London. *National curriculum science: So near and yet so far*. London: The Tufnell Press. (41pp. £3.95).
- Jensen, Julie M., & Roser, Nancy L., (Editors). (1993). *Adventuring with books. A booklist for pre-K - grade 6* (10th Ed.). Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English (593pp. \$19.95 [NCTE members \$14.95]).
- Kinkead, Joyce A., & Harris, Jeanette G. (1993). *Writing centers in context: Twelve case studies*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. (274 pp. \$24.95 [NCTE members \$17.95]).
- Lawson, David. (1993). *Zhongguo*. Montreal: Empyrean Press. (54 pp. \$10.00).
- Leblanc, Paul. (1993). *Writing teachers writing software: Creating our place in the electronic age*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. 208 pp. \$24.95 [NCTE members \$19.95]).
- Lee, Carol D. (1993). NCTE Research Report No. 26 *Signifying as a scaffold for literary interpretation: The pedagogical implications of an African American discourse genre*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. 283 pp. \$22.95 [NCTE members \$16.95]).
- Lee, Peter, Slater, John, Walsh, Paddy, & White, John. (1992). The London File - Papers from the Institute of Education, University of London. *The aims of school history: The national curriculum and beyond*. London: The Tufnell Press. (55 pp. £4.50).
- Livesley, Jack & Trotz, Frank. (1993). *The penguin guide to children's TV and video*. Toronto, ON: Penguin Books. (315 pp. \$16.99).
- McCarthy, Cameron & Crichlow, Warren (Eds.). (1993). *Race identity and representation in education*. New York & London: Routledge. (329 pp. \$49.95 cloth, \$17.95 paper).
- Lott, Sandra Ward, Hawkins, Maureen S.G., McMillan, Norman, Editors. (1993). *Global perspectives on teaching literature*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. (415 pp. \$32.95 [NCTE members \$24.95]).

- Newton, Earle & Knight, Doug. (1993). *Understanding change in education*. Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises. (310 pp.).
- McAlexander, Patricia J., Dobie, Ann B., Gregg, Noel. (1992). *Beyond the "SP" label: Improving the spelling of learning disabled and basic writers*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. (90 pp. \$11.95 [NCTE members \$8.95]).
- McLean, Martin. (1992). The London File - Papers from the Institute of Education, University of London. *The promise and perils of educational comparison*. London: The Tufnell Press. (40 pp. £3.95).
- Monroe, Rick. (1993). *Writing and thinking with computers: A practical and progressive approach*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. (121 pp. \$16.95 [NCTE members \$12.95]).
- Newton, Earle & Newton, Patti. (1992). *Voices vision and vitality*. Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises. (143 pp. \$18.95).
- Norwich, Brahm. (1992). The London File - Papers from the Institute of Education, University of London. *Time to change the 1981 Education Act*. London: The Tufnell Press. (36pp. £3.95).
- Nunes, Terezinha, Schliemann, Analucia Dias, & Carraher, David William. (1993). *Street mathematics and school mathematics*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (170 pp. \$49.95 cloth, \$16.95 paper).
- Ponterotto, Joseph G. & Pedersen, Paul B. (1993). Multicultural aspects of counseling series 2. *Preventing prejudice: A guide for counselors and educators*. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications. (184 pp. \$29.95 cloth, \$14.95 paper).
- Ray, Ruth E. (1993). *The practice of theory: Teacher research in composition*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. (189 pp. \$19.95 [NCTE members \$14.95]).
- Rouse, John. (1993). *Provocations: The story of Mrs. M.* Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. (100 pp. \$11.95 [NCTE members \$8.95]).
- Solar, Claudie, Editor. (1992). *Inequity in the classroom/En toute égalité*. Montreal, QC: Concordia University. Office on the Status of Women. (Manual: 131 pp. \$40. Video: \$40. In English or French).
- Thiessen, Elmer John. (1994). *Teaching for commitment: Liberal education, indoctrination, and Christian nurture*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. (332 pp. \$44.95 cloth; \$17.95 paper).
- Thom, Douglas J. (1993). *Educational management and leadership: Word, spirit, and deed for a just society*. Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises. (250 pp.).
- Villanueva, Jr., Victor. (1993). *Bootstraps. From an American academic of color*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. (151 pp. \$16.95 [NCTE members \$12.95]).
- Webb, C. Anne, Editor, and the Committee on the Junior High and Middle School Booklist. (1993) *Your reading. A booklist for junior high and middle school* (9th Ed.). Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English (250 pp. \$16.95 [NCTE members \$12.95]).

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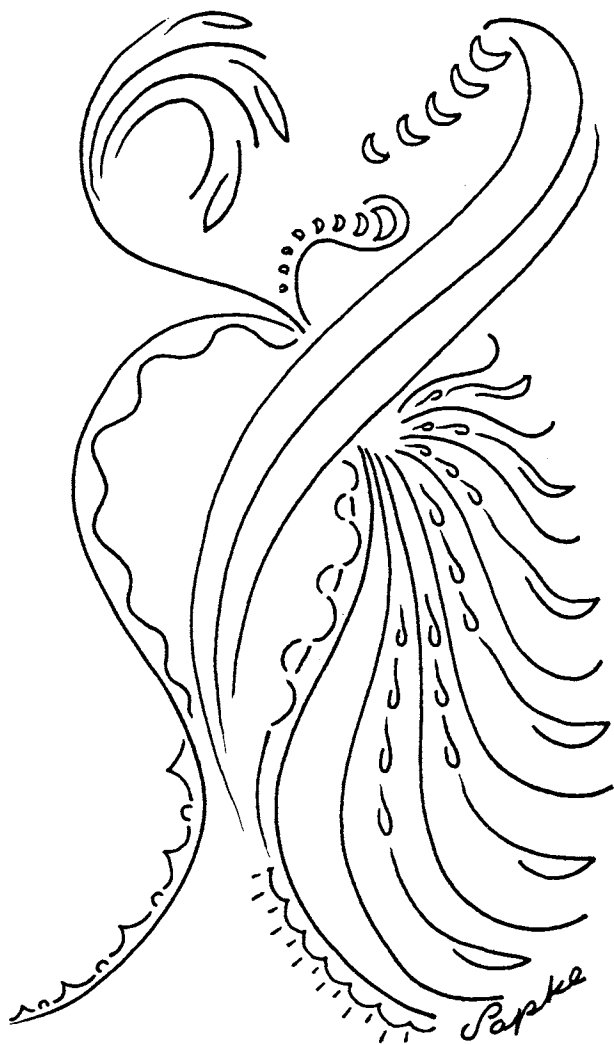
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Publication Guidelines

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. A publication fee of \$50 is required from authors for each manuscript accepted for publication. 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.

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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. Les auteurs dont les manuscrits ont été acceptés devront acquitter des droits de publication de 50\$. 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.

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