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Editorial

Renewed interest in vocational education

There seems to be a renewed interest in vocational education, as well as in technology education, if current publications are an indicator of people's views and concerns. Dr. Donald Glendenning, retired president of the Canadian Vocational Association, in a recent article titled *Where are our universities?* (1994), observes that "based on my experience I can only conclude that Canadian educators, or at least those who publish their findings and views, are not very interested in vocational education." This conclusion, he says, came after considerable efforts to find information about technical and vocational education, and what the current literature has to say about vocational training of secondary school-age youth and adults. In his opinion, "there is little available research being published in Canada about technical and vocational education."

Dr. Glendenning is concerned about the university's role in research in the area of technical and vocational education. As a follow-up concern, Melville J. Appell, guest editorialist for the current issue of *Counseling Today*, calls attention to the lack of sufficient counselling for educational and career planning of students, and counsellors' lack of interest in the vocational guidance of students.

Mr. Appell believes that school counsellors have not staked out their territory in an area of expertise that is sorely needed, i.e., educational and career counselling. He also believes that counsellors are concentrating on the mental health aspects of their job to the exclusion or neglect of students who wish to plan their future. He fears that academics who are training counsellors "know little of employment and how to get there from here. In turn, their students don't learn very much about the world of work in which they are supposed to operate. . . ."

Vocational education and, of course, vocational guidance and career planning are important aspects of the mandate that secondary schools have for the education of students. As well, universities, whose job includes the training of guidance counsellors, must also be concerned about the quality of training their students receive in preparation for counselling secondary-school students who need career planning.

In this issue of the *Journal* we have concentrated on several components of vocational education. Three papers examine the state of vocational education in Quebec. Their focus is on obstacles and opportunities for vocational education in Quebec's schools, some of the recent major reforms in the Quebec Ministry of Education relative to vocational education, and, finally, a demythologizing of some ideas about vocational education. Further, Prof. Andrew Carson writes about the applications of Holland's vocational theory to vocational counselling and vocational education.

Other papers in this issue deal with such diverse topics as: (1) a re-examination of the vocational-liberal studies controversy, (2) a review of the literature on Hackman and Oldham's theory of job characteristics, and (3) the question of whether or not a *feminist pedagogy* exists, either in theory or practice.

W.M.T.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We wish to acknowledge the assistance of Dr. Andrew D. Carson who initiated the idea of a special issue on vocational education. Dr. Carson, formerly Assistant Professor in counselling psychology at McGill University, was instrumental in obtaining several of the manuscripts for this edition and was helpful with many of his ideas about vocational education in Quebec.

Vocational Education in Quebec

The status of vocational education in Quebec, especially the English-speaking sector, is the subject of the following three papers. The authors present some of the background issues, the developments of the recent past, the myths about vocational education, and some of the reforms initiated by the Quebec Ministry of Education.

Janyne M. Hodder, *Ministère de l'Éducation du Québec*

Obstacles and Opportunities for Vocational Education in Quebec

Abstract

The importance of vocational education on both the individual level (satisfaction, employment, and quality of life) and the societal level (productivity and economic growth) is reviewed, and the advocacy of vocational education programs by the ministère de l'Éducation du Québec is explained in the context of concern for the future of children and young people in Quebec. It is argued that school counsellors may no longer rely on outdated biases against vocational education, and should encourage students to make their own wise academic and career choices.

Résumé

L'auteur analyse l'importance de la formation professionnell au niveau individuel (satisfaction, emploi et qualité de vie) et au niveau sociétal (productivité et croissance économique) tandis qu'elle explique la défense des programmes de la formation professionnell par le ministère de l'Éducation du Québec par rapport aux préoccupations soulevées par l'avenir des enfants et des jeunes du Québec. L'auteur soutient que les conseillers scolaires doivent se débarrasser de leurs préjugés à l'égard de la formation professionnell et inciter leurs étudiants à opérer leurs propres choix de carrière.

The first graduating class of the twenty-first century is in grade three today. Its members are already old enough to read, old enough to show exceptional talent, and old enough to be experiencing difficulty in school. Most educators subconsciously realize this, but probably do not give it much thought, since they expect tomorrow to be much like today and much like their own yesterdays. Many have a high level of education and fairly stable employment. Those at the front end or middle of the baby boom also have fairly secure prospects for old age, as well as comfortable pension plans. And even when they do think about the next century, it probably does not mean much more than a catchy idea some clever advertiser might translate into a script for a commercial. For many educators, the twenty-first century is still just an abstract idea.

A platitude lies behind this notion as well: the future remains unforeseeable. Who could have predicted the fall of Eastern bloc communism even ten years ago, the rise of Islam as a doctrine as powerful as any political ideology, or even our Western unease about determining the right line of behaviour towards Iraq or the conflict in Bosnia? Given these uncertainties, how can educators complacently assume their roles as guides and counsellors to children and young people who are headed for places and times that are likely to be quite different from their own? In many cases, educators typically continue to do as they have always done, namely, to believe what they have always believed and to speak more often of the students of the past than of the adults of the future.

Perhaps the future should be left to futurists, whether economists or science-fiction writers, and those involved in young people's education should continue to do as they have been doing. Not so – as those same young people would say. This is **not** good enough. It is **not** good enough for the young people whose education and guidance are entrusted to the educational community, and **not** good enough for educators as life-long learners and teachers.

No matter how difficult, educators must try to sift through what they know, what they see, what they read, and what they themselves have experienced, in an effort to make sense of the trends around them, and to decide which ones are trivial or passing fads and which signal momentous changes in how today's children and young people will live out their lives as adults. Having done that, they must re-examine their values, beliefs, attitudes, and practices, and determine which still hold and which need to be revised if they are to be wise, effective teachers and counsellors.

The educational community needs to reflect on its own daily practices and on the beliefs underlying the choice of certain kinds of actions over others. The intent of this article is to take a careful, critical look at one of the options young people have as they near the end of their

secondary school career: the opportunity of entering secondary school vocational education. It is hoped that as a result of this close look, educators will gain a slightly different view of secondary school vocational education. The approach taken here will not be a sales pitch or a marketing exercise, but will instead emphasize educators' common ability to reflect on their practices, and their willingness to see and acknowledge change around them.

Before explaining why a reform in vocational education was necessary and what the ministère de l'Éducation has been doing to implement this reform, first consider the following. Many of today's educators grew up in an extraordinarily affluent post-war economy. They did not experience the profound despair and hardship of the Depression years and the horrors of World War II lived by their parents. This generation has been exceptionally sheltered, raised, as it was, with a firm belief in the possibility of increasing its standard of living and with dreams of a limitless future. In such a context, although education was considered an important tool for personal, social, and economic success, just as it is today, it was also often viewed as a personal odyssey. Young people then made choices on the basis of their aptitudes and opportunities, just as young people do today, but they also relied a great deal on what "felt good," to borrow an expression from the sixties.

What is fairly clear today is that their freedom to "do their own thing" was in large part ensured by the general well-being and affluence of the society in which they lived – the very society that introduced medicare, free college-level education, and no-fault car insurance.

This must be understood before we can begin to look at what it means to say that the skills level of our work force must be raised in order to compete in the global economy. We cannot simply reject the evidence that economies such as ours, where labour and production costs are high – essentially because we maintain a relatively high standard of living – require highly skilled workers in order to preserve a competitive advantage over other economies whose labour and production costs are low – essentially because those who live in such economies do not live as well as we do. Market competitiveness will not go away merely because we do not like it. Preparing young people without giving consideration to the world in which they will have to live, and find and maintain jobs to support their families, is not responsible education.

Concerns about the skills level of the work force are neither theoretical nor inappropriate in the act of educating young people. Educators are no less child-centred because they take into account the future needs of the marketplace. On the contrary, such concerns demonstrate the commitment to guaranteeing that the entitlements now taken for granted will be there for future generations, that the standard of living

now enjoyed will be maintained, and that there will be the means to undo some of society's errors, such as cleaning up the rivers and replanting the forests.

In statistics obtained through the Canadian Occupational Projection System (COPS), Employment and Immigration Canada states that of all the jobs created between 1989 and the end of the century, nearly two thirds or 62.9 percent will require at least 12 years of education and training, and nearly 40 percent will require more than 16 years of training. It also affirms that the work force of 1986 was made up of workers of whom nearly half (46.7%) did not finish high school. As of 1986, the average dropout between 25 and 44 years of age was earning 25% less than his or her classmates who had finished high school (Government of Canada, 1989).

Clearly then, the very first priority of the educational community must be to increase the number of students who graduate from high school. This is, of course, the aim of the current plan of action of the ministère de l'Éducation. But as educators do their part to encourage students to graduate, it is important that they bear in mind that a vocational education diploma is a secondary school diploma, one which students can earn either after obtaining a general education diploma or after Secondary IV.

It is important to understand that ensuring the availability of a highly skilled work force does not mean a reduction in levels of general education. In fact, universities must continue to play a part through the quality of their faculties, especially their professional ones, and through the value of the research they carry out. Industry as well must contribute and develop new models of partnership for the ongoing training and development of the men and women employed there and for the retraining of employees whose jobs become obsolete. *Collèges enseignement général et professionnel* (CEGEPs) also play an essential role through the quality of the technical and professional programs they offer. It is important that schools at the secondary level also play a part.

Years ago, secondary school vocational education was a path for students in difficulty – one more often chosen **for them** than one they chose **for themselves** from a range of options. The entire effort of the Ministère over the last six years has been aimed at changing that view and making vocational education a valued and logical choice – a choice that leads somewhere. More and more students are, for example, pursuing vocational programs in CEGEP after having completed one at the secondary level. Vocational education today can lead to further studies as well as immediate employment.

Furthermore, the bias that has persisted against proposing vocational education as an option to students who had other choices has somehow affected even those who may not have had many choices. How else can one explain the 36% dropout rate? Surely, of that number, only a very small fraction are truly incapable of achieving more after eleven or twelve years in school, and surely, of that number, a great many would be leading better lives if they had acquired marketable skills.

This is not to suggest that secondary school vocational education is a panacea for all problems in education. What is being asserted is that it is valid education, that it does offer employment opportunities, that it can lead to further studies and that it has not been presented to young people often enough as a sound and realistic choice for them – not others – to make.

In the past six years, the Ministère has raised admission requirements and rewritten vocational education programs, often in collaboration with industry. It has provided funding for new equipment and new workshops. It has developed cooperative education models. It has concentrated options in specialized centres and retrained teachers, all in an effort to create new choices for young people – choices which offer solid prospects for employment and well-being.

Yet, in the English sector, it often seems that more attention is focused on ways of dealing with special-needs students than on student success in new options. In part, this may be because the vocational programs that are offered in English tend to be the traditional ones, not the new exciting programs that have been developed. It is difficult, however, to supply new options when there is little or no demand for them, and educators and counsellors should consider the reasons for this.

It would appear that underlying this issue is a debate about the relative merits or status of knowledge versus skills. It sometimes seems as if high status is attributed to academic knowledge and low status to skills, particularly physical or manual ones. Such a dichotomy does not make much sense, of course, if one thinks of neurosurgeons or pianists – people expected to have both a high level of knowledge and a high level of skills.

Many of the skills that will probably be required for the highly skilled work force of the future also depend on a sound knowledge base, which is why the Ministère has raised entry standards for vocational education. It is fairly certain that whatever the ultimate level of education a person attains, whether secondary school, CEGEP, or university, there will always be the need to balance knowledge and skills. A skilled labour force in industry is not the army of drones engaged in mindless, repetitive tasks as evoked in the Charlie Chaplin movie, *Modern Times*. Ma-

chines do that now. What is required is a work force made up of people who can think, solve problems, communicate, work well, and learn and relearn techniques. That is the goal of both vocational and academic education.

Another bias may stem from perceptions of earning power. There is a general perception that studying social sciences in CEGEP will guarantee a higher income than studying to earn a vocational education diploma. The problem is that it is simply not true. There was a time when, for example, a liberal arts degree afforded entry into all kinds of fields, from banking to public relations. However, that is less and less the case at a time when employers are as concerned with the specific skills that their employees bring to tasks as they are with their level of general education. Earning power is now determined by both level of knowledge and degree of skills attainment. For example, the earning power of an industrial mechanic, a trade requiring a secondary-level diploma and an apprenticeship, ranges from \$20,000 to \$50,000 – exactly the same as that of the average architect.

The purpose here has not been to review every possible reason for the fact that more young people are not being attracted to vocational education programs. What has been intended is to encourage educators to rethink their beliefs in the light of recent historic and socioeconomic changes and in the light of a future that cannot be foretold but can perhaps be anticipated. It is hoped that the educational community will focus its knowledge and expertise on providing further insight into the issues raised here. This collective effort can only have a positive impact on our ability to guide and support young people wisely and effectively.

NOTE

This paper was adapted from opening remarks made at *Symposium II: Vocational Education Career Paths: Obstacles and Opportunities* at Le Nouvel Hôtel, Montreal, January 22, 1993

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Janyne M. Hodder is Assistant Deputy Minister, Services to the English-speaking community in the Ministère de l'Éducation du Québec.

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Barbara Goode, *Ministère de l'Éducation du Québec*

Major Reforms Bring Brighter Employment Prospects for Quebec Students

Abstract

With the 1986 plan of action for vocational education, the ministère de l'Éducation launched a major reform of the secondary vocational education system. The author examines the current state of vocational education as a result of the changes ensuing from the reform, and addresses the particular challenges faced in providing equal access and quality in English-language vocational education. The paper closes with a discussion of the Ministère's current focus on creating an integrated secondary and college delivery system and on widening access to life-long learning.

Résumé

En adoptant en 1986 son plan d'action sur la formation professionnell, le ministère de l'Éducation a entamé une profonde réforme du système de la formation professionnell au secondaire. L'auteur analyse la situation actuelle dela formation professionnell qui découle de la réforme entreprise et s'intéresse au difficultés particulières que posent l'égalité d'accès et la qualité de la formation professionnell en langue anglaise. Elle termine son article par une analyse du projet, entrepris par le ministère de création d'un système d'éducation secondaire et collégial intégré et d'élargissement l'accès à l'éducation permanente.

When Québec school boards greeted a new contingent of students in September 1986, they also greeted the start of sweeping reforms to vocational and technical education in Québec. The decision to carry out such a major reform stemmed from the realization that the vocational education system then in existence was unable to meet the requirements of business and industry in the context of free trade and market globalization. Today's businesses demand higher basic qualifications and continual employee upgrading.

Main goals of the reform

The prime objective of the 1986 plan of action for vocational education was to ensure that job seekers had the skills employers required. The plan was created after an extensive consultation with the

education and business communities. Particularly valuable input was gathered regarding the impact of technological changes. The orientation document entitled *Investing in Competence: Ministerial Orientations and Actions in Vocational and Technical Education* summarizes the resulting partnership role the Ministère defined for itself: "Between 1991 and 1996, Québec small and medium-sized businesses will have invested 2.3 billion dollars to acquire new technology, in an effort to increase productivity. Although everyone has access to the same equipment, what makes the difference for a business is the quality of its employees. The concept is thus patently clear: skilled human resources constitute the best investment."¹ A way had to be found to continually reflect technological, scientific, and socio-economic changes in educational programs. A five-year reform plan was launched in 1987, and the pace has quickened ever since.

Another imperative identified in the consultation was the need to improve the quality of student performance in a core of academic subjects (mother tongue, second language, and mathematics). It was argued that with a stronger academic preparation, employees would be better able to assimilate the content of the new vocational education programs and adapt more successfully to the workplace.

Representatives of business and industry also identified the personal qualities they sought in employees and urged educators to design programs which also address this developmental aspect. Preparing students personally and technically to meet these workplace demands established a "total quality" focus for the educational reform.

A new organizational structure adapted to current needs

With a clear mandate, the 1987 plan of action set out to restructure the entire secondary school vocational education system. Québec now has 131 programs leading to the Secondary School Vocational Diploma (SSVD) or *Diplôme d'études professionnelles (DEP)*, as it is known in French. The programs vary from 600 to 1,800 hours in duration, spread over one or two years. An additional thirty-eight advanced specialty programs lead to an Attestation of Vocational Specialization (AVS) or *Attestation de spécialisation professionnelle (ASP)*. The duration of these programs varies from several months to one year. There are also short-term, non-credit courses which are financed by businesses and customized to meet their specific needs.

Higher admission standards reflect the Ministère's commitment to raising the profile of technical training. Young applicants are urged to obtain a Secondary V diploma, or as a minimum, to complete Secondary IV courses in core prerequisites. Minimal admission requirements vary from program to program, however, and admission to some is possible

with the completion of Secondary III core subjects. Weaker students, who were traditionally accommodated in pre-1986 vocational programs, are now being assisted through other programs in the youth sector. It is believed that more focused academic upgrading, work-study, or technology-oriented teaching of regular academic subjects offer these students a more realistic preparation for the demands of today's workplace than the old short and long vocational programs could.

Although increased effort is being directed to attracting young people directly from secondary school, mature applicants continue to form the majority of interested candidates. Consequently, admission criteria have also been broadened to accommodate those who are already in the work force or who are returning to school with experiential learning. A system of five categories of prerequisites and the recognition of prior learning acquired outside formal schooling allows fairer access for Québec's diverse clientele.

As another means of ensuring that vocational education is more accessible, programs are now being offered year-round, days or evenings, or in intensive sessions. A modular structure now makes it possible for individuals to upgrade specific skills by choosing to complete only relevant modules. School boards are also offering human resource development services to businesses. The businesses that take advantage of this training are eligible for a business-tax credit.

A winning formula: Partnerships between education, business, and industry

From its inception, the reform of vocational education in Québec has considered partnership with business and industry to be fundamental to ensuring the success of the plan. By 1992, 1,800 people from various sectors of the labour market had contributed to the programs at one stage or another in the development process.² Partnership and collaboration have become key concepts in vocational education and manpower training. There is ongoing collaboration between the Ministère and other government ministries concerned with manpower and labour. Another significant partner in ongoing reform is the *Société québécoise de développement de la main-d'oeuvre*, founded in 1993. Regional and provincial committees representing education, business, and industry now meet regularly to anticipate future needs and determine training priorities.

In 1990-91, as a means of strengthening the links to the workplace, the Ministère de l'Éducation announced the creation of sector-based centres of excellence. The structure of the centres provides for the active participation of industry in the management, development, and imple-

mentation of training programs – a concept that is still relatively new in Québec and Canada. These dedicated centres are sector-based trade schools or multisectorial regional or supraregional centres. The fields they serve include aerospace technology, construction, plastics manufacturing, metallurgical technology, clothing production, furniture making, flat glass manufacturing, and automobile mechanics.

To ensure that top quality centres and equipment are the norm, the number of provincial authorizations to offer secondary programs has been reduced and extensive renovations have been financed. In 1992-93 alone, \$145 million dollars was allotted for renovations and approximately \$19 million contributed to technological upgrading and equipment replacement.³ Investment in human resources has also been extensive, with in-service activities involving an average of 2,500 teachers each year.⁴

Whether in the specialized centres, or in other centres around the province, 75 percent of the education that students receive is now either in school settings that more closely reflect the layout and operation of the workplace, or in actual work-study placements. As of 1994, pilot programs in the Food Services sector are initiating redesigned apprenticeship models that will eventually be available in numerous sectors.

Current concerns

Despite a near-decade of impressive accomplishments, Québec's vocational education system continues to face challenges in 1994. Young people still tend not to enter vocational programs directly from high school, despite the advantages of acquiring these entry skills in today's competitive employment market. In 1991, three out of five students in vocational education were over the age of 20; 27 percent ranged in age from 21 to 30 years of age, and approximately one-third were over 30 years of age.⁵ For many individuals, this delayed choice can be personally costly in terms of career frustration and under-employment. For society, it could lead to a shortage of skilled labour in key sectors.

The dropout rate from vocational programs at both the secondary and college levels is also a concern, since too large a proportion of today's workforce remains inadequately trained to meet increasingly sophisticated employment demands. Both these concerns are being addressed in actions undertaken in 1993.

The next response phase: Harmonization at the secondary and college levels

The 1993 document entitled *Investing in Competence: Ministerial Orientations and Actions in Vocational and Technical Education* sets the

direction for future development by reiterating three major orientations: ongoing cooperation with all socio-economic partners, improved access to vocational and technical education, and the harmonization of secondary and college-level programs. Achieving the third aim was streamlined with the merger of the two education ministries: the ministère de l'Éducation (primary and secondary education) and the ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Science (postsecondary education). This structural change provided additional impetus for the vocational education harmonization plan launched the same year.

Work is currently underway to ensure that secondary and college programs in various sectors are more complementary and allow individuals to access continuous learning as efficiently as possible. School boards and colleges are concluding agreements to achieve these goals and to share facilities and equipment. It is anticipated that an integrated distribution of programs (or *carte des enseignements*, as it is known in French) for both levels could be achieved by 1997.

A development plan for English-language vocational education

As the vocational education reform takes shape across Québec, the goal of providing high quality, accessible education with a broad curriculum, in English as well as in French, has presented unique difficulties. In 1991-92, of the more than 125,000 students enrolled in vocational courses, a little less than 4,400 students were enrolled in programs in English. Almost 40 percent of those students were registered in a single sector, secretarial or accounting studies, and some 73 percent were attending institutions in the Montréal area.⁶

The remaining twenty-seven percent of the English-speaking clientele outside of the Montréal area is widely dispersed throughout the province. The school boards mandated to provide English services may cover wide geographical territories which present logistical and financial constraints for centres and clients alike. In the demanding context of continual, fast-paced change, the provision of programs, evaluation tools, and in-service sessions in the minority language has lagged behind French sector developments. Misconceptions and cultural factors also appear to contribute to an enrollment rate that still falls short of expectations. A vicious cycle has ensued, in which the viability of course development and technical upgrading depends on adequate enrollments; yet attracting sufficient enrollments depends on offering an adequate array of options.

To address these issues, the school boards involved formed the English Language Vocational Education Council (ELVEC) in 1992. The Ministère, for its part, established a consultative committee to meet regularly with ELVEC representatives. In 1994, a provincial development plan for English-language vocational education was established. In

accordance with the global orientations, the plan identifies certain boards as sectorial centres for English-language programs and supports the principle of bilingual centres and services in the major provincial or sectorial centres serving predominantly French-speaking clientele in order to make vocational career options more accessible to all Québécois.

In 1992, eighteen (18) school boards were authorized to offer 43 programs in English, covering 16 of the existing 23 employment sectors. Two years later, the number of authorizations was extended to include 57 programs, and capital and equipment investment has resulted in a major upgrading of several centres.

School boards have also increased their efforts to promote vocational education as a winning career option. Two symposiums were held in 1991 and 1993 to inform educators of these major reforms and of the enhanced career prospects available to young people. A third symposium planned for 1995 will continue the effort to alter misperceptions about vocational education and will showcase the broadened career opportunities Québec's businesses and industry can offer the highly-skilled vocational graduate.

Conclusion

A perusal of current literature, or even passing attention to current news reports or local events, confirms that Québec's ongoing efforts to respond to new socio-economic imperatives are part of a global phenomenon reshaping educational systems worldwide. As these new educational structures evolve both inside Québec and elsewhere, vocational education is also evolving as a vital component of the lifelong learning process.

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2. Québec, ministère de l'Éducation, *Education Express* (Québec: ministère de l'Éducation, January 1992) p. 6.
3. Québec, ministère de l'Éducation, Direction générale de la formation professionnelle, *Principales statistiques sur la formation professionnelle* (Québec: ministère de l'Éducation, February 9, 1993).
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5. *Investing in competence* (see Note 1).
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Exploding Myths about Vocational Education

Abstract

Ten "myths" or misunderstandings of the state of vocational education (VE) in Quebec are identified and debunked. It is argued that VE in the province is poorly understood by both educators and potential students; it is claimed to enhance the employability of a broad range of students and is not provided only for "poor academic achievers." VE is proposed as a viable option for anyone who seeks occupationally oriented training.

Résumé

L'auteur dénombre et démystifie dix fausses conceptions ou malentendus relatifs à l'état de la formation professionnelle de langue anglaise au Québec. Les éducateurs et les étudiants potentiels, soutiennent, ont une mauvaise compréhension de l'enseignement professionnel au Québec; cet enseignement améliorerait l'employabilité de nombreuses catégories d'étudiants et pas seulement celle des étudiants qui ont de mauvais résultats. La formation professionnelle est présentée comme une option viable pour quiconque souhaite acquérir une formation à orientation professionnelle.

In this paper, I will discuss the "culture" of vocational education and, in particular, the myths associated with vocational education. I am defining "myth" as a belief or a system of beliefs, whose truths are accepted uncritically. It is not the purpose of this paper to review **all** of the myths associated with the culture of vocational education, but instead the focus will be on only the more obvious ones. In addition to exposing these myths, I will also point out some of the recent corrective changes that have occurred in vocational education and have contributed to the invalidation of these myths. My goal, in this paper, is two-fold. First, I wish to contribute to the further invalidation of these myths by presenting opposing evidence and, second, I would like to create a new idea to take the place of these myths. The idea must be a positive one that can be utilized within the educational milieu to promote the revived and renewed culture of vocational education in Quebec.

Ten Myths of Vocational Education

There are ten common (and detrimental) myths of vocational education. It may be interesting to educators to see how much they may have contributed to their existence and promotion. Before we can change the perception of vocational education in the general society, however, we may as teachers and counsellors need to change our own perception of it.

Myth one: Educators are well-informed about vocational education

Perhaps one of the biggest problems in supporting vocational education as a viable option is that counsellors and educators are not sufficiently well enough informed themselves to be able to inform potential candidates for the programs. For example, how many of us are aware that there are now over 60 English-sector vocational education programs available within 17 occupational sectors in Quebec? In the French sector there are more than double that number. The English-sector occupational training programs are offered at 19 school boards and 42 training centers spread through eight regions of the province. How many of us can honestly say that we know where those regions and programs are? Do we know how to help students obtain the necessary prerequisites for the program?

Teachers and counsellors who wish to become informed in this area should know that the Quebec Advisor Committee on English-Language Vocational Education (QACVE, 1994) produces an English-language chart which lists programs, school boards, locations, and contact people for all the vocational education programs in the province. QACVE produced this chart as an information service and has been circulating it throughout the English-speaking community.

Myth two: Potential clients are also well informed about vocational education

QACVE recently conducted a survey of Quebec students at the third, fourth, and fifth secondary levels (QACVE, 1990). It was discovered that 75 percent of the students were unaware of the fact that vocational education is now offering a new range of programs which train people professionally for trades to which they had access, and for which they were qualified to enter. In a follow-up study (QACVE, 1991), it was found that among those who actually were aware, most only knew about the programs which were offered within their own school or school boards.

Myth three: Vocational education is for dropouts

In this area the statement is both true and false, but not in the way most people might at first think. A recent phenomenon of vocational education is that it has started to attract a very large number of CEGEP dropouts. So the answer to this myth is, "Yes, vocational education is for dropouts, but not the dropouts we were considering ten years ago. The new dropouts enrolled in vocational education are students who have gone on the CEGEP track and have discovered, for one reason or another, that this type of study is not for them, and what they are really looking for is employability."

But, I would also have to say that vocational education is **not** for dropouts in the sense that vocational education now has the highest retention rate of students among secondary schools, CEGEPs, and universities. The average dropout rate from the vocational education program is in the range of 15 to 17 percent as compared to 30 percent or more in the general education sector (Ministère de l'Éducation, 1988).

Myth four: Vocational education is for poor academic achievers

This myth is an old one, but a "killer"; it holds that vocational education is only for those who perform poorly in the academic milieu. This is a myth that is changing slowly, but it **is** changing. Of the Quebec students registered in vocational education in 1991-92, 15 percent of them were at the grade ten level and 53 percent had their secondary school-leaving or equivalent diploma (Ministère de l'Éducation, 1991). An increasing percentage of vocational education students consists of adults, many of them being recent immigrants to the province. Current estimates indicate that students educated outside Quebec make up about 16 percent of the vocational education population; this percentage is even higher in the urban centers. The adult vocational education students have an average of 14 years of school, and many even have university degrees. Several such examples from vocational education programs can be cited, one of them being the electro-mechanics program, one of the many "high-tech" training programs which attract immigrants who in their country-of-origin had completed training as professionals, but whose credentials are not acceptable to the Quebec corporations which govern certification. Vocational education programs greatly increase the "employability" of such individuals.

The remaining myths particularly address this notion of employability. Perhaps what has **really** changed regarding vocational education

is: vocational education programs have shown striking progress in improving employment prospects of their graduates relative to other types of degree-granting educational programs.

Myth five: Vocational education is a dead-end choice

How many of us are aware of the fact that the completion of certification in vocational studies (*Diplôme d'études professionnelles* or DEP) is an acceptable entry qualification for general education programs in the CEGEP? How many of us make it a practice to inform secondary students and their parents of this option? How many of us are aware of the fact that completing a DEP plus secondary-five English and French credits will also yield a high school leaving certificate (*Diplôme d'études secondaire*)? This is important information to give to students because, in an exceptional case, someone at the secondary-four level could actually opt into a DEP program, declare themselves an adult, follow the DEP program, and then follow secondary-five English and French courses. Thus, in the end they could possibly meet the requirements for **both** secondary and vocational certification in their fifth year of secondary education.

Myth six: Vocational education does not provide employable skills

It is a fact that vocational education programs currently offered in the DEP prepare candidates for 16 of the top 20 occupations in greatest demand (Canadian Occupational Projection System, 1987). In rank order from greater to lesser demand for the period 1986-1995, the occupations include 1) graduate nurses and related; 2) sales clerks; 3) waiters and hosts; 4) secretaries and stenographers; 5) janitors and cleaners; 6) book-keepers; 7) chefs and cooks; 8) child-care workers; 9) cashiers; 10) truck drivers; 11) farmers; 12) sales managers; 13) office workers; 14) stitchers; 15) barbers and hairdressers; 17) motor vehicle mechanics; 18) guards and watchmen; 19) receptionists; and 20) typists and clerk-typists. Not only that, but out of the 60-plus available vocational education programs, well over 30 provide training for programs presently identified by Employment and Immigration Canada as "in demand" within the labour market (Ministère de l'éducation, 1992).

Myth seven: Once anyone completes secondary four or five, CEGEP is the only logical choice

If the goal for one's education is to train for employment, the choice is not so obvious. By contrast, those students who are enrolled in pre-university CEGEP programs, from which there is the largest drop-

out rate, are actually **less** employable than graduates of vocational programs. That is to say, they have a lower employability rate. In fact, a CEGEP diploma (*Diplôme d'études collégial*) in general programs provides no greater employability than a high school leaving certificate (*Diplôme d'études secondaire*) (Ministère de l'éducation, 1992).

Myth eight: The higher your level of completed education, the greater your chances are of obtaining work

This is the famous "parent" myth, which was dispelled by a study conducted by Employment and Immigration Canada through the Canadian Occupational Projection System (COPS, 1987). This study discovered that the opposite was true. It was shown that, of the vocational education graduates, 85 percent become employed. With other degrees, however, the number drops substantially to only 65 percent for CEGEP graduates, 61 percent for bachelor's graduates, 55 percent for master's, and up to 75 percent for doctorates. Two years later, in 1989, COPS did a follow-up survey and found that these figures had remained fairly stable. Of the vocational education graduates, 71 percent were still employed, while only 57 percent of the CEGEP graduates, 55 percent of the bachelor's, and only 51 percent of the holders of master's and doctoral degrees were still employed (Statistics Canada, 1989) .

Myth nine: Students do not want to travel to attend vocational education programs

This is what could be called an "educator" myth. A province-wide survey conducted by QACVE showed that 58% of the students surveyed indicated an interest in travel for vocational programs; this figure rose to 62% in the rural areas (QACVE, 1991). These rural students are those who would most need to travel to obtain vocational education. Therefore, it would appear that students **are** willing to travel to attend adult vocational programs.

Myth ten: Vocational education is for the uneducable, the unmotivated, and the unambitious

I call this the "general" myth. After reviewing a variety of such lists, I have found that the common elements that prospective employers in business and industry now seek in candidates have four sets of key characteristics. First, they seek recruits who have a good general education coupled with strong interpersonal skills. Second, they seek candidates who show a strong interest and aptitude in their chosen field of training and work. Third, they seek employees who are self-starters and who are highly motivated to learn, practice, and succeed in their field.

Fourth, they seek applicants who are seeking to implement their first choice for a job rather than an alternative or "fall-back" choice. Because of a competency-based curriculum and the high correlation between training and employment these four characteristics are typical of vocational education graduates, while they are often missing from graduates of other degree routes.

Why these Myths? And a New Idea!

Why have these myths survived? One of the major factors that has contributed to the perpetuation of these myths is our distorted perception of technology. Our problem with vocational education arises out of our misunderstanding of what technology is and has become. Technology has drastically changed over the past few decades. Many still view technology in the context of a traditional industrialized society, but technology has changed greatly as the nature of our post-industrial society has changed. Proponents of today's vocational education attempt not only to address these concerns, but also to keep pace with rapidly changing technology.

In closing, I would propose a new idea, i. e., that vocational education has become a successful pre-employment training system. In addition, that a students' decision to further their education in a vocational stream has become a "free occupational choice," rather than a "forced" academic consequence. In fact, vocational education is a viable **first** choice for people as early as high school. I would conclude that in a society and time when employment and self-fulfillment are critical goals, vocational education is a viable first choice for anyone to make.

NOTE

This is an adaptation of an address on vocational education delivered to English-language educators and counsellors from across Québec at *Symposium II: Vocational Education Career Paths: Obstacles and Opportunities* at Le Nouvel Hôtel, Montreal, January 22, 1993.

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Applications of Holland's Vocational Theory to Counselling Practice Related to Vocational Education

Abstract

Holland's (1985) theory of vocational choice and adjustment has proved immensely influential in career counselling practice, the development of interest inventories, and the organization of occupational information used in a wide range of applied settings. It is not, however, immune to misapplication in the counselling and assessment process by counsellors who may permit any of a number of systematic distortions to affect the process of matching clients to suitable vocational directions. Several likely sources of such distortion are reviewed in the context of counselling English-language students as to the advisability of entering vocational education programs in the province of Quebec. Recommendations are made for the development of cost-efficient career intervention systems and improvements in career counsellor training programs.

Résumé

La théorie de Holland (1985) sur le choix et l'adaptation professionnels s'est révélée immensément influente dans le domaine de l'orientation professionnelle, la conception de répertoires d'intérêts et la structuration de renseignements professionnels utilisés dans un vaste éventail de cadres pratiques. Elle n'est toutefois pas à l'abri d'un usage impropre par les conseillers d'orientation et d'évaluation qui peuvent dénaturer comme ils l'entendent le processus qui consiste à trouver l'orientation professionnelle qui convient à leurs clients. Plusieurs sources potentielles de pareilles distorsions sont analysées dans le contexte de l'orientation d'étudiants anglophones sous l'angle de l'intérêt qu'il y a à s'inscrire à des programmes de la formation professionnell dans la province de Québec. Des recommandations sont faites pour la conception de systèmes d'intervention professionnels rentables et l'amélioration des programmes de formation des conseillers professionnels.

Holland's (1985) theory of vocational choice and adjustment has proved immensely influential in career counseling practice, the development of interest inventories, and the organization of occupational information used in a wide range of applied settings (see Lowman, 1991; Weinrach & Srebalus, 1991). It probably has enormous applicability to the problem of identifying individuals who are appropriate for Quebec's English-language vocational programs, and in this article I will briefly outline Holland's theory, describe how it applies to the identification/guidance issue in relation to the vocational programs, and finally recommend changes in current counselling practice. The bulk of this discussion is simply an extrapolation of current research evidence and general vocational theory into the specific applied problem in counselling and guidance, but I will make recommendations for how future research might be brought to bear on the issue to provide new hard evidence. This is not to say that there is not ample empirical evidence in support of Holland's theory; there certainly is, but little of it has been applied to the practical problem of helping counsellors direct the appropriate individuals toward programs traditionally under the purview of "vocational education." However, this oversight by the community of researchers involved with testing Holland's theory is hardly surprising, as may be clear from the following discussion.

Holland's Theory

In essence, Holland (1985) proposes that positive vocational outcomes (e.g., job satisfaction, productivity, and so on) depend on the degree of match between characteristics of the person (hereafter, "vocational personality") and the job (hereafter, "vocational environment"). Holland terms this degree of match between vocational personality and vocational environment "congruence." Thus, congruence is assumed to predict relevant positive job outcomes, such as job satisfaction. As Holland argues, research evidence has supported this presumed relationship, although the ability to predict the relevant outcomes appears to depend on a large number of factors (Assouline & Meir, 1987; Carson & Mowsesian, 1993; Spokane, 1985). Suffice it to say that the extent to which other variables "moderate" the congruence-outcome relationship is a "hot" one in contemporary vocational psychology.

A number of such moderator variables may bear on the issue at hand, that is, the application of Holland's theory to effective guidance of individuals into Quebec's vocational programs. It may be that the strength of the economy or political uncertainties (especially the possibility that Quebec may separate from the rest of Canada) may prove to be powerful moderators of the strength of the congruence-outcome relationship. For example, under conditions of extreme political or economic uncertainty

and instability, outcomes such as job satisfaction may depend less on variables such as congruence than on job security and expectations of adequate access to food, shelter, and medical care (and the extent to which the current job is likely to maintain such access well into the future). Nevertheless, "all things being equal" (as Holland is wont to say), congruence may be expected to serve as a decent predictor of vocational outcomes, and especially of job satisfaction. The skilled counsellor is one who correctly determines when all things are **not** equal, when other factors may reasonably be expected to provide strong influences relevant to job outcomes.

That congruence should predict outcomes might come as no surprise; it is, after all, simply another way of saying that the "square peg fits into the square hole." There are other theories, such as Dawis and Lofquist's (1984) Theory of Work Adjustment (TWA), that rely on this matching process. These are commonly classified as "person-environment fit" theories. Some, like TWA, that are much more complicated than Holland's (1985) theory, try to take into account more relevant variables, and properly conducted studies based on these theories often predict a greater proportion of the variance in relevant outcome variables when compared to Holland's theory.

What, then, accounts for the widespread popularity of Holland's (1985) theory compared to these others? The answer appears to be that Holland's theory is **simpler**, and may be easily taught to both clients and counsellors with a minimum of confusion. And while some of the competing theories use up to two dozen types of relevant person-level needs, interests, personality traits, and abilities which must then be matched to complementary aspects of the work environment, Holland uses only six basic vocational personality types: Realistic (R), Investigative (I), Artistic (A), Social (S), Enterprising (E), and Conventional (C), which can be linked with corresponding vocational environment types of the same name. Many vocational assessment and information materials are organized around these types. For example, since the 1970s the *Strong Interest Inventory* (Hansen & Campbell, 1985) has been organized within Holland's typology. The list of types is short enough so that clients can readily review all six types, which should allow them to gain at least an elementary conceptualization of their characteristics, which they may then use as a method of structuring their career exploration or job-search behavior.

Six types would hardly be sufficient as a method of structuring people and occupations, and characteristically Holland (1985) has proposed a simple but (arguably) effective classification scheme, in which persons and occupations may be assigned a hierarchically organized

sequence of types (or codes) reflecting the order of dominance of the type within the individual or work environment. The norm is increasingly to use three types within codes, as is done in the *Dictionary of Occupational Codes*, 2nd edition (Gottfredson & Holland, 1989). For example, the characteristics of the vocational personality/work environment which one might expect for a counsellor is SAE (Gottfredson & Holland, p. 330). In addition to this hierarchical classification scheme, Holland has suggested a widely applied structural relationship between the types in the form of a hexagon, with the types arranged in the order R, I, A, S, E, and C, forming a complete ring. Empirical support for this organization is moderately strong, although some other structural arrangements have been proposed for which there is also some empirical support.

Distortions in the application of Holland's theory

Though widely applied, Holland's (1985) theory is not, however, immune to misapplication in the counselling and assessment process by counsellors who may permit any of a number of systematic distortions to affect the process of matching clients to suitable vocational directions, that is, factors which result in selected career paths which fail to maximize level of congruence. I will review several of these potential sources of distortion in the context of counselling English-language students as to the advisability of entering vocational education programs in the province of Quebec. (I assume that the discussion generalizes to other areas in Canada, but I will focus on Quebec where possible.) In particular, the possibility that the low level of congruence between the counsellor's own vocational personality type and those attributable to available vocational education programs, coupled with the relatively lower prestige commonly ascribed to the occupations linked to the programs, may lead the counsellor to reduce the "priority" assigned to the time-consuming activities needed to develop effective and large-scale career intervention programs aimed at these career pathways. A related distorting factor may be a lack of current, extensive, and accurate information about jobs and the career "paths" typically leading to those jobs.

Incongruence-based distortion. An often overlooked factor in career counselling is the level of congruence between the vocational personality of the counsellor and that of the client, and the relative level of effectiveness of the counsellor in the face of such differential levels of congruence across clients (see Rounds & Tracey, 1990). When a social-type counsellor (the norm, based on the counsellor's anticipated vocational personality type of SAE) counsels another social type, the outcome might be expected to be quite smooth, with a very easy and verbal interchange between client and counsellor. In this case, the client and

counsellor share a world of unspoken assumptions, a common perspective, and operate on a shared set of rules. They are likely to get along, and reinforce one another's strengths. In short, such a client-counselor match may be expected to result in a group of identified possible career paths for the client with a minimum decrease of the level of congruence between the identified options and the client away from the hypothetical ideal.

This ideal situation might be expected to break down a bit when the Social counselor interacts with clients even only moderately discrepant in type, say, an Artistic client. The Social counsellor may view the goal as being to assist the client to recover the ability to interact positively and usefully with others, while the Artistic client may view the goal as being to learn more about his or her private events (thoughts or feelings) that may relate to a career choice. The Artistic client may not place a high value on being "nice." This may irk the Social counsellor a bit. Here the Social counsellor is trying so hard to help the client to maintain cordial, productive, and open verbal communication, and the client appears to be fumbling around in his or her own "private space." Likewise, the client may become frustrated with what he or she perceives as excessive "niceness" of the counsellor. The Artistic client may wish to explore more deeply his or her "creative vision," and may view the counsellor as being reluctant to take such steps. Such discrepancies, if identified and properly handled by the counsellor, may be the "grist for the mill" which makes for effective counsellor-client interaction and positive counselling outcomes. However, these miscues could also result in minor distortions on the part of the counsellor in his or her guidance of the client toward appropriate careers.

With the potential for distortions of the guidance process present in even the case of a fairly consistent match between client and counselor type (A is next to S in the hexagonal structure of types), imagine the much greater potential for distortions in the process of identifying suitable career paths when a Social counsellor works with much more discrepantly typed clients, such as those clients typed as Investigative, Conventional, and especially Realistic. The level of incongruence between counsellor and client would be highest with Realistic clients, as they are practically defined as having opposite characteristics (Holland, 1985), and in the hexagonal structure of types they rest on opposite sides of the hexagon.

Therein lies the rub. In order of frequency, vocational education career paths may be classified (see Table 1) within the Realistic (23 programs), Conventional (9 programs), Social (6 programs), Enterprising (5 programs), Artistic (3 programs), and Investigative (1 program);

Table 1

Vocational environment types associated with English-language vocational programs across Quebec, arranged by vocational environment type

Program Title	VET^a	Occupational Title in DHOC^b
Cabinetmaking	RIS	Cabinetmaker
Carpentry	RIE	Carpenter
Construction Electricity	RJE	Electrician
Machining Techniques	RIE	Machinist
Photolithography	RIE	Photoengraver
Welding Assembly	RIE	Welder, Fitter
Industrial Machine Mechanics	RIC	Maintenance Repairer, Industrial
Refrigeration	RSE	Refrigeration Unit Repairer
Electronic Household Appliance Repair	RSE	Electrical Appliance Repairer
Ornamental Horticulture	REI	Horticultural Specialty Grower Inside
Plumbing and Heating	REI	Plumber (Construction)
Automated Systems – Electromechanics	RES	Air-Conditioning Mechanic
Automobile Mechanics–General	RES	Mechanic-Industrial Truck
Automobile Mechanics–Specialty	RES	Mechanic-Industrial Truck
Professional Cooking	RES	Cook
General Welding	RES	Welder, Combination
Professional Fisheries	RES	Fish and Game Warden
Commercial Vehicle Mechanics	RES	Mechanic-Industrial Truck
Recreational Vehicle Maintenance	RES	Mechanic-Industrial Truck
Office Automation	REC	Photocopy Machine Operator
Building Landscape Structures	REC	Landscape Gardener
Residential and Commercial Drafting	RCI	Drafter, Architectural
Auto Body Repair and Repaint	RCI	Auto-Body Repairer, Fiberglass
High Pressure Welding	RCS	Welder, Gun
Industrial Drafting	IRE	Drafter, Mechanical
Pastry Chef	ASE	Pastry (Hotel/Restaurant)
Interior Decorating and Display	AES	Interior Designer
Desktop Publishing–Pre-Press	AES	Graphic Designer
Dental Assistant	SAI	Dental Assistant
Assistance and Nursing Care	SER	Nurse Aide
Hairdressing	SER	Hairstylist
Electrolysis	SEA	Cosmetologist
Esthetics	SEA	Cosmetologist
Assistance in Health Care Establishments	SCR	Medical Assistant
Professional Sales	ERS	Sales Representative
Restaurant Services	ESR	Food-Service Supervisor
Home Care Assistance	ESA	Home Health Technician
Travel Services	ECS	Travel Agent
Accounting Studies	CRS	Accountant
Automated Accounting and Finance	CRS	Accounting Clerk, Data Processing

Program Title	VET ^a	Occupational Title in DHOC ^b
Printing–Offset	CRS	Printer-Operator, Black-and-White
Data Processing	CSR	Data Typist
Bilingual Secretarial Studies	CSE	Secretary
Cashier and Financial Services	CSE	Cashier
Secretarial Studies	CSE	Secretary
Secretarial Studies–Legal	CSE	Secretary
Secretarial Studies–Medical	CSE	Secretary
Secretarial Studies–Entrepreneurship	CSE	Secretary

Note: Titles of vocational programs derived from a brochure, "Vocational Education: English-Language Programs Across Québec, '92-'93," itself adapted from the *Carte des Enseignements – FP*, produced by the Québec Advisory Committee on English-Language Vocational Education.

^{a,b} The vocational environment types (VETs) of all programs are drawn from the indicated vocational titles as listed in the *Dictionary of Holland Occupational Codes* (DHOC; Gottfredson and Holland [1989]). A three-letter code indicates, in rank-order of degree of similarity (i.e., most similar first, second most similar second, and third most similar third), the degree to which the training program environment is assumed to be similar to one of six ideal work environments: Realistic (R), Investigative (I), Artistic (A), Social (S), Enterprising (E), and Conventional (C).

we can assume that close-fitting (i.e., highly congruent) students would have corresponding vocational personality types. Table 1 is a summary of the various English-language programs in vocational education in the province of Quebec, matched to three-letter Holland codes as identified in the *Dictionary of Holland Occupational Codes* (DHOC) (Gottfredson & Holland, 1989). In many cases, I could not locate the exact title of the vocational program in the DHOC, and have selected a close match from those occupations listed. Thus there is evidence to suggest that the vocational personality types of the typical student most suited for vocational education programs is quite unlike that of the typical school guidance counsellor (of type SAE). This potential for personality mismatch between the client and counsellor may spell trouble for advising and counselling of students in relation to vocational education career pathways.

Occupationism-based distortion. Occupationism is discrimination against individuals simply because of their job, or intended job (Carson, 1992; Krumboltz, 1992). In addition to possible distortion due to a simple, congruence-based incompatibility between client and counsellor (and resulting inefficiencies of communication), it is possible that counsellors might engage in occupationism against clients; for Social type counsellors this might be particularly likely to occur with Realistic type clients considering (at least initially) Realistic type jobs. Likewise, coun-

sellors might hold low opinions of many vocational career paths because of the relatively low occupational prestige typically associated with the associated occupations. These factors might combine so as to lead some counsellors to work systematically to preclude from consideration on the part of the client the lower status, more Realistic occupations associated with the vocational programs.

Poor training. The proper preparation of school-based career counsellors may be needed to counteract the potential negative effects of occupationism and related factors. Proper training in career and assessment classes may serve to increase the counsellor's basic store of knowledge related to career choice and the full world-of-work.

As an initial step, the counsellor could be trained **thoroughly** in the necessary procedures for assessment and interpretation using Holland's (1985) theory, its linkage to information about occupations (e.g., in the DHOC), and so on. Even if the resulting novice-level professional practice were the direct result of the acquisition of a set of "canned" skills, the novice counsellor would still be equipped with a set of skills which could "get the job done" with a reasonably high level of reliability and effectiveness. It would, however, be incumbent on the training program and the novice professional to ensure that such assessment skills were used appropriately, and to integrate the resulting assessment data with additional information related to the client and the "context" (such as economic, cultural, and political factors) in the process of interpreting the results of the assessment.

The counsellor-in-training, and even the experienced counsellor, must be taught how to self-monitor his or her own reactions to career pathways inconsistent with his or her own vocational personality so as to reduce the chance of engagement in occupationism in the context of counselling, e.g., in discouraging client consideration of some career options simply because they are lower in prestige (Krumboltz, 1992). "In-basket" techniques (in which the counsellor responds to hypothetical case data with what he or she considers an appropriate intervention) and the review of videotaped counselling interactions are two methods through which counsellors might increase their ability to self-monitor possibly occupationist behaviors toward clients.

Finally, counsellors in training must learn much more than they typically know about the characteristics of occupations. It may be that many novice counsellors know woefully little about most occupations, beyond simple stereotypes, and this in itself may foster occupationist behavior on the novice counsellor's part.

Career versus emigration counselling. The English (language/culture) population in Quebec has declined in recent years relative to

other groups, with a corresponding decline in enrollment in English-language education in the province (Task Force on English Education of Quebec, 1992). Chambers (1992) reported that in the meetings with parents, teachers, and students leading up to the completion of the report of the Task Force on English Education of Quebec, the task force received many complaints that career counsellors in English-language public schools in Quebec had counselled their clients to leave the province if they wanted to find a job. If this were indeed the case, it would be likely to contribute to the ongoing decline of the English population of the province (if only in terms of absolute numbers).

Even aside, however, from issues related to what constitutes "politically correct" practice (that is, practice in accord with the political objectives of the primary stakeholder community for English-language schools), the reports of a potential bias in favor of emigration as a means to "adequate" career development may suggest an additional factor at work in the distortion of the eventual choice away from a congruent one. In many predominantly English-language areas of the world, the economic conditions are worse than is the present case in Quebec, and those occupational fields with which clients are most congruent may have even **fewer** openings elsewhere than is the case in Quebec. We know that there currently are job openings in Quebec in many fields now represented in the province's English-language vocational programs. By steering English-language clients outside the province in search of work, the counselor may well be encouraging the client, albeit inadvertently, to make a **less** congruent career choice than would be the case if he or she remained **in** the province. And given that level of congruence is a reasonably good predictor of vocational outcomes, this would imply that by engaging solely in emigration counseling as a form of career counselling, without similarly attending to the potential congruent career paths available to clients **within** the province, counsellors may be acting both unprofessionally (in terms of providing sound career advice) and against the better long-term interests of the community that ultimately pays their salary. Of course, this argument (arising as it does from mainstream person-environment fit theories of career development, such as Holland's) assumes that the maximization of congruence between worker and work environment typically would be of greater importance than other issues, such as living in an agreeable geographic location; others might reasonably contend that geographic location, in some situations, might be the more important basis for making sound career-related decisions. While I have no ultimate basis for resolving this issue, I would suggest that most mainstream theorists of career development underscore the ability to maximize congruence as a primary criterion on which to evaluate the effectiveness of career interventions (e.g., Spokane, 1991).

Helping interests of counsellors. The counsellors of the province may be less interested in helping clients with career problems than in

helping those with other sorts of problems. I have developed a questionnaire, *The Helping Interest Inventory*, or HII (Carson, Mowseian, & Drum, 1994), which assesses forms of "helping interests" among mental health professionals, and I have assessed the helping interests of master's level counselling students at McGill University, which serves as an important "feeder" program for school guidance counsellors in the province. The HII consists of 62 items briefly describing various types of potential populations in need of the assistance of helping professions; 56 of these items are grouped (in sets of 8 items each) into 7 "level of need for assistance" (LNFA) scales, ranging from a more preventative LNFA, reflecting only potential "at-risk" groups, to a highly remedial LNFA, indicating groups of individuals with chronic mental health problems greatly in need of assistance. (Six items also indicate a preference in working with specific age groups, but do not contribute to other scales.) Crossed with the 56 items forming the LNFA scales are a number of scales of varying length reflecting interest in working with specific types of problem "content", e.g., educational/vocational problems, eating disorders. Overwhelmingly, the students in the McGill program appear more interested in other sorts of client problems (e.g., isolation and depression, dependency, eating disorders, and so on) than in problems related to educational or vocational issues. They are also, as a group, more interested in working with clients at higher levels of psychopathology (i.e., higher LNFA) than would typically be the case in the context of career counselling. Thus, there may exist a mismatch between the helping interests of many career counsellors in Quebec schools (if the McGill sample is a representative one) and the typical needs of clients seeking career services in public schools. Counsellors may be less interested in assigning a high priority to effective career guidance with clients than to working with clients with moderate to high levels of mental illness. In short, those would-be career clients moving toward incongruent occupational choices would receive no cautionary influence from the counsellor.

High perceived (and actual) costs of career intervention systems

Counsellors may view the provision of career services as inappropriately costly. In many cases, this may in fact be the case, especially given the real budgetary constraints of many school boards and the admittedly costly methods typical of traditional, individual career counselling. Again, the high perceived or actual cost may lead some counsellors simply to refrain from even attempting to provide career intervention services. However, some newly developed career intervention services tend to cost much less in both real dollars and counsellor time, and may prove more feasible in the present schools. I will review such a cost-effective program in the next section.

Recommendations for reduction of distortions in the guidance process

Based on the above discussion, I will make four general recommendations which might serve to enhance the quality of guiding appropriate individuals toward vocational career paths. The suggestions relate to testing the many hypotheses embedded in the preceding discussion, improving the training of counsellors, and the development of high-utility career intervention systems which could be introduced rapidly into the schools.

Action research: Are these hypotheses correct? I recommend that counsellors employed in the English-language schools of Quebec become involved in research which will examine the hypotheses addressed in this article. The research would not necessarily have to be centrally coordinated; in fact, I believe that different applied research projects may best address the particular local problems. There are a number of forums for sharing the results of such research. Of particular importance may be issues related to the extent to which clients perceive that they are being counselled to leave the province, and what sorts of actions on the counsellor's part might be adopted to increase client consideration of realistic options within Quebec. Research on the extent to which Holland's (1985) theory is being applied by counsellors may also be useful as a preliminary step prior to advocating a more general adoption of the theory as a basis for career assessment and interventions by counsellors in the Province and across Canada.

Improve the quality of the education of counsellors. This recommendation strikes especially close to home personally. I think that the definition of "counsellor" in the English-language schools may need reconsideration based on what the most critical stakeholders, in this case school administrators, parents, and especially students, perceive as the proper roles of the counsellors in the schools. The desired competencies need to be articulated by these groups and communicated to the appropriate professional organizations and training institutions. At that point, these intended competencies can be translated into curricula. As a preliminary step, the Ministry of Education might conduct an investigation of the present curricula of the training programs for counsellors in the province of Quebec, and recommend curricular modifications which are consistent with the objectives of the relevant stakeholders.

Improve the quality of occupational information materials available to counsellors. Materials describing the various vocational education career paths might be organized within Holland's (1985) system, along the lines of the DHOC (Gottfredson & Holland, 1985). Measures of Holland's types might be used to assess the characteristics of voca-

tional education programs (via their students) and associated occupations (using workers in the field). This information could then be used to generate the needed information for counsellors. The work environment assignments provided in Table 1 are merely estimates; this new effort at data collection would vastly simplify the effort of matching appropriate individuals to highly congruent occupations.

Develop cost- and time-efficient career intervention systems based on sound theoretical foundations. A major obstacle to improving the ability to effectively and efficiently direct appropriate individuals to vocational education programs in Quebec is the relatively high cost of effective career assessment currently available for that purpose. In particular, assessment for this purpose preferably would take into account "measured", as opposed to "self-reported", abilities, skills, and aptitudes (hereafter, aptitudes) germane to vocational education *per se*, such as manual dexterity skills. Self-reported aptitudes are, of course, less expensive to assess, but unfortunately are often only minimally related to objective measures. Many such aptitudes are not assessed through the traditional paper-and-pencil tests typically used in schools and by counsellors, which tend to focus on aptitudes more relevant to university career paths. A promising option is the use of computer-administered tests of a wide array of aptitudes, such as are available in the United States with the *Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery*, or ASVAB (see Spokane, 1991).

Conclusion

I have outlined the central characteristics of Holland's (1985) theory of careers, with applications to improving the guidance of suitable individuals toward English-language vocational education programs in the province of Quebec. The hypothesis of errors or distortions in the matching of students to career paths arises directly from Holland's theory and its wide research base. Several such potential distortions were examined and discussed in relation to the problem of placement into vocational programs. I did not address several additional issues, such as how counsellors might respond to increasing pressure to be accountable to school administrators, parents, and clients for the quality of career advice they provide. My guess is that at least some counsellors may face such potentially threatening scrutiny with defensiveness, and particularly with staunch denial that any significant problem exists. I would suggest, however, that with increased accountability will also come increased power to effect positive change, and that in this world, no worthwhile change comes without some cost. However, the cost of **failing** to invest in necessary change is, in the **long** run, the highest cost of all.

NOTES

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Reconstructing the Vocational-Liberal Studies Controversy

Abstract

Throughout North America there is a general recognition that public school curricula, particularly at the secondary level, need to be revised and reformed. With this recognition, the vocational/liberal studies controversy in education that opened the twentieth century has resurfaced with a new sense of urgency at its close. In the course of pointing out close similarities in both the earlier and current manifestations of this debate, the article argues that contemporary educators would do well to revisit John Dewey's thinking as they go about determining and solidifying their position on this important and divisive issue.

Résumé

Dans toute l'Amérique du Nord, on admet généralement que les programmes des écoles publiques, surtout au niveau du secondaire, doivent être révisés et réformés. Cela étant, la polémique sur la formation professionnelle et les études libérales qui dure depuis le début du XXI^e siècle a de nouveau fait surface avec un certain sentiment d'urgence en cette fin de siècle. En soulignant les analogies qui existent dans les manifestations anciennes et actuelles de ce débat, les auteurs de l'article déclarent que les éducateurs modernes feraient bien de revoir les réflexions de John Dewey avant de solidifier leur position sur ce dossier important qui sème la discorde.

Many controversial issues in education seem to reappear with predictable regularity as a function of the sociopolitical and economic conditions of the times. One of these issues, the technical/vocational-liberal studies controversy that engaged educators at the beginning of the

twentieth century, has returned as a major focus of interest at the end of it. Throughout the first few decades of our century, the philosophical debate concerning the intrinsic purpose of education in a democracy involved a range of issues similar to those that many educators are debating today, issues made more poignant by North America's continuing high levels of unemployment. Then as now, the contentious question is: should public education be geared towards the specific business and industrial-technocratic needs of society, or is its major function to provide a general education for society's young people in a broad range of subjects in the liberal arts, in mathematics, and in the natural sciences (Barton, 1990; Corson, 1991; Daggett, 1991; Downey, 1991)?

Prior to World War I, the educational and business-industrial communities both agreed on the need for educational and social reform; likewise they agree today. Because of contemporary socio-economic problems, the current interest in education as a vehicle for social improvement has generated an abundance of literature on educational reform from both the educational and business-industrial communities alike (Armstrong, 1989; Carnevale, 1989; Choate, 1986; Corson, 1991; Dole, 1989; Dunham, 1986; LeBold, 1990; Simon, 1991). A reading of this literature suggests that many of the stakeholders in education believe that school curricula must be created that cater to society's need for skilled workers who have technological, scientific, and communicative expertise, as well as to society's pressing need for citizens who are equally sensitive to humanistic concerns.

As a first step to devising secondary school curricula that meet both these needs, we believe educators would do well to re-examine the historical literature pertaining to the educational reform movement in the early decades of this century, particularly to John Dewey's contribution to that debate. However, any contemporary reading of Dewey's work must be tempered with the understanding that his educational philosophy was developed within the context of a markedly different social and cultural era than our own. When Dewey first produced influential works like *The School and Society* (1900), *The Child and the Curriculum* (1902), and *Democracy and Education* (1916), North America was in the throes of the Industrial Age of modernity; now, the western world has stepped irrevocably over the threshold of the postmodern world (Connor, 1989; Harvey, 1989; Jameson, 1991). The faster pace of life, the instant availability of information, and the concomitant needs for the newest knowledge and for the most improved and effective telecommunication systems has firmly established in our minds the image of the world as a global village. Therefore Dewey, as the educational philosopher of modernism, might be considered an outmoded source for initiating fresh thinking about curricular reform in the Information Age of postmodernity.

However, we believe many of the arguments he contributed to that early debate are worth reiterating because we believe, with Dewey, that in emotional debates of this sort we must never lose sight of the human factor.

In this article we first provide a brief historical reminder of the vocational-liberal studies controversy that evolved during the first few decades of the twentieth century. Second, we examine Dewey's contribution to that debate and follow this with an analysis of some of the same kinds of problems that seem to confront educators today. Finally, in light of this discussion we advance our views on the type of educational arrangements we feel are required now at the end of the twentieth century.

Historical Overview

An inquiry into what students ought to learn in school occurred in North America at the beginning of the twentieth century. Prior to and during the nineteenth-century, traditional classical studies were offered to those fortunate enough to attend secondary school because, generally speaking, those students continued on to university. However, in the 1890s and early 1900s, American high schools in particular experienced a growing number of students who wanted a high school education but who did not necessarily intend to continue academic study after graduation. The natural consequence of this situation was for educators to inquire into the relevancy of the existing high school curriculum (Corson, 1991; Schubert, 1986).

Out of these inquiries, two central issues evolved around the question of what knowledge was most worthwhile, and if a traditional classical education was suitable for preparing young people to deal with the realities of life after high school in the modern workplace. The response from the educational community to these questions is recorded in the literature documenting the heated and divisive debates produced by the report of the Committee of Ten and especially to the subsequent report by the Committee of Fifteen (Cremin, 1961; Franklin, 1986; Schubert, 1986). In 1918 the National Association's Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education published its important report, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, a report that, typically, was considered too traditional by some educators and far too liberal by others. These events resulted in the emergence of three general models for thinking about curriculum, models which Schubert (1986) has labeled intellectual traditionalism, progressive experientialism, and social behaviorism.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the new social sciences of psychology and sociology influenced many educators. Edward L.

Thorndike argued for an educational system based on scientific principles. His work, along with Herbert Spencer's theory of social Darwinism, Joseph Meyer Rice's work on social efficiency in education, and the works of social behaviorists, Franklin Bobbit and W. W. Charters, gave rise to the social efficiency movement in education, a movement that looked to science not only to reform and improve educational institutions but ultimately to change society as well (Schubert, 1986).

Two social efficiency advocates, David Snedden and Charles Prosser, were largely responsible for developing the scientific technocratic model of education in the United States. They advocated training programs based on principles of S-R [stimulus-response] psychology, and a curriculum specifically designed to meet the needs of industry. Both felt schools should create more relevant programs for the new socioeconomic conditions of post World War I America.

Snedden, a conservative social Darwinist, felt the goals of education should be to support scientific corporate capitalism, to enable each child to mature to be the kind of citizen who contributes to a well-functioning society like a good player contributes to a winning team, and to help society function with the greatest degree of efficiency. He also thought students could be categorized into ability groups, and that with scientific tests and measures schools could differentiate them into specific programs of study that would channel them into appropriate careers (Wirth, 1991, pp. 56-57).

Prosser's goal as executive secretary of the National Society for the Improvement of Education was to improve vocational education in America so that high schools could train adolescents effectively for useful employment.

The scientific work of Thorndike reinforced Prosser's opinions, and he recommended vocational students have real, hands-on work experience instead of "pseudo" classroom experiences. Thus his commitment to a "pure", work-based vocational education led him to strive for separately administered vocational institutions.

The third curricular movement to emerge out of this historical period was the Progressive Movement. As the indisputable, vanguard thinker of the Progressive Movement, John Dewey maintained that education must be rooted in the direct, immediate experiences of the child, and that the school must be considered an important force for improving society. In *School and Society* he presented his philosophy of building an educational curriculum based on the needs of the people for whom the schools exist. In *The Child and the Curriculum* he stressed the impor-

tance of a child-centered curriculum built upon the experiences of the child. In *Democracy and Education*, perhaps his most influential book on education, Dewey presented the idea that since school is a microcosm of the society it serves, the aim of both should be reciprocal cooperation to ensure the growth of democracy in the larger society, as well as achievement and success in the personal lives of individual citizens. These three concepts were the cornerstone ideas of the Progressive Movement. Dewey argued that the aim of education should be a meaningful process of reflection on and inquiry into social problems. As such it would develop into a "science" with the goal of continuous social improvement. Consequently, Dewey disagreed with his social behaviorist colleagues about their advocacy of separate vocational schools.

Dewey felt vocational and academic education should not be taught separately but should be taught in such a way that by complementing and enhancing one another the liberal arts might "humanize" the industrial arts. Dewey's thinking was not influenced by social Darwinism to the same extent that Snedden's and Prosser's was; therefore, he was appalled at the idea of vocational schools separated from academic schools. To him, such institutions would be completely undemocratic and Dewey felt strongly that if society wanted to educate democratically-minded citizens, the youth of that society must be educated in comprehensive schools governed by those values. Moreover, he felt that combining vocational and technological studies with liberal arts studies could do two things: it could "revitalize school learning and eventually aid in social transformation" (Wirth, 1991, p. 62).

Dewey saw the combination of an academic and a technological-vocational program of studies as mutually beneficial. In *Education Today* (1940) he wrote,

Instead of trying to split schools into two kinds, one of a trade type for children whom it is assumed are to be employees and one of a liberal type for the children of the well-to-do, [we must] aim at such a reorganization of existing schools as will give all pupils a genuine respect for useful work, an ability to render service, and a contempt for social parasites. (pp. 131-132)

He felt strongly that vocational, technological, and business courses develop in all students sequential and creative thinking skills as well as a knowledge of and insight into the manufacturing, transportation, and business sectors of society. This knowledge would benefit everyone regardless of the ultimate career path one chose to follow.

Problems Confronting Educators Today

When people are unemployed, one of the first places they turn to for help is educational institutions, with the understandable expectation that more education in subjects attractive to employers will make them more employable. This happened in the Great Depression of the 1930s and it is happening again in the persistent recession of the 1990s. With more students attending high school than ever before, with larger numbers of dropouts dropping back in and adults returning to school in unprecedented numbers, one of the most crucial questions today is: What principles should guide us as we re-think our senior years' curricula – the social efficiency model, the liberal studies model, or some eclectic combination of the two? In posing these questions again in this way, we are operating from the premise that any move towards educational reform ought to be grounded in an analysis of some fairly obvious social problems and needs. Of the many problems confronting North American society, we have isolated for comment four that we think are most pressing in light of the revival of the vocational-liberal studies controversy: incomplete education, marginal achievement and illiteracy-innumeracy, lack of employable skills, and a significant change in the employment scene itself in North America.

Incomplete education

One of the most important problems in the 1990s is the large number of young people with an incomplete education. As the Conference Board of Canada states:

Canadians are increasingly aware that education, because of its impact on our social well-being and economic prosperity, is one of the most significant public issues facing Canadians One of the most important of these problems is a high school dropout rate that stands at 34 percent – meaning that one in three Canadian high school students fails to graduate. (1992, p. 1)

Furthermore, figures from Employment and Immigration Canada show that currently only 53% of all jobs in Canada require at least twelve years of education; they further predict that by the year 2000, 65% will require at least that much schooling (Conference Board of Canada, 1992, p. 1). Likewise, the message from contemporary employers is clear. In order to secure employment in the 1990s and beyond, young people will have to be both well educated and diversely skilled. To this end, university entrance programs in high schools serve the purposes of university and college bound students quite well. However, educators need to pay

more attention to those high school students who do not continue their studies beyond high school graduation (Barton, 1990; Downey, 1990). Not only the authorized curriculum but also the hidden curriculum of teachers, counsellors, and administrators, who are for the most part products of liberal arts educational institutions themselves, "teach" that a post-secondary education is the superior path for students to follow. Role models from business and industry who have chosen other routes to success are rarely introduced to students in school settings. Almost the entire curriculum at the secondary school level is slanted towards providing knowledge to the minority of students (30%) who choose to enroll in post-secondary schools. The other 70% who choose to enter the workforce are almost virtually ignored in terms of relevant, meaningful experiences related to the world of work (Barton, 1990).

In order to correct this imbalance, a new way of viewing the role of the school and its relationship to the work world is required. If we attend to Dewey's advice this means a change in philosophical perspective with an emphasis away from the traditional, school-centered, academic focus, to include a more flexible community-centered, career-oriented one. Today's problems cannot be solved by our continuing to use

... the same level of thinking with which we created them [because the] traditional concepts of school and work came from the factory model [of the social efficiency technocrats which is] highly structured and individually competitive. But while the work model is changing and becoming more open to worker interaction and group effort, schools have stayed with the 'old model'. (Educational Testing Service, 1990, p. 17)

Marginal achievement – illiteracy – innumeracy

During the 1970s and 1980s parents and students focused their interest on university and college preparation courses often with little comprehension of what post-secondary education actually involves academically and intellectually. The result in North American high schools is that a large percentage of university entrance graduates have unimpressive marks, only marginal academic abilities, and most go directly into the workplace with few workplace readiness skills.

Many of these marginal students take general track programs and are for the most part disengaged from, and lack commitment to, formal education. Many feel that if they do not take university entrance or precollege courses with their perceived higher status they somehow diminish their post-graduation opportunities. Loathe to take vocational,

industrial, or business education majors because of the social stigma attached to them in the eyes of their peers and parents, these students choose to follow a general track which has little definite focus in terms of academic or career preparation. In general tracking, students are most often offered a "modified" university entrance program which is neither organized, sequential, coherent nor goal-directed for technical post-secondary institutions, vocations, or careers (Barton, 1990).

In 1968, 12% of students in high schools in the United States registered for "thin education" general track courses; by 1990, this figure had risen to fifty percent. Furthermore, studies in the United States indicate that two out of three high school dropouts there had been enrolled in nonspecific, general track programs, where, in some parts of the country, the dropout rate is 40% (Educational Testing Service, 1990, p. 6). This further supports the perception that the high school curriculum in North American schools is one of the factors behind the alarmingly high dropout rates. These high school dropouts should not be so easily dismissed as social throwaways for they represent one-third of the high school population, and it seems conceivable they might form the core of considerable social problems in the future.

In 1987, the Southam literacy study uncovered the following disturbing fact. At least five million Canadian adults, including 17% of high school graduates, cannot read, write, or do mathematics well enough to meet basic literacy/numeracy requirements. Additionally, Statistics Canada found only 62% of adult Canadians are functionally literate while "a further 22% are low-level literates who can handle only simple reading in familiar contexts" (cited in Downey, 1991, p. 6-13).

Furthermore, in this postmodern Information Age, the meaning of literacy is changing. Now, not only does it refer to reading and writing ability levels, but also to scientific and technological understanding. Workers in the twenty-first century will have to be able to understand, interpret, and use an ever-increasing amount of new knowledge. If human knowledge is doubling every five years, literacy in its broadest definition must become "the unifying element of all learning programs [which use] not only words and numbers but also ideas, values, and relationships" (Downey, 1991, p.16). The inescapable conclusion is that continuing high levels of illiteracy and innumeracy means chronic unemployment for the functionally illiterate.

Lack of employable skills

The world of work awaiting high school students of the 1990s is remarkably different from that of any other previous decade. It seems

that our students are graduating from North American high schools with an education that is essentially no better in relative terms than that received by their grandfathers.

Increasingly, employers are expressing the opinion that many of the students graduating from high school are virtually unemployable. It appears that one of the main reasons for this is that when employers criticize the education of graduates they are assessing them in terms of the work skills they will be **required** to perform in the workplace while educators assess them on school assignments which frequently have little or no relationship to work-related tasks. This is the essence of the debate over preparedness. Schools and employers are talking about very different things. Reading, writing, and mathematics proficiencies (as taught and measured in school) are not synonymous with work literacy and numeracy. This difference in perception of preparedness is one major reason why so many employers judge high school graduates as inadequately educated. Interestingly, it was Dewey himself who warned us of this precise problem. Dewey predicted:

As societies become more complex in structure and resources, the need for formal or intentional teaching increases. As formal teaching and training grow in extent, there is danger of creating an undesirable split between the experience gained in more direct associations and what is acquired in school. (cited in Barton, 1990, p.12)

The changing employment scene

Futurists warn that job security and single life-time careers will be luxuries of the past. Workers will have to be able to learn on the job, retrain, upgrade skills constantly, and switch careers repeatedly. Since 1950 there has been a statistically significant change in the types of jobs available to workers. In 1950, 60% of the North American workforce was unskilled, 20% skilled, and 20% in professional management. By 1989, 35% were unskilled, 35% were skilled, and 30% were in professional management. It is estimated that by the year 2000, only 15% of the labor force will be unskilled, 45% will be skilled, and 50% will be required in professional management, more than double in fifty years (Daggett, 1991). Thus the world of work has changed dramatically since the 1950s but many school programs have essentially remained the same.

There is a troubling gap between the knowledge and skills society needs and what the school systems are offering. Consequently, the quality of the Canadian educational system has become the subject of serious inquiry by many business, industrial, and community leaders. Among

them there is a general awareness that our society needs committed educators who are cognizant of labor needs in society, new societal values and trends, and the needs of the economic climate in the local, the national, and the international communities. They want educators who can develop in students the willingness and the ability to learn well, to think critically and creatively, and to solve problems cooperatively and constructively. Also, they want a reformation of technical-vocational education programs in high schools to improve their image and to work in partnership with business and industry to keep courses of study current with changes in the workplace. These advocates of school reform are insisting that a business and education partnership be established to "satisfy a need for educated, verbally and technically literate graduates who must have the ability to learn, because the one thing we know is that what people know and understand today is going to be obsolete in about half the time it used to be. That's why business has a sense of urgency on the issue of educational reform and educational performance" (Educational Testing Service, 1990, p. 6).

Conclusion

Recognizing that the learning needs of the majority of high school students are not being met, modern day progressive educators of a Deweyan persuasion have identified three potential solutions: 1. facilitate dialogue between educators and the business and labor communities, regarding school program content; 2. involve business, industry, and labor in effective work-based training programs; and 3. convince local communities that educational reform involving applied pedagogy is a very important issue affecting about 70% of our adolescents who go directly from high school into the world of work.

In order for educators to create curricula that will provide students with the knowledge they will need for success they must be fully cognizant of the fundamental changes that have occurred in society generally, and in the world of work particularly. They must be willing to re-evaluate their own ideas about what constitutes "good" education and be aware of the changing nature of work. They must confront the fact that there are massive problems threatening the stability of North American society and for this reason they must recognize the necessity for restructuring educational institutions so that more relevant and meaningful learning experiences can be provided to help students cope in a rapidly changing world.

We contend that educators today would do well to reconsider the merits of the Deweyan approach of combining academic and vocational-technological programs of study. In addition, we believe that any such

approach must also include a commitment to the principle of lifelong learning, because learning is becoming increasingly an integral part of work. In order to continue to learn, workers must have a solid base of fundamental knowledge and skills on which to build. For the most part, this knowledge can only be obtained from elementary and secondary school curricula. Futurists and sociologists have consistently maintained that knowledge will be irrevocably connected to success. For example, Toffler (1990) states:

Today, in the fast-changing, affluent nations, despite all inequities of income and wealth, the coming struggle for power will increasingly turn into a struggle over the distribution of and access to knowledge. This is why, unless we understand how and to whom knowledge flows, we can neither protect ourselves against the abuse of power nor create the better, more democratic society that tomorrow's technologies promise. (p. 20)

If knowledge is going to be the key to success in the future, it is the important responsibility of educators to design learning programs which will prepare young people effectively for the competitions, changes, and challenges that they will certainly face in the future. We must resolve that an undereducated, untrained, unskilled workforce is unacceptable and a shameful waste of the potential of our youth.

At the present time North Americans are feeling particularly threatened by social change owing to the rapid pace of technological advances. Part of this apprehension involves the fear that educational curricula are being adjusted to accommodate the new sciences and technologies often at the expense of more humanistic concerns (Postman, 1992). As we have shown, for a balanced perspective, Dewey's writings once again remind us that the sciences, technologies, and humanities can be equally well accommodated in one common curriculum. Public education does not have to be **either** liberal studies **or** workplace training; it can and should be a complementary combination of the two.

As educators, we must ask ourselves what type of education makes sense for children and adolescents to be acquiring today? If we wish to continue to uphold the principle of equality of educational opportunity for all, a principle that is fundamental to the North American democratic ideal, then we have to support Dewey's arguments that academic and technical-vocational schools must not be separated, that academic and technical-vocational learning programs must be made to complement and enhance one another, and that by designing learning experiences which allow our students to examine and theorize about the nature of social

problems, they will stand a better chance of ultimately transforming and transcending them.

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La théorie des caractéristiques des emplois de Hackman et Oldham: une recension des écrits

Résumé

Cet article présente une recension des écrits publiés sur la théorie des caractéristiques des emplois de Hackman et Oldham. Cette théorie de la conception des emplois est la plus récente et la plus utilisée dans le monde industriel. Toutefois, ce n'est que récemment que les chercheurs de l'éducation ont commencé à y faire référence et à l'utiliser dans leurs recherches. Le moment est venu de présenter une recension des écrits sur cette théorie.

Abstract

This article presents a review of the literature on Hackman and Oldham's theory of job characteristics. This theory is the most recent and the most widely used in business. However, it is only recently that educational researchers refer to it and use it in their research. It is probably the right time to present a review of the literature on this theory.

Les origines de la conception des emplois (job design) peuvent remonter à Smith (1776) en passant par Babbage (1832) et Taylor (1911) qui, en introduisant la division du travail, ont tenté à leur façon d'améliorer le rendement des ouvriers. Depuis, de nombreuses techniques ont été développées dans le but de changer la nature du travail dans les organisations en manipulant son contenu. On les appelle généralement les techniques de la conception des emplois, telle que la rotation l'élargissement et l'enrichissement des tâches et l'approche socio-technique.

Ces techniques de la conception des emplois peuvent être distinguées selon deux tendances. Une première tendance se concentre sur une analyse du contenu du travail, alors qu'une seconde considère le

groupe des travailleurs (une section ou un département) comme unité d'analyse. La première tendance correspond aux travaux de recherches effectués en Amérique du Nord. La seconde renvoie aux travaux réalisés en Grande-Bretagne et en Scandinavie (Buchanan, 1979, p. 5). Wild (1975) appelle la première tendance, la restructuration des emplois et la seconde, l'organisation du travail. Au Québec, on a opté généralement pour l'expression européenne: l'organisation du travail.

Au début du siècle, et même encore aujourd'hui au sein de plusieurs entreprises, l'organisation du travail était dite scientifique et s'inspirait du modèle tayloriste. Cette forme d'organisation se préoccupait peu de la motivation interne. Ce n'est qu'à compter des années soixante que se développa l'intérêt pour la motivation interne au travail (Paquin, 1986, p. 27). Le modèle conceptuel sur lequel repose la nouvelle conception des emplois est celui de Herzberg (Herzberg, et al., 1959; Herzberg, 1968). Depuis, l'organisation du travail ou la restructuration des emplois a pour objectif de satisfaire les exigences techniques et organisationnelles du travail, tout en satisfaisant les exigences de la personne qui exécute le travail.

De nos jours, les théories de la conception des emplois reposent sur l'hypothèse que les besoins organisationnels et individuels peuvent être satisfaits simultanément, grâce à une manipulation judicieuse de certaines caractéristiques des emplois (Buchanan, 1979, p. 4). La plus récente de ces théories, et la plus utilisée dans le monde industriel, est celle de Hackman et de ses collègues (1975), connue sous le nom de la théorie des caractéristiques des emplois. Au point de départ, cette théorie fut présentée dans le cadre de l'enrichissement des tâches. En effet, Hackman et Oldham (1975) proposaient leur théorie comme une façon de déterminer s'il convenait d'enrichir un emploi. Puis, leur théorie s'est imposée comme une théorie de la motivation et les auteurs l'ont présentée comme telle (Hackman et Oldham, 1980). Enfin, certains comme Turcotte (1982) prétendent que la théorie peut servir de base à une mesure de la qualité de la vie au travail.

Cet article a pour but de présenter la théorie des caractéristiques des emplois de Hackman et Oldham et un aperçu des principaux écrits publiés à son sujet. En premier lieu, les origines de la théorie sont retracées, suivies d'une description de la théorie elle-même. Puis, nous examinerons les principales études qui ont tenté de vérifier cette théorie. A cette occasion, nous soulignerons les principales critiques qui ont été soulevées à l'égard de la théorie. Nous considérerons ensuite les recherches accomplies dans le milieu de l'éducation qui ont utilisé la théorie de Hackman et Oldham. Nous concluons sur l'utilité potentielle de cette théorie en éducation.

Les origines de la théorie des caractéristiques des emplois

La théorie des caractéristiques des emplois prend sa source dans les résultats d'une étude de Turner et Lawrence (1965). Cette étude examinait l'influence que pouvaient avoir certains attributs spécifiques des tâches sur les réponses affectives des employés, ainsi que sur leurs comportements. Turner et Lawrence formulèrent l'hypothèse que plus un emploi posséderait ces attributs, plus les employés seraient satisfaits. Ils trouvèrent une relation positive entre les résultats des attributs obtenus par les employés et leur satisfaction, ainsi que leur présence au travail. Ils trouvèrent également que les relations recherchées s'avèrent plus positives chez les employés d'entreprises localisées dans de petites villes. Les résultats de cette étude suggéraient que les employés peuvent réagir différemment à certaines caractéristiques de leur emploi selon certaines variables sociologiques.

Hackman et Lawler (1971) fournirent une autre explication des résultats obtenus par Turner et Lawrence. Ils suggérèrent que les différences mentionnées par Turner et Lawrence pouvaient tout simplement être expliquées par des besoins individuels d'ordre supérieur tels que le besoin de croissance personnelle et de développement personnel au travail. De plus, Hackman et Lawler formulèrent l'hypothèse que la présence de certaines caractéristiques dans un emploi motive les employés à donner un bon rendement et que ce dernier devient un incitatif à le maintenir.

A partir des mêmes postulats que ceux de Turner et Lawrence, Hackman et Lawler (1971) trouvèrent qu'en général plus la variété, l'autonomie, l'identité de la tâche et le feedback étaient élevés, plus les employés, qui ressentaient les besoins d'ordre supérieur, étaient motivés et satisfaits, avaient un meilleur rendement, s'absentaient moins de leur travail et obtenaient une cote élevée de la part de leur superviseur à l'égard de la qualité de leur travail. Hackman et Lawler (1971) recommandaient entre autres choses de restructurer les emplois.

C'est sur la base de ces travaux que Hackman et Oldham (1974a) développèrent leur théorie et qu'ils mirent au point le Job Diagnostic Survey (JDS) qui avait pour objectif de mesurer les caractéristiques objectives d'un emploi, les réactions personnelles des employés face à leur emploi et leur niveau de disposition à répondre positivement à une tâche enrichie (Hackman et Oldham, 1974b). Cet instrument sera l'objet d'une vérification par les auteurs l'année suivante (Hackman et Oldham, 1975b) et sera utilisé au moment où les auteurs tenteront de vérifier leur théorie (Hackman et Oldham, 1976). Depuis, l'instrument de mesure développé par Hackman et Oldham est associé à leur théorie et continue

de recevoir énormément d'attention de la part de nombreux chercheurs. Au Québec, nous bénéficions maintenant d'une traduction validée de cet instrument (Rancourt, 1983).

La théorie des caractéristiques des emplois

Au point de départ, Hackman et Oldham étaient préoccupés par l'enthousiasme que les chercheurs manifestaient à l'égard de l'enrichissement des tâches proposé par Herzberg (1968). Ils désiraient redresser les excès qui caractérisaient les écrits sur le sujet et le peu de souci qu'ils montraient à l'égard des façons de le mettre en pratique dans les organisations (Hackman et Oldham, 1975, p. 57). C'est ainsi qu'ils décidèrent de présenter une nouvelle stratégie de l'enrichissement des tâches et de la restructuration des emplois. Cette stratégie de Hackman et Oldham était le fruit de trois ans de travaux de recherche accomplis par deux universitaires et par deux praticiens.

A partir des réactions affectives chez les employés, c'est-à-dire, la motivation interne au travail, la satisfaction générale et la satisfaction vis-à-vis la croissance personnelle, les auteurs commencèrent par la recherche de ce qui peut éveiller l'intérêt au travail chez les employés et ce qui peut être relié à ces réactions affectives. Hackman et Oldham étaient particulièrement intéressés par la motivation interne au travail. Les sciences du comportement leur fournirent la réponse. En effet, les sciences du comportement avaient trouvé que trois états psychologiques semblaient être reliés aux réponses affectives d'un employé.

Selon les auteurs, il y a trois états psychologiques qui suscitent la motivation au travail. Il semble nécessaire que ces trois états psychologiques soient toujours présents pour que la motivation au travail se développe et se maintienne (Hackman et Oldham, 1980, p. 73). En premier lieu, le travail qu'une personne accomplit doit être valorisant c'est-à-dire, avoir un sens pour la personne et lui offrir des défis. Elle doit, en deuxième lieu, se sentir personnellement responsable des résultats du travail qu'elle accomplit. Enfin, une personne doit connaître les résultats de son travail, c'est-à-dire, constamment savoir et comprendre si elle accomplit son travail efficacement. La figure 1 représente la théorie. On trouvera les définitions des dimensions en appendice.

Selon Hackman et Oldham, la présence simultanée de ces caractéristiques produit un "Résultat de Motivation Potentielle" (RMP) qui est calculé de la façon suivant

$$\text{Motivating potential score (MPS)} = \left[\frac{\text{Skill variety} + \text{Task identity} + \text{Task significance}}{3} \right] \times \text{Autonomy} \times \text{Job feedback}$$

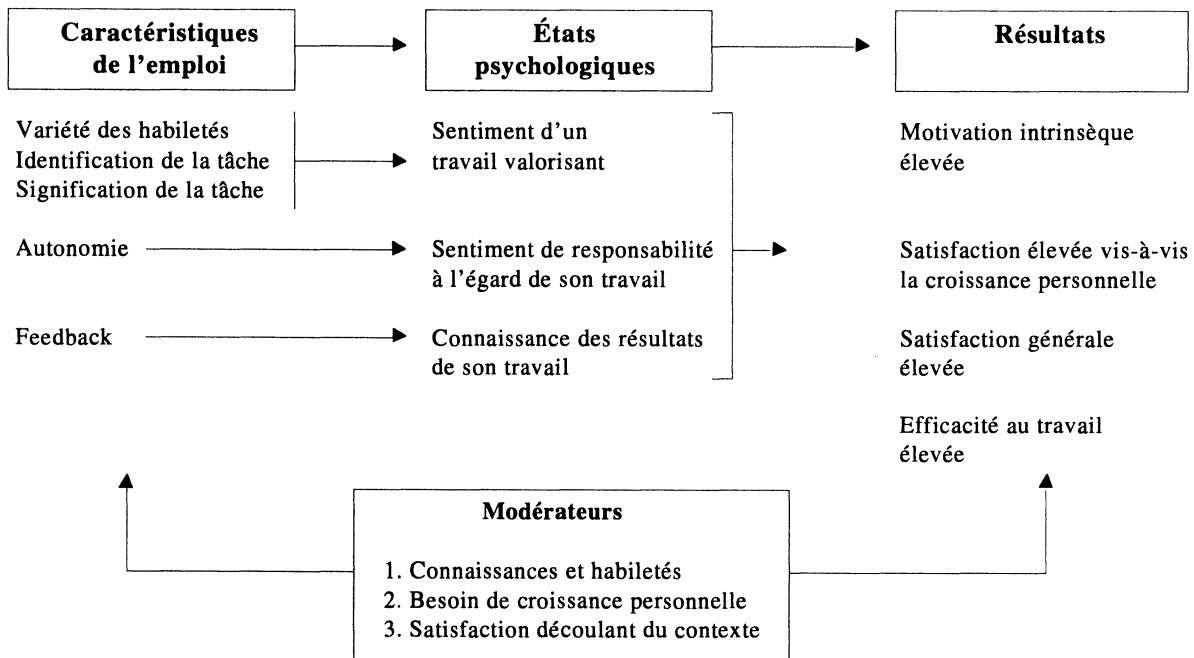


Figure 1

Le modèle des caractéristiques des emplois

Source: Hackman, J.R., et Oldham, G.R. (1980). *Work redesign*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, p. 90.

Toujours selon eux, lorsque les résultats obtenus pour l'autonomie et le feedback se rapprochent de zéro, le RMP se rapprochera également de zéro. Pour qu'un RMP soit élevé, un emploi doit recevoir un résultat élevé pour au moins l'une des trois premières caractéristiques de l'emploi. Par contre, un résultat moins élevé pour l'une de ces trois caractéristiques ne peut d'aucune façon compromettre sérieusement le résultat global du

RMP. Le résultat révélé par le RMP reflète donc la possibilité qu'un emploi puisse contenir les conditions permettant à un employé qui a un bon rendement de pouvoir vivre un état de renforcement le motivant à le maintenir.

Selon leur théorie, Hackman et Oldham soutiennent que le besoin de croissance d'un individu influencera sa façon de réagir vis-à-vis de son emploi. Cette influence se fera sentir à deux endroits dans le modèle présenté à la figure 1. D'abord, à la jonction entre les caractéristiques objectives de l'emploi et les états psychologiques et, d'autre part, entre les états psychologiques et la motivation intrinsèque. Ainsi, la première influence signifie que les gens qui possèdent un grand besoin de croissance individuelle vivront plus intensément les états psychologiques et leur emploi révélera un résultat de motivation potentielle élevé. La seconde influence signifie que les individus qui expriment un besoin de croissance individuelle élevé répondront d'une façon plus positive à la présence des états psychologiques dans leur emploi. Les auteurs ajoutent à leur modèle l'influence de trois variables modératrices, à savoir les connaissances et les habiletés individuelles, le besoin de croissance personnelle et la satisfaction découlant du contexte.

Au cours des années 1970 et 1980, la théorie des caractéristiques des emplois de Hackman et de ses collègues a dominé le domaine de la structuration des emplois ou de l'organisation du travail. Elle a l'avantage de combiner et d'unifier les anciennes théories relatives à la motivation. Dans leur volume portant sur la restructuration des emplois, Hackman et Oldham (1980) ont présenté davantage d'explications et d'applications de leur théorie. La théorie propose donc, en bref, que les emplois doivent posséder certaines caractéristiques qui soient de nature à créer les conditions suscitant une plus grande motivation, une plus grande satisfaction et par là, un rendement plus élevé.

Applications et critiques de la théorie

Depuis la parution de la théorie des caractéristiques des emplois de Hackman et Oldham, de nombreuses études ont été publiées. Nous ne mentionnerons ici que les plus importantes et les plus significatives. Comme nous nous y attendions, les auteurs de la théorie, avec d'autres collègues, furent les premiers à vérifier la validité de celle-ci. Ainsi, Hackman et Oldham (1976, p. 259) ont vérifié leur théorie auprès de 658 employés qui occupaient 62 emplois différents dans 7 organisations différentes. En général, leurs résultats ont révélé que la théorie était valide. Les résultats montraient que les cinq caractéristiques principales d'un emploi étaient de bons prédicteurs du sentiment d'un travail valorisant et de la connaissance des résultats comme la théorie le prédit. Quant au sentiment de responsabilité à l'égard du travail, il était également affecté

par toutes les caractéristiques de l'emploi et non pas par l'autonomie seulement, comme la théorie le prévoit (p.269). Enfin, le besoin de croissance personnelle agissait comme modérateur des caractéristiques des emplois des trois états psychologiques et des réponses affectives.

D'autres auteurs ont également tenté de vérifier la validité de cette théorie. Champoux (1980), par exemple, a vérifié auprès de trois échantillons d'employés que l'effet modérateur du besoin de croissance personnelle variait pour chacun des échantillons étudiés par rapport à des états psychologiques différents. Cet auteur a également constaté une relation curvilinéaire entre la somme des caractéristiques des emplois (appelée *l'étendue de l'emploi* par Champoux) et les états psychologiques. Arnold et House (1980), pour leur part, ont confirmé que la motivation intrinsèque est fonction de la présence des trois états psychologiques contenus dans la théorie. Ils ont aussi trouvé l'effet modérateur, quoique faible, du besoin de croissance personnelle sur la relation entre les caractéristiques de l'emploi et les états psychologiques éprouvés par l'employé. Enfin, Conley (1983), conclut que ses résultats supportèrent fortement les hypothèses avancées par la théorie.

Deux recensions relativement récentes des études réalisées sur la théorie des caractéristiques des emplois sont particulièrement intéressantes. Même si elles n'ont pas recensé les mêmes études, elles ont l'avantage d'avoir utilisé l'approche de la méta-analyse. Loher et ses collègues (1985) affirment que la relation entre les caractéristiques des emplois et la satisfaction au travail est plutôt modérée et que, par contre, le besoin de croissance personnelle agit réellement comme modérateur de cette relation. Quant à Fried et Ferris (1987), ils concluent également que la relation existe entre les caractéristiques des emplois et les états psychologiques et les réactions affectives des employés. Toutefois, les relations entre les caractéristiques et les états psychologiques sont plus fortes que les relations entre les caractéristiques et les réactions affectives.

Certaines critiques ont évidemment été exprimées à l'endroit de la théorie. Par exemple, on reproche à la théorie de ne pas mener à la clarification des relations entre les propriétés objectives des emplois et les perceptions de ces propriétés de la part des employés. Ainsi, O'Reilly, Parlette et Bloom (1980, p. 127) ont noté que les perceptions d'un individu concernant les caractéristiques de son emploi varient selon son cadre de référence personnel. De même, Adler, Skov et Salvemini (1985) ont souligné que les caractéristiques d'un emploi peuvent être en partie un résultat plutôt qu'une cause des états psychologiques. Roberts et Glick (1981) ont probablement été ceux qui ont le plus fortement critiqué la théorie des caractéristiques des emplois et les recherches empiriques qu'elle a suscitées. Ils concluent notamment que les influences sociales

et situationnelles sur la perception que les individus ont de leur emploi sont suggérées par la théorie, mais qu'elles ne sont pas suffisamment spécifiées (p. 196). Ils ajoutent que, de toute façon, très peu de progrès ont été accomplis depuis la formulation de la théorie (p. 209).

Par contre, un peu en réponse à Roberts et Glick, Griffin (1983) a présenté des arguments convaincants à savoir que les perceptions des employés sont en effet une source utile d'informations à l'égard des emplois et de la structuration des emplois. De plus, Fried et Ferris (1987) concluent ainsi leur méta-analyse de 200 études qui ont utilisé la théorie de Hackman et Oldham: "Il est inapproprié de complètement rejeter des résultats basés sur des perceptions et des corrélations sous le prétexte qu'ils sont des artefacts" (p. 309).

Si certaines études ont vérifié la validité de la théorie de Hackman et Oldham, d'autres se sont particulièrement préoccupées de vérifier la validité de l'instrument qui accompagne la théorie, le Job Diagnostic Survey (JDS). Il est évidemment important de le vérifier puisque la vérification de la théorie en dépend. Il convient tout d'abord de décrire brièvement cet instrument.

Le JDS fut développé par les auteurs de la théorie (Hackman et Oldham, 1974a, 1975) dans le but d'en mesurer les variables telles que présentées à la figure 1. Les connaissances et les habiletés ainsi que l'efficacité au travail ne sont pas mesurées par l'instrument. Par contre, l'instrument mesure deux dimensions qui ne font pas partie de la théorie, à savoir le feedback de la part des agents (les supérieurs et les collègues) et les relations avec d'autres employés. Le JDS comprend 83 questions réparties en sept parties plus ou moins égales. Les répondants indiquent leurs réactions en se servant d'une échelle allant de 1 (la plus faible) à 7 (la plus forte). Le JDS permet de calculer le score du potentiel de motivation selon la formule présentée précédemment. La validité de l'instrument fut vérifiée par les auteurs de la théorie auprès de 658 employés qui occupaient 62 emplois différents dans 7 organisations différentes (Hackman et Oldham, 1974a, 1975). Les coefficients de consistance interne des sous-échelles du questionnaire s'échelonnent de 0,56 à 0,88. Par contre, les 5 caractéristiques de l'emploi sont mesurées par 5 sous-échelles comprenant 5 items chacune. Ce sont ces 5 sous-échelles qui ont fait l'objet de vérification de la part des chercheurs. Ils ont vérifié en particulier deux aspects de ces sous-échelles: la consistance interne de chacune des sous-échelles et leur structure factorielle.

Dans le cas de la consistance interne, tous les auteurs concluent qu'elle existe pour chacune des sous-échelles. C'est le cas de Dunham

(1976), Pierce et Dunham (1978), de Lee et Klein (1982) et de Idaszak et Drasgow (1987). Quant à Evans, Kiggundu et House (1979) et de Kiggundu (1980), ils ont trouvé des coefficients de consistance interne un peu moins élevés que les auteurs précédents, mais quand même assez appréciables pour partager les mêmes conclusions. Dans le cas de la vérification de la structure factorielle des 5 sous-échelles, les auteurs en arrivent à des conclusions sinon contradictoires, du moins inconsistantes. Dunham (1976), par exemple, n'a pas retrouvé la structure des 5 facteurs telle que proposée par Hackman et Oldham. L'année suivante, Dunham, Aldag et Brief (1977) ont trouvé la confirmation de la présence de 5 facteurs pour seulement 2 de leurs sous-échantillons alors qu'ils en trouvaient toujours moins de 5 pour les autres sous-échantillons.

De toutes ces études, il faut retenir deux aspects. D'abord, il faut considérer que les 5 sous-échelles originales proposées par Hackman et Oldham possèdent une consistance interne relativement suffisante pour qu'elles soient utilisées avec confiance. Il faut ensuite retenir que la structure factorielle des 5 sous-échelles peut être remise en question et qu'elle semble être différente d'un échantillon à un autre. C'est pourquoi il est recommandé, à la suite de Dunham, Aldag et Brief (1977, p. 222), qu'un chercheur qui utilise le JDS en vérifie la structure factorielle à l'aide de l'échantillon de son étude.

En dépit de toutes les vérifications des caractéristiques psychométriques du JDS, ce dernier demeure l'instrument le plus utilisé. C'est ainsi que Idaszak et Drasgow (1987) et Taber et Taylor (1990) affirment que la mesure la plus populaire de la perception des caractéristiques de l'emploi demeure encore l'enquête de diagnostic de l'emploi (Job Diagnostic Survey) de Hackman et Oldham (1975). Il appert donc utile de continuer à utiliser et à vérifier cet instrument en éducation, d'autant plus qu'il n'existe aucun autre instrument qui ait été développé spécifiquement en vue de caractériser le travail des éducateurs.

Applications de la théorie à l'éducation

En éducation, Sergiovanni et Carver (1980), Miskel (1982), Hoy et Miskel (1991) ainsi que Barnabé (1987) sont les seuls auteurs, à notre connaissance, à avoir présenté et commenté la théorie des caractéristiques des emplois de Hackman et Oldham. Par contre, Erlandson et Pastor (1981), sans avoir tenté de vérifier la théorie comme telle, semblaient jusqu'ici être les premiers à avoir utilisé une partie de l'instrument de Hackman et Oldham auprès d'enseignants. Miskel (1982, p. 79), pour sa part affirmait n'avoir trouvé aucune étude en éducation qui avait tenté de vérifier cette théorie. Il semblait donc que la théorie des caractéristiques

des emplois n'ait été vérifiée dans le domaine de l'éducation. Toutefois, nos propres recherches récentes nous ont permis de trouver des vérifications de la théorie en éducation.

Toutefois, l'année même de la publication de la théorie des caractéristiques des emplois, à notre surprise d'ailleurs, une vérification de la théorie était effectuée en éducation. Elle constitue probablement la première du genre. En effet, l'étude de Gorsuch (1976) avait pour but d'en déterminer l'applicabilité. Les résultats obtenus auprès de 90 enseignants ont amené l'auteur à suggérer de revoir les caractéristiques de l'emploi afin qu'elles mesurent mieux les aspects particuliers de l'emploi d'enseignant. Quant aux états psychologiques, les résultats révélèrent qu'ils mesuraient des construits similaires. Enfin, des corrélations significatives furent obtenues entre la combinaison des états psychologiques et les résultantes affectives.

Harder (1985) entreprit de comparer les perceptions des enseignants à l'égard de leur emploi avec celles des employés de l'entreprise privée. Les résultats obtenus auprès de 292 enseignants révélèrent des différences entre les caractéristiques et les perceptions des enseignants de l'élémentaire et du secondaire ainsi qu'entre les enseignants réguliers et ceux de l'enfance exceptionnelle. Ellis (1988; 1992) a exploré les relations entre les caractéristiques de l'emploi d'enseignant et leur motivation interne au travail. Les résultats obtenus auprès de 207 enseignants lui ont permis de constater l'utilité de la théorie en éducation. Enfin, Frase et Sorenson (1992) ont utilisé une version modifiée du modèle de Hackman et Oldham auprès d'enseignants de l'Alberta. Leurs résultats révèlent de fortes relations entre plusieurs dimensions.

Au Canada, quelques chercheurs ont utilisé la théorie de Hackman et Oldham. Barnabé (1988) a appliqué la théorie à l'étude de la motivation au travail d'enseignants du Nouveau-Brunswick. Des différences significatives ont été constatées pour plusieurs dimensions contenues dans la théorie. L'auteur conclut que la théorie est applicable en éducation et qu'elle offre une nouvelle perspective pour l'étude de la motivation des enseignants. Fournier (1988) a tenté d'appliquer la théorie aux enseignants d'une école secondaire anglophone. Contrairement à Barnabé, elle n'a trouvé aucune différence significative entre les moyennes obtenues par les enseignants sur les dimensions de la théorie. Ce résultat négatif fut probablement dû au très petit échantillon utilisé et au fait que l'étude ne portait que sur une seule école.

Barnabé et Burns (1990) ont vérifié l'utilité de la théorie pour le domaine de l'éducation. Les données furent recueillies auprès de 246 enseignants du primaire et du secondaire oeuvrant dans 4 commissions scolaires du Québec et répartis dans 12 écoles. Les coefficients de

corrélations étaient plus bas que ceux obtenus initialement par Hackman et Oldham, mais ils étaient conformes aux prédictions découlant de la théorie. Les résultats obtenus leur ont donc permis d'affirmer que la théorie s'avérerait utile pour l'éducation. Enfin, Burns et Barnabé (1993), utilisant le même échantillon d'enseignants, ont entrepris une autre étude dans le but de déterminer la capacité discriminante du JDS. La principale conclusion est que cette capacité se fait sentir davantage entre les commissions scolaires qu'entre les écoles.

Comme on peut le constater, les recherches en éducation basées sur la théorie des caractéristiques des emplois ont été jusqu'ici entreprises auprès d'enseignants. Très peu ont fait l'objet de publications formelles et ont utilisé la théorie auprès de gestionnaires scolaires, tels que les directeurs d'école, et encore moins auprès de directeurs-adjoints d'école. L'étude de Robertson (1988) auprès de directeurs d'écoles anglophones rapportée par Barnabé (1990) est probablement l'une des premières réalisées au Québec. Les résultats de Robertson indiquent que la théorie de Hackman et Oldham peut être utilisée aussi bien auprès de gestionnaires scolaires qu'auprès d'enseignants. Frase et Matheson (1992) mentionnent une étude qu'ils ont réalisée auprès de 300 directeurs et directeurs-adjoints d'école de la commission scolaire de San Diego.

Conclusions

Cet article avait pour objectif de recenser les écrits et les recherches qui ont entouré la théorie des caractéristiques des emplois de Hackman et Oldham (1975). Cette recension a d'abord établi que ses origines pouvaient remonter aussi loin que les débuts de la division du travail, mais plus spécifiquement aux travaux de Turner et Lawrence (1975). Cette recension a aussi permis de passer en revue les principales applications de la théorie à l'occasion de nombreuses recherches réalisées en milieu industriel ainsi que de rapporter certaines critiques qui ont été exprimées à son sujet. Enfin, cette recension a fourni une occasion de rapporter les quelques rares applications de la théorie au milieu de l'éducation.

Même si l'expression "conception des emplois" (job design) n'existait pas au temps de Taylor, la même idée représentait le point central de l'approche scientifique de l'organisation du travail. Depuis cette époque de nombreux psychologues industriels ont recherché les moyens d'enrayer les problèmes humains découlant de cette approche traditionnelle. Comme résultat, de nombreuses techniques de motivation furent proposées afin d'accroître l'énergie avec laquelle les employés accomplissent leur travail, telles que les relations humaines, les changements de styles de gestion de la part des supérieurs et la mise en place de plans d'incitatifs financiers. La plupart ne connurent pas les

succès attendus, principalement parce qu'elles ne s'attaquaient pas au travail lui-même. La nouvelle stratégie de réorganisation du travail repose sur des approches axées sur la motivation du travail.

La théorie des caractéristiques des emplois de Hackman et Oldham (1974a; 1975) présentée dans ce texte est la plus récente et la plus utilisée des approches axées sur la motivation interne au travail. Bien qu'elle date de plus de 15 ans, elle n'a pas encore été l'objet ni d'un rejet ni d'un remplacement. Comme toute autre théorie, il ne s'agit pas tellement de savoir si la théorie est vraie ou fausse, mais plutôt de savoir si elle est susceptible d'être utile ou non à la compréhension de la motivation au travail et à de futures interventions modifiant le contenu des emplois.

Dans le milieu industriel les travaux de recherche qui ont utilisé la théorie de Hackman et Oldham comme cadre théorique révèlent généralement qu'elle est encore utile et attrayante et qu'elle mérite encore d'être utilisée, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de porter un diagnostic sur les emplois que l'on voudrait réorganiser. D'autre part, les critiques dont elle a été l'objet l'ont été d'une façon parcimonieuse, surtout celle de Roberts et Glick (1981). Ces critiques n'ont quand même pas empêché son utilisation au cours des années qui ont suivi. Il est d'ailleurs intéressant de constater, malgré l'affirmation de Schneider (1985) que l'intérêt pour la théorie a diminué qu'elle est encore en usage à des fins de diagnostic et d'implantation de restructuration des emplois ou de réorganisation du travail, comme le rapporte Fox et Feldman (1988).

Roberts et Glick (1981) concluaient leur revue critique de la théorie des caractéristiques des emplois en affirmant que la théorie était encore au stage exploratoire. Elle est encore davantage exploratoire dans le milieu de l'éducation pour au moins deux raisons. Premièrement, elle n'a pas suffisamment fait l'objet de publications formelles, ce qui peut expliquer en bonne partie sa découverte relativement récente. Deuxièmement, les quelques rares publications en éducation qui ont utilisé la théorie d'une façon ou d'une autre n'ont pas donné lieu à des analyses très poussées. On a plutôt accepté la validité de la théorie à sa face même. Comme Hart (1990, p. 60) l'a souligné récemment, il existe très peu de recherches en éducation qui aient appliqué les particularités, les modèles ou les théories de restructuration du travail.

Bref, il semble bien que la théorie des caractéristiques des emplois de Hackman et Oldham (1975) puisse convenir aussi bien à l'éducation qu'au monde des affaires. De toute façon, Hackman et Oldham eux-mêmes nous avertissent que la théorie ne fournit pas une image complète des effets motivationnels des caractéristiques des emplois, mais qu'elle est

plutôt un guide pour la recherche et qu'elle sert à planifier des changements dans les systèmes de travail (Hackman et Oldham, 1980, p. 97). Tout en reconnaissant ses limites elle s'avère encore d'utilisation courante. Quant au JDS, il peut être très utile afin de déterminer les endroits où une amélioration est nécessaire et quelles sont les principales interventions qui peuvent être couronnées de succès.

NOTE

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APPENDICE

Les dimensions du modèle de Hackman et Oldham

1. Les caractéristiques de l'emploi:
 - a. Variété des habiletés. Variété des diverses activités qui requièrent l'usage d'une certaine habileté ou d'un certain talent.
 - b. Identité de la tâche. Proportion de l'apport de l'individu dans sa tâche par rapport au travail.
 - c. Signification de la tâche. Impact interne ou externe de la tâche sur d'autres personnes.
 - d. Autonomie. Liberté de l'individu d'organiser son travail niveau de l'horaire et du processus.
 - e. Feedback de la tâche elle-même. Informations sur la performance à partir d'indices fournies par la tâche elle-même.
 - f. Feedback d'agents. Informations sur la performance de l'employé fournies par des supérieurs ou des collègues.
 - g. Relations aux autres. Emploi nécessitant de l'interaction ou de la coopération.
2. Réponses affectives face à l'emploi.
 - a. Satisfaction générale. Mesure de la satisfaction globale que procure l'emploi.
 - b. Satisfaction interne au travail. Niveau d'auto-motivation face à l'emploi.
 - c. Satisfactions spécifiques. Satisfaction face à la rémunération, la sécurité, l'aspect social, la supervision et la croissance personnelle.
3. Force du besoin de croissance individuelle. Mesure de la faiblesse ou de la force du besoin de croître.
4. Motivation potentielle. Mesure du potentiel qu'offre l'emploi comme facteur de motivation intrinsèque.

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Is There a Feminist Pedagogy?

Abstract

The following paper attempts to show that there is no "feminist pedagogy." It is maintained that attempts to show that there is have failed to establish either methodological or epistemological grounds on which such a pedagogy might be based. In the case of methodological grounds, the claim is seen to be either rhetorically empty or, where "consciousness-raising" is invoked, to be disingenuous. In the case of epistemological grounds, the claim to a distinct feminist pedagogy which appeals to gender distinctions deriving from Freudian theory is seen to be vacuous. Where the epistemological claim appeals to "postmodernism," it is seen to be incoherent.

Résumé

L'auteur de cet article cherche à démontrer qu'il n'existe pas de "pédagogie féministe". Il affirme que les tentatives visant à démontrer qu'il en existe une n'ont pas réussi à en établir les bases méthodologiques ou épistémologiques. Pour ce qui est des bases méthodologiques, l'assertion est perçue comme étant soit vide sur le plan de la rhétorique soit déloyale lorsqu'on invoque la "prise de conscience". Dans le cas des bases épistémologiques, la revendication d'une pédagogie féministe distincte favorisant la distinction entre hommes et femmes issue de la théorie freudienne est perçue comme vide. Lorsque l'assertion épistémologique en appelle au "postmodernisme", elle est perçue comme incohérente.

According to the views of some feminists, the application of the principles of feminism to educational practice contains revolutionary implications. For example, Margo Culley and Catherine Portugues (1985) maintain that

... to bring women into the curriculum means nothing less than to reorganize all knowledge, and that changing *what*

we teach means changing *how* we teach. Educators involved in this late-twentieth-century revolution in teaching and learning must continue to explore and to articulate – through reflection and dialogue – the content of this new conjunction ‘feminist pedagogy.’ (p. 2. *Italics in original.*)

Similarly for Anne-Louise Brookes (1992), feminist pedagogy is a “revolutionary work,” one which calls upon teachers “to create and devise pedagogies which teach learners how to transform those structures of authority which produce oppression” (p. 55).

For Glorianne Leck (1987) there is a “‘maverick’ called ‘feminist pedagogy’ (which is) altering the basic structure of the entire taken-for-granted patriarchal paradigm of schooling” (pp. 353-4). Magda Lewis (1990) sees feminist pedagogy as “transformative pedagogic practice” (p. 128). Carol Nicholson (1989) envisions a “radical new pedagogy (serving as) a corrective to postmodernism’s tendencies to nihilism on the one hand and apologies for the status quo on the other” (p. 203). Finally, for Carolyn Shrewsbury (1987) the feminist pedagogy constitutes a “crucial component of the feminist revolution” (p. 13).

However, questions concerning the precise nature and content of the feminist pedagogy have arisen, questions which have not gone unnoticed by feminists themselves. For example, Susan Laird (1988) observes that “feminist pedagogy has so far escaped philosophic analysis, so its meaning is admittedly not yet altogether clear or precise” (p. 450). In the same way, Glorianne Leck (1987) points out that, as a result of “the entanglement of concerns about education that are offered by contemporary critics, it is often difficult to generate a clear sense of what a distinctly feminist pedagogy would be” (p. 347). “The whole notion of feminist pedagogy,” for Berenice Fisher (1986), “still leaves us with serious questions” (p. 22). Finally, Kathleen Weiler (1991) says that

. . . defining exactly what feminist pedagogy means in practice, however, is difficult. It is easier to describe the various methods used in specific women’s courses and included by feminist teachers claiming the term ‘feminist pedagogy’, than it is to provide a coherent definition. (p. 455)

The reason why providing a coherent definition of feminist pedagogy is difficult is that there is no single feminist background theory informing such pedagogy. In addition to a “liberal” feminism which seeks simply to end sexist discrimination in the classroom (Houston, 1985), there exists, according to Patti Lather (1991), lesbian, third-

world, gynocentric, structuralist, post-structuralist, neo-, post-, and just plain Marxist feminism, to say nothing of the "old French feminism" of Simone de Beauvoir which is to be distinguished from something called "French High Feminism" or "French High Theory of the Female Body". Nonetheless, it is possible to discern a generalized spectrum of feminist thought and its application to feminist pedagogy by virtue of a range of positions in respect to the origins of the "patriarchal paradigm" in educational thought and practice. At what might be termed the "conservative" end of the spectrum are those (Noddings, 1984; Belenky, 1986; Grummet, 1988) who emphasize the role of gender differences in male and female ways of knowing, differences arising, according to the view, from early, Freudian-defined childhood experiences. At the "radical" end of the spectrum are those who see ways of knowing and learning as rather the outcome of oppressive patriarchal institutions which structure social relations. Such institutions may be seen as products of patriarchal power relations (Lewis, 1989, 1990; Brookes, 1992) or from a "post-modernist" perspective (Weiler, 1987, 1991; Lather, 1991), one which simply rejects the old "metanarratives" of Western thought in favour of "understanding a world of multiple causes and effects interacting in complex nonlinear ways, all of which are rooted in a limitless array of historical and cultural specificities" (Lather, p. 52). Patricia Rooke (1989) observes that "it is a naive assumption [to suppose that all feminists] are united in a selfless sisterhood which transcends all differences, including moral, aesthetic, or intellectual ones" (p. 112).

In addition to, and often linked with, these "conservative" and "radical" positions relative to the origins of the "patriarchal paradigm" in education, there is a rich humus of an emotive and even mystical quality attending feminist writing. The emotion comes often in the form of an enormous sense of grievance extending in some cases to overt androphobia. Berenice Fisher (1986) sees feminist pedagogy as alleviating "the universe of our oppression" (p. 22), while for Janet Miller (1982) "sexual oppression is the paradigm of all oppression" (p. 9). For Glorianne Leck (1989), those who ignore such oppression are simply "intellectually comatose" (p. 388); Kathleen Weiler (1991) deplores the "universalizing tendency of 'malestream' thought" (p. 469); Anne-Louise Brookes (1992) is repelled by "the madness of male organized culture" (p. 172). Mary O'Brien (1986) draws back from those "male hands [which] maintain their sweaty grip on public and private power" (p. 172).

The mystical quality attending feminist writing attaches to a pro-*tean* effort to articulate the distinctive nature of female emotion and experience. Weiler (1991) sees such emotions in feminist pedagogy serving as "links between a kind of inner truth or inner self and the outer world - including ideology, culture, and other discourses of power" (p.

463). For her, that inner truth is connected to "the unique vision of women in a male-defined society and intellectual tradition" (p. 60). In its turn, the unique vision emerges in "that world of experience prior to expression", which, as a consequence, requires that women "create a new language based on women's actual lived experiences" (p. 60). Jo Anne Pagano (1988) sees the primary task of women teachers as that of creating "a new language and an art in which we can all converse as ourselves and in which the intellectual and emotional in each of us remain in conversation" (p. 337). For O'Brien (1986), the new language, one "uncontaminated by collective patriarchal power and self-interest of particular men (constitutes) the condition of an exciting projection of a new epistemology" (p. 101). The new epistemology will become manifest, for Anne Walsh (1986), in the form of "a metatheory that will be everywhere at once, multifaceted and kaleidoscopic in practice, like a quilt" (p. 19). "Women", Janice Raymond (1985) asserts simply "need the knowledge and the understanding of their own truth" (p. 50).

What exactly is this "unique vision", this "inner truth" of which feminists speak? What is this new language designed to articulate the world of experience prior to expression? Are they to be found in the realm of gender differences having their origin in early childhood experiences, or are they the outcome of later encounters with oppressive patriarchal structures? Is there a feminist pedagogy to be derived from such sources?

I want to argue here that there is no such "unique vision", no such "inner truth". I want to argue that there is no "feminist pedagogy". Its proponents have failed to establish either a methodology which is distinct from what one understands as a generally humanistic pedagogy, whether specified in terms of an emphasis on experience, the deconstruction of classroom hierarchy, or as exercises in "consciousness raising". They have equally failed to establish a distinctive epistemology, that is, that females come to know and, therefore, come to learn differently than males. Whether specified in terms of gender distinctions arising from early childhood identity construction or in terms of socially-constructed experience arising from encounters with oppressive patriarchal institutions, there is simply no evidence to support a distinct feminist pedagogy.

Methodological Claims

A distinctive pedagogy means a distinctive methodology, a distinctive way of proceeding in the classroom. The lecture method, the Socratic method, the child-centered method, and so on are distinctive pedagogies. The ideological perspective that one happens to hold –

pacifism, vegetarianism, feminism - is not itself a pedagogy but rather a perspective which may (or may not) be transmitted by means of a particular pedagogy. This confusion between pedagogy and perspective dogs feminist accounts of the feminist pedagogy. As a consequence, the feminist pedagogy conceived as a distinctive methodology is never articulated, only insinuated. It is insinuated in two distinguishable but related ways: a rhetorical claim which invokes purportedly uniquely feminine personal and/or moral attributes which bestow upon the feminist pedagogy its distinctive character; secondly, an appeal to the activity of "consciousness-raising" in which experiences and feelings of a particular feminine nature are elicited which then come to serve as the basis of the "revolution in pedagogy". The difficulty is that where the rhetorical claim is empty - it amounts to little more than tilting at the "straw man" embodied in the patriarchal paradigm - the claim based on consciousness-raising is incoherent. We never learn just what those experiences and feelings are, to say nothing of how they come together to constitute a feminist pedagogy.

The rhetorical claim. Once one understands that "patriarchy", "hierarchy", "tradition", and "competition" are bad and that the "personal", "community", "growth", and "renewal" are good, then one will have understood the rhetorical claim. However, one must also understand that to ask for evidence for the one or demonstration of the other is misconceived. The assertion is to be understood as self-establishing. So Glorianne Leck (1987) directs our attention to those feminist teachers who,

... by emphasizing the role that the personal plays in learning, have developed an educational paradigm which at times is diametrically opposed to the patriarchal one (where the personal is seen as a source of contamination and the subjective as something to be avoided). (p. 350)

Leck never reveals just where one might discover any reference to the "personal" as a source of "contamination" and the "subjective" as something to be "avoided". It is simply what the patriarchal paradigm means. Similarly, one must not ask for greater specification of the role the "personal" plays in the feminist educational paradigm, nor, for that matter, just what Leck's "educational paradigm" might look like. Its existence is embodied in its utterance. In the same way, Nancy Schniewind (1983) proclaims: "Feminist education implies that we enter into dialogue with other students, meeting them as human beings, and learning with them in community" (p. 271). What has to be understood is that in the patriarchal paradigm, one does not enter into dialogue with students, meet them as human beings, nor learn with them in community. One does

not do this since that is simply what the “patriarchal paradigm” *means*. In the same vein, Carolyn Shrewesbury (1987) reveals that “[f]eminist pedagogy begins with a vision of what education might be but frequently is not” (p. 6). She points to a “web of interrelationships in the classroom [which] is seen to stretch to the local, regional, and global communities and, potentially, even beyond the boundaries of the earth” (p. 6). But what is the content of Shrewesbury’s vision? Beyond reference to vague qualities such as “empowerment”, “community”, and “leadership”, qualities which, of course, are absent from the patriarchal paradigm yet which are also indistinguishable from mainline liberal pedagogy, Shrewesbury is silent. Nonetheless, she concludes that “fundamental to feminist pedagogy is a commitment to growth, renewal, to life. The vision itself must continue to evolve” (p. 7). At length, one can only demur when Kathleen Weiler (1987) triumphantly proclaims that, for feminist pedagogy, “it’s okay to be human” (p. 122).

The consciousness-raising claim. Beyond simple rhetoric, the methodological claim for a feminist pedagogy looks to the activity of consciousness-raising as its distinctive quality. What consciousness-raising does, according to Berenice Fisher (1987), is to focus on “the need for women to look at our real feelings about the world and the actual character of our experience as women, in order to provide the clue to both the theory and practice of liberation” (p. 21). The difficulty is that not all “experience” counts, since women’s experiences in a patriarchal society, according to her, are “systematically *discounted* as trivial or irrelevant, unless they are the experiences of ‘exceptional’ women” (p. 21. *Italics in original*). How will Fisher’s consciousness-raising provide the clue to both the theory and practice of liberation when the actual character of experience as women is discounted as trivial or irrelevant? The dilemma presents no obstacle. While the actual character of their experience as women may be discounted, for Fisher the clue to both the theory and practice of liberation shall spring from “the highly developed capacity for feeling which our situation as women has forced us to cultivate” (p. 21). This highly developed capacity for feeling shall determine what shall “count” as experience.

Our feelings of pain or pleasure, suffering or joy, operate as a sort of beacon light to locate those relations to the world that act as experience and help us get in touch with what in our experience we want to change and eliminate and what we want to claim as our own. (Think, for a moment, of feelings connected with housework or with having an orgasm.) (p. 21)

Thinking for a moment about Fisher's feelings connected with housework or with having an orgasm, just how do her feelings (presumably pain and suffering) "locate" such housework as an experience she wants to change and eliminate? Are not such feelings a *consequence* of doing housework? In the same way, how do Fisher's feelings (presumably pleasure and joy) "locate" having an orgasm as an experience she then wants to "claim as her own"? Are not such feelings a *consequence* of the experience of having an orgasm? If Fisher's housework and orgasms are experiences which she has had imposed upon her by the patriarchal society as part of her oppression, just how can the feelings they engender be taken as that beacon light to locate those relations to the world that count as experiences? Unless Fisher is an "exceptional" woman, are not such experiences to be discounted as trivial or irrelevant? And, finally, what exactly is the relationship between Fisher's highly developed capacity for feeling, her "beacon light", and establishing consciousness-raising as the theoretical foundation for feminist pedagogy?

Fisher's (1987) highly developed capacity for feeling has revealed that the "desire to change our condition leads directly to the search for instruments by which to do so" (p. 22). Principal among such instruments is theory, not just any theory, but theory burnished in the fires of consciousness-raising. Fisher's beacon light has revealed what part of experience she wants to "claim as her own", and such experience now comes "to test the relevance and values of any such theory" (p. 22). The sort of experience Fisher wants to claim as her own and which will now come to test the relevance and values of theory is her "current action". "Where our past experience is not sufficient," Fisher muses, "we can always test theory, prior theory or our emerging theory, by current action" (p. 21). It seems that Fisher's beacon light, her highly developed capacity for feeling to get in touch with what she wants to change and eliminate, what she wants to claim as her own, is not, after all, sufficient to the task. It turns out that Fisher is an "activist" and that, for her, simple exercises in consciousness-raising fall short of achieving liberation. Fisher does not reveal just how her highly developed capacity for feeling revealed that her past experience was not sufficient to get in touch with what she wants to change and eliminate (since one supposed that her highly developed capacity for feeling is all there is) nor just how her current action works to correct prior or emerging theory. Indeed, the latter difficulty, at least, does not seem to have escaped Fisher (1987) either, who observes that "[h]ow theory is related to action remains a crucial problem for feminists, as well as other thinkers with an activist commitment" (p. 22).

There are other problems for thinkers, like Fisher, with an activist commitment who find the clue to both the theory and practice of libera-

tion in current action, principal among which is the disagreement among feminists as to the purpose of consciousness-raising itself. According to Fisher (1987), there are those who claim "that consciousness-raising prevented action, that it became a diversion of energies into an exploration of feelings and 'private' concerns to the detriment of political action" (p. 22). It seems, after all, that it is not Fisher's highly developed capacity for feeling which is central to feminist pedagogy, a capacity developed and enlarged in the course of exploration guided by principles of consciousness-raising. What is central to feminist pedagogy, in general, and the purpose of consciousness-raising, in particular, is political action. Fisher puzzles about those who insist on talking about consciousness-raising in connection with women's highly developed capacity for feeling. She deliberates over whether such talk was "a necessary consequence of consciousness-raising theory or whether the theory itself was so misunderstood or badly applied that it led women in the wrong direction" (p. 22)? How will Fisher resolve the dilemma of those conflicting goals of consciousness-raising? Is the endeavour to be the exploration of feelings and private concerns or, as Fisher maintains, political action? Whose beacon light will illuminate the proper path? What criteria will Fisher employ (since one now supposes that consciousness-raising is all there is) to distinguish the right from the wrong direction?

Unfortunately, Fisher concludes that she "cannot begin to explore the question here" (p. 22). This is a pity, since **we** can only conclude that Fisher's consciousness-raising served simply as a vehicle for **her** highly developed capacity for feeling, for **her** definition of what is to count as experience, and, of course, for **her** particular program of political action.

Epistemological claims

Where the methodological claim to a feminist pedagogy appealed either to an empty rhetoric on the one hand or to a disingenuous account of consciousness-raising on the other, the epistemological claim derives, in the one instance, from the view that females, as a consequence of early gender formation, come to know and therefore to learn differently than males. This is the "gender-based claim" to a distinct feminist pedagogy. Alternatively, others claim that a feminist pedagogy is to be derived from the rejection of the old modernist "metanarratives" characteristic of a superseded "patriarchal paradigm" in favour of a "postmodernist positionality". Here the distinction is not so much a matter of gender differences but rather a distinctly feminist view of the nature of knowledge itself. This is the postmodernist claim to a distinct feminist pedagogy.

The gender-based claim. For some, the gender-based claim is simply assumed rather than argued. For example, Mary Belenky (1986)

points out that “[f]or women, at least, once they include the self, they use connected ‘passionate’ knowing as the predominant mode for understanding, regardless of whether separate or connected procedures for knowing had been emphasized in the past” (pp. 141-2). In the same way, Nel Noddings (1984) reveals that “man (in contrast to women) has continually turned away from his inner self and feeling in pursuit of both science and ethics” (p. 8). Neither Belenky nor Noddings, however, show just how they were aware of such gender differences. In the rhetorical fashion, the claim is simply established in its articulation.

For those feminist writers who have attempted to establish gender differences as the basis of a distinctly feminist pedagogy, the Freudian oedipal crisis plays a central role. Carol Gilligan (1982) asserts that while “separation and individuation are critically tied to gender identity since separation from the mother is essential for the development of masculinity” (p. 8), for females “the strength and persistence of women’s pre-oedipal attachment to their mothers [constitutes] a developmental difference” (pp. 6-7). While Gilligan derived no pedagogy from the “developmental difference”, Jo Anne Pagano (1992) declares that:

The structure of our public classrooms, our curricula, our teaching methods, and our relationships with colleagues and students recapitulate the male Oedipal drama shaped by repressed desire for connection with the maternal body, a desire expressed defensively in our patterns of differentiation, compartmentalization, and control. (p. 114)

According to Madeleine Grummet (1988), those defensive patterns which recapitulate the male oedipal drama and which are constitutive of public education may be traced to “male epistemologies” which, for her

... are compensations for the inferential nature of paternity as they reduce preoedipal subject/object mutuality to postoedipal cause and effect, employing idealistic and materialistic rationales to compensate as well for the repressed identification that the boy experienced with his mother. (p. 17)

Man’s preoedipal mutuality, according to Grummet, has given way to postoedipal cause and effect which then seeks to employ idealistic and materialistic “rationales” to mask the postoedipal rift between boy and mother. These catastrophes, for Grummet, have clear implications for a feminist pedagogy.

This is the art that women who teach must bring to our work, studying the relations in which we came to form, reflecting on those relations and creating new forms in the curriculum which express our appreciation, our critique and the transformation of the processes that constituted our subjectivity (our identities) and objectivity (the world we share). (p. 190)

However, before Grummet sets to work reflecting on those relations in which she came to form, she might begin by reflecting on whether a shred of evidence exists for her claims. Like Belenky, Noddings, and Pagano, Grummet simply assumes rather than establishes the truth of her Freudian principles, assumptions which are not universally shared.

In what he has termed *MacFreud in America*, the contemporary psychotherapist E. Fuller Torrey (1992) makes two points in respect to Freudian theory, in general, and the oedipal crisis, in particular: (1) Freudian theory is employed to explain every pathological form of behaviour, and (2) there is no evidence whatsoever for its truth. "The common denominator of virtually all counselling and psychotherapy," according to Torrey,

. . . is the Freudian assumption that intrapersonal and interpersonal problems originate in childhood experiences, especially in one's relations with mother and father. Shyness, difficulty in making a commitment, depression, anxiety, obsessiveness, slovenliness, substance-abuse, eating disorders, trouble making friends, inability to find meaning in life - virtually all problems are said to have the same origin. (p. 208)

In addition to such intrapersonal and interpersonal problems, of course, one might also wish to add the structure of our public classrooms, our curricula, our teaching methods, our relationships with colleagues and students, to say nothing of those "male epistemologies" which compensate for the repressed identification the boy experienced with his mother. The difficulty, however, is:

There is not a single study verifying Freud's theory that events in the anal stage of development determine adult personality characteristics. The same conclusion is reached when studies relating to the oral and Oedipal stages are examined. There are studies showing that some individuals have personality traits called 'oral' traits but no study which relates such traits to breast-feeding or other events of the oral stage of development. (p. 220)

In addition to the absence of studies establishing any sort of connection between Freudian stages of development and adult personality traits (to say nothing of the structure of our public classrooms, our curricula, and so on), it seems it is difficult to even identify something which might be called an "oedipal event". Torrey goes on to point out that

. . . [r]esearch on the Oedipal stage and its possible relationship to adult personality is similarly plagued with methodological problems despite the importance attached to the stage by Freud himself. In contrast with breast-feeding or toilet training, the events of the Oedipal period are very difficult to quantify. (p. 220)

The conclusion Torrey draws is that Freud's oedipal hypothesis has roughly the same standing as that of the Loch Ness Monster.

The core of the oedipal hypothesis – that events in the Oedipal stage will crucially determine personality characteristics – has not been disproven, but neither are there any studies which support such a hypothesis. In this sense Freud's Oedipal theory is on precisely the same scientific plane as the theory regarding the Loch Ness Monster – it has not been conclusively disproven, and one may turn up at any moment to prove it. (p. 221)

Resting as it does on Freud's oedipal crisis, the gender-based claim for a distinctive feminist pedagogy must share the same plane. As with the oedipal crisis, no evidence has been given that females learn differently than males as a consequence of gender distinctions whether, in the case of Belenky and Noddings, such differences were simply assumed or, in the case of Gilligan, Pagano, and Grummet, such differences were attributed to the crisis itself. Of course, such a call for evidence may be seen simply as another failure of "connected knowing", just another example of those masculine epistemologies which are nothing more than idealistic and materialistic rationales to compensate for repressed identification with mother. In that case, of course, one can only acquiesce in the acceptance of the developmental difference, just another turning away from the inner self and feeling to defensively express our patterns of differentiation, compartmentalization, and control.

The postmodernist claim. "Looking to experience as the source of knowledge and the focus of feminist learning," for Kathleen Weiler (1991),

. . . is perhaps the most fundamental tenet of feminist pedagogy. . . . That women need to examine what they

have experienced and lived in concrete ways in their bodies, is a materialistic conception of experience. (p. 465)

As was seen with Berenice Fisher, however, not all experience counts. In a patriarchal society, women's experiences were systematically discounted as trivial or irrelevant. Fisher's resolution of the dilemma by reference to her "highly developed capacity for feeling" is rejected by Weiler (p. 464) who takes issue with those who "have asserted the social construction of feelings and their manipulation by the dominant culture; yet at the same time, they look to feelings as the source of truth". What will Weiler look to as the source of truth? How will her particular variety of "experience", the kind that women have experienced in concrete ways in their bodies, come to provide that most fundamental tenet of the feminist pedagogy?

For Weiler, what is required is an account of one's "positionality", a reconstruction of the self in which one is not manipulated by the dominant culture but rather an analysis of a "self"

... struggling for new ways of being in the world through new forms of discourse or new forms of social relationships. Such analysis calls for a recognition of the positionality of each person in any discussion of what can be known from experience. (p. 467)

There is, then, a "self" lying behind the social construction of experience which is not to be identified with that "highly developed capacity for feeling" which, unavoidably, has been manipulated by the dominant culture. Such a self is to be captured in the concept of one's positionality. Oddly, in view of the fact that it is to be that by which the analysis of the struggle for "new ways of being in the world" shall proceed (to say nothing of its being "the most fundamental tenet of feminist pedagogy"), Weiler does not elaborate on the concept of her positionality. Fortunately, Patti Lather (1991) takes up the struggle for those new ways of being in the world, proclaiming that, "[a]s a first-world woman - white, middle class, North American, heterosexual - my self-described positionality shifts from post-Marxist feminist to 'postmodern materialist-feminist' " (xix). While it is not clear just what the connection might be between Lather's being a "first-world woman" on the one hand and her shifting "post-Marxist: postmodern materialist-feminist" positionality on the other, she is clearer with respect to

... the postmodern break with totalizing, universalizing 'metanarratives' and the humanist view that undergirds them. Humanism posits the subject as an autonomous

individual capable of full consciousness and endowed with a stable 'self' constituted by a set of static characteristics such as sex, class, race, sexual orientation. (p. 15)

Lather's positionality is not, after all, to be understood as her being a fully-conscious first-world woman – white, middle class, North American, heterosexual – since these are now to be understood simply as a set of static, humanist characteristics. Her positionality is not to be identified either with her self-description as a “post-Marxist feminist:postmodern materialist-feminist” since such descriptions, under the ruling, are little more than totalizing, universalizing metanarratives. The key to Lather's positionality is its shifting quality, her abandoning that “stable self” in favour of “a site of disarray and conflict inscribed by multiple contestatory discourses” (p. 5). In the absence of such a stable self, a self constructed by those discredited totalizing, universalizing metanarratives, what must be done, according to Lather (p. 108), is to abandon all efforts “to represent the object of investigation as it ‘really’ is, independent of our representational apparatus for a reflexive focus on how we construct that which we are investigating”. Lather's postmodern positionality has rejected both representing a reality conceived independently of her “representational apparatus” – we will never know the object of investigation as it “really” is – as well as a stable self (a stable representational apparatus) – there is rather only a site of conflict and disarray inscribed by multiple contestatory discourses. Having effectively destroyed both the subject and object, Lather's positionality conceived as a reflexive focus on how we construct that which we are investigating comes to rest, inscribed in an “embodied reflexivity that characterizes feminist pedagogy” (p. 48). From her positionality of such embodied reflexivity, Lather proceeds to ask the question:

Positioning modernist assumptions of truth, objectivity and ‘correct readings’ as ensnared in phallogentric and logocentric rationalities, how can the postmodern begin to challenge the plethora of concepts that appear as givens in our debates about the possibilities and limits of emancipatory education? How can such self-reflexivity both render our basic assumptions problematic and provisional and yet still propel us to take a stand? (p. 44)

Having abandoned all efforts to represent the object of her investigations as it “really” is, having broken with totalizing and universalizing metanarratives as little more than phallogentric and logocentric rationalities and, finally, having acknowledged the self incapable of full consciousness, as a site of disarray and conflict inscribed by multiple

contestatory discourses, how will Lather win through to challenge the plethora of concepts that appear as givens in our debates about the possibilities and limits of emancipatory education? How will she reveal that embodied self-reflexivity which both characterizes the feminist pedagogy and propels her to take a stand?

"Admittedly," Lather (p. 52) muses, "this approach (emancipatory research) faces the danger of rampant subjectivity where one finds only what one is predisposed to look for." What Lather will do to avoid such rampant subjectivity is to confront "issues of empirical accountability – the need to offer grounds for accepting a researcher's description and analysis – and the search for workable ways of establishing the trustworthiness of the data in critical inquiry" (p. 52). But if it is the case that Lather has abandoned all efforts to represent the object of her investigation as it "really" is, what can she possibly mean by "issues of empirical accountability"? How can she confront such issues if, like other modernist assumptions of truth, objectivity, and correct readings, they are ensnared as well in phallogentric and logocentric rationalities? What are Lather's grounds for accepting a researcher's description and analysis, those workable ways of establishing the trustworthiness of the data in critical inquiry? How will she be able to reconcile such issues of empirical accountability with her postmodernist reflexive focus on how we construct that which we are investigating?

By way of confronting those issues of empirical accountability, Lather (p. 47) spies a "systematized reflexivity which reveals how *a priori* theory has been changed by the logic of the data [which] seems essential in establishing construct validity in ways that will contribute to the growth of illuminating and change-enhancing social theory". But it doesn't matter. For all that Lather has done in confronting the issues of empirical accountability has been to redescribe those modernist assumptions of truth, objectivity, and correct readings and, incoherently, placed them in a context of rampant subjectivity where one finds only what one is predisposed to look for. For her "logic of the data", in other words, one may simply read the object of analysis as it "really" is, for her "*a priori* theory" one may read those totalizing, universalizing metanarratives, and for her "systematized reflexivity" is a stable self capable of full consciousness. Lather's confrontation with issues of empirical accountability has revealed that her postmodern positionality is incoherent, that it covertly appeals to the very assumptions it was the objective of that positionality to overthrow. Will Lather then admit to rampant subjectivity where she found only what she was predisposed to look for? Invoking the rhetorical mode, Lather (1991) retorts that "fears of relativism and its seeming attendant, nihilism or Nietzschean anger, seem to me an implosion of Western, white male, class-privileged arrogance - if we cannot

know everything, then we can know nothing" (p. 116). It would seem, however, that fears of relativism and nihilism arise less from the view that if we cannot know everything we can know nothing and more from the view that Lather's postmodern positionality simultaneously rejects the possibility of knowing anything at all while, at the same time, claiming such rejection as the highest knowledge. In effect, Lather's postmodern positionality is itself simply another totalizing and universalizing metanarrative, yet she gives no reason for its privileging.

Conclusion

I have argued that the proponents of a distinctive feminist pedagogy have failed to establish grounds for such a pedagogy in either methodological or epistemological terms. The methodological claim proved to be either rhetorically empty or, in the case of "consciousness-raising", to be disingenuous. The epistemological claim in its gender-based manifestation proved to be without evidential basis while, in its postmodern form, the claim collapsed into relativism and incoherence. The consequence is that there appears to be no late-twentieth-century revolution in teaching and learning called "feminist pedagogy".

NOTE

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Book Reviews

Rita Kramer.

ED SCHOOL FOLLIES: THE MISEDUCATION OF AMERICA'S TEACHERS.

New York: The Free Press, 1991.

222 pp. \$22.95 US.

Rita Kramer's *Ed School Follies: The Miseducation of America's Teachers* is a good book that was published in 1991 but, surprisingly, has yet to be reviewed in any of the major Canadian education journals. This engaging book provides the reader with a detailed ethnographic analysis of the state of teacher preparation in schools of education in the United States. As the title suggests, it is anything but complimentary and is undoubtedly designed to encourage teacher educators to examine carefully the experiences that students have in schools of education as well as the quality of teachers that are currently being produced. The tone of the book is set early on when Kramer points out that "it has become commonplace to say that first-class minds are not to be found in schools of education" (p. 21). Using this as her point of departure, she begins to skillfully unravel the story of her extensive one-year tour of fifteen colleges and universities across the United States. What Kramer discovers is that there is a great degree of consistency across institutions, and that, regardless of their demographics, the real story lies in the classroom, in the candid conversations that she has with students and professors, and in the observations that she makes about the educational system, in general.

According to Kramer, the students in American schools of education are the victims of a system that has gone seriously astray. She argues that, over the last two decades, self-esteem and equity have replaced knowledge as the focus of the educational enterprise for both teachers and students in elementary and secondary schools. This, she says, has been achieved through such universally-accepted programs as cooperative learning and mainstreaming. From the countless conversations that she documents in her book, it is clear that those who are entering the profession see themselves more as social workers ready to cure an ailing society than as teachers ready and able to purvey knowledge to students. Moreover, Kramer portrays most student teachers as ill-informed illiterates who have not acquired the habits of mind of truly learned individuals. They are products, she says, of an educational system that has fostered the belief that students' opinions and feelings are more important than knowledge itself.

In fact, Kramer blames the inadequate preparation of future teachers on professors in schools of education. As she tells her story, the reader is introduced to a number of different types of professors — two of these are the nondirective facilitators and the instructional technologists. The nondirective facilitators are the “discussion people” found in most schools of education. They run “group encounter sessions” where students are encouraged to share their thoughts and feelings on what they have observed in school. In speaking with the author, one such professor summed up her philosophy of teaching in the following words: “Encourage discussion among the students; do not make yourself the facilitator of learning. . . . You are not there to feed them information but to be sensitive to their need for positive reinforcement, for self-esteem” (p. 135). It is clear from conversations like these that Kramer is uncomfortable with this notion of the professor’s role. She questions why such learned individuals so easily relinquish their roles as academic leaders and why it is often these same people who complain about the diminishing authority of teachers. Kramer concludes that it is no wonder that authority is a current educational issue when professors in schools of education so readily take a back seat to the whims and fancies of their own students.

Another type of professor commonly found in schools of education are the instructional technologists. These are the people charged with the responsibility of teaching the instructional strategies that will, hopefully, enable teachers to survive in the complex world of today’s mainstreamed, multilingual classroom. According to Kramer, the problem with these people is that they tend to turn out students whose technique is abundant but whose knowledge is practically nonexistent. Repeatedly, Kramer observes professors who she believes play ambiguous roles and who de-emphasize the importance of knowledge. In fact, her condemnation of these people is so strong, she is led to ask: “Neither possessing nor respecting knowledge themselves, how can teachers imbue their students with any enthusiasm for it? Nowhere in America today is intellectual life deader than in our schools — unless it is our schools of education. . . these are the greatest contributors to the ‘dumbing down’ of America” (pp. 212-213).

Apart from the players within the institution, Kramer makes it clear that there are fundamental problems with the educational system in general that have created the educational wasteland found in the United States today. Two of these problems are the lowering of standards and the failure of affirmative action programs. First, with the emphasis on self-esteem and the de-emphasis on content, Kramer argues that academic standards have been lowered to allow all students, regardless of

their motivation and achievement, to progress from one grade to the next. This is the social engineering view of schooling where "social leveling is achieved through intellectual leveling" (p. 173) and courses are "watered down" until the least able students pass from grade to grade irrespective of their performance. She questions the long-term effects of the "watering down" process on motivated students who can really achieve. Provocatively, she argues that it is very likely that some of these more capable students will become disinterested and unmotivated when they realize that they are part of a system that promotes everyone, regardless of effort.

Second, in spite of the ambitious and expensive affirmative action programs that have been designed to attract more minorities to teaching, Kramer argues that the results have been dismal at best. For example, in 1986, only nine percent of the American teaching force was classified as "minority" while three years later, the figure dropped to a new low of five percent. Not only does Kramer question the time, energy, and money that have been invested in these programs but she also questions those who assume that members of minority groups are not capable of the same effort and achievement as anyone else and, therefore, need special rules for them to succeed. The author then states that, although attracting more minorities to teaching is certainly a step in the right direction, perhaps it would be more profitable if a concerted effort were simply made to recruit better teachers.

In the concluding chapter of her book, Kramer makes a number of suggestions that she thinks will help nurse American education back to health. First, she believes that the purpose of schooling needs to be redefined from that of political and social work to that of transmitting culture and knowledge. Second, Kramer advocates the development of a core curriculum for all grades that would begin in the early years and would focus on written expression. Third, Kramer stresses that academic standards need to be raised so that success is once again related to effort and so that no student is passed from one grade to another until a minimum level of competency has been attained. Finally, Kramer argues that imparting knowledge has to become once again the primary function of schools.

Kramer's argument for a complete overhaul of the American educational system is a convincing one. The issues that she raises are those that most educators, regardless of level, have had to struggle with at one time or another. More importantly in the success of this book, however, is the skillful way in which she describes the setting, sets the mood, and introduces the people that end up making such an impact on her. *Ed*

School Follies: The Miseducation of America's Teachers is neither a book for the faint-hearted nor the eternally optimistic. Furthermore, it is a book which is as relevant in Canada as in the United States. As such, it is strongly recommended for anyone concerned with the state of teacher education as it exists today.

David Mandzuk
University of Manitoba

Rodney Clifton
St. John's College
University of Manitoba

Douglas J. Thom.
EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT AND LEADERSHIP:
WORD, SPIRIT, AND DEED FOR A JUST SOCIETY.
Calgary: Detselig (1993).
250 pp. \$20.95. ISBN 1-55059-048-0.

The author of this book has set himself an ambitious, even daunting, task – to set forth key sociological perspectives on society and education, as well as the essences of educational management and leadership, and upon these foundations to construct *Thom's Educational Leadership with CONSCIENCE (TELC)* model. Thom describes TELC on the cover note as a “postpositivistic model [which] incorporates the reality of organizational power and politics and the bureaucratic dynamics of collectivism and individualism.” He asserts that the book “is rooted in sound research. . . and encourages a balanced application of science and spirit for understanding and gaining wisdom.” Unfortunately, the product falls short of this lofty ideal.

Part I consists of two chapters outlining the author's sociological perspectives. The first deals with society and education, the second with bureaucratic theory. Part II sets forth his vision of educational management and leadership in four chapters: educational law, educational finance, values, and organizational framework. Thom's model, which is foreshadowed throughout the first two parts, is presented in Part III, together with a concluding chapter. Several appendices are included which contain an eclectic variety of material of varying degrees of relevance to the theme of the book.

Overall, there is a lack of unity and coherence to the material presented in the first two parts. For example, under one heading entitled, “Education Within a Broader Society,” we go from a statement of the importance of the goals of education, to the division of powers over education in the Constitution, to Turner's “Frontier Thesis”, to key ideas underlying the Canadian education system, and, finally, to the character-

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istics of a profession. The remainder of this first chapter presents some enrollment projections and then digresses to the author's summary of his survey of B.Ed. students. There is no bridge to chapter 2 which launches into a consideration of Weber's theory of bureaucracy, followed by Maslow's hierarchy of human needs, and a variety of topics dealing with leadership and school climate. The only attempt to pull these diverse strands together is a one-paragraph summary of the major topics covered in Part I.

The second part is supposed to build on these broad perspectives and complete the foundation for the model to be presented in Part III but, once again, we are in fact presented with a series of loosely connected topics, in this case, dealing with educational administration. The chapter on education law begins with notions regarding negligence and the importance of understanding education law, and then proceeds to present four cases. The choice of these cases and the discussion which follows exemplify the mixture of inappropriate detail and insufficient analysis to provide the reader with what is presumed to have been intended as an overview of this important policy theme. Similarly, the chapter on educational finance moves from an undiscussed illustration of federal-provincial responsibility in education, to details about the Ontario funding model, and last, to the results of a Delphi-type survey conducted by the author to determine the "ideal scheme" for the funding of education.

Without adding examples from the remaining two chapters in Part II, suffice it to say that by the end of it, the reader is left wondering how this diverse collection of bits and pieces can be pulled together to form a model that will meet the expectations set forth by the author. The description and discussion of the model only occupies 11 pages in the 250-page book. Although the model can be linked to certain ideas expressed earlier in the book, it does not flow from the bulk of material presented in Parts I and II.

The author lists six basic tenets underlying his model which are little more than *plain truths*, such as "one cannot control everything" and "a sense of humour is critical." The model itself is illustrated in a complex figure which is difficult to summarize. It shows two time frames, one long-term and the other a more immediate one. The latter is broken into second-order and then first-order activities, which are described, respectively, as "more serious" and "routine" activities. Thom states that the "bottom line" of his model is justice and fairness. This principle is not really elaborated upon except by a brief discussion of the principles of natural justice.

The presentation of the model terminates with what Thom describes as the core thesis underlying the book, namely, "that in the culture of developed societies such as ours, law and moral values stem

from theology. The dominant theology of our country is Judeo-Christianity and this doctrine defines the standards" (p. 167). This leads the author to posit *Thom's Theorem*: "[that] conscience drives behavior in mature individuals" (p. 168). Why this simple statement is dubbed a theorem is not explicated. The reference to Judeo-Christian theology is not merely offered as an exemplar of moral leadership. Thom clearly intends that Judeo-Christian theology be reasserted as the explicit ideology of public schools. Rejecting the principles of pluralism and multiculturalism, Thom laments the decline of Christian influence in society and argues that "Christians are willing to accept other religions, and educators who are Christian still are best attuned to our society's fabric" (p. 169).

Thom's model represents a retrograde step in the attempts to promote pluralism and multiculturalism in Canadian society, in general, and in education, in particular. Rather than moving toward a celebration of diversity, Thom suggests that we endorse a mono-cultural core which is merely tolerant of other cultures and beliefs. Although Thom asserts that "flexibility in interpretation of scriptures is required to accommodate such things as archaic views of the universe, sexist and racist inferences. . ." (p. 170), one is still left wondering just how much **deviance** will be tolerated in Thom's just society.

William J. Smith
McGill University

Anne Haas Dyson & Celia Genishi (Eds.).

THE NEED FOR STORY:

CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN CLASSROOM AND COMMUNITY.

Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English (1994).

259 pp. \$19.95 (NCTE members \$14.95) ISBN 0-8141-3300-2.

The Need for Story is a collection of 16 essays, only three of which have been published elsewhere, that focuses on the role of stories and story-telling in the construction of the individual. Essays such as these, which argue for the importance of stories in the shaping of knowledge, inevitably face paradoxes of genre: their case is for narration but such cases are traditionally made in the alternative genres of exposition and argument. Some of the essays face this paradox squarely – none more so than Jerome Bruner's. He concludes the initial expository section of his "Life as Narrative" by saying: "And that, I now want to assure you, is the end of the omniscient auctorial voice. For our task now is to sample the texts, the narratives of these four lives. . ." But of course, this is not the end of the "auctorial voice" (and in here renouncing claims to the "omniscient" he mockingly abandons more territory than he ever occupied). His sampling of the narratives is in the context of an analysis which

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draws insightfully from such conceptual material as Burke's *Pentad* and Rorty's theory of personality. Shirley Brice Heath, in a fascinating essay in the final section of the book, takes a different tack around the same problem by arguing explicitly that stories can constitute a kind of nonconceptual theory.

In making the selections for this book, the editors too have nicely walked the line between the exposition of conceptual theory and the retelling of significant stories. The three articles which make up the first section are weighted towards narrative. In the first, Maxine Green makes the case for a multicultural curriculum, largely by telling us the story of her classroom experience in teaching literature. The second is the article by Bruner (already mentioned); and the third, an essay on the power of personal storytelling, is presented in a similarly narrative mode. The thematic focus of the book's second section is on issues of gender and culture – "whose stories are told." The section is largely conceptual and dominated by research studies. A highlight for me is Pam Gilbert's argument that the proficiency which young women gain in school writing programs may, in fact, operate to keep women in subordinate positions. The final section is made up of articles on a variety of sites in which story-telling functions. These include a range of formal educational sites – from preschool to teacher's college – as well as places like the inner city boys' and girls' clubs which are the subject of Shirley Brice Heath's essay.

Not surprising, given that this is an NCTE publication, the book is addressed to teachers. Its dominant tone is hortatory, with most essays presenting and many explicitly concluding with an argument for personal storytelling, gender inclusivity, or multicultural literature in the curriculum. This form of address may make some readers feel uncomfortably cast in the role of unredeemed (or at least "undecided") when they already see themselves among the converted on these issues. Some Canadian readers may be put off by the exclusively American focus when the pedagogical implications are drawn, but surely most are like me and used to consoling themselves that "it is not likely much different in Canada." Still, it might have been tactful (not to mention good marketing?) to have included a piece reflecting the Canadian experience of official multiculturalism. Certainly the editors have assembled material which makes a compelling case for the need for story, and their own introductory and concluding essays set up and summarize that case well.

James B. Brown
Calumet College, York University

Terezinha Nunes, Analucia Dias Schliemann, & David William Carraher.
STREET MATHEMATICS AND SCHOOL MATHEMATICS.

London: Cambridge University Press (1993).

170 pp. \$49.95 cloth (ISSN 0-521-38116-9) \$16.95 paper (ISSN 0-521-38813-9).

For mathematics teachers who work hard to develop problem situations that are truly meaningful, *Street Mathematics and School Mathematics* will affirm their conviction that this work is worthwhile, and may even suggest that they are not going far enough. This book is for readers with an interest in how mathematics is learned and used in the real world of farmers, fishermen, construction foremen, and carpenters. That tends to imply that all those who teach mathematics would benefit from reading this book. The setting is Brazil, principally in and around Recife, a city in the northeast region of Brazil. The authors characterize Brazil as a "class differentiated society," in which the education system is "deficient both quantitatively and qualitatively." About one-quarter of the school-age children are not in school, and astounding dropout rates are a factor to be reckoned with in the primary grades. The northeast region, the setting for the studies reported in this book, has the lowest educational levels in the nation.

Street Mathematics and School Mathematics is the synthesis of a series of related research studies carried out over a ten-year period. Some of the individual studies have been reported in journal articles. The volume represents a multifaceted research study, characterized by an interesting mixture of number-crunching quantitative methods and broad-based qualitative methods. The statistical treatments are thorough, but seem mildly guilty of too much precision. The narrative descriptions (augmented by bits of transcription) of the manner in which problems posed to real world mathematics users are fascinating. These descriptions are enough to cause anxiety for teachers who believe in teaching the one-and-only approved algorithm.

Although the book reports the results of the statistical analyses used in the various studies, the meaning of the text is not lost to those who can't tell an ANOVA from a BNOVA. The descriptions of the procedures and the discussions of results are accurate and clear. The chapters of the book tend to be separate and distinct, but the fundamental ideas build well as the text progresses. The text needed more careful editing in a few places; however, it is the first publication of this work in English – the original papers were in Portuguese.

Building from Ginsburg's ideas on informal and formal mathematics, the authors carefully develop the notions of street mathematics and school mathematics. Simply stated, street mathematics is oral and preserves meaning; while school mathematics is written and leaves out

specifics of situations. At the outset, these loose definitions are more of a hypothetical stance – one which is carefully elaborated as the text proceeds.

One section of the book compares problem solving skills of unschooled or marginally literate farmers to those of students with rural and urban students with five to seven years of schooling. The problems were drawn from situations within the experience of the farmers, but involved mathematical relationships within the ability of the students. As a group, the farmers presented solutions which were both correct and meaningful, while the student groups floundered.

For this reviewer, the most interesting aspect of *Street Mathematics and School Mathematics* was the study and discussion of reversibility and transfer as it related to proportion problems. In the study, fishermen solved direct and inverse proportion problems in which the situations in the problems were from agricultural contexts. Based on these and other studies, the authors suggest that proportionality develops from everyday experience, and not from classroom work with a proportions algorithm. More importantly, these studies seem to challenge the often-voiced notion that what here is called “street mathematics” is a result of concrete thinking and therefore is less likely to yield generalization.

For all the mathematics teachers who are hammering away at the “time-honoured” proportionality algorithm in this form:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} a & c & \\ \hline b & x & \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{Solve by cross-multiplication} \\ \\ x = \frac{b \times c}{a} \end{array}$$

... please, read Chapters 5 and 6!

After working through *Street Mathematics and School Mathematics*, this reviewer’s cynical side might dismiss the work – the setting is exotic, some of the studies involve very small numbers of subjects, many variables are uncontrolled. However, to do so would be an injustice. The bottom line of learning from this work is that we must augment school mathematics with the strength of street mathematics: *the preservation of meaning*. Many students in school view mathematics as a collection of externally dictated rules and procedures to be memorized. If students are to perceive mathematics as a self-empowering tool that will help them deal with the real world, the mathematics of the classroom must be shown to make real world sense.

Howard Riggs
McGill University

Claudie Solar, Editor.

INEQUITY IN THE CLASSROOM/EN TOUTE EGALITE.

**Montreal, QC: Concordia University; Office on the Status of Women, 1992.
329 pp. US\$49.95 Cloth; US\$17.95 Paper.**

Developed by the Office on the Status of Women at Concordia University, *Inequity in the Classroom* is a video and training manual which aims at sensitizing university professors and adult educators to the more subtle forms of sexual discrimination in the classroom. The video is 26 minutes in length, and uses examples to illustrate that professors' interaction with female and male students can be quite different, and that the languages used in the teaching process can be very gender-biased, although often in subtle forms. Practical steps are suggested toward creating an equal learning environment for all students.

The materials are helpful for educators to reflect on their classroom teaching and to become sensitive teachers dealing with students of different gender and racial identity. However, some people may feel that the materials fail to present a balanced picture of what transpired in the classroom.

Jing Lin
McGill University

Christine A. Hult (Ed).

EVALUATING TEACHERS OF WRITING.

Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1994.

184 pp. \$19.95 (NCTE members \$14.95). ISBN: 0-8141-1621-3.

Reading Hult's *Evaluating Teachers of Writing* is like panning for gold. When you dip into it, you are left with ordinary gravel in your pan, but buried in the gravel are nuggets of gold.

First, the ordinary gravel. Hult's collection of articles is about the peculiarly American phenomenon: first-year composition. She points out that the evaluation of teachers of first-year comp poses a problem for university administrators who have to mentor and rate professors and instructors. The teaching of writing is not about teaching content, which characterizes university teaching, but about process, which is as confusing for those who rate university instructors as it is for those who deal with teachers in elementary and high schools.

The authors, in this book, conclude that the basic question about evaluation of faculty has changed from "shall we" in the 1980s to "how shall we" in the 90s. One answer to this question involves the exploration of discipline-specific evaluation strategies needed to evaluate writing

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First, the ordinary gravel. Hult's collection of articles is about the peculiarly American phenomenon: first-year composition. She points out that the evaluation of teachers of first-year comp poses a problem for university administrators who have to mentor and rate professors and instructors. The teaching of writing is not about teaching content, which characterizes university teaching, but about process, which is as confusing for those who rate university instructors as it is for those who deal with teachers in elementary and high schools.

The authors, in this book, conclude that the basic question about evaluation of faculty has changed from "shall we" in the 1980s to "how shall we" in the 90s. One answer to this question involves the exploration of discipline-specific evaluation strategies needed to evaluate writing

teachers. The most promising of these strategies appears to be portfolio evaluation. The authors in Hult's book also stress the significance of differentiating between formative and summative evaluation, just as writing teachers themselves have learned to act both as mentor and judge when working with their students. Specifically, Ellen Strenski provides detailed instructions for the peer review process with such devices as checklists and peer committee reports. Mark Baker and Joyce Kinkead suggest how to use microteaching to work with teaching assistants in first year comp and turn this experience into formative and summative evaluation. David Schwalm outlines the criteria needed in the evaluation of adjunct faculty, including sample policy statements. Irwin Weiser describes a formal mentoring program in which he provides TAs with specific teaching skills and then uses a checklist based on these skills in instructor evaluation. Unlike other authors in Hult's book, Weiser argues that evaluations of instructors by students are "both reliable and valid if the instrument is appropriately designed and appropriately interpreted" (p. 140).

All these suggestions are commonplace for teachers in the school system; these ideas have been around for many years. However, the articles in Hult's book have a nice *how to* ring about them, important no doubt for those working with the many inexperienced TAs who do first-year comp, and would be helpful for those who have to evaluate their work.

Hidden in Hult's book are several interesting ideas, the gold nuggets on the bottom of her pan. Throughout the articles in this book, the authors pop in tough questions about instructor evaluation. Rarely do they answer these questions, perhaps a weakness of this book, but they do raise questions of concern to those involved in the evaluation of professors in general, not just writing instructors. These are questions around the process of evaluation and issues of equity and ideology.

In separate articles, Edward White and Peter Elbow examine the question of student evaluation of professors. White has gone sour on the process; Elbow says we need to do it differently. Abandoning his long-standing faith in student evaluations, White's disillusionment has grown as big universities have reduced student ratings to numbers and used these numbers as the sole measure of teaching. White points out the downright dishonesty and cheating that does occur among instructors who are competing for scarce jobs, instructors who barter high marks for high ratings. He notes, too, that instructors of writing are particularly vulnerable because students usually rate them low as a reaction to the compulsory writing requirement. Peter Elbow, on the other hand, believes that students have much to contribute through their evaluations. For him, student evaluations must be written statements, and not the

number summaries that occur from checking boxes on computer scoring sheets, which he defines as an over simplification of a complex process. Elbow would also make greater use of informal evaluation, asking instructors to provide reflective, self-evaluations based, in part, on informal, formative opinions from students.

Anne Flanagan reports on her study of observers of teaching. Using Mikhail Bakhtin's work, she argues that observations are not independent objective acts, but "microcosms of the academic communities in which they take place (p. 75)." The observers themselves are situated in a context. As a result, we find the dynamics of power, class, gender, and race occurring between observer and observed. Flanagan also concludes that one person cannot play the role of mentor and judge. For formative evaluations, she suggests peer observation and training teachers to be observers of themselves. Those involved in summative evaluation must develop clear objectives for observation as one way to demystify the observation process and counteract the bias of observers.

Looking at evaluation as epistemology, Michael Vivion points out a significant flaw in the peer review process. Drawing upon differences between literature professors and composition professors, Vivion points to differing philosophies of teaching, most easily described as the process/product distinction. Vivion argues that observers make decisions from their own valuable base. Ideological differences in the purpose for teaching often lead to misevaluation. Getting down to problems of English teaching, Vivion poses this question: "How will literature faculty evaluate the next generation of scholars rising out of teaching assistant programs that emphasize reading/writing connections and that teach techniques and approaches which blur disciplinary lines?" (p. 91).

For the past decade, some educators have argued for writing across the curriculum. John Bean points out problems that occur for professors who use writing across the curriculum strategies. For example, students themselves resist the added burden of having to write in a content course, and they often give professors low ratings because of the unexpected writing demand. In addition, professors involved with writing in content areas often are involved in a changing perspective of teaching. Because writing tasks tend to involve students actively in the discipline, these professors are moving from a telling model of teaching to a more engaging model. Such a change can be disturbing for students who want a traditional, content-based, lecture course and object to "the unsettling view of knowledge" used with writing across the curriculum strategies.

For me the largest nugget in Hult's book is David Bleich's comment on evaluation. He challenges the ideology that forms the base of

evaluation practices. In a complex article, Bleich argues that the ideology of competition directs our thinking about teaching. Our need to order, structure, and control. For Bleich, this ideology represents a masculine idea of teaching, which demands that we compete to decide who is best – the rationale for our fetish with evaluation. Bleich writes, “The most palpable obstacle to change is the stubborn presence of the ideology of competitive individualism and its need for ranking and hierarchical structures in the academy” (p. 28). To get to the heart of the issues around the evaluation of teachers and professors, we have to change from a competitive, individualistic ideology to one of nurturing and support. A possible answer to Bleich’s concern is portfolio evaluation of teachers (and students) which, Bleich points out, moves us in the direction of feminizing teaching, of a concern for nurturing, for decency and courtesy, enjoyment, feeling, a “celebration of learning.” If the Americans thought they had trouble with the gun laws, just wait until they grapple with this one.

Bleich is also an advocate of discipline-specific evaluation. He takes on the Boyer report (Ernest L. Boyer, *Scholarship Reconsidered: Priorities of the Professoriat*, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1990) for its emphasis on generic skills and generic strategies for evaluation, for its basic assumption that teaching and evaluation can be addressed generically. For Bleich teaching is something peculiarly individual and always private. He argues, instead, that teaching, especially in evaluation teachers of writing, needs to be understood “per department, per discipline, per university, per teacher, and even per student” (p. 20). For Bleich, the value of portfolio evaluation lies in the possibility of turning evaluation into “a discourse of particularization”; it allows local knowledge and conditions to be a major focus of any evaluation process, whether looking at faculty teaching or student work.

No doubt, instructors immersed in issues of first-year comp will appreciate the practicality of this book. As for me, I enjoyed the clear, jargon-free writing of *Evaluation Teachers of Writing*. It was an easy read. This book prompted me to think about the times I have evaluated professors in our College, indeed to consider again the whole field of evaluation. It raised issues that educators should address: problems with observation of instructors, with equity, with basic approaches to teaching, with the task of assessing process – issues that occur in an increasingly multicultural, pluralistic society. Perhaps I have to forgive Hult and the other contributors for not providing new answers, for as a profession, we just do not yet have these answers. Maybe the next time I go panning for gold?

Sam Robinson

University of Saskatchewan

Karen R. Bailey.

**THE GIRLS ARE THE ONES WITH THE POINTY NAILS
(AN EXPLORATION OF CHILDREN'S CONCEPTIONS OF GENDER).**
London, ON: Althouse Press, 1993.
136 pp. \$19.95. ISBN: 0-920354-35-1.

Karen Bailey's study of children and their understanding of gender attempts to give voice to young children so adults can begin to discover their points of view. In terms of constructing conducive atmospheres for discussion and in rendering the different voices of four to six-year-old children, Bailey succeeds. Her sensitive autobiographical account of how she came to respect the value of children's knowledge and became a facilitator of their growth strikes a chord with all educators who believe in student-centred education, no matter the age level. Bailey brings searching questions about gender construction to her study. In terms of using children's literature as the vehicle for discussion she is careful in her review of the literature, particularly acknowledging the work of Jack Zipes and Bronwyn Davies.

Davies' work, particularly *Frogs and Snails and Feminist Tales: Preschool children and gender* (1989) can serve as a fine comparison to Bailey's. Both use the same type of children's literature texts with their preschool children. Instead of selecting texts where the characters perform traditional gender role models, both choose books where the protagonists act unconventionally. Indeed, two of the picture books are the same: Robert Munsch's *The Paper Bag Princess* and Tomie de Paula's *Oliver Button is a Sissy*. Both Davies and Bailey probe the children's ideas about gender roles by eliciting the children's responses to the books.

In some ways Bailey's study can be seen as a practical application of Davies' theoretical study and the "hands-on" approach is both its asset and weakness. Chapter 2 on the design of her study is so clear that readers could follow her in designing their own studies. Similarly, chapter 3 on visible markers and play behaviours is very fine, particularly eloquent are the sections devoted to descriptions, child quotations, and discussions of specific play modes such as doll play, sports, aggressive play, dancing, and dressing up. Bailey observes that there seems to be three categories of play: girls only, boys only, and neutral ground. For example, six-year-old Matt succinctly explains the difference between dolls and action figures: "... They're figures. Figures are for boys. Besides, boys play with them differently. They have weapons and you have to make funny sounds and fight" (p. 46). A verbal motif in this chapter is "rule" used to describe the three areas of play. Unfortunately the rules tend to be exclusionary. Four-year-old Jill uses the term most to describe how football, dinky cars, and playing GI Joes are "boy's stuff." "They're supposed to like them. That's the rule – for boys only.

The boys I know always do play with them. . . . the rule says that girls are supposed to play with dolls instead of trucks" (p. 37). Six-year-old Dawn explains how boys exclude girls from their games " . . . boys think boys' games are just for boys and girls shouldn't play them. Some days there's just no sense in asking" (p. 41).

Despite the careful rendering of the children's voices, there are some aspects which could do with some rethinking. Bailey occasionally imposes an adult feminist position onto the children, expecting them to want to act subversively in the face of peer pressure: "In fact, when asked if they would stop doing an activity that elicited their peer's disapproval, most children reported that not only would they stop, but they would return to doing conventional boy or girl activities" (p. 78). While feminists such as myself would prefer children to learn flexible gender roles as early as possible, I believe it is unrealistic to expect learned resistance in children of this age. There may be stages in the evolution of gender role construction that are not necessarily sequential chronologically. Just as in literary appreciation, a reader has to learn the conventional before being able to appreciate the unconventional as an oppositional practice; it may be that in gender construction young children have to learn the "rules" of conventional behaviour before being able to appreciate the significance of reversing or breaking the "rules".

Another criticism concerns the occasional lapse in structural logic. Perhaps the impression derives from the book being the results of pruning a longer text. For example, at the end of Chapter Four " Social Relationships and Rules" there are some self contradictory sentences. After giving repeated examples of the similarity of the children's responses, Bailey then generalizes about the diversity of the children's views without providing sufficient instances to back her claim (p. 80).

Bailey's intent is to provide a practical book for researchers and in that she succeeds. However, when she occasionally leaves this realm to speculate, she detracts from her study. Bailey is very able at closely rendering the children's voices and in expressing her sensitive understanding of how to implement strategies for change without causing distress to her students. Her examples of means to evoke "gender talk" and her inventiveness in spontaneously dealing with class room incidents are funny and inspiring. For example, one day the children remarked on a boy wearing a gold chain, so Bailey took the class on a tour through the school to see if men "wear necklaces" (p. 86). Her wise advice to teachers, both practicing and aspiring, is that an important strategy is to appeal to the innate sense of fairness and justice that young children possess. As one four-year-old girl tellingly says: "You've just gotta sing about Mrs. Sun to make it fair" (p. 100).

Jacqueline Reid-Walsh
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.

- Appleyard, J.A.. (1991, paper 1994). *Becoming a reader: The experience of fiction from childhood to adulthood*. New York, London, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press. (228 pp. \$14.95. ISBN 0-521-46756-X).
- Brooke, Robert, Mirtz, Ruth, & Evans, Rick (1994). *Small groups in writing workshops: Invitations to a writer's life*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English (200 pp. \$19.95. NCTE members \$14.95. ISBN 0-8141-4483-7).
- Brooke, Michael & Waldron, Mark, Editors (1994). *University continuing education in Canada: Current challenges and future opportunities*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing. (333 pp. \$29.95 ISBN 1-55077-053-5).
- Bruce, Bertram, Peyton, Joy Kreeft, & Baston, Trent (1993), *Network-based classrooms: Promises and realities*. Cambridge, New York, Victoria: Cambridge University Press. (302 pp. \$59.95 Cloth; \$19.95 paper ISBN 0-521-41636-1 & 45702-5).
- Chamberland, Claire, Coordinator (1993, hiver-été) *Apprentissage et socialisation: La prévention sociale., 16(1&2)*. Cap-Rouge (QC): Presses Inter Universitaires. (188 pp. \$16.00. ISSN 1189-3958).
- Clark, Eve V. (1993) Cambridge studies in linguistics 65. *The lexicon in acquisition*. New York, London, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press. (306 pp. ISBN 0-521-44055-5).
- Cole, Ardra L., & Hunt, David E. (Editors). (1994). *The doctoral thesis journey: Reflections from travellers and guides*. Toronto, ON: OISE Press. (166 pp. \$15.50. ISBN 0-7744-0415-9).
- Crysdale, Stewart. (1991). *Families under stress: Community, work, and economic change*. Toronto, ON: Thompson Educational (180 pp. \$14.95. ISBN 1-55077-007-1).
- Crysdale, Stewart, & MacKay, Harry. (1994) *Youth's passage through school to work: A comparative, longitudinal study*. Toronto, ON: Thompson Educational. (150 pp. \$14.95. ISBN 1-55077-048-9).
- Dawoud, Mamdouh (1994). *Recherche en éducation: Notions de base*. Ste. Hyacinthe, QC: Éditions Nouvelles. (107 pp. \$22.00. ISBN 2-921696-03-7).
- Downing, David B., Editor (1994). *Changing classroom practices: Resources for literary and cultural studies*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. (1008 pp. US\$19.95. NCTE members \$14.95. ISBN 0-8141-0528-9).
- Dyson, Anne Haas, & Genishi, Celia. (Editors). (1994). *The need for story: Cultural diversity in classroom and community*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. (259 pp. \$19.95; NCTE members \$14.95. ISBN: 0-8141-3300-2).
- Fox, Helen (1994). *Listening to the world: Cultural issues in academic writing*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. (157 pp. \$16.95. NCTE members \$12.95. ISBN 0-8141-2953-6).

- Giles, T.E. & Proudfoot, A.J. (1994). *Educational administration in Canada* (5th edition). Calgary: Detselig Enterprises. (404 pp. \$24.95. ISBN 1-55059-086-3).
- Giroux, Henry A. 1994) *Disturbing pleasures: Learning popular culture*. New York & London: Routledge. (194 pp. Paper: \$21.50; Cloth: \$65.95. ISBN 0-415-90901-5).
- Golub, Jeffrey N. (1994). Activities for an interactive classroom. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. (143 pp. \$16.95; NCTE members \$12.95. ISBN: 0-8141-0046-5).
- Jordan, Anne (1994). *Skills in collaborative classroom consultation*. London: Routledge. (133 pp. \$59.95 cloth, \$15.95 paper. ISBN 0-415-03864-2).
- Lebrun, Nicole & Berthelot, Serge (1994). *Plan pédagogique: Une démarche systématique de planification de l'enseignement*. Ste. Hyacinthe, QC: Éditions Nouvelles. (318 pp. \$32.00. ISBN 2-8041-1773-1).
- Martin, Jane Roland. (1994). *Changing the educational landscape: Philosophy, women, and curriculum*. New York: Routledge. (252 pp. Paper \$19.95; Cloth \$62.50. ISBN 0-415-90795-0).
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- Simpson, Douglas J. (1994). *The pedagofathers: The lords of education*. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises. (182 pp. \$17.95. ISBN 1-55059-088-X).
- Sinclair, Carollyne (1984). *Looking for home: A phenomenological study of home in the classroom*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press. (168 pp. \$14.95 Cloth. ISBN 0-7914-2039-6).
- Sternberg, Robert J., & Wagner, Richard K. (Editors). (1994). *Mind in context*. New York, London, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press. (245 pp. ISBN 0-521-41114-9).
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First Nations: The circle unbroken
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 Calgary: Detselig (1993)
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The McGill Journal of Education

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

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

Publication Guidelines

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

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

Directives de publication

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

Tous les articles doivent être soumis au Rédacteur, *McGill Journal of Education*, faculté des sciences de l'éducation, Université McGill, 3700, rue McTavish, Montréal (Québec) Canada H3A 1A2. Téléphone: (514) 398-4246; télécopieur: (514) 398-6968.



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