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EDITORIAL

LOVING SCHOOL AND HATING SCHOOL:
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ADULTS' VALUES AND CHILDREN'S SCHOOL EXPERIENCES

While editing the articles in this issue, I found three other texts insistently returning to my mind. One is an autobiography by Tololwa Mollel, a successful children's author from Tanzania who now lives in Canada (Mollel, 2001). Another is the nineteenth century British novel *Nicholas Nickleby*, by Charles Dickens (1838-9/1881 my edition). The third is a recent study of a classroom environment in Australia in which otherwise marginalized students showed what excellent creative and critical work they were capable of when given the chance (Thomson & Comber, 2003). What could these accounts possibly have in common, and why did I feel they needed to be reread in the context of the articles published here? The answer emerged as I looked at them again.

Mollel evokes the wonder, joy and longing of a very young child's first experiences of school:

My love of books sprang out of a lack of them. I grew up in the small town of Ng'aruka in Northern Tanzania, a town so small that its only school consisted of one room, and had only one teacher, who also happened to be my father. Despite being the teacher's son, I owned no books at all prior to starting school. No child did. We had no books in our house, besides those my father brought home to mark for students, his teaching guides, the Bible and one or two hymnbooks. (. . .)

How I wished I had books of my own!

Since my only chance of owning a book was to be a schoolboy, I ached to become one. But starting school was complicated in those days. Not only did you have to be old enough, you also had to prove you were big enough, able to touch the left ear with your right hand over your head. All my playmates were bigger than me and started school before I did. I was left alone outside while my friends spent precious playtime in the classroom. With no toys except the crude ones I could make for myself, life was not exciting. Soon I got so bored that I took to sneaking into the classroom to be with my buddies. I found, to my joy, that my father would let me stay as long as I was good. (p. 252)

Mollel became a happy schoolboy who delighted in learning the “magic” of reading and writing. Later in his autobiography, though, he describes a residential middle school that was “a nasty, brutish place of bullies, rotten food, sadistic prefects, and indifferent teachers.” He ran away. Luckily, his family understood and helped him. He went to more caring and successful schools, and eventually became a playwright, children’s author, actor and theatre director.

Nicholas Nickleby is a novel that Charles Dickens wrote partly out of a fierce sense of outrage at some of the educational inequalities and social horrors of his time, in a rapidly industrializing society in which protection for children was almost non-existent. Many schools of that nineteenth century era in Britain were the opposite of Mollel’s first experience, and many children could not hope for any formal schooling at all. At the heart of a rich, imperial country that was moving towards the decades of its greatest power, places such as Dotheboys Hall, an appalling school run by the villainous and brutal Mr Squeers, existed as a social convenience. There, Dickens implies, children without adult protection and support could be disposed of, rather than cared for and educated. The rich were not concerned with these children and the poor could not help them:

Pale and haggard faces, lank and bony figures, children with the countenances of old men, (. . .), boys of stunted growth, and others whose long meagre legs would hardly bear their stooping bodies, all crowded on the view together; there were (...) young lives which, from the earliest dawn of infancy, had been one horrible endurance of cruelty and neglect. There were little faces that should have been handsome, darkened with the scowl of sullen dogged suffering; there was childhood with the light of its eye quenched, its beauty gone, and its helplessness alone remaining. . . (pp. 111-112)

Nicholas and the abused boy he befriends, Smike, run away, like Tololwa from his middle school. Though Nicholas, as with most such Dickensian heroes, is led through the novel to a happy ending, Smike is too damaged by his school experiences to survive. Even with loving care, he dies.

Both Mollel’s middle school and Dotheboys Hall may seem utterly remote from the kind of educational institutions that we hope and expect are available to all children today. However, huge inequalities exist, and in some countries support for general public education is under threat. In other contexts even a basic public system is not established. Caring and successful schools can be introduced – and survive – only if a society believes they are important, worth paying for, and worth treating with close, thoughtful attention. Schools can only give new opportunities to children of diverse backgrounds and cultures if there is attention to their actual needs, to social goals, and to pluralist values. The alternative is media manipulation of what

is seen as “normal,” loss of a sense of community, and a retreat into fragmented private enclaves in which the collective notion of support is abandoned for selfish interests. All of these can lead to changes that directly damage the way schools work. Moreover, as H.T. Wilson says in a laconically understated sentence about the higher education sector in Canada, ‘the private sector’s interest in a public function is often incompatible with the public sector’s intent and the public interest (1999, p.12).’”

In Thomson and Comber’s study “Deficient ‘disadvantaged students’ or media-savvy meaning makers” a more heartening situation is described. The students in an Australian school were invited to work as co-researchers with their teachers and a research team, and had the guidance, equipment, time and encouragement needed to engage in film-making projects. As the authors say, this proved to be a meaningful experience for these formerly marginalized students. They benefited enormously from being given the chance to prove themselves, with appropriate resources and support, rather than being assigned, through testing and school management devices, to categories that would just condemn them to failure. Thomson and Comber write: “engaged learning occurs when the lives, knowledges, interests, bodies and energies of young people are at the center of the classroom and school.” (p. 305).

Here there was no need to run away – or to engage in the alternatives to running away that are so common in some troubled school environments today: suicide, depression, alienation, violence, loss of hope, and failure through the abandoning of all effort. In Thomson and Comber’s context the students, like Mollel in his first school, can feel proud, happy and productive. They are not judged by some narrow and divisive measure, or kept in line with violence or the threat of it, but are evaluated – and valued – with an appreciation of where their talents actually lie and the kinds of projects and attitudes that will help those talents develop. Moreover, they are not all held to a narrow set of future career paths, but rather given the chance to explore their own diversity and that of their environment.

So what did all this have to do with the five studies contained in this issue of the Journal? In the first three articles, which provide a fascinating mutual set of reflections, the authors explore questions including values, ethics, pluralism and fairness. They consider the awareness in Canadian society and elsewhere of the major educational issues being debated in the current social and political climate. It is common to mention here “economic realities, technology and globalization” – but each of these three articles, in its own way, makes very clear a position that economics, technological changes and the associated science of management, are not the only “realities” that matter in education.

Kumar and Mitchell invite us to look at how organizational educational systems develop and with what ethical basis. Both humane and less humane approaches have consequences not only for “efficiency” but also, by implication, for questions such as student and staff success, loyalty, energy, confidence, integrity, commitment and actual results. Careau explores the difference between an unexamined adoption of an ‘anything goes’ relativism that simply deprives children and adolescents of guidance of any kind, and a much deeper and carefully thought-out commitment to pluralism, non-violence, fairness and moral depth that can accommodate the many challenges facing us all. Corbett brings both historical and personal reflections to bear on a formerly influential figure in Canadian education, Hilda Neatby, whose colonially driven conservatism and belief in the rights of an elite have for a long time seemed old-fashioned and almost embarrassing. Now they sound oddly like some discourses we hear today. As Corbett points out, however, Neatby’s form of conservatism still maintained a strong conviction that humanism, rather than technical or materialist values, must be at the heart of education: the learner had to be considered in many perspectives, not just raw intellect or basic skills. Culture, for example, was in Neatby’s view a crucial part of what could bring the educated young person forward into the future as a fully equipped citizen. Corbett wonders how students from disadvantaged backgrounds are faring today in the context of mass standardized testing in many provinces and an ever-increasing rhetoric of efficiency and cost-saving. He points out that without public support for education, families such as his own could not have succeeded in education at all.

The final two studies in the issue focus on literacy, and are also connected with the issues mentioned above. Both deal with elementary (primary) level children, in one case in French speaking language arts classrooms, and the other in a special project on learning LOTES – Languages Other Than English – in an Australian context where the dominance of English is very strong. Turcotte, Giasson and Saint-Laurent provide statistical support for the idea that a literacy classroom that allows for multiple levels, modeling, support, explanation and personal choices, rather than mere information-giving and closed questioning with set answers, makes for better young readers. This may already be a familiar distinction to some teachers – but not to all, as their research shows. Cumming-Potvin, in a closely focused case study, reveals the tentative steps one child is able to make towards his mother’s original tongue, French, even in a context where visibility and support levels for this, or any other minority language, do not seem high. Jerry had felt frustrated at not being able to speak the language in which his mother would talk on the phone to his French grandmother, Through games, community activities and out-of-school connections, Jerry began to be able to conceive of his mother’s original language as a viable communi-

cation medium. This study asks unusual questions about the relation between a school's ethos and culture and what happens to the potential for bilingual literacy development of children in its care.

In all five articles we see a concern for “big questions” in education, or, as Corbett calls them, “big dreams” — but dreams that innovators and dedicated people have brought to reality in many contexts. If we think of each school as a large ocean-going ship, then these authors are suggesting that this is not the moment for fiddling with the chairs on the deck, but rather considering how to keep the ship afloat, flexible enough to steer through hazards and storms, and with a captain and crew who can still look after everyone on board appropriately. The massive challenge of public education is to allow all its travellers, of whatever ‘class,’ to be guided, encouraged, and supported. Adult values and choices, ultimately, will be crucial in deciding whether young people stay afloat or sink, whoever they are and wherever they are hoping to go in later life.

A.B.

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ÉDITORIAL

AIMER L'ÉCOLE ET LA DÉTESTER : LE LIEN ENTRE LES VALEURS D'ADULTES ET LES EXPÉRIENCES DES ENFANTS À L'ÉCOLE

Pendant le travail de rédaction pour ce volume du Journal, il y a eu trois ouvrages d'ailleurs qui me venaient à l'esprit d'une façon insistante. L'un, c'est l'autobiographie écrite par Tolowa Mollé, auteur connu de livres pour enfants qui, originaire de la Tanzanie, habite maintenant le Canada (Mollé, 2001). Un autre c'est *Nicholas Nickleby*, le roman anglais de Charles Dickens écrit au dix-neuvième siècle (1838-9/1881 mon édition). Le troisième s'avère être une étude récente portant sur l'environnement scolaire en Australie au cours de laquelle des étudiants autrement marginalisés démontraient l'excellente qualité de travail créateur et critique dont ils étaient capable quand on leur donnait l'occasion de performer (Thomson & Comber, 2003). On peut se demander quel lien ces comptes rendus puissent-ils avoir entre eux, et pourquoi ai-je senti le besoin de les relire dans le contexte des articles publiés ici? En les regardant de nouveau, la réponse se clarifiait.

Mollé évoque l'émerveillement, la joie et le désir d'apprendre d'un très jeune enfant lors de ses premières expériences à l'école:

C'est la pénurie de livres qui a fait naître mon amour des livres. J'ai grandi en Tanzanie du Nord dans une ville si petite que sa seule école ne comptait qu'une seule pièce, et un seul instituteur, qui, en l'occurrence, fut mon père. Malgré le fait que j'étais fils du professeur, je n'avais aucun livre en ma possession avant de commencer l'école. Aucun des enfants en avait. Chez nous il n'y avait que la Bible, un ou deux livres de cantiques, les manuels du professeur, et les livres que mon père apportait à la maison pour corriger pour ses élèves. (. . .)

Avide, je désirais des livres tout à moi!

Puisque être élève m'offrait la seule chance de procurer des livres, je souhaitait ardemment devenir écolier. Mais à cette époque débiter à l'école était compliqué. Il fallait non seulement avoir l'âge, mais en plus, il fallait se prouver assez grand; capable de toucher l'oreille gauche avec la main droite en passant pardessus la tête. Tous mes amis d'enfance étaient plus grand que moi et ont pu commencer l'école avant moi. J'étais délaissé, seul dehors pendant que mes copains passaient du temps précieux à jouer en classe. Sans jouets autres que ceux que je fabriquais moi-même la vie devenait terne. Bientôt je m'ennuyais tellement que pour être avec mes copains, je me faufiler dans la salle de classe à la cachette. À ma grande joie, j'ai découvert que mon père me permettait d'y rester tant que je me tenais tranquille (p. 252).

Mollet est devenu un élève heureux qui a goûté aux plaisirs de l'apprentissage de la « magie » de la lecture et de l'écriture. Par contre, plus tard, décrit-t-il dans son autobiographie, il a fréquenté une école sécondaire résidentielle, «un lieu méchant et brutal avec ses durs à cuire, la nourriture infecte, des préfets sadiques et des professeurs indifférents. » Il s'en fuit. Heureusement sa famille l'a compris et aidé. Par la suite il a fréquenté des écoles plus humaines et performantes, pour devenir ensuite dramaturge, auteur de livres pour enfants, acteur et directeur de théâtre.

C'est en partie un sentiment de forte indignation qui a poussé Charles Dickens à l'écriture de son roman, *Nicholas Nickleby*; indignation face aux injustices de l'éducation et des horreurs faites par sa société à l'époque de l'industrialisation rapide où la protection de l'enfant était quasi inexistant. Un grand nombre d'écoles de l'Angleterre du dix-neuvième siècle n'offrait que le contraire de l'expérience heureuse qu'a vécu le très jeune Mollet, et peu d'enfant anglais pouvait espérer une formation à l'école. Au coeur de ce pays riche et impérialiste, à l'époque de son histoire où il avançait vers des décennies de sa plus grande puissance, il existaient des écoles d'utilité sociale telles que *Dotheboys Hall*, un lieu épouvantable dirigé par un Monsieur *Squeers*, être ignoble et brutal. Dans ces lieux, suggère Dickens, on pouvait mettre les enfants à l'écart de la société sans protection ni appui des adultes, plutôt que de s'occuper d'eux attentivement et de les instruire. Les riches ne s'intéressaient pas à ces enfants et les pauvres ne pouvaient rien pour les aider.

Des visages hagards et pâles, des figures minces et osseuses, les enfants à la contenance de vieux hommes, (. . .) des garçons dont la croissance était arrêtée, et d'autres dont les jambes maigres soutenaient à peine leur corps voutés, tous se ramassaient ensemble pour passer à l'inspection; il y avait (. . .) des jeunes vies qui dès l'éveil de leur enfance n'ont connu qu'une longue endurance horrible parmi la cruauté et la négligence. Il y avait de petits visages qui auraient dû être beaux, mais qui étaient assombris par la grimace de souffrance morne et sans relâche; il y avait l'enfance à l'oeil vif éteint, sa beauté absente, seule la vulnérabilité sans recours en restait. . . .
(pp. 111-112)

Nicholas se lie d'amitié avec *Smike*, un garçon battu, et ils s'enfuient tous les deux, comme l'a fait *Tolowa* de son école secondaire. Bien que Nicholas, comme la plupart de héros chez Dickens, passe à travers les expériences du roman pour rejoindre une fin heureuse, *Smike* ne survit pas, trop endommagé par ses expériences scolaires. Même avec l'attention approprié et affectueux il meurt.

Peut-être ces deux écoles, celle « méchante » de Mollet et *Dotheboys Hall*, semblent-elles très loin du genre d'institutions auxquelles nous nous attendons et que nous espérons pour tous les enfants aujourd'hui. Par contre, des écarts énormes existent encore et dans certains pays l'appui à l'instruction publique

générale est menacé. En fait dans d'autres contextes, des systèmes publics de base ne sont même pas établis. On peut introduire - et soutenir - des écoles humaines et performantes à la condition seule qu'une société croit à leur importance, croit qu'elles en valent le coût et croit qu'on leur doit un regard attentif et réfléchi. Des écoles ne peuvent offrir de nouvelles possibilités aux enfants de milieux et de cultures divers que si on prête attention à la conscience sociale, aux objectifs sociaux et aux valeurs pluralistes. Sans cela, il ne reste que la manipulation par des médias de la perception de la «normalité», la perte du sens d'appartenance et le retrait vers les lieux privés fragmentaires et fermés ou la valeur collective d'entraide est délaissée en faveur des intérêts individualistes. Tous ces effets peuvent mener à des changements qui nuisent directement au fonctionnement des écoles. En plus, comme le dit H.T. Wilson avec la réserve d'une phrase laconique, en parlant de l'éducation post-secondaire au Canada, «l'intérêt de secteur privé porté à une fonction publique est souvent incompatible avec l'intention du secteur public ainsi qu'avec l'intérêt du public même (1999, p. 12). »

L'étude de Thomson et Comber intitulée « Étudiants déficients ou 'défavorisés' ou enfants branchés, faiseurs habiles de sens » présente une situation plus encourageante. Dans une école australienne, on a invité des étudiants à travailler à titre de co-chercheurs avec leurs professeurs et une équipe de recherche; ainsi ils recevaient les conseils, l'équipement, le temps et l'encouragement dont ils avaient besoin pour s'impliquer dans des projets de fabrication de films. Comme signale les auteurs, cette expérience s'est avérée significative pour ces étudiants jusqu'alors marginalisés. Ils ont tiré d'énormes avantages de cette occasion de se prouver avec des ressources et des appuis appropriés, plutôt que de se voir classés par des tests et des pratiques de gestion scolaire dans des catégories qui les auraient condamnés à l'échec. Thomson et Comber affirment que, « l'apprentissage engagé a lieu quand les connaissances, les intérêts, les corps et les énergies des jeunes gens sont au cœur des activités de la salle de classe et de l'école (p. 305). »

Certes, ici on ne ressent pas le besoin de s'enfuir ni de s'engager dans d'autres choix qui se manifestent fréquemment dans nos environnements scolaires actuels: le suicide, la dépression, l'aliénation, la violence, la perte d'espoir, et l'échec par l'abandon de l'effort. Dans le contexte de Thomson et Comber, ainsi qu'à la première école de Mollé, les étudiants peuvent être fiers, heureux et productifs. On ne les juge pas d'après un barème étroit et fragmentaire ni les réduit-on au silence par le menaçement, les paroles ou les gestes de la violence, mais on les évalue - et valorise- par une appréciation juste de leurs talents réels et par des projets et attitudes qui peuvent aider les dits talents à s'épanouir. En plus, ces étudiants ne sont pas tenus à se conformer à un ensemble limité de carrières éventuelle; au contraire, on les encourage d'explorer la diversité de leurs talents et celle de l'environnement.

Alors, demande-t-on, quel est le rapport entre ces comptes rendus et les cinq articles publiés dans ce volume du Journal? Dans les trois premiers articles, qui, par ailleurs présentent un ensemble fascinant de réflexions complémentaires, les auteurs explorent des questions qui touchent aux valeurs, à l'éthique, au pluralisme et à l'équité. Ils s'interrogent quant à la conscience (ou le manque de conscience) des préoccupations majeures liées à l'éducation dans la société canadienne et d'autres sociétés, questions qui font sujet du débat au sein du climat social et politique actuel. Ici on raconte souvent les termes « les réalités économiques, la technologie et la globalisation » mais à sa façon, chacun des trois articles maintient une position claire indiquant que l'économie, la transformation technologique et sa science associée, la gestion, ne sont pas les seules « réalités » qui comptent en éducation.

Kumar et Mitchell nous invite à regarder la façon dont les systèmes organisationnels en éducation se développent et sur quelle base d'éthique ils se créent. Les approches humaines, aussi celles moins humaines, portent des conséquences pour l'efficacité, certes, mais elles influencent également les domaines tels que le succès de l'étudiant et le personnel, la loyauté, l'énergie, la confiance, l'intégrité, l'engagement et les résultats concrets. Careau explore à son tour la différence entre l'application d'un relativisme sans borne qui prive les enfants et les adolescents de conseils appropriés, et un engagement mieux fondé et murement réfléchi envers le pluralisme, la non-violence, l'équité et une profondeur morale qui peuvent nous permettre à nous tous de faire face aux défis que nous connaissons. Corbett apporte des réflexions historiques et personnels à sa discussion du travail de Hilda Neatby, une personnalité autrefois influente dans le milieu d'éducation au Canada. Depuis longtemps le conservatisme de Neatby semblait vieux jeu et presque gênant par ses motivations tirées d'une vision colonialiste, et par sa croyance aux droits acquis d'un élite. Maintenant, par contre, on y trouve une curieuse résonance dans certains discours actuels. Par contre, souligne Corbett, le conservatisme de Neatby défendait quand même une conviction ferme que l'humanisme, plutôt que les valeurs techniques et matérialistes, devait primer en éducation: celui qui apprend devait être perçu avec ses dimensions multiples, pas seulement par son intelligence ou ses habilités de base. La culture, par exemple, chez Neatby était une partie cruciale de l'ensemble de facteurs qui permettrait à la jeune personne instruite d'avancer vers un avenir en tant que citoyen bien outillé. Corbett se préoccupe du bien-être des étudiants du milieu défavorisés dans le contexte du test standardisé dans beaucoup de provinces, et d'un langage de plus en plus axé sur l'efficacité et le souci budgétaire. Il affirme que sans appui public pour l'éducation, les familles comme la sienne n'auraient jamais pu réussir à l'école.

Tout en étant liés par les mêmes questions, les deux dernières études du volume mettent l'accent sur la littératie, l'un et l'autre portant sur les enfants du niveau primaire. La première se situe dans des classes francophones ou on étudie des arts du langage, et l'autre dans un projet spécial en LOTES (Les langues autres que l'anglais) en Australie où l'anglais domine d'une façon importante dans un environnement scolaire plutôt traditionnel. Des statistiques à l'appui, Turcotte, Giasson et Saint-Laurent présente l'idée qu'une classe de littératie qui permet des Niveaux multiples, du Modelage, de l'Étayage, de l'Explication et des choix personnels forment les jeunes lecteurs et lectrices mieux que celle qui emprunte une approche d'Information et Questionnement fermé avec les réponses prévisibles. Ceci constitue une perception courante pour certains enseignants, mais pas pour tous, comme démontre cette recherche. Cumming-Potvin dans une étude avec un sujet bien cerné révèle les premiers pas que tente un enfant vers le français, langue d'origine de sa mère, même dans un contexte où les niveaux de visibilité et d'appui pour cette langue, ainsi que pour d'autres langues minoritaires, ne semblent pas très élevés. Jerry se sentait frustré de ne pas pouvoir parler la langue que sa mère parlait lors de ses conversations téléphoniques avec la grand mère française. Par les jeux, les activités communautaires et des relations para-scolaires, Jerry devient capable de percevoir la langue d'origine de sa mère comme un moyen de communication valable. Cette étude pose des questions peu communes au sujet de la relation entre les valeurs et la culture d'une école et le potentiel pour le développement de littératie bilingue pour les enfants qui lui sont confiés.

Dans les cinq articles nous observons un intérêt marqué pour les « grandes questions » du milieu de l'éducation, ou, comme dit Corbett des « grands rêves », rêves qui ont été réalisés à plusieurs endroits grâce à des innovateurs et des gens engagés. Si nous représentons chaque école comme un grand paquebot, ces auteurs nous suggèrent que le temps actuel n'est pas le moment de se tracasser avec des chaises sur le pont mais plutôt le moment de trouver moyen de garder le paquebot lui-même en mer; en mer et suffisamment souple pour naviguer à travers des obstacles et des tempêtes avec, en plus, un capitaine et une équipe qui restent toujours capables de s'occuper attentivement des passagers. Le défi immense de l'éducation publique c'est de permettre à tous ses voyageurs, peu importe la « classe », d'être bien conseillés, encouragés et appuyés dans leur apprentissage. En fin de compte, les valeurs et les choix d'adultes seront d'une importance cruciale pour les jeunes gens qui qu'ils soient, et où qu'ils veuillent se diriger à l'avenir.

A.B.

WHAT HAPPENS TO EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION WHEN ORGANIZATION TRUMPS ETHICS?

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ABSTRACT. The managerial strategies of governance prevalent in the private sector have become more and more normalized within educational institutions. These strategies, according to Dutch philosopher Zygmund Bauman, are *denial of proximity*, *effacement of face*, and *reduction to traits*. This article describes these managerial tactics within an educational context and unearths four systemic conditions that give rise to these strategies. These conditions are: *the imperative of efficiency*, *diffusion of responsibility*, *obscurity of cause*, and *simplification of solutions*. Various narratives are offered to demonstrate the effects of these conditions on the practice of educational administration.

QUAND L'ORGANISATION PREND LE DESSOUS SUR L'ÉTHIQUE :
QU'EST CE QUI ARRIVE À L'ADMINISTRATION EN MILIEU D'ÉDUCATION?

RÉSUMÉ. Les stratégies de gestion employées fréquemment dans le secteur privé pour gouverner sont devenues de plus en plus normalisées dans nos institutions scolaires. D'après Zygmund Bauman, le philosophe néerlandais, ces stratégies s'identifient comme suit : *négarion de la proximité* (*denial of proximity*) *effacement du visage* (*effacement of face*) et *réduction aux traits simples* (*reduction to traits*). Le présent article décrit ces tactiques gestionnaires dans le cadre du milieu d'éducation et révèle quatre conditions systémiques qui occasionnent l'apparition de ces stratégies. Les quatre conditions sont : *l'impératif de l'efficacité*, (*the imperative of efficiency*), *la responsabilité dispersée* (*diffusion of responsibility*), *l'obscurité des causes* (*obscurity of cause*), et *la simplification des solutions* (*simplification of solutions*). L'article offre des narrations variées pour démontrer les effets de ces conditions sur les pratiques administratives en milieu scolaire.

Deliverance is not for me in renunciation
I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand bonds of delight. . .
No, I will never shut the doors of my senses

Rabindranath Tagore, *Gitanjali*, (1913, poem # 73, p. 49)

INTRODUCTION

Although considerable attention has been paid in recent years to the moral codes and ethical practices in educational administration, most of the discourse has been firmly grounded in an unquestioned belief in certain moral principles reminiscent of the Industrial era: loyalty to the organization, rational or analytic assessment and deployment of strategies, and obligation of the individual to the organization, *inter alia*. This mode of engagement seems to have been unilateral in nature. That is, the obligation of the school organization to individual teachers, students, and administrators, the role of empathy and compassion, and the intersection of mutual interests have seldom, if ever, been part of serious consideration. The assumption underneath this sentiment is that the administrative elite will let teachers, students, and junior administrators thrive so long as they do not interfere with the operations of the organization and so long as they proffer loyalty towards, commitment to, and faith in the organization. This kind of narrative places individuals at the mercy of those who reside above them in the hierarchy, and it strips them of their moral rights and their moral agency. It also serves to insulate administrators from their moral obligations and to protect them from the moral consequences of their actions. This condition is at least partly grounded in the profound influence of Rene Descartes on contemporary society. The power of "I think, therefore I am" has contributed to a culture that prizes rational, analytic thought above all other mental activities. This focus has served to relegate other thought patterns (such as ethical considerations) to the arena of personal associations, to invoke separation between diverse elements of a system, and to dehumanize individual members of an institution. The study and practice of educational administration has not been immune to this kind of acculturation, as evidenced by the historical reliance among scholars and practitioners on rationality and analysis in educational decision making (Marshall, Patterson, Rogers, & Steele, 1996). Such a scientific approach to educational administration has a single view in mind: the well-being of the educational organization.

According to Bauman (cited in ten Bos, 1997), organizational well-being has been accomplished primarily through three managerial strategies: the isolation of administrators from organizational members, the effacement of the personhood of individual members, and the reduction of people to categorical traits. These interrelated managerial strategies are grounded in three tacit organizational underpinnings: the imperative of efficiency, reliance on rational analysis, and a tendency toward simplistic explanations. Together, the managerial strategies and the tacit underpinnings construct a particular organizational narrative that defines the limits within which human activity will be conducted. This kind of organizational construction has implications for moral and ethical behaviour and thus for the lived

experiences of organizational members. In essence, within this framework, morality and ethics are defined in terms of those conditions and decisions that support, sustain, and advance the organization, but not necessarily in terms that respond to the lives of people. Consequently, we see a need to examine the ethical and moral roots of the strategies and their underpinnings to consider the extent to which administrative conduct is effective, just, and viable. We begin the paper by explicating the three managerial strategies as outlined by Bauman (1993; 1998) and ten Bos (1997). We then consider the extent to which the strategies exist in the arena of educational administration, and we move to a discussion of tacit organizational narratives that predispose administrators to the three managerial tactics. We conclude with some suggestions for reconstructing the moral terrain for educational administrators.

MANAGERIAL STRATEGIES

We have been investigating and writing about rule-based ethics and their limitations for the past few years (see Mitchell & Kumar, 2001; Kumar & Mitchell, 2002). Something, however, has seemed amiss in our explorations. We had been examining the terrain with a historical and a conceptual eye, but it appears that the problem is rooted in more immediate and practical operations that inhere in the fundamental constructions of organizations. Consequently, we began to explore the situation from the perspective of post-modern deconstruction. Our attempt to deconstruct the practices and ideologies of organizational governance led us to three managerial tactics in the works of Zygmund Bauman (1993; 1998) and René ten Bos (1997), two scholars who have delved into the world of business ethics.

Our closer scrutiny suggested that educational institutions, too, are subject to the analysis and criticism offered by these interdisciplinary scholars. Specifically, Bauman's and ten Bos' work revealed that specific managerial tactics have penetrated the operations of leaders in various institutions so as to situate the leaders as officers, defenders, and moral arbiters of the organization. In the words of ten Bos (1997), "managerial ideology has gradually taught people in organizations to believe that morality should not be seen as an 'inside job' but as a matter of collective rationality, rather than one of individual impulse" (p. 999). Put another way, administrators, as they build their organizations, foster and erect impenetrable legal walls of policies and codes that deter, stifle, or punish any individual impulses that conflict with or challenge the pervading organizational morality, however morally inclined the impulses might be. This organizational dynamic not only serves to sustain the organization but it also distances the administrators from the people who stand to be affected by administrative decisions and actions. These effects are accomplished through three interrelated

dominant managerial strategies: denial of proximity, effacement of face, and reduction to traits. In this section, we explicate each of these tactics in some detail.

Denial of proximity

In his introduction to this strategy, Bauman (1993) establishes a relationship between proximity and morality. To him, proximity serves as a precondition of morality because closeness breeds attachment. Conversely, distance eliminates or reduces the moral impulse because it is easier to dismiss, discount, or discard people when they are out of sight. Another way to interpret this strategy is to say that distance exempts administrators from their moral obligations to specific individuals. This condition is demonstrated in Bauman's (1998) description of shareholders in a company. These people, Bauman charges, quite happily reap the rewards of the profit that the companies make but remain altogether detached from the companies and their operational practices. Their separation from the day-to-day operations allows them to deny responsibility for operational policies that adversely affect the workers within the organization. The hierarchical distance between the shareholders and the workers allows the shareholders to detach themselves from the moral responsibilities that ownership bestows.

This strategy of separation can serve ends that are either good or evil. René ten Bos (1997), for example, argues that proximity evokes spontaneity and hence unpredictability, which can interfere with the efficient operation of an organization. To avoid tumult, administrators might need to create distance between themselves and those who bear the consequences of their actions. This distance is what creates organizational hierarchies. On the one hand, hierarchies serve to protect people from the moral consequences of the actions they take on behalf of the organization; on the other hand, they strip individuals of their moral obligations, consideration, and, eventually, capacities. In other words, the members of the organization, in their single-minded pursuit of organizational efficiency and effectiveness, become withdrawn from the moral implications of their actions, and they end up playing the role of automaton. Eventually, the moral impulses of the individuals are replaced by a group morality that has been dictated by organizational imperatives and endorsed by administrators. This strategy ensures that organizational well-being trumps any other moral consideration, which can be seen, for example, in the current trend of laying off long-term employees, many of whom stand at the top of the pay scale, to protect the economic profitability of the organization, even though these employees, because of career stage or age, might be the least likely to be employable elsewhere.

Denial of proximity further insulates administrators from the moral consequences of their actions through the complicated procedures, policies, and processes that fill the artificially created spaces between the moral arbiters

(the administrators) and their moral subjects. Administrators occupy unique hierarchical locations, with unique sets of obligations and powers, and as one moves up the hierarchical ladder, the designated obligations and powers connect the individual more closely to the organization and offer greater protection for the individual. Seen in this light, senior administrators have broader and more diverse obligations and powers than do those who sit below them on the hierarchy. Consequently, they can use that broad base to justify any action they take, even in relation to moral issues. They can, for example, use their position to become directly involved in morally sensitive situations or they can use their lofty location to justify taking a hands-off approach. In a more concrete example, if a worker or client launches a complaint of misconduct or corruption against someone in the administrative cadre, senior administrators can, by virtue of the seniority of their position, choose to deal with the complaint or, by virtue of the distance between their position and that of the complainant, refuse to become involved. This example implies that the only alternative to micro-management is hands-off management, which is clearly not the case. Alternative strategies can be found to balance these dichotomies, but alternatives require an investment of effort and time, which renders the process slow, expensive, inefficient, and thus unattractive.

To put denial of proximity into the educational arena, when the well being and preservation of the organization become the standards for educational institutions, individual students and teachers, along with their quest for knowledge, can be sacrificed at the alter of organizational morality. As an example, the inclusion in the administrative lexicon of phrases such as “tough decisions have to be made” implies that the “tough decisions” are likely to advantage the institution at the expense of the people. The low morale that lingers in public educational settings (Castle, Mitchell, & Gupta, 2002) is but one manifestation of this phenomenon.

The denial of proximity also lends itself to the creation of a Cartesian duality between ends and means whereby the end (e.g., acquisition of a particular piece of information) justifies any means. If a child, for example, is subjected to inappropriate instruction or abusive treatment in the attempt to learn the quadratic equation, the child could be irreparably harmed in the process. The teacher, however, might be perceived to be justified if the child ends up mastering the intended lesson. Additionally, administrators can be isolated from the moral tensions in this example because of their distance from the classroom. The limitations of such dualities are increasingly coming to the forefront with the works of pragmatic philosophers such as John Dewey, Richard Rorty, and Larry Hickman, *inter alia*, who argue that it is inadvisable to separate the process (i.e., the means) from the objectives (i.e., the ends). Regrettably, the denial of proximity, as an administrative strategy, accomplishes exactly this undesired consequence and, when it

emerges, serves to dehumanise the students who stand at the mercy of teachers and the teachers who stand at the mercy of administrators.

Effacement of face

The processes by which individuals become humanised or dehumanised have captured the attention of many scholars. In speaking to this concern, Martin Buber (1958/1987) distinguishes between “I-Thou” and “I-it” relationships, and he contends that the latter form does not position people as moral subjects. As well, while I-Thou has an “address and response” structure (a structure of ongoing conversations), the I-it relationship does not. In other words, the symmetry of reciprocity in expectations and obligations of an I-Thou relationship distinguishes it from the asymmetry of reciprocity of the I-it relationship. Bauman (1993, p. 49) locates this distinction in the separation of administrators and organizational members. The gap that is created through this asymmetry is best described in Bauman’s words:

“Being with” is symmetrical. What is blatantly non-symmetrical, what makes partners unequal, what *privileges* my position by emancipating it from the dependence on whatever stance the Other may take, is *being for* – “être-pour-l’autre” the mode of being that precludes not only solitude . . . but also indifference. (pp. 50, original italics)

Thus a clear disparity between groups of people emerges from hierarchical separation and subsequently alters the form of moral engagement. Returning to Buber’s (1958) framework, it implies that organizational workers find themselves in a moral engagement with the administration that is akin to an I-it relationship. Such a relationship serves as a “process of dehumanization” (ten Bos, 1997, p. 1003), wherein a human being is seen not as an identifiable individual but as a faceless entity. This is what is meant by *effacement of face*.

Effacement of face is linked to the distance between workers and administrators to the extent that the individuals on either side of the divide see each other in abstract, disembodied terms rather than in personal, named terms. One harmful facet of this phenomenon is that neither of the sides has a human face that people on the other side can summon in their minds. Consequently, there is a tendency for people on either side of the divide to take a confrontational posture in the relationship, and the others are seen not as companions and colleagues but as enemies. When a face is hidden or masked, it takes on the countenance of an adversary, for the enemy lurks in the dark. But when a face is seen, in all its glorious uniqueness, beauty, and frailty, a friend can be found in the face.

A troublesome consequence of effacement of face is that the members of the community lose their moral consideration and their moral capacity. René ten Bos (1997) observes that it is ultimately the human face that prompts a moral impulse: “[the] Other who gazes at me and in the vulnerability of

whom I sense a moral command" (p. 1003). Bauman (1993) furnishes a more detailed account of this phenomenon by recalling Lévinas' (1987) thoughts.

The face is not a force. It is an authority. Authority is often without force. The face is what resists me by opposition and not what is opposed to me by its resistance.... The absolute nakedness of a face, the absolutely defenceless face, without covering, clothing or mask, is what opposes my power over it, my violence, and opposes it in an absolute way, with an opposition which is opposition in itself. (p. 73)

When the humanity of this face is obscured through managerial tactics, moral considerations fail to be factored into the equation that establishes the mode of conduct in the organization. Furthermore, the symmetrical reciprocity that Buber attributes to I-Thou relationships causes community members to reciprocate the absence of moral consideration that they have grown accustomed to receiving, and the relationship spirals downward into less consideration and more confrontation. This psychologically charged relational posture causes the institution of well-meaning changes and innovations to be scrutinized with suspicion or hostility.

This practice, as both Bauman (1993; 1998) and ten Bos (1997) point out, has become so normalized in contemporary institutions that people see no objection or moral repugnance when they are on the losing end of such an engagement. René Ten Bos writes, "those who are on the 'receiving end of action,' *in casu* the losing competitors, do not themselves expect to be treated as moral persons" (p. 1004). Furthermore, even if a community member's moral impulses were to survive in the midst of such acrimony, these individuals "are jeered at, or at least, are considered strange or exotic, since they cherish unrealistic or illegitimate expectations" (ten Bos, p. 1004). In other words, effacement of face yields an organizational environment in which commitments to moral considerations are considered naïve and irrational.

Reduction to traits

The two strategies of denial of proximity and effacement of face lead to the destruction of people as moral selves. Bauman (1993, p. 127) describes this phenomenon as the disassembly of the object, in which the totality of the moral person is reduced to a collection of traits or attributes that define the expected and accepted location of the individual within the organization. In educational terms, for example, students are there to learn the material, teachers are there to teach the students, and principals are there to run the school. Each of these categories has a particular pattern of activity to which the members are held accountable, and all members of the category are expected to conduct themselves within the parameters of the behaviours that define their role. This view of perceiving organizational members

exclusively through the roles that they fulfil in the organization reduces human beings to little more than automatons that carry out stipulated tasks.

The nature of the engagement between administrators and workers that ensues from such an arrangement encompasses all the expectations and obligations that one is liable to award to an "it" rather than to a "Thou." The most noteworthy distinction is that, while a "Thou" deserves moral consideration, an "it" does not. Hence, to diminish or reduce human beings to their responsibilities is to continue the process of dehumanizing the people in an organization. This occurs because members are deemed to be significant, and therefore worthy of moral consideration, if and only if they can be categorized as either necessary or useful. From this perspective, "in the beat-up language of management gurus, the customer as a person is reduced to a collection of needs and demands" (ten Bos, 1997, p. 1005). Furthermore, the customers' needs and demands are of interest not because they offer moral opportunity but because they offer business opportunity. In this sense, anyone who is awarded any kind of consideration, or who is at the receiving end of an organizational transaction, is said to have been "businessed" (ten Bos, 1997, p. 1005). In this kind of environment, morality, according to Bauman (1993), is only applicable within the limited sphere of one's place in the hierarchy. In effect, moral consideration is only awarded to those select few people who are proximal to us in the organizational hierarchy, who appear before us as humans with faces and names, and whose unique personalities and character we can describe.

This tendency to reduce people to a collection of traits predisposes administrators to expect compliance from members who reside at lower levels of the organization. The extent of expected compliance is evident when a suggestion or advice from a "superior" becomes a "command-in-disguise" (ten Bos, 1997, p. 1006). Any understanding that the organizational members might develop as a result of being immersed in a particular situation is given voice only if it confirms or reflects the decisions or opinions that originate higher up the hierarchy. If the understanding is contrary to that which emanates from above, it must be abandoned. Within the expectation of compliance, those who reside at each level of the organization are reduced to the traits expected of their category, their individual faces are obscured, and the distance between the categories is affirmed. When these outcomes occur, the dehumanisation of the people is complete, and the organization can be said to have trumped ethics.

THE MORAL ARENA OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Questions of concern in this paper are to what extent the three managerial strategies are evident in school organizations and to what extent educational administrators rely on the strategies to protect themselves from moral

fallout. From structural and political perspectives, there is a good chance for both of these circumstances to unfold. From cultural and practical perspectives, however, the chance may be less. These perspectives can be used to frame a consideration of the moral terrain in schools and school systems.

Educational structures, like most contemporary public institutions, are both hierarchical and bureaucratic. In general, the system is comprised of seven main groups: school board trustees, supervisory offices, consultants, school principals, teachers, students, and support personnel. In some jurisdictions, school councils can be added to the list. Each of these groups holds significantly different amounts of institutional power and privilege, with the bulk of the power and influence being held by trustees and supervisory offices and, next, by school principals. In other words, educational administrators, especially those in central offices, reside at the higher levels of the system, they hold distinct functional roles, and they are perceived to stand apart from all other stakeholders. This kind of structural separation lends itself to a denial of proximity between members who reside in separate organizational locations. The very presence of these distinct groups further implies that members in each group (teachers, for example) can be reduced to possessing a set of traits instead of being seen as individual people with unique characteristics, unique histories, and unique points of view.

Structural separation has not diminished over the years but is becoming increasingly calcified. Evidence for this assertion can be found in two recent examples of restructuring from the province of Ontario. First, the removal of Ontario school principals from teachers' collective bargaining units follows a current trend across North America to position school principals as officers of the organization rather than as lead teachers. This location is similar to that occupied by supervisory officers, who have always been "out of scope" and who have traditionally been seen as holding a primary obligation to the organization rather than to teachers or students. Such an arrangement enables administrators, especially supervisory officers, to deny proximity to parents, students, teachers, or support personnel. Second, the amalgamation of smaller school boards has transformed many Ontario school divisions from small community-based boards into jurisdictions of mind-boggling proportions, with a concomitant reduction in the number of central office administrators. This arrangement requires directors and superintendents to hold administrative portfolios that give them oversight responsibility for large numbers of schools and that fill their days with tasks that keep them out of the schools. Under these conditions, it is difficult for them to learn the names of individual teachers, students, and, in some cases, principals. Effacement of face becomes the norm rather than the exception.

Educational administrators are also at the political mercy of the organization. In most jurisdictions, directors and superintendents have no tenure

and can be replaced at the wish of the school trustees. In the case of school principals, the picture is more complex, with different jurisdictions allowing more or less political autonomy to school principals. In the province of Ontario, for example, the same legislation that removed principals from the teachers' unions also negated their right to any collective bargaining, and many school principals no longer negotiate their terms of employment but receive a contract that has been written by their school board. Even in jurisdictions where the principals have been granted some input into their contract, there is no legal obligation of the school board to incorporate the input into the final contract. When the terms and conditions under which administrators operate can be opened and changed without their agreement, they are not likely to take a stance on any issue that is in opposition to their supervisors and trustees. To do so could jeopardize their employment, and they are likely to be cautious about taking a controversial stand. Although principals and supervisory officers might be required and at times encouraged to present differing sides to an issue, the political reality is such that they are not likely to openly oppose the wishes of those above them on the organizational chart if they hope to retain their position.

When a cultural lens is applied to the question of moral obligations, the clarity offered by structure and politics becomes somewhat obscure. One of the fundamental assumptions of education is that, because schooling is a public good directed at a vulnerable population, administration of the educational system is an inherently moral enterprise (Sergiovanni, 2000). This cultural milieu compels administrators to approach all decisions from an ethical perspective and with the best interests of the children in mind (K. Walker, 1998). In order to meet this moral obligation, administrators in schools and in central offices are expected to know the names of individual teachers and students. In practice, this burden of personal knowledge falls more heavily on the shoulders of school principals than on supervisory offices, but central office administrators are expected at least to know the names of the teachers in the schools in their supervisory portfolios. When administrators hold this kind of personifying knowledge about the people who work and study in the schools, it is less easy to perceive them as a faceless crowd that can be herded at will.

From a practical perspective, strict separation of administrators from other groups in the system is quite problematic. Although each group has distinct functions, they are not unrelated. Supervisory officers rely on principals to keep the schools operating, principals rely on teachers to teach the students, and teachers rely on students to learn the material. Furthermore, principals work in the same building where teachers teach and students study. The shared space and the connected functions enmesh the groups and make it difficult for administrators not to see teachers and students as individuals who deserve moral consideration and ethical treatment. Furthermore, if

they fail to consider personally any group or individuals, they run the risk of reducing the co-operation and engagement of the individuals who have been effaced, which can engender a sense of powerlessness and helplessness at all levels of the system (O'Neil, 1995).

This rather quick run through the structural, political, cultural, and practical terrain of the school system indicates that, while Bauman's (1993; 1998) three managerial strategies can find fallow ground in which to take root, some conditions exist to limit their growth. But just what does happen to educational administration when the strategies flourish? And how can administrators strive to nurture the limiting conditions so that the strategies become less productive? These questions will be considered through the stories of actual administrators.

The protagonist of our first story is a recently retired supervisory officer who had held the post of Chief Financial Officer in a large urban school district for over 20 years. As he reminisced about his experiences, he commented that he was proud of his ability to hold the line on budget expenditures and tax increases during his tenure, even though it had meant deep cuts in support services at the school level. A member of his audience observed that these cuts, specifically in the area of library, special education, support, and administrative services, had left elementary school teachers woefully under-equipped to provide resources to the students. In light of these consequences, how could he justify his decisions? His response:

Oh, I have no idea what the decisions meant in the schools. I don't think I was in the schools more than maybe twice in my entire career. In fact, I made it a point *not* to go into schools. I didn't want to know what was happening there because then I wouldn't have been able to make the decisions I did. I had tough decisions to make. I couldn't worry about how those decisions were going to affect the people in the schools.

For this administrator, the teachers and students were somewhere else; he had denied them proximity. They were unknown entities; he had effaced their faces. Although a case can be made that his portfolio demanded fiscal responsibility and that fiscal decisions are usually driven by organizational efficiencies, this is not the only, or even the best, response. Had teachers been asked where dollars could be saved, it is possible that they would have come up with some creative solutions for reducing costs, and it is likely they would have felt far more committed to the process and, consequently, to the organization. Or perhaps they would have made the same decision as he did. What the final outcome would have been is irrelevant. What matters is that the school people, principals, teachers, and students alike, were not even consulted about decisions that had serious implications for the ways in which they did their work. This is a clear example of the organization trumping ethics.

Contrast that administrator with a school principal who, during her first year of service, made a point of spending as much time in the staff room and classrooms as possible. As she talked about her first year as a school principal, she mentioned that she had bought every staff member a Christmas present that reflected something personal about the individual. She commented:

It was easier to do for some people than for others because there are some of the teachers I didn't know well enough at the time. That was a pretty good indication to me that I wasn't spending enough time with them. If I can't pick out a personal gift for each person on my staff, then I'm not doing my job as a principal. Not that I have to buy them gifts, but I should know each one of them well enough to be able to.

This kind of personal attention extended to every aspect of her leadership. In team meetings with teachers, students, and parents, for example, she made sure that each person had time to talk and that others listened attentively and respectfully. When a decision was reached, she went around the table to check on the comfort level of each participant with the final decision.

This is not to say that some cultural politics were not at work in her school. A case can be made that a student or parent is unlikely to oppose a decision made by a teacher or the principal when that individual is sitting at the same table. The point, however, is that this administrator brought all interested parties to the table; she did not deny them proximity. She spoke to all people by name; she did not efface their identities. She dealt with all people as individuals rather than as members of a category; she did not reduce them to traits. Although she might not have made the best decisions all the time, she made them with the interests of unique individuals in mind. The three managerial strategies were not to be seen, and her treatment of the teachers and students was far more compassionate and responsive than was that meted out by the CFO.

IMPLICIT ORGANIZATIONAL NARRATIVES

These examples demonstrate that alternative modes of practice can be adopted and appropriated for more effective, ethically sound, and palatable administrative practices. However, underlying any kind of administrative strategy are organizational conditions that make a particular set of strategies appealing to those who are charged with managerial responsibilities. These conditions constitute the implicit organizational narrative that scripts the lives of the people who work within it. We contend that, in most contemporary organizations, four conditions prevail: the imperative of efficiency, diffusion of responsibility, obscurity of cause, and simplification of solutions.

Together, these conditions serve to render palatable the managerial strategies of denial of proximity, effacement of face, and reduction to traits. In this section, we explore each of these organizational conditions.

The imperative of efficiency

In those matters where there are no options, morality does not factor in. Consider, for example, the numerous stories of people who recount their hardships during the days of economic depression and who describe how the circumstances pruned their theoretical choices so that they might merely exist. Similar accounts can also be found in the heartrending descriptions offered by Victor Frankl (1959/84) of the experiences of the prisoners in the Nazi death camps.

Although these might be extreme examples, one aspect becomes exceedingly clear from such descriptions: When choices and options are eliminated, people's responses to stimuli become predictable, and when circumstances limit choice, the freedom to choose an ethical action is often the first casualty. From an organizational perspective, the choice of an individual to preserve values that run counter to the prevailing values in an organization often comes at such a high personal cost as to militate against that choice as a viable option. Educational administrators are no exception. When they are faced with choices that pit ethics against organizational efficiency, they put their jobs on the line by following the ethical option. So what kind of issue might it be worth losing one's job for? And how many administrators are likely to risk their future for a principle?

The limitation of choice is most evident in those administrative circles where efficiency serves as the dominant narrative to which all other narratives yield. From this mindset emerge administrative strategies that conform, constrict, restrict, or, as Bauman (1998) puts it, "straightjacket" people's moral nature – not by making them immoral but by widening the gulf between people within the organization and the consequences of the actions that they take on behalf of the organization. This "distant view" has served organizations well, for such detached strategies have been used to reduce the fog of partiality and to construct a more fair and neutral process. Furthermore, the strategy of limiting options yields a process that is operationally efficient and that can be managed and controlled with little investment of time and energy. In other words, the quest for efficiency is, at its best, a quest for organizational processes that are generally (but perhaps not specifically) fair and just. With that end in sight, administrators are prone to rely on denial of proximity, effacement of face, and reduction to traits so that they can justify actions that might run counter to their personal moral impulses but that advance organizational efficiency.

Diffusion of responsibility

One defining assumption of organizational life is that the individual members work in concert to accomplish the objectives of the organization. These broad objectives are described in the mission statement, motto, and other maxims of the organization, under the umbrella of which community members march to fulfil the goals. From this interpretation, there exists an ideological connection between all levels of the organizational hierarchy. To further inculcate this connection, the workers are encouraged to develop *loyalty towards* and *faith* in the organizational creed. The relationship, however, is an asymmetrical one. No such loyalty, moral responsibility, or obligation is demanded from the administrative elite because they are charged with the responsibility for constructing the creed from the outset. This asymmetry of reciprocity renders the organizational elite unaccountable for their actions, because most of what happens in administrative circles is not transparent to an outside gaze. Instead, their responsibilities and obligations are diffused in a complex web of organizational activity.

This diffusion of responsibility can be seen in an example offered by Kieran Egan (1997) about an economic crisis during the late 16th century in Europe. The story goes as follows: The citizens of 16th century Europe saw the prices of commodities rise inexplicably. Chief amongst these was the increase in the price of clothing. When clothiers were asked to justify the increased cost, they denied responsibility and blamed the increases on cloth merchants who, in turn, blamed weavers. The weavers blamed the wool merchants, and the merchants laid fault with the sheep farmers for raising the price of their wool. Sheep farmers protested by exclaiming that they had to raise wool prices in order to afford their clothing, which had become exorbitantly expensive. This explanation brought the debate full circle, and responsibility had been diffused to the point where no one action or set of actors could be identified as the first cause.

Egan (1997) draws parallels between this example of diffused responsibility and current problems in the educational system – the *merry-go-round of blame*, of sorts. His argument is that, because the work of educating children is spread across a broad and complex system, responsibility for undesirable outcomes or unanticipated effects is difficult to pinpoint. From our point of view, this further implies that educational administrators, by virtue of their position in the administrative chair, can “pass the buck” upwards toward board or Ministry officers and downwards toward teachers and students. In spite of current pressures for transparency of process and accountability for outcomes among the educational administrative cadre, the organizational condition of diffused responsibility still allows administrators to dodge any moral fallout from their actions.

Obscurity of cause

Returning to Egan's (1997) story, another point of note is that the circular kind of "deductive reasoning" was unsuccessful in identifying the root cause. It took creative thinking on the part of Jean Bodin to solve the mystery. Egan writes,

It took some time, and much blaming, before Jean Bodin (1530-1596) worked out that none of the obvious candidates was at fault. Rather, the general rise in prices was connected with the import into Europe of Central and South American gold and silver and with European monarchs' use of this bullion through their royal mints. That is, the monarchs increased the money supply and thus stimulated inflation. (pp. 1-2)

According to Egan, self-referential descriptions of complex problems yield remedies that are curative in conception but irrelevant in practice because they "fail to identify the real cause of the problem" (p. 2). That is, incoherent or inadequate understandings of a problematic situation often send people on the proverbial wild goose chase, during which there is a tendency to solve the wrong problem. Or solve the problem, but ignore the root cause. In educational administration circles, for example, administrators might be faced with the problem of a student who is exhibiting antisocial behaviour in school. It is tempting to view this behaviour as a problem that resides within the student and the family, and blame might be placed on inappropriate parenting or insufficient self-control. That, however, might not be the complete picture. There might also be larger societal, economic, and cultural pressures that lie at the root of the child's conduct, but probing these deeper causes, much less solving them, is difficult in the extreme. It is more likely that administrators will base their decisions and interventions on apparent causes (or apparent symptoms) and fall back on the strategies of denial of proximity, effacement of face, and reduction to traits if their actions yield unsavoury consequences.

Simplification of solutions

Obscurity of cause leads directly to the organizational condition of simplification of solution. This condition is also implicated in Egan's (1997) European tale in that the initial solutions proposed by the European citizenry were directed at the people who were proximally connected to the clothing trade. Even though they were not the ones who could ultimately bring about resolution, they were the easiest and most obvious targets for intervention. In other words, it was easier to put pressure on wool merchants or sheep farmers than on the monarchs, even though the proposed solutions were unlikely to do anything at all about the cost of clothing.

The condition of simplified solutions highlights the importance of examining a situation in all its perceived and hidden complexities. Regrettably, the

desire for expediency often drives administrators to align themselves with the first explanation that affords the fastest and easiest solutions. To return to the example of the antisocial behaviour, the administrator who is in search of an expedient solution might choose to expel the student because that option will eliminate the behaviour problems for the term of the expulsion. Because that solution does not address the root causes, however, it is unlikely to be efficacious for the long term, and the problematic behaviour can be expected to return to the school with the student. With this example, we do not mean to imply that slow deliberations should always be favoured over fast and efficient resolutions. We do, however, mean to highlight that, in the pursuit of quick solutions, administrators often overlook the subtleties that are hidden to the view of simple or non-creative investigations and rely instead on the managerial strategies to protect them from the fallout from inefficacious resolutions. This discussion should serve as a reminder to educational administrators that subtleties and complexities accompany most human engagements, and that they are not excluded from the necessity of deconstructing these deep complexities, irrespective of their stature in the organizational hierarchy.

FINAL THOUGHTS

Our central argument is that, when educational administrators turn to the strategies of denial of proximity, effacement of face, and reduction to traits, they are falling victim to a Cartesian moral arrangement that springs from hierarchical structures and dispositions whereby the organization is allowed to trump personal ethical impulses. This hegemonic relationship has a silencing effect on teachers, parents, students, and other members of the moral community. Regrettably, these arrangements have become so normalized in contemporary society that even the notion to object to such treatment is considered dangerous. Instead of dissension being seen as a welcome addition to public discourse, solitary objections or competing viewpoints are classified as problematic and harshly dealt with, and collective protests, such as walkouts and strikes, are ruled as unlawful. Work-to-rule legislation in Ontario is a prime example of this trend. So too is the fact that the current “buzz word” in the Ontario Ministry of Education is *compliance*. How sad that the richness that can emerge from collisions between contested perspectives is reduced to a standard set of expected and accepted behaviours. How sad that administrators are expected to serve as officers of the organization rather than as leaders of learning.

In spite of the hegemony of this kind of organizational construction, it does not have to remain intact or unchallenged. Bauman’s (1993; 1998) analysis of the three managerial strategies brings to the forefront specific aspects of administrative conduct that have previously escaped a rigorous examination. Our interpretation of his work suggests that there have been good

reasons for the administrative elite to practice these managerial strategies. These reasons are situated in the organizational conditions of the imperative of efficiency, the diffusion of responsibility, the obscurity of cause, and the simplification of solutions. From an educational standpoint, it is these conditions that we are interested in eradicating. If they can be eliminated, then administrators will perhaps find the managerial strategies less appealing or less efficacious. We argue that, in an educational setting, administrative strategies should emerge intrinsically from within the practices, not extrinsically imposed to meet secondary goals such as efficiency, quick fixes, or surface solutions while keeping all other considerations, including moral ones, at bay.

It follows that open, unfettered communication across all hierarchical levels should be promoted in order to tap into the best that experience has to offer. This kind of democratic administrative conduct favours effectiveness as well as efficiency. One strategy that helps in such an endeavour is the expressive-collaborative model of moral discourse that came to our attention through the work of Margaret Walker (1998) and that we have explored in previous papers (Kumar & Mitchell, 2002; Mitchell & Kumar, 2001). The philosophical and practical propositions we have presented relative to the expressive-collaborative model are antithetical to traditional obsessions with quick-fix approaches to deep-seated problems and are devoid of prescriptions that attend to instant gratification of individuals. Instead, our propositions call for a reflective, democratic deliberative process and a set of outcomes that are reasonably responsive to the moral lives and ethical needs of a diverse moral community.

That goal is not easily achieved because of deep-seated assumptions about organizations. Bauman's (1998) work is once again instructive in that he shines a spotlight on the ways in which language serves to shape human conditions. He argues, for example, that people tend to speak of organizations as if they were people and to attribute to an organization specific human qualities. This, he contends, gives a human face to the organization even as it strips the people in the organization of their own humanity. We have found evidence of this assertion even as we wrote this paper: It has been difficult to remember that an organization does not "allow" or "disallow" anything. We were tempted several times to speak of the organization as effacing face or reducing to traits, only to remind ourselves that the organization, as such, does nothing. It is the people in the organization who wield these strategies. This reminder serves notice that the Cartesian duality is a human construction and, as such, it can be deconstructed. If we remain open to our senses, as Tagore (1913) implores, then we just might find deliverance from the moral straitjackets in which we find ourselves when the organization is allowed to trump ethics.

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LE RELATIVISME DES VALEURS EN ÉDUCATION : UNE IMPASSE?

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RÉSUMÉ. Cet article a pour objectif d'expliquer toute la portée philosophique du relativisme des valeurs en éducation et d'en éviter les impasses en dégageant une thèse où l'établissement de valeurs demeure possible. Nous présentons d'abord le relativisme des valeurs comme la perte des fondements, le rejet du dogmatisme, celui de l'endoctrinement ainsi que la pseudo-neutralité qu'il revendique. Par la suite, en écartant le relativisme comme conception satisfaisante de l'éducation aux valeurs, nous esquissons trois valeurs fondamentales de l'école de demain : l'universalité, la démocratie et l'esprit critique.

RELATIVISM OF VALUES IN EDUCATION: AN IMPASSE?

ABSTRACT. This article aims to clarify the philosophical impact of the relativism of values in education and to avoid the ensuing deadlocks by elaborating a thesis where establishing values remains possible. The relativism of values is initially presented as the loss of fundamentals, the rejection of dogmatism of the indoctrinating sort, as well as the pseudo-neutrality relativism claims. Secondly in removing relativism as a satisfactory concept for values education, three fundamental values are outlined for tomorrow's schools: universality, democracy and critical thinking.

Suivant l'interprétation d'Hannah Arendt (1989), depuis la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, l'Occident serait caractérisé par un éclatement des valeurs, une véritable crise de l'éducation. Quelques facteurs ont contribué à cette crise postmoderne de l'éducation. D'abord, le rejet radical des valeurs et finalités religieuses du système d'éducation par le mouvement irréversible de sécularisation de la société. Ensuite, la montée de l'individualisme reposant sur le primat des droits et libertés des individus au détriment de toute forme de projet ou d'idéal collectifs. Enfin, la poussée de l'immigration et son corollaire, sur le plan des idées, le concept de multiculturalisme et les répercussions politiques qui le sous-tend. Comme le contexte multiculturaliste témoigne de l'existence de plusieurs cultures en un même territoire politique, cette conception de la culture se pose comme une solution à deux dangers : un particularisme négateur de l'autre ainsi qu'un universalisme désavouant les identités particulières. Le concept de multiculturalisme déploie aussi une

portée normative, en ce sens que son modèle d'éducation favorise l'ouverture aux autres cultures en instaurant des espaces de rencontre. Le risque d'une telle approche réside dans la folklorisation introduite en confinant les individus à jouer le rôle de représentants d'une culture prédéterminée. Or, il est urgent de se départir de l'approche essentialiste qui considère les cultures figées, aux contours clairs, et exclusives les unes des autres. Cette conception alimente une image passéiste et romantique de la culture qui pose le pluralisme comme un problème à gérer, laissant suggérer que les sociétés non-pluralistes n'ont pas à se soucier de la question de l'altérité. Malheureusement, malgré la nécessité d'être pensée parce que vécue, une philosophie de l'altérité culturelle peut sombrer dans le relativisme. Il faudra en un premier lieu définir le relativisme et ensuite présenter cette conception comme la perte des fondements. Après, on pourra voir en quoi le relativisme se dresse contre le dogmatisme et l'endoctrinement, et quelles sont les impasses d'une pseudo-neutralité de l'éducateur. Enfin, on opposera à la thèse relativiste trois grandes valeurs de l'éducation : l'universalité comme fondement d'une anthropologie philosophique, la démocratie comme finalité politique et l'esprit critique façonnant l'individu autonome. Ces valeurs, loin d'être exclusives, constituent néanmoins les prolégomènes à toute pédagogie qui tente de se départir des problèmes inhérents à une approche morale relativiste.

Définition du relativisme des valeurs

Il importe de bien définir le concept de relativisme car cette thèse philosophique généralement adoptée sur deux plans, la connaissance et les normes, ne possède pas un sens univoque. Les enjeux du relativisme sur le statut du savoir ont été particulièrement débattus au courant des années 1990 avec l'affaire Sokal (1997), du nom d'un physicien qui avait sciemment fait publier une théorie farfelue dans une revue dite scientifique afin de dénoncer le manque de contrôle de ces revues. De portée épistémologique, le relativisme soutient que le progrès dans le domaine du savoir est impossible, que toute connaissance demeure relative aux diverses cultures ou individus et enfin, qu'on ne peut établir de vérités et de savoirs universels. Sur le plan épistémologique, cette école de pensée conçoit qu'il ne peut y avoir de vérité indépendante de sa théorisation dans un paradigme. Cette conception molle est soutenue par Rorty (1989) qui s'affiche comme pragmatiste, en raison du critère de vérité s'appuyant sur une valeur pratique. Une variante forte du relativisme épistémologique se rencontre dans le refus de tout statut accordé à la vérité, aux méthodes scientifiques et à la raison. Un célèbre représentant de cette sorte d'anarchisme épistémologique est Feyerabend (1989).

Sur le plan des valeurs, la position relativiste demeure une position philosophique très répandue actuellement. Certains auteurs, tel Colbeck (Leicester *et al.* ; 2000), prônent une forme de relativisme (*plural thinking*) qui contourne à la fois les écueils du dogmatisme et du nihilisme. D'autres auteurs, tel Jeffrey (1999) considèrent que le relativisme culturel représente une solution au problème de l'ethnocentrisme occidental et, parce que fondé sur l'argumentation, justifie le pluralisme en y exprimant sa richesse. Tout en acceptant, avec Jeffrey, l'obligation de considérer les contextes culturels impliqués dans un conflit de valeurs, on refuse cette forme douce du relativisme. En effet, même si elle a recours au mode argumentatif, la thèse du relativisme culturel est aussi faible que celle du relativisme individuel ou subjectif reflétant les opinions personnelles. Or, le pluralisme consiste à constater la multiplicité des particularismes culturels. Cette attitude ne mène pas automatiquement au relativisme, rendre irréductibles ces particularismes à toutes valeurs universelles ou critères interculturels. Par ailleurs, le relativisme constitue un déni sceptique par rapport à toute doctrine qui absolutise les valeurs. Malheureusement, la thèse relativiste peut être extrême et entraîner des répercussions solipsistes où chaque individu possède sa propre vérité et y demeure enfermé, incapable de penser autrui. D'un autre côté, la perspective culturelle ou sociale place le relativisme comme une thèse moins radicale et plus communément acceptée.

Le relativisme accepte la coexistence de valeurs contradictoires parce qu'il refuse d'établir un critère d'universalité. En niant la possibilité du caractère universel des valeurs, cette position philosophique se place comme "méta-éthique". Se distinguant du relativisme méta-éthique, le relativisme normatif tente plutôt d'établir le comportement à adopter envers les doctrines opposées aux nôtres : suspendre son jugement. En ce sens, cette position est extrême parce qu'elle rend intenable tout discours argumenté sur les valeurs en accueillant sans questionnement les divers jugements et actions d'autrui. On peut parler à ce titre de suicide intellectuel, car l'agent moral n'accorde pas plus de crédit à sa propre thèse qu'à toutes celles qui la contredisent. En définitive, parce qu'il refuse de juger et de convaincre autrui, le relativiste normatif peut sombrer bien malgré lui et de façon paradoxale dans un solipsisme, parce que se niant lui-même comme un interlocuteur moral, il récuse tout dialogue moral, toute éthique de la communication sur le modèle d'Habermas (1992) par exemple. L'argument de l'autocontradiction est d'ailleurs abondamment utilisé contre le relativisme ; en énonçant que toutes choses sont relatives, le postulat primordial de cette doctrine ("tout est relatif") devrait être lui aussi relatif. Ainsi serait diminuée et relativisée la valeur absolue ou universelle («tout») de la proposition de base.

Certains auteurs (Wong, 2001) ne croient pas que le relativisme entraîne nécessairement un dualisme entre la position de l'agent moral et celle

d'autrui. En effet, Wong juge que parce que les valeurs sont vécues avant d'être choisies, le relativisme n'aboutit pas à un nihilisme moral où l'agent n'accorderait aucune créance à ses propres valeurs. Or, il semble que l'argument utilisé, en négligeant la composante réflexive de l'acquisition des valeurs, ne fait qu'exprimer dans toute sa splendeur l'inconséquence du relativisme et son statut de fable théorique. L'interprète ne réduit-il pas lui-même la portée de cette doctrine philosophique jusqu'au point de l'annuler en soutenant que : "S'inquiéter du relativisme moral comme s'il était un solvant du ciment social, c'est non seulement attribuer trop de pouvoir à une doctrine philosophique, mais également ne pas comprendre la nature du problème" (Wong, 2001, p.1375). Car s'il est vrai que les valeurs sont intégrées de façon presque inconsciente tout au long de l'enfance sous l'influence de l'environnement, la famille, les pairs et l'école, elles doivent, à l'âge adulte, être examinées et acceptées rationnellement. Ainsi, le penseur relativiste ne peut désormais, pour éviter le nihilisme, se réfugier sur l'aspect vécu des valeurs, car la démarche philosophique présupposée par l'acceptation d'une doctrine, en occurrence ici le relativisme, commande l'examen des arguments et l'évaluation des valeurs associées.

La perte des valeurs fondamentales

L'époque postmoderne serait marquée selon la thèse d'Edgar Morin (1986) par trois caractéristiques principales : 1) l'absence de vérité fondamentale, 2) l'impossibilité logique d'un fondement premier, car on peut toujours trouver un fondement au fondement, et 3) le réel n'est pas fondamentalement réel parce qu'il nécessite de recourir à quelque chose d'autre pour se justifier (voir Morin et Brunet, 2000). Il semble que cette thèse soit contre-intuitive et continuellement infirmée dans la pratique pédagogique. En effet, pour qu'un nouvel apprentissage se réalise chez l'étudiant, celui-ci doit s'appuyer sur des bases certaines et intégrées. Le développement humain ne saurait s'accomplir de façon totalement aléatoire, chaque étape devant plutôt servir de tremplin, de fondement, à une étape supérieure. Ainsi, l'épistémologie génétique piagétienne, par exemple, en proposant une théorie du développement par stades, ne peut faire l'économie de la notion de fondement. Le perfectionnement des structures cognitives se réalise à partir du plus connu, servant de fondement, vers l'inconnu, la nouveauté. Une formation fondamentale doit donc tenir compte de la progression naturelle de l'apprenant. Le constructivisme suppose l'existence de fondements, d'abord au sens de ce qui est premier, chronologiquement ou ontologiquement, ensuite de ce qui sert de soutien nécessaire et permanent à la structure, enfin comme partie immanente de ce même fondement. Sur le plan de l'éducation, la formation fondamentale devrait donc être primordiale et antérieure à la formation spécialisée.

La position épistémologique d'Edgar Morin, d'orientation sceptique et relativiste, remonte à la crise scientifique et philosophique des fondements du dix-neuvième siècle ainsi que d'une certaine manière au contractualisme libéral. Or une telle position a été adoptée dans les milieux de l'éducation bien avant la théorisation d'Edgar Morin. En effet, en recentrant l'activité pédagogique sur les besoins de l'enfant en tant qu'individu, la révolution engendrée par le mouvement de l'éducation nouvelle a donné lieu à des pratiques souvent originales, parfois excessives. L'école nouvelle s'était dressée contre le monopole des valeurs revendiqué par les maîtres soit laïcs ou religieux. Ce courant rejetait la morale de l'école traditionnelle parce que dogmatique et considérée comme un savoir extrinsèque à l'enfant qu'on devait lui transmettre comme s'il s'agissait d'une matière scolaire comme les autres (Bloch, 1973). La morale traditionnelle, dominée par le joug du maître, serait subjuguée par l'obéissance, l'imitation et le conformisme, pour s'afficher pleinement comme hétéronome. Inversement, le registre normatif devenait, dans l'optique de l'éducation nouvelle, placé sous la gouverne de l'autonomie, tributaire des intérêts, désirs et expériences de l'enfant. Plutôt qu'un enseignement de type magistral du bien agir, le nouvel éducateur privilégiait une morale en action orientée vers deux finalités : la formation personnelle et l'adaptation sociale. L'éthique se déployait comme l'actualisation d'un potentiel individuel et immanent où chaque enfant devait développer son caractère propre par l'acquisition dans l'expérience de valeurs vivantes. L'éducation nouvelle participait d'une idéologie qui ramène le champ des valeurs à une forme de subjectivisme. Parce que personnelles, les valeurs soulignaient des préférences, des inclinations, elles devenaient relatives. Or, malgré la polémique qu'ils peuvent entraîner, les jugements sur les valeurs ne doivent en aucun cas être considérés comme purement subjectifs. Même s'il s'agit d'un agent moral qui énonce un jugement, pour qu'il y ait dialogue ou débat sur les différentes thèses, des critères objectifs doivent départager les propositions. Toutefois, renoncer à la position relativiste du subjectivisme ne signifie en aucun cas qu'il faille ériger en dogmes quelques valeurs absolues.

Un bon exemple du relativisme de l'éducation nouvelle demeure l'expérience de Neill (1971) qui, même s'il s'est rapidement dissocié de ce mouvement en raison de la popularité grandissante de l'approche scientifique de Maria Montessori (1952), a fondé une école, Summerhill, sur des bases épistémologiques et normatives relativistes. Les activités d'enseignement ne s'appuyaient pas sur un cursus de cours obligatoires et hiérarchisés. En effet, dans l'optique de Neill, il était presque criminel de concevoir que l'enseignant puisse diriger ou forcer l'enfant à apprendre. On y tolérait l'école buissonnière et jugeait que l'opinion d'un enseignant avait exactement la même valeur que celle d'un étudiant dans les assemblées hebdomadaires. En effet, on y votait sur la majorité des aspects du vivre-ensemble sans discriminer les

positions des élèves et des adultes. À côté du courant européen de la non-directivité, on relève une certaine forme d'humanisme popularisée aux États-Unis (Rogers, 1971) ayant prôné une tolérance molle, une manifestation d'indifférence face à l'autorité des valeurs de l'enseignant sur celles de l'éduqué. En effet, l'enseignant défini comme guide, accompagnateur et non responsable de l'évaluation des apprentissages, peut sembler démissionnaire lorsque l'intolérable est toléré et que l'épanouissement individuel et le développement intégral de l'enfant se replient sur un subjectivisme.

Le dogmatisme et l'endoctrinement

Le relativisme peut être envisagé comme une alternative au danger de l'endoctrinement en éducation. Tout enseignement ne saurait être neutre car il affiche une dimension normative, un devoir-être. Parce qu'il est tourné vers le futur, l'enseignant peut adopter des méthodes contestables pour atteindre des finalités injustes. D'une certaine façon, la thèse relativiste est devenue récemment populaire comme une réaction allergique à des formes extrêmes du dogmatisme. Le sens commun voit d'ailleurs dans l'endoctrinement toute activité qui mène au lavage de cerveau et à la propagande. Reboul (1977) rappelle que la littérature anglo-saxonne a insisté sur la dimension individuelle de l'endoctrinement en tant que mauvaise éducation, tandis que les interprètes français ont tablé sur la forme collective, certaines variantes des idéologies de gauche notamment. Reboul étudie ces deux formes complémentaires en dégagant deux procédés : le type sectaire où on transforme les préjugés pour les substituer par d'autres, et le conformisme où on renforce les préjugés. Le conformisme est probablement moins spectaculaire, mais son œuvre demeure extrêmement pernicieuse, car cette attitude s'infiltré dans les mentalités jusqu'à se confondre avec l'enseignement officiel. Reboul (1977, pp. 14-24) relève treize comportements de l'éducation viciée : «1) enseigner une doctrine pernicieuse, 2) utiliser son enseignement pour propager une doctrine partisane, 3) faire apprendre sans comprendre ce qu'on devrait comprendre, 4) utiliser pour enseigner l'argument d'autorité, 5) enseigner à partir de préjugés, 6) enseigner comme scientifique ce qui ne l'est pas, 8) n'enseigner que les faits en faveur de sa doctrine, 10) sélectionner arbitrairement telle partie du programme d'études, 11) exalter dans son enseignement telle valeur au détriment des autres, 12) propager la haine par son enseignement, et 13) imposer la croyance par la violence». Or, ce qui distingue l'enseignement de l'endoctrinement tient entre autres dans le statut accordé à l'étudiant, tandis que le professeur juste prend l'élève comme une fin, l'endoctrineur l'envisage comme un simple moyen au service d'une idéologie. L'autonomie individuelle et la faculté de penser sont alors brimées par cette mauvaise éducation.

Pour sa part, Kohlberg (1981) envisage que le problème principal de l'éducation aux valeurs réside dans la dialectique de l'endoctrinement et du

relativisme. Il juge ce débat à l'aune des grands courants de l'éducation morale. Il énumère d'abord quatre solutions incorrectes au problème du relativisme. En un premier temps, il refuse de restreindre la portée de l'éducation à la seule socialisation, car cela équivaldrait à de l'endoctrinement où la société y ferait figure d'autorité. De même, établir une liste des valeurs positives tels «Dix Commandements» constituerait inévitablement une forme de dogmatisme. Enfin, seront rejetés les programmes de l'éducation au caractère sur le modèle aristotélicien d'un ensemble de vertus, ainsi que la méthode de la clarification des valeurs fondée par Raths, Harmin et Simons (1966). En ce qui concerne un inventaire des vertus sur le modèle aristotélicien, Kohlberg (1981) soulève la difficulté de s'entendre sur le nombre et le choix des vertus, ainsi que sur le sens des définitions de chacune de ces vertus. Par ailleurs, il considère que la théorie de la clarification des valeurs s'oriente vers un relativisme, car si les valeurs découlent d'une recherche personnelle de la part de l'étudiant, sur quelle base l'enseignant peut-il exhorter ses étudiants aux valeurs qui lui sont chères ? Notons que malgré les critiques de Kohlberg, l'éducation au caractère affiche un regain de popularité (Roy Bureau, in Bouchard, 2002), tout comme la clarification des valeurs n'ayant jamais été complètement abandonnée depuis sa fondation dans les années 1960 (Laprée, in Bouchard, 2002).

En contre-partie à sa critique du relativisme, Kohlberg tente de résoudre cette impasse en apportant des bases philosophiques et psychologiques au développement moral de l'enfant. En s'inspirant des travaux de Piaget, il soutient qu'en fonction de son âge, l'enfant emploie un type de raisonnement moral précis en suivant six stades. Le raisonnement est d'abord pré-conventionnel : 1) peur de la punition et obéissance, 2) relativisme instrumental (pragmatique). Ensuite est atteint le niveau conventionnel : 3) concordance interpersonnelle du bon garçon, de la bonne fille, 4) renforcement social. Enfin, un développement maximal devrait se rendre jusqu'au niveau post-conventionnel : 5) contrat social (examen critique des valeurs), et 6) se soumettre à des principes éthiques universels. Notons que postérieurement, Kohlberg a formulé l'hypothèse d'un septième stade de développement centré sur le sacré. Dans ce modèle, l'enseignant doit encourager chez l'enfant le passage à un stade supérieur. Pour connaître à quel stade l'enfant est actuellement rendu, un questionnaire est posé et on évaluera l'enfant sur la seule base de ses réponses, de son argumentation. On peut reprocher à cette méthode un certain aspect artificiel, de même que l'orientation exclusivement cognitiviste, établissant le stade moral de l'enfant seulement à partir de tests, tel le fameux dilemme de Heinz où on demande à l'étudiant ce que devrait faire une personne n'ayant pas suffisamment d'argent pour acheter le médicament nécessaire pour sauver la vie de la personne qu'elle aime : se résigner, tenter d'établir un arrangement avec le pharmacien qui vend le médicament, voler. . . On évalue alors les argu-

ments apportés par l'étudiant à la réponse qu'il formule pour résoudre ce problème éthique.

La supposée neutralité

La crainte d'endoctriner pousse malheureusement nombreux éducateurs à adopter une fausse neutralité dans le but de fuir l'endoctrinement qui, loin de constituer un remède au problème, représente plutôt une démission de la part de cet éducateur. Ériger la neutralité pédagogique en dogme annihile toute action. En effet, "[p]oser la neutralité totale revient à renoncer à l'éducation. Car toute éducation repose sur des valeurs qu'on ne peut pas prouver, sur des choix aussi indémontrables qu'inéluçables ; on ne peut démontrer que le respect humain vaut mieux que le racisme, la vérité que le mensonge, etc." (Reboul, 1977, p. 63). Ce genre de méséducation représente une démarche dénuée de valeurs et se place à l'encontre de l'idée même d'éducation car ce type d'activité ne saurait être neutre, si elle veut prétendre à former des individus. Comme l'énonce Houssaye : "Parce que la fin de l'enseignement est la pensée libre, la laïcité doit s'engager sur le chemin de la quête et des moyens du sens, sans verser ni dans l'illusion de la volonté de l'éducation totale (endoctrinement), ni dans l'illusion de la neutralité pédagogique (abstention)" (Houssaye, 1999, p. 257).

Par essence, l'éducation constitue une activité engagée dans le champ des valeurs. Il est inévitable que l'enseignant fasse des choix pédagogiques en vue de certaines finalités consenties ou inconscientes. En effet, parce que l'enseignant est d'abord un être social et que son rôle remplit une fonction institutionnelle, les finalités qui vont orienter son travail ne sont pas toutes pleinement intériorisées. Même si plusieurs de ces finalités qui participent du déterminisme social sont intégrées de façon disons inconsciente par l'agent, celles-ci demeurent néanmoins marquantes et conjuguées aux finalités volontaires, c'est-à-dire acceptées comme siennes par l'agent, permettant à l'activité pédagogique d'avoir lieu. Parce qu'elle repose sur des finalités et des intentions, l'éducation ne saurait être relativiste : "Il est certain que le relativisme apparaît peu compatible avec l'exigence de justification intellectuelle et culturelle proprement normative des contenus d'enseignement qui paraît inhérente à l'intentionnalité pédagogique" (Forquin, 1991, p. 13). En fait, la fausse neutralité rend l'enseignement caduque, car elle charcute la base de l'autorité nécessaire à la relation entre le professeur et l'élève. Afin que l'enseignement réussisse, le professeur tout comme l'élève doivent reconnaître la valeur intrinsèque du savoir partagé.

Ainsi, l'une des tentations d'un relativisme mou tient dans le souci que l'enseignant conserve une prétendue neutralité. Non seulement cette neutralité n'est pas souhaitable, mais elle est aussi *de facto* impossible. Continuellement, l'enseignant est appelé à faire des choix, à discipliner, à

évaluer, à classer, à convaincre, à sanctionner, à programmer. Cette dimension coercitive de l'activité éducative représente ce que Foucault (1975) appelle le contrôle social. Ces pouvoirs demandent de prendre position, de privilégier un modèle d'humanité plutôt qu'un autre et expriment ainsi la limite de la neutralité pédagogique. Par ailleurs, il ne peut y avoir de neutralité sur certains comportements, car si la tolérance constitue une des valeurs fondamentales de l'activité pédagogique, jamais il ne saurait être question, comme le dit l'adage, de tolérer l'intolérable. Une tolérance irréfléchie est à proscrire, car elle conduit au relativisme et ne permet pas l'avènement d'une citoyenneté éclairée qui s'affranchit d'un conformisme de groupe, par la dimension critique si importante du devoir d'indignation. Des actions exigent intrinsèquement une condamnation ; le viol et le meurtre, par exemple, doivent être dénoncés d'emblée. L'esprit critique et l'engagement social doivent veiller au guet pour qu'une forme de pseudo-neutralité ne sombre en relativisme.

En dépit du fait que plusieurs conceptions du relativisme des valeurs imprègnent le monde de l'éducation, il semble opportun non seulement de tracer les limites de cette position, mais d'en suggérer un dépassement en discutant de certaines valeurs fondamentales. Ces valeurs agiront comme des repères pour construire un système d'éducation qui tout en considérant les identités culturelles et communautaires, recherchera un critère d'universalité dans une définition de ce que constitue un être humain, et ouvre la voie à un véritable dialogue éthique par l'esprit critique. Loin d'être les seules valeurs à propager, ces dernières apparaissent néanmoins comme incontournables.

Les valeurs de l'éducation : universalité, démocratie et critique

L'éducation doit nécessairement considérer les différents particularismes et déterminismes ou handicaps socioculturels, mais aussi les dépasser pour édifier la véritable universalité démocratique. Ainsi, le pluralisme démocratique, seul mode pleinement satisfaisant de l'expérience éducative de ce vingt-et-unième siècle, doit lutter à la fois contre le conformisme et la tyrannie. Bien entendu, cette position philosophique ne vise en aucune façon à faire l'apologie d'un trait « occidental », mais seulement à exprimer des valeurs fondamentales. En dépit de la définition problématique du concept de démocratie, comme l'a souligné MacIntyre (1988), ainsi que de la façon contestable dont certaines puissances politiques tentent d'implanter ce modèle, il faut persister à l'accepter comme finalité politique et éducative. On définit ici l'idéal démocratique comme le respect des libertés individuelles et collectives, en particulier la liberté d'expression et de culte, libertés enchassées par des droits, et se manifestant politiquement par la souveraineté des citoyens. Le modèle démocratique apparaît comme l'opposé fragile mais indispensable contre tout totalitarisme.

Le danger de la quête d'universalité sur le plan de la normativité tient dans la possibilité de l'endoctrinement : "Dans les sociétés démocratiques, on considère que les vérités morales universelles et les règles qui visent délibérément à endoctriner les personnes sont inacceptables" (Jeffrey, 1999, p. 53). Jeffrey explique que du caractère construit de la valeur découle l'impossibilité d'en justifier un sens universel ou transcendant, le défi propre aux valeurs serait alors de tenter d'en trouver un sens universel sans les substantiver, les réifier. Assigner un sens universel aux valeurs repose sur deux exigences : considérer que ce sens universel demeure temporaire jusqu'à ce qu'il soit réfuté, et respecter une visée pragmatique de ce sens, comme dans le cas des chartes des Droits. L'universalité devrait ainsi recouvrir l'espace de l'expérience vécue et de la quotidienneté. Or, parce qu'il tolère la forme culturelle du relativisme, Jeffrey ne peut se résigner à ce que ce sens universel soit accepté par tous les peuples. Autrement dit considérant que l'élaboration des diverses chartes des Droits de l'Homme représente un trait occidental, il serait ethnocentrique de vouloir "imposer" le respect de ces valeurs même si celles-ci s'appuient sur un sens universel et pragmatique. Il a été soutenu, par ailleurs, que les chartes des Droits pouvaient se substituer à l'ancienne hégémonie cléricale et constituer un dogmatisme mou (Ménasseyre, in Lombard ; 1999, p. 43). Or, pour qu'une valeur soit accueillie, un dialogue doit être instauré et des arguments posés. On évite ainsi de concevoir la transmission des valeurs sous le modèle de l'endoctrinement. Si imposer les valeurs chères aux occidentaux marque de l'ethnocentrisme, on dénature alors leur portée universelle. La mission de l'activité de l'éducation consiste précisément à agir comme médiateur entre les cultures opposées. Même si la théorisation de la rationalité critique est apparue en contexte occidental, la finalité qu'elle doit représenter pour l'ensemble de l'humanité doit en faire une valeur universelle.

Afin d'adopter une position alternative au dogmatisme ou au relativisme, on peut accepter, avec Stanley (1998), la thèse d'un multiculturalisme critique. Le multiculturalisme ne peut être fondé sur le seul respect de la différence, car "[l]'idée même d'un respect des cultures suppose en effet l'existence d'un point de vue extérieur aux cultures elles-mêmes et la mise en œuvre de critères ayant un caractère d'universalité" (Forquin, 1991, p. 25). Or, cette thèse de la finalité de l'école comme gestion de la diversité nous plonge au cœur du postmodernisme. En effet, un penseur comme Houssaye (1998) a clairement dégagé les nouveaux défis de l'éducation de l'ancien paradigme humaniste en "quête de certitude". Se dissociant de la perspective humaniste en éducation dont Reboul figurait comme l'un des hérauts, Houssaye envisage les valeurs de l'éducation sous le signe d'une "gestion de l'incertitude". Les théories de la déconstruction (Derrida, Lacan, Lyotard) et du désenchantement du monde, telle l'entreprise de Gauchet (1985), ont laissé leur empreinte sur le problème du pluralisme, refoulant l'idéal rationaliste

de la modernité comme seul élément constitutif de l'homme. Ainsi, le seul modèle d'éducation pour l'humanité polymorphe débouche sur la gestion de la laïcité, car "aujourd'hui la sécularisation est la condition, le moyen et la fin de l'éducation" (Houssaye, 1998, p. 253). À l'instar de Dewey (1966) ayant expérimenté la démocratie vécue à l'école ou des théoriciens comme Habermas (1992) et Rawls (1971) pour qui le sens de l'éthique de demain est ramené sur les bases communautaires par l'impératif du dialogue et de la communication, Houssaye y voit les signes d'une éthique de l'authenticité, du droit à la différence. L'identité pourra ainsi se construire dans le rapport à l'autre (Ricœur, 1990 ; Lévinas, 1971) et maintenir, par l'intersubjectivité des relations personnelles, une tension pour que l'universalisation des valeurs à transmettre par l'éducation, jamais ne s'enlise dans le dogmatisme. L'éthique du dialogue permet de resituer à sa juste place la rationalité critique. Dans un excellent texte à portée heuristique, Houssaye (1999) dénombre trois "jalons pour une éthique de l'attitude éducative" : la relation, la responsabilité et la loi à construire. Ces trois catégories semblent correspondre adéquatement aux défis moraux de l'éducation. La relation regroupe toutes les éthiques du dialogue, de la communication et de l'altérité. La responsabilité trace la voie de la solidarité depuis les penseurs de la théorie critique jusqu'à Hans Jonas (1990). Cette forme d'éthique recoupe la dimension critique de l'éducation telle que nous l'avons esquissée. Le scepticisme propre à la critique permet, en se substituant au relativisme, de tempérer l'universalisme optimiste de la raison éducatrice. Enfin, le troisième modèle de la portée éthique de l'enseignement s'articule autour de la loi à construire et constitue, selon Houssaye, l'ultime défi politique de l'éducation : refuser à la fois un universalisme abstrait et un communautarisme négateur de l'autre, en instituant une éducation pluraliste et démocratique qui ajoute une dimension universelle et normative à l'éthique de la discussion. On doit souligner aussi que la dimension critique de l'activité pédagogique ne devrait pas détruire l'espérance en un fondement du savoir exprimant une certaine vérité. Deux pôles nécessaires à l'éducation instaurent une tension vitale entre le dogmatisme et le nihilisme. Tout d'abord, une démarche optimiste tournée vers le goût du savoir et en corollaire le sacrifice quasi religieux qu'il commande. D'autre part, l'esprit critique tempère cette attitude positiviste par la remise en question des idées reçues. Dit autrement, une composante de la dimension positiviste doit perdurer, pour que les valeurs demeurent universalisables, mais celle-ci passera au crible de la rationalité critique.

Enfin, contrairement à Rorty (1989) qui juge que la pensée critique est une faculté qui s'exerce chez l'individu seulement lorsque des études universitaires sont amorcées, il faut plutôt envisager que ces aptitudes se développent progressivement dès la tendre enfance. Les expériences de Lipman (1988) introduisant la philosophie aux enfants montrent le succès d'une méthode d'enseignement basée sur le raisonnement. Une philosophie de l'éducation

fondée sur l'esprit critique permet, selon Hare (in Marples, 1999) d'atteindre trois finalités éducatives différentes. La pensée critique favorise en premier lieu l'examen de sa propre existence et établit ainsi une justification éthique de l'éducation. Par la suite, cette attitude concourt à formation fondamentale visant à développer des compétences transversales chez l'apprenant. Enfin, la pensée critique se justifie sur le plan intellectuel parce qu'elle met en contexte les divers savoirs, en particulier leur dimension culturelle, accomplissant de ce fait l'une des motivations épistémologiques du relativisme. Cette critique du relativisme des valeurs comme moteur de l'éducation réintègre ainsi l'idée chère à cette doctrine de mise en contexte, par le recours à une attitude épistémologique de regard critique sur les connaissances et les normes.

En dernier lieu il faut apporter un bémol à la valeur de la pensée critique afin de combattre le relativisme. En effet, la rationalité de l'éthique postmoderne ne saurait se restreindre à la raison critique, car celle-ci aboutit à une éthique impersonnelle, dont la théorie rawlsienne de la justice en fournit un bon exemple en postulant un consensus contractualiste originel, le voile d'ignorance. Or, cette impartialité, calquée sur une conception positiviste de la science aujourd'hui souvent abandonnée, est inadmissible sur un plan éthique parce qu'elle attribue à la raison un caractère impersonnel. Depuis la modernité, la raison critique constituée par une antinomie avec la passion. Il faut se défaire de cette conception pour que le particulier et l'universel coïncident dans la raison personnelle d'une éthique qui réintègre le désir. Accueillir les dimensions passionnelle et subjective ne signifie nullement de louer la spontanéité et le relativisme du goût, mais plutôt encourager une éthique non réductrice. Ainsi, orientée vers des finalités à la fois bien établies et perpétuellement à revoir, l'éducation devrait être un lieu privilégié d'une méditation sur la vie bonne.

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I DREAMED I SAW HILDA NEATBY LAST NIGHT: SO LITTLE FOR THE MIND AFTER 50 YEARS

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ABSTRACT. It has been nearly fifty years since the publication of *So Little for the Mind*, Hilda Neatby's controversial conservative attack on what she understood as "progressive education." This paper argues that Neatby's book remains important reading despite its limitations and its context. Neatby's work represents what I call a 'big dream' in educational thought. It is an educational text that is passionately anti-scientific in its structure and argument; it represents a fundamental liberal humanist critique of educational theory and research. Neatby's work is important for the way in which it initiates contemporary conservative educational critique in Canada, but also because it anticipates post-structural arguments about the radical intrusiveness of a focus on the "whole child" in the context of the modern educational apparatus. Finally, I critique some of Neatby's key assumptions and relate these to an autobiographical account of the educational experience of one small-town Nova Scotian family from the 1920s.

CETTE NUIT J'AI REVÉ D'AVOIR VU HILDA NEATBY: *SI PEU POUR L'ESPRIT* 50 ANS APRÈS

RESUMÉ. Presque 50 ans se sont écoulés depuis la publication de *So Little for the Mind* (*Si peu pour l'esprit*), l'attaque conservatrice et controversée de Hilda Neatby contre "l'éducation progressive" telle qu'elle l'avais perçue. L'article présent démontre que le livre de Neatby reste une lecture importante malgré son contexte et les limites de son sujet. Le travail de Neatby constitue ce qu'on peut appeler "un grand rêve" de la pensée en éducation. De par sa structure et par son argumentation, son texte se révèle passionnément anti-scientifique, représentant ainsi une critique de la théorie et de la recherche en éducation qui demeure fondamentale, libérale et humaniste. Le travail de Neatby demeure important par sa façon d'introduire une critique conservatrice et contemporaine dans le milieu de l'éducation au Canada, mais également par sa façon de présager une argumentation post-structuraliste au sujet du danger d'intrusion radicale que comporte l'approche de "l'enfant global" (the "whole child") dans le contexte d'une organisation scolaire moderne. En dernier lieu je critique quelques-unes des suppositions de base de Neatby en établissant le rapport de celles-ci à un récit autobiographique d'une famille nouvelle écossaise et son vécu scolaire dans une petite ville des années 20.

Hilda and Joe

At Woodstock in 1969 Joan Baez sang a simple song based on an obscure 1925 poem about an ordinary labourer-minstrel, Joe Hill, who was executed by a firing squad in Utah in 1915.¹ This performance elevated a little-known martyr to a certain spiritual celebrity. If the history of Canadian education has a spiritual celebrity, it is probably Hilda Neatby. Neatby was no political radical, to be sure, but she was a radical conservative who railed as hard against what she saw as the “establishment” of her time as did the unfortunate Mr. Hill. While Neatby enjoyed a long academic career, her public star burned brightest in the mid 1950s after she published a scathing expose of the decline of Canada’s public schools, *So Little for the Mind* (1953).

It is half a century since Neatby’s book set off a bright, yet brief flash of dissent and debate in the nascent Canadian educational bureaucracy. The writing is scathing, bitter, trenchant and powerful. Neatby took on what she saw as the emerging theoretical and quasi-scientific apparatus of the growing educational technocracy in the teachers colleges and in the schools. She also launched a direct attack on the influence of the ideas of John Dewey and his followers, loosely defined as progressives. Neatby believed that she and her classically educated peers could regain control of the schools and return them to good old days and the pursuit of exclusive, difficult, timeless, and enduring knowledge in the classical Greco-Roman and particularly, Christian traditions. But like Joe Hill’s revolutionary “Wobblies,” the One Big Union that would turn the tide of the history of industrial capitalism, Neatby’s broadside was far too little, far too late. Today, her work on education is all but forgotten outside a small group of cultural historians and educational scholars.² Neatby was a historian who spent most of her academic career at the University of Saskatchewan. As a result of her participation in the Massey Commission on the Arts, Letters and the Sciences (1951), Neatby received funding from committee chair Vincent Massey to write a book challenging the central tenets of child-centered educational theory and particularly the influence of Dewey on the evolution of Canada’s schools.

Hilda Neatby died in 1975, yet, like Joe Hill, she is not exactly dead in the sense that the struggle she represented is very much alive.³ In the context of a seminar on the history of Canadian Education I recently returned to Neatby’s work. *So Little for the Mind* is chilling reading. The fundamental tenets of progressivism are by now so well entrenched in professional teacher education (Egan, 2002) that it remains difficult for most teacher educators to read Neatby and not feel defensive and misunderstood. She just doesn’t get it. We now have generations of scholarship and theory in education that seems to confirm the core notion that the experience of the child is the foundation of learning.⁴ The child-centered, constructivist ideas popular-

ized by Dewey now pass as virtually unassailable common sense in much theoretical discourse in education. In the pragmatic “teaching methods” literature of the education school textbook, Dewey’s discourse reigns very close to supreme. It is a little bit like the common sense of industrial capitalism that Joe Hill railed against in his activism.

Neatby’s work in education sits at the beginning of the period of massive expansion of Canada’s public secondary and post-secondary education system. The children of the baby boom were entering the public schools, and, in the spirit of the emerging social politics of the civil rights movement, their parents were demanding better schools for them. As the public service bureaucracy and the “helping” professions rose and expanded, more young people with post secondary credentials were needed to fill positions. The result was a rapid growth in all levels of the school system through the 1950s and 60s. Neatby was also responding to changes in the university system that saw the decline of the influence of classical subjects as well as a transformation of the traditional humanities and arts disciplines to include upstart areas of study such as political science and sociology. Other “upstarts” were the professional schools that moved on to university campuses across Canada, blurring the line between academic and practical study, a trend that was anathema to Hilda Neatby.

Yet by criticising the expansion of the public education system and the opening up of the exclusive club of the universities, Neatby seems not just anti-progressive, but quite literally anti-progress. How for instance, could Neatby criticise the idea that educational researchers ought to look carefully at children’s learning processes in order to better understand how to teach them and liberate them from the boredom and drill of traditional teaching methods? How could she question the importance of something as commonsensical as the idea of relevance in education? How could she question the apparently democratic post-World War II growth and expansion of educational opportunity to more children?

The answer represents a fundamental irony of education in the last half of the 20th century. Neatby was indeed an ethnocentric prophet of cultural decline, a cranky academic, and an unrepentant elitist, but she was more than that. Neatby essentially saw an educational program that focussed on a child’s mundane experience as essentially impoverished. This problem continues to resonate not only among conservative humanist critics who essentially follow Neatby (Bloom, 1988; Ravitch, 2000; Hirsch, 1987), but also among poststructuralists (Walkerdine, 1990; Popkewitz et. al., 2001), educational philosophers (Egan, 2002), and eco-pedagogues (Bowers, 2000, 2003). I think Egan (2002) puts it as well as anyone when he wonders why, if entrenched and well-established progressivist ideas are so powerful, does school remain so irrelevant, boring and uninteresting to so many students?

As I reread *So Little for the Mind*, I was reminded of the importance of grand dreams in education and the danger that lurks when we place all of our eggs in the technical baskets of computer technology, brain-based research, and a curriculum meticulously preoccupied with experimentally “proven” developmental notions and age-stage outcomes to fit those notions. Neatby is worth reading for the wonderful ride one experiences when someone with a keen mind goes after received truth, orthodoxy and conventional wisdom. In her own way, Hilda Neatby was dreaming as big as was Joe Hill. Like Joe Hill, Neatby saw the enemy clearly and did her best to bring the system down. And like Joe Hill she failed miserably.

Neatby's argument

Neatby's central argument is that a small cadre of what she termed “educational experts” (bureaucrats and teachers' college instructors in the main) were responsible for promoting and defending a misguided liberalism founded on simplified and misinterpreted readings of John Dewey. According to Neatby, Dewey's philosophy developed in two principal directions, one pedagogical and the other administrative, creating an unholy alliance of scientism, administrative rationalism, a preoccupation with measurement, and pedagogical practices which explicitly abandoned all roots in the classical traditions which nurtured Western civilization. For Neatby, classical academic tradition was replaced by a vulgar and utilitarian preoccupation with ordinary experience setting the conditions for educational catastrophe. By focussing the starting point for education on the everyday experience of ordinary children, it was Neatby's claim that Dewey abandoned central ideas and key practices of scholarship and pedagogy which served to elevate the classically educated person above the realm of ordinary competence in the work-a-day world. Rather than creating an educational environment conducive to democracy as Dewey claimed, Neatby argued that elevation above ordinary experience actually distinguishes true education from ordinary living and creates the only kind of social condition in which freedom and democracy could flourish in the first place. Neatby claimed that Dewey, “wandered away from his own garden,” confusing socialization with schooling and abandoning the proper business of school which is intellectual training, cultural enlightenment, moral instruction (particularly for the masses), and nurturing the able for leadership (1953, p. 238).

Situated historically in the aftermath of the defeat of Nazism, the ascent of Soviet and Maoist totalitarianism, McCarthyism, the explosion of mass media-driven American popular culture, the final demise of the British Empire, escalating decolonization, and the post-war baby boom, Neatby saw Canadian society at a crossroads. Canadian schools could, in her terms, go down the road of low-brow American popular culture and anti-intellectu-

alism, or stay the course and preserve an admittedly elitist classical academic tradition.

Neatby found in Dewey's educational philosophy the intellectually and spiritually impoverished, bland, anti-cultural, immoral, laissez faire attitudes and practices that would hasten rather than confront the coming crisis of Western civilization. For Neatby, the real danger at the root of this slide toward American ideas was modernity itself.⁵ Education must then be pressed into the service of resistance to "modern" problems and indeed the problem of modernity itself, rather than used to promote its decadent drift. In her crusade, Neatby joined the ranks of academic and cultural anti-modernists who made it their business to save a few bastions of purity from the contagion of American cultural influence (McKay, 1994; Massolin, 1998, 2001).

Neatby defined Dewey's philosophy as anti-intellectual because she claimed that it ignores the simple heroic historical truth of how democracy was achieved in the first place, which is by carefully transmitting tradition and moral foundations across generations. Cut loose from tradition, there are no significant standards against which to evaluate and judge the development of children's minds. In this context, school becomes little more than an aimless busywork beehive inspired by nothing other than an increasingly focussed analysis of the child's immediate inclinations and the obscure sense that intellectual power, sociability and morality develop "naturally" without direct instruction. It was Neatby's sense that Dewey not only ignored traditional transmission pedagogy, he actually turned it on its head, positing tradition as irrelevant, "passive" and external to the child who is more concerned with immediate ends and interests, and specifically, with activity.

With the establishment of universal secondary schooling came the bureaucracy to administer, maintain, staff and support it. Not surprisingly, Neatby's chief antagonist in her account of the rise of mass schooling was the emerging "educational expert."⁶ Educational experts, in Neatby's view, developed the esoteric language necessary to their constitution as priesthood. Central to the defence of their professional claims to expertise was the right to control the nation's schools.⁷ This is a discourse which was repugnant to her because it removed the conversation about what goes on in schools out of elite academic channels and placed it squarely into life in schools and in the everyday lives of ordinary children regardless of their background or social position. Neatby claimed that educational experts conjured themselves as authorities through a discourse that mapped new academic standards which could not be judged by either discipline-based academics or by an educated public. The experts accomplished this sleight-of-hand by concocting pseudo-scientific psychological investigations of the actual processes of children learning in ordinary circumstances, thereby constructing a

kind of hybrid scholarly/ vernacular knowledge out of the most mundane human accomplishments creating, “a cloud of incense behind which educators may carry out their secret operations while the faithful stand apart in awed silence” (Neatby, 1953, p. 38).

Neatby’s rage was missionary in its intensity and her caustic wit was sharpened by the urgency of her cause. For Hilda Neatby, the stakes were inestimably high and nothing less than civilization and democracy hung in the balance. Unlike most contemporary conservative educational critics (who generally support extensive technocratic surveillance in the form of assessment, remediation, therapeutic and testing regimes), Neatby did not trust quantification any more than she trusted experience as a way of orienting educational practice. For her, the only safe way to insure educational quality was to teach it in a traditional academic system controlled and managed by academics themselves using necessarily complex judgment based upon scholarly standards.

The notion that everything important to education (morality, intellectual growth and culture) grows out of activity in a “natural” way represented for Neatby an excuse for gutting the real core of sensible schooling, i.e. direct academic instruction by experts in particular fields, abstract moral instruction, and a long-term view of the ultimate aims of society as opposed to the immediate aims of children. In Neatby’s analysis, schools ought to introduce the child to culture and tradition, slowly and carefully, protecting the integrity of the distinction between the scholarly, knowledgeable master and the ignorant, but typically capable child. Under the system imagined by progressivism, it was Neatby’s view that many capable children would be blocked (often by boredom and a lack of challenge) from acquiring the kind of quality education necessary to ensure not only the particular child’s personal well being, but also that of democratic society itself which depended totally on the contributions of the best and the brightest.

This debate, of course, resonates today, but its reverberation is ambiguous, just as the contemporary critiques of Nikiforuk, Ravitch, Bennett, Bloom and Hirsch resonate the mainstream “common sense” of an embattled middle class (Ehrenreich, 1990) and the marginal feedback of the last vestiges of an exclusive yet open academic order. This is because the essentialist traditions Neatby so steadfastly defended and that later authors have attempted to restore to a central place in debates around public schooling represent an echo of fundamental assumptions which have been thoroughly aired since the early 1950s. It is to these assumptions that I will now turn.

Neatby’s assumptions

Neatby’s argument is perhaps more interesting from the point of view of what is left unsaid, or what is stated in the sense that certain claims are so

evident that they need no explicit defence. I think it is these assumptions which cut to the heart of Neatby's own discourse and which make her analysis such uncomfortable reading today (at least for me). Neatby sits nervously on the edge of a modern sensibility, a position from which she reaches back toward a way of thinking which is profoundly strange and yet deeply familiar. What follows is an analysis of some of the assumptions I find in Neatby's writing.

1. The assumption of creeping Americanization

American egalitarianism and radical democracy are supposed by Neatby to be embodied by Dewey's social philosophy. She argued this vague and undefined notion of what democracy is (and ought to be) will supplant and debase supposedly superior Anglo-British culture and lead Canada into the morass of social chaos represented by American popular culture. This is a debate which continues to resonate and it is one about which Neatby cared very deeply, particularly after her experience with Vincent Massey and the royal commission that bore his name.

American influence on Canadian culture continues to be a central concern both in schools and in the broader cultural sphere. Additionally, the role of the liberal arts in contemporary schools and in the university continues to be challenged by calls for relevance, accountability in the form of clear and measurable outcomes, and economic utility of vocationalism, corporate partnerships, pragmatic skills training, and increasingly technical education. Neatby saw these "pragmatic" developments as another avenue of American cultural domination. Important in this creeping Americanism was the way that a focus on current investigations in large educational research institutions like Stanford and Columbia Teacher's College represent the American experience as a scientific standard.⁸ Neatby rejected the ahistorical empiricism of the allegedly universal findings of the educational experts, presenting them instead as populist ideology dressed up as science.

Neatby saw schools as the guardian against the kind of populist and utilitarian corruption of the work-a-day world supplemented and supported by mass culture glorified in the United States. She saw little to celebrate in "can do" pragmatic Americanism and the alleged wisdom and virtues of the common people. This discourse of pragmatism must have sounded more than a bit like dreaded communism and Neatby saw in Dewey's philosophy a glorification of barbarism, elevating private vernacular experience above the collective experience represented by venerated cultural traditions. Rather than playing a central role in the development and maintenance of aristocratic spiritual and intellectual traditions, Neatby claimed that schools had been moved into the enemy camp, posing a grave danger to the very society this democratic heritage created. Neatby's call was for education to return to that position which it traditionally held outside the ebb and flow of

ordinary social intercourse. Ultimately, Neatby's concerns came to be played out in the Canadian Studies movement of the 1970s, a development which might have given her some solace were it not so interdisciplinary (Wadland, 2000).

In her context, Neatby was able to deny what is now almost a truism, the notion that school is unavoidably rooted in the society in which it operates. The organization of school and its relationship to life in the world is precisely what most educational research since the 1950s has tried to understand. Neatby, however, seems to imagine a timeless school as an idealized place of high culture and ethereal morality. To quote one of her heroes, George Iddings Bell, "the business of the school and the home and the church is to feed the lambs, not amuse the goats."⁹

Neatby feared the goats and she saw in Dewey's progressivism a perverted philosophy that glorified the unrestrained individualism of American culture. Perhaps the goats are ascendant and in the resulting post-modern cacophony Neatby's modern descendants retrench (awaiting the crisis that will once again reunify us beneath a master narrative), demanding something which is now impossible, the right to impose a unified moral vision on every Canadian child. After September 11, 2001, this spectre has simultaneously become frightening and strangely seductive as competing brands of jingoism and absolutist posturing square off in the phenomenon Benjamin Barber calls *Jihad vs. McWorld* (1995).

2. The assumption that democracy precludes rather than includes the agency of the child

Neatby maintained throughout *So Little for the Mind* that democracy has resulted from the well managed evolution of Christian and classical Greco-Roman traditions and not from any base desire of the masses for social equality. This follows upon an assumption I will take up later, the idea that the world has been prepared for real democracy by a benign "fluid and voluntary aristocracy" (Neatby, 1953, p. 48). This elite cadre, which is nurtured in good schools and particularly in liberal arts universities, uses its understanding of the roots of the democratic tradition to protect the masses from their natural condition which is to walk a tightrope between chaos and servitude. Neatby claimed that by creating vaguely defined democratic schools, Dewey and his followers actually invited the anarchy which is the "natural condition" of the masses and the foundation of their largely unorganized and random experience. For Neatby, the real roots of democracy were not to be found in the rabble, but in the controlled dissemination of democratic traditions.¹⁰

There is a contradiction at the root of this assumption which Neatby probably could not address, or perhaps even see. How can one support an

aristocratically grounded democracy and still call it democracy? In the 1950s it may have been still possible to make the claim that democracy was not about equal participation for everyone, but only for those select few who “counted.” This is essentially what Neatby was saying, but I think she was also saying something more. Neatby wondered about the relationship between adults and children in institutions like the family and the school. She saw emerging in the child-centered language of progressivism which had already made its way into most official curricula across Canada, the suggestion that children themselves might be equal to adults, that they might have the same rights as adults, that they have something to teach adults about our “nature” or the “nature of learning,” and that education might become framed in terms of an exchange rather than transmission. To Neatby this was not only absurd, it was profoundly dangerous. Civilization would surely be turned on its head if children were granted anything approaching social equality and the accompanying privilege of commenting credibly upon issues about which they (by virtue of their lack of significant experience and serious study) were ignorant. The rise of the mass media and information technology in the ensuing fifty years has certainly accentuated this problem.

Buried in this assumption is a tacit theory of learning and perhaps of child development as well. For Neatby, learning seems to have been the unproblematic absorption of information. One could either read, or one could not, as she put it. Children do not construct understanding; they receive it, and until they have incorporated an appropriate share of essential knowledge, they are insufficiently complete to credibly “make sense” and to deserve being taken seriously. No doubt Dewey’s psychology did seem bizarre to Neatby with its call for teachers to watch the child and actually learn about learning from him or her. This, to Neatby, was not only putting the cart before the horse, it was asking the cart to show the horse the way home. She imagined educational experts carefully watching the trivial, unstructured play of infants, imagining that they were finding some fundamental principle of learning or the development of human intelligence. This, to Neatby, was totally absurd.

Here Neatby was again a harbinger of a deeply problematic phenomenon; the child as a legitimate social agent whose accounts are meaningful. Families, contemporary legal systems and schools are just some of the institutional spaces where children’s voices are no longer routinely discounted and in fact the challenges of what to do with (and about) children’s utterances on a variety of serious subjects remains problematic. No doubt, Dewey and his followers along with what Neatby would see as pretender sciences like sociology and psychology, bear significant responsibility here, for better or worse. Issues of the accountability of the child’s voice have become increasingly controversial, but probably not in the way Neatby could have anticipated.

3. *The assumption of the irrationality of the masses*

An attendant notion to that of the assumption of inequality is the idea that not everyone is intellectually equipped to be rational. Neatby claimed that Dewey's' progressivism, particularly the administrative, scientific aspects of it is grounded in amoral rationalism. First of all, there is the problem of a rationalism which is not grounded ethically, a dilemma which is also foundational to postmodernism and critical theory (Bauman, 1993). Characteristically, Neatby saw chaos here. If people were simply expected to be rational with no overarching moral base, then pity help us. Neatby wrote:

Rationalists by a pure act of faith encourage the enormous assumption that all or at least the vast majority could and would reason effectively. Comparatively few people are really anxious consciously to exercise their reason; the majority, it would seem deeply desire faith (1953, p. 316).

Contemporary sociobiologists have advanced similar claims about the inherent irrationality of the species. Richard Lewontin quotes Harvard sociobiologist Edward O. Wilson who claims in a massive, allegedly scientific study of the biological origins of human behaviour, that "man would rather believe than know" (Lewontin, 1990). The problem, according to Lewontin, is that this claim is supported by no actual scientific evidence, but rather by a set of stories about why social regularities occur. Neatby, like Wilson, advances a claim here which falls into the realm of what Lewontin calls "bar-room wisdom": or the kind of statement which has a certain commonsense flavour, but which requires no substantive proof supposedly because of its unquestionable face validity.¹¹

One wonders what Neatby would have made of contemporary critics of education and the way they use the technologies of measurement to make claims similar to her own about the declining quality of schools. Here, the rationalism Neatby decried has turned out to be a double-edged sword and perhaps the educational experts were not quite as clever as Neatby anticipated. Could it be that they created the very weapons which could be turned against them by bureaucrats, lobbyists and politicians immersed in a cult of "accountability," ultimately leading to their own undoing? I cannot help but think that Neatby would be amused by such a prospect.

4. *The assumption of education as elevation above mundane experience*

Neatby argued that Dewey's educational vision inverted the proper educational equation, glorifying and moving to the center of the whole enterprise that which is most dangerous: ordinary culture. Ordinary culture, the regular practice of mundane behaviour, was in fact the real enemy of a proper education for Hilda Neatby. Real education, for Neatby, was concerned with the steadfast maintenance of the difference between the grand tradition of high culture and morality and the base anarchy of ordinary life. In her conclusion, Neatby actually argues that it is the glorification of con-

formity and commonality which lead to dictatorship and fascism. Without a grand narrative and an educated quasi-aristocracy to protect it and preserve it, we are thrown into the kind of chaos which allows the Big Lie to emerge, leading to the ultimate destruction of the foundation of democracy itself. Thus, Neatby is able to simultaneously defend the apparently contradictory ideas of aristocracy and democracy. The greatest problem with this argument is that it is exactly the aristocratic grand narrative which supported Hitler's ideology, and incidentally, the European ideology of global conquest which was rapidly crumbling while Neatby wrote. This includes significantly the conquest of British North America and New France, Neatby's own academic specialty. Here, Neatby's analysis rings particularly hollow in the light of both modern historical scholarship and accounts of the lived experience of ordinary First Nations people, ethnic minorities, working class people, and women.

Amazingly, Neatby was able to bracket her own childhood poverty and miserable treatment at the hands of a deeply sexist academy (Hayden, 1983), effectively ignoring her own "experience" which presumably was just as unimportant as that of anyone else. Neatby and her modern followers seem to understand culture and history as the ossified experience of some select people rather than the lived experience of all people. Her fixation with the heroic "great man" theory of history, a narrowly defined literary and cultural tradition, and a clearly distorted understanding of the racism at the heart of imperialism and its consequences for vast numbers of people, all serve as reminders of the deep problems inherent in contemporary "cultural literacy" oriented critiques of the project and outcomes of modern schooling.

5. The assumption of fundamental and unavoidable inequality

Neatby assumes throughout *So Little for the Mind* that people are not equal, nor do they desire to be. In this sense her analysis rejects a liberal notion which has become so ingrained in the way the project of public schooling is commonly understood that it is difficult to imagine a serious educational thinker who actually admits to supporting social inequality.¹² The ironic truth is that in the 50 years since the publication of Neatby's book, educational sociologists have consistently shown that Neatby is substantively right in the sense that social equality is indeed a myth and that progressive education, even in its "critical" variants which are explicitly concerned with the resolution of social inequality (eg. Bourdieu, 1984 and Bernstein, 1971) have failed to create anything remotely resembling egalitarian educational aspirations, processes or outcomes.¹³ As Pierre Bourdieu consistently and persistently pointed out, it is the very processes of schooling which now mark social inequality with a stamp of objectivity by measuring and comparing students on the basis of academic content and dispositions which are unevenly available to students (1990).

There is a certain irony in Neatby's fifty year old analysis of the public school as an egalitarian institution. Here she presages the dual-edged critique of schooling which calls for high quality, high cultural content and at the same time, a highly effective levelling of social differences. Much contemporary educational criticism assumes both liberal egalitarianism and elitism simultaneously in a way reminiscent of Gramsci's idea that through the hegemonic instruments of the modern state, "all men might be bourgeois" (1971). This is evident in modern curriculum documents which are simultaneously based upon Deweyan/Vygotskian constructivist theory and scientific management driven accountability agendas like the currently popular "outcome" driven model. Hilda Neatby understood that progressive schooling can be seen as a more intrusive form of social control, organized along the lines of forming subjectivities and effectively creating a docile workforce to do the mundane chores necessary for industrial capitalism (Curtis, 1988) rather than an elite cadre of intellectuals to temper an otherwise rampant anti-cultural, anti-democratic drift. Neatby saw the educated few as the guardians of civil society, liberty and true democracy for, as she put it, "the many must still live on by the efforts of the few" (1953, p. 48).

While this assumption is widely dismissed at the level of "inclusive" official discourse and private sentiment, the rising tide of competition and marketization signal its return in another form. Most educational jurisdictions in the West now employ some form of high stakes mass assessment of both individuals and of schools, resulting in "league tables" and competition for students that typically degenerates into systems of choice for those in a position to exercise it (Whitty, 1998). Neatby's assumption of fundamental inequality is now presented in a standard and simplified measure of educational quality which quantifies the differences within and between individuals, schools and provinces and nations legitimizing and bolstering the application of market metaphors and practices. Stephen Ball comments that in this discourse, "complex assessment is designed to obscure, simple tests are revealing," and of course, simple and measurable "provide the information system which will drive the market in education" (1994, p. 41). Fundamental inequalities are no longer presented as a reflection of nature as Neatby would have it, but rather, as an empirically observable anomaly that good schools can fix. The trouble is that despite radically increased testing no one has been able to make a pig any fatter by weighing it as Margaret Meek commented, and the league tables continue to reflect economic advantage and disadvantage more than anything else.

Since people are not equal in Neatby's view, the schools should properly serve as a social sorting mechanism which is essential to the maintenance of the social order and by extension, democracy as Neatby would define it. Her aristocracy served the purpose of protecting the masses from themselves

and from the anarchy and demagoguery which would otherwise result. Progressives, on the other hand, actively promoted what Neatby saw as social chaos, not only by rejecting the sorting function of school, but also by advancing the claim that educational experts were the only ones capable of developing the necessary standards and worse yet, soft technologies (Postman, 1992) to accomplish social sorting. The end result is the establishment of what Neatby saw as a fundamental lie, the idea that people are equal, an idea which in turn generated a school system designed to demonstrate this lie by paying no attention to matters of the mind. Of course, everyone has experience, and in this we are all equal, but for Neatby, a school regime which systematically works to blur natural inequality marks a departure from what she would have undoubtedly seen as nature's fundamental distinctions. For her it is precisely these distinctions which have allowed civilization to move forward on the backs (minds) of more able individuals.

Clearly, Neatby misjudged the ultimate results of public schooling. Evidence shows that schools have continued to serve very effectively as a social sorting mechanism regardless of the designs of Dewey and his followers. Again, the sociological evidence over the past half century demonstrates clearly that the schools are still effectively reproducing the social class structure, or conversely, that the social class structure is effectively reproducing in the institutional context of the public school. On this account Neatby appears to have been crying wolf. The second problem is that the kind of progressivism described by Neatby appears to have largely missed the schools anyhow, remaining stuck in curriculum documents and texts written by educational experts who may have turned out to be much less influential than Neatby feared (Goodlad, 1985). For example, Neil Sutherland compares the actual school experience of children between the 1920s and the 1960s, finding that the transmission model of instruction remained intact through the middle decades of the century in British Columbia (1995). There is no evidence to support the claim that things were very different anywhere else in the country on a large scale. One wonders what Neatby would have concluded had she spent less time reading curriculum documents and more time actually investigating life in Canadian schools in the late 1940s and early 1950s.¹⁴ The same question can be asked of modern educational critics.

Why read Neatby?

Why should we read Neatby today? I think one reason why Neatby's analysis remains important is because she had a historian's understanding the importance of discourse well before this became fashionable in educational analysis. Neatby saw clearly that progressivism was no more "natural" than any other way of thinking about how children learn or about how school should be structured. She challenged the claims of naturalism of the progressives by

showing progressivism to be another discourse, and one which despite its emphasis on the “freedom” of the child can be constructed as much more pervasive and powerfully repressive than the traditionalism she defended.

Neatby also understood the technical discourse of quantitative assessment as another instrumental power effect which was thoroughly infused with ideological content masquerading as value-free, objective measurement of learning and the psychological processes it represents. Neatby argued forcefully that these soft technologies amounted to a means through which the educational experts could escape having to justify assessment by appealing to the alleged objectivity of quasi-experimental methods and statistical procedures copied from the natural sciences.

Anticipating the poststructural analysis of Foucault and his followers (Foucault, 1979, 1980; Ball, 1990, 1994), Neatby saw how the intensive focus on the “whole child” could lead to a fixation on the minutiae of experience and perception.¹⁵ Neatby sensed and feared an emerging regime of regulation, measurement, a preoccupation with administrative trivia, and surveillance at the level of behaviour and academics that could not have been imagined in 1953, but which we know all too well today.¹⁶ This includes not only the significant development of integration in the public schools but also the rise of specialties and disorders and the new quasi-educational experts who define and manage myriad disorders and difference. As critical commentators as diverse as Lisa Delpitt, Denny Taylor and Valery Walkerdine have shown, humanistic “progressive” pedagogical practice may not be particularly “liberating” for anyone involved and particularly for disadvantaged populations (Walkerdine, 1990; Delpitt, 1988; Taylor, 1993).

Neatby also explicitly rejected the core claim of progressive education which is the idea that experience should (indeed must) sit at the center of the process of schooling. Ironically, critical ethnographies of schooling have effectively supported this position in the sense that they show how working class youth understand the gulf between their own life worlds and the middle class space of schooling (eg. Willis, 1977, Gaskell, 1992; McLaren, 1989). In other words, these studies show how young people know whose experience counts in school and whose does not. In Neatby’s context it was still possible for an academic to be as honest as say, one of Paul Willis’ or Jane Gaskell’s informants about who did and who did not have the cultural capital to make use of schooling.

Today, educational experts are forced to maintain the fiction that by beginning with the “experience” of the child, and/or by making a set of intended outcomes very specific, it is possible to create a school that is fair to all. This in turn legitimizes the standardized assessment, remedial interventions, text production, and the multitude of industries, discourses and specialists that

have arisen to map, evaluate, normalize and measure educational experience. The alleged fairness in such a scheme, as Bourdieu has argued, is grounded in the false assumption that since standards are “objective”, they are equally attainable by all students. The problem is that the students have a highly differential access to the cultural capital from which the standards themselves are drawn. Bourdieu puts it most clearly when he argues that those students considered to be intellectually “gifted” in terms of supposedly objective standards tend powerfully to come from privileged social class backgrounds. Bourdieu therefore claims that the “gifts” of intelligence standardized intellectual measurement instruments gauge are more appropriately understood as what he calls “social gifts” (1984a). Neatby’s critique explicitly foregrounds a conundrum in contemporary debates around what we now call “inclusion” and that is: how can an outcome-base for education measured by mass standardized assessment fit with an education system that accepts all students regardless of what they are able to produce?

In important ways, Neatby’s analysis also foreshadowed many contemporary tensions in education as well as the crisis of Canadian confederation, the challenges of multiculturalism, the emerging mass media and consumer monolith to Canada’s south and even contemporary campus politics. Perhaps for these reasons alone her work remains relevant. But I have another more personal reason for suggesting that this work remains important in the current political and ideological climate swirling around contemporary schooling. Had Neatby succeeded in her mission, I would probably never have graduated high school. My own experience was largely removed from the world of school, and certainly from the world of university. Neatby’s open prejudice perhaps helps us see the implications of forms of critique and educational restructuring that aim to create, enforce and maintain what are called “standards.” It was only in a system whose standards were unclear, contested and in flux that some of us could “slip through the cracks” (one of which was a fairly generous student aide package available in the 1970s to working class youth) of the reproduction mechanism and fall into university.

The voice of experience

I was born into the kind of family which produced virtually no high school graduates until the 1970s. On the other hand, all of my children have graduated high school, at least partly because I was in a position to access higher education myself, as were thousands of working class youth of my generation. By the early 1970s generous student aid packages allowed the ranks of the universities to swell. We were not, however, encouraged to wallow in experience. I remember schooling and university in the allegedly radical days of the late 1960s and early 1970s as much the same place Neatby defended, the traditional school. Our educational salvation was not in the clarity of standards around what are now called “essential learnings” or

“outcomes,” but in the postmodern confusion about all standards wrought by the social change that characterized the 1970s.

There is a photograph of Hilda Neatby in Michael Hayden’s biographical study of her career (1983). The time is 1967 and Neatby is shown receiving the Order of Canada from Governor General Roland Michener. She is wearing a conservative dress and a hat, the kind my maternal grandmother used to wear in those same days. Neatby not only looks like my grandmother, they were born in the same year. And there are other similarities. My grandmother was an Acadian woman from the Cap-Pelé area of New Brunswick. She was unable to stay in school beyond grade 4 or 5 because there was far too much work to do. Her father died when my grandmother was a very young girl and family legend has it that her brothers “weren’t much good.” So grandmother’s fate was pretty much sealed. Neatby’s father was a failed physician who migrated to Canada in 1906. He too placed his family in peril, not through his death, but by living the life of a frustrated intellectual and religious zealot, leaving Neatby’s mother to keep up middle class appearances and make do while the family quite literally starved. Times were tough in Hilda’s world too, but like my grandmother, Neatby proved tougher.

While Neatby was finding her way to the “great books” of the western tradition and to the bible (because her father, although totally destitute, had a 300 volume library), my Grandmother was hardscrabble farming, selling fish and practicing midwifery in her rural community; she took in laundry and borders, cooked and cleaned and listening to scripture recited by the parish priest, virtually the only person in the village who could read or write much of anything in the early years of the twentieth century. In the early 1920s, my grandmother married a multi-occupational lumberjack/fisherman/ farmer/carpenter and proceeded to have her family. Neatby rejected marriage, stayed in school and spent most of the 1920s at the University of Saskatchewan, first as a student and then as a temporary lecturer in history and French (bilingualism was yet another similarity I suppose). Neatby battled sexism in the university, took temporary lectureships, taught for more than a decade at Regina College, and finally after a hard struggle (and by modern standards, immense tolerance of the political games routinely played with her academic and personal future by the old boys clubs at two major Canadian universities) found a permanent position at the University of Saskatchewan in 1946, a full twenty-one years after her first temporary appointment (Hayden, 1983). Soon afterward she was appointed to the Massey Commission (1949) and with the financial and moral support of Chairman Vincent Massey, Neatby was able to complete *So Little for the Mind* in 1953.

Meanwhile, my grandmother was effectively excluded from educational opportunity by a brutal economic climate in Acadian New Brunswick that

through the 1930s and 40s continued to provide her own children little real access to formal education beyond the elementary level. My mother got more education than most of her siblings reaching grade 9 before she was withdrawn from school to help at home and work in the baggage factory in the wartime boom town of Amherst, Nova Scotia, where the family migrated in the early 1940s for war work. My mother's people were common folk and it is well documented how common folk, particularly ethnic minorities, faced obstacles in school beyond the most rudimentary levels. Only one of my mother's nine siblings graduated high school. Through the 1960s and 70s, few of my many cousins graduated, in fact, I was the second member of my generation to do so, following my bookish cousin who eventually became a teacher and who still lives in Amherst. Most of the rest of my cousins quit school well before graduation, either to marry or to go to work. In fact, in my extended family I have calculated a 73% dropout rate in my own generation and well over 90% in my mother's. The four of us who have university degrees were financed by student aid. As near as I can determine, my extended family dropout rate in the next generation (my and my cousins' children) is much less than one in five, the national average.¹⁷ Whether this transformation of my own family's educational chances is a result of "progressivism" or not, it is one in which I have a considerable stake and I am certainly gratified that Hilda Neatby and friends did not have her way with the Canadian education system.

But, of course, Hilda Neatby is not dead, and the spectre of standardization once again looms large in the accountability agendas and the standardized testing regimes sweeping through Canadian educational jurisdictions. I am forced to ask a simple question here: what evidence is there that a rigid set of learning "outcomes" and standardized assessment schemes have improved the life chances of marginal populations? I would like to suggest that more than anything else, there is considerable evidence that these mechanisms do little more than document social inequality and provide statistics for competitive ranking of schools. I do think there is considerable historical evidence to suggest that such schemes have systematically restricted the educational opportunities and life chances of identifiable populations who, as groups, always seem to come out looking badly. What evidence is there to suggest that contemporary mass assessment and standards movements will be any different?

I think Neatby is helpful here because she rejected the technical rationality that simple educational measures reflect in favour of the complex assessment of a sensitive and educated mentor. In 1953, when Hilda Neatby wrote *So Little for the Mind*, Canada was in a state of transition. The war was over and the baby boom was just beginning to hit the schools. Canada was experiencing the commencement of the longest period of sustained growth in its history. Yet Canada had grown to become what was came to be called

a “middle power,” providing a geographic buffer between the main combatants in the Cold War, drawn increasingly into the vortex of American cultural imperialism and its geopolitics and ideology. Neatby felt the shock waves of social change, perhaps beginning with the jazz music she abhorred, or the “B” movies she sometimes attended in her student days in Minnesota. She feared that Canadian culture was on the slippery slope to a kind of “democracy” which could destroy the society from within by displacing the generative traditions of Christianity, British culture and classical education with an alienated atheism, inane films, television programs and lowbrow popular sport and music from the United States. Hilda Neatby was not all wrong, but her way of understanding the problem of American cultural imperialism was simply to compare it unfavourably with British cultural imperialism. One might say that she was unable to conceive of what Zygmunt Bauman calls postmodern ethics (1993), arguing that the decline of absolute standards represented a more pervasive form of general decadence and an epistemological shift to technical rationality.

Now globalization and all of its attendant uncertainties have placed us in another transitional moment. Canadian educators are no longer only held hostage by American educational researchers, we are also brought into step with OECD led international comparisons of schooling and, in Atlantic Canada, we are found particularly wanting. Is it just coincidence that Atlantic Canada is also at the bottom of the economic heap?

I wonder what Neatby’s kitchen looked like. Lorri Neilsen writes that the kitchen is the place where the life of a home is evident (1993). Everything important is on or around the kitchen table. I may be wrong, but I should imagine Hilda Neatby’s house with everything perfectly arranged, and heaven help the child who ran across the threshold, uttered an untoward exclamation or got carried away by experience, forgetting decorum. In my grandmother’s kitchen and in her living room, life happened. Despite her best efforts, it was often messy, especially when grandchildren came to visit (which was almost daily). We ran about, the “old people” played cards, a radio tuned into the French channel in Moncton squawked fiddle tunes and American country music; there were smells of pickling and stew, of sweat and laundry soap. My grandmother and grandfather bounced babies on their knees, told (never read) stories, argued, watched Hockey Night in Canada in English for the benefit of unilingual in-laws and their unilingual children, and cheered uninhibitedly for the Canadiens de Montreal. My grandfather would come right out of his chair when Belliveau or Richard scored, jumping highest when they scored against the Toronto Maple Leafs. It only got quiet for a little while on Sunday evening for the rosary when the little radio broadcast Cardinal Leger’s “priere en famille.” The carpets were foot-worn and white doilies festooned the arms of the big dusty chairs. There were political arguments and work tales told by “uneducated” men drinking

Schooner beer, and only slightly better educated women drinking tea, playing cards and eating sandwiches with crusts removed. It was all the gritty stuff of experience and there was a lot of experience to be had in grandmother and grandfather's house. It was an education, and part of this education was being told to speak English so you could "fit in," and stay in school so, "you don't have to work like I had to."

The greatest problem I see with Neatby's position, and those which have developed out of the line of thinking that she represents, is the assumption that there is something glorious, fair, and fundamentally good about the receding colonial world in which she and my grandmother were raised. Both of these women fought courageous fights against appallingly difficult social conditions, conditions created by the very elitism and exclusiveness Neatby praised. Neatby was, in the end, one of those paradoxical figures who supported the regime that did its best to exclude her. Perhaps she imagined that her own extraordinary efforts were not unusual and to be expected of anyone given the gift of ability necessary to penetrate into the elite world of university scholarship and enter into what she called the "great conversation." Perhaps Hilda Neatby never did see the bars on the windows or understand the extent to which the very "progressive" ideas (for example, those of the early feminists and suffragettes) which she loathed probably forged the conditions that finally allowed her entry into the conversation in the first place. Or perhaps she did understand and simply lived with this contradiction which was fundamental to many women of her generation, just as my grandmother would never think to question my grandfather when he walked into the kitchen for his dinner, muddy boots on his feet.

My final memory of my grandmother is of a woman in her sixties, dressed up to go out to vote for a young Pierre Trudeau one summer evening in 1968. She was wearing a hat much like the one Hilda Neatby wore in her picture with Roland Michener. In the midst of the media hoopla of Trudeaumaina and the flower power symbolism of a child centred, youth oriented culture, we received the news that grandmother had fallen down the basement stairs and died. I'm not sure what she would have thought of the way the world has turned out since 1968, but perhaps she is watching from the same heaven inhabited by Hilda Neatby. After all, my grandmother is not dead either.

NOTES

1. Joe Hill (Joel Emanuel Hagglund) was a Swedish born union organizer and singer-songwriter who worked for the International Workers of the World. Hill was framed on a murder charge and subsequently executed following a bitter dispute over free speech in Utah in 1915. In 1925, Alfred Hayes wrote the poem entitled *I dreamed I saw Joe Hill last night*, and in 1936 Earl Robinson set the song to music. Hill's spirit is invoked in the ballad which begins with the words: "I dreamed I saw Joe Hill last night, alive as you or me." The ballad goes on to say that Joe Hill is alive in spirit wherever "working men defend their

rights.” Like Joe Hill, Hilda Neatby’s spirit lives on in the work of contemporary conservative humanist critics of public schooling. I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers, J.D. Wilson, Don Fisher, Stephane Levesque, Bill Hare and George Perry for comments on an earlier draft of this paper. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Conference of Atlantic Educators at the Universite de Moncton in Moncton New Brunswick in November of 2002.

2. In March of 2004 the University of Saskatchewan hosted an event called “Hildafest” which was a retrospective look at Neatby’s career and the continuing influence of her work, including her educational critique.
3. In fact, Neatby was a pioneer in what has become something of an industry: bashing public education. In addition to the direct revenues from the publication of a host of books through the past half-century, public education has become what Peter Drucker characterized in 1993 as a \$400 billion+ business opportunity in the United States alone. The subsequent evolution from a public service to what Neave (1988) calls the “evaluative state” and the marketization of public education (school choice, voucher systems, across the Western world (Day, et. al., 2000; Whitty et. al., 1998) represent the radical realignment Western systems of public education have undergone in the 1990s. The irony is that these developments which amalgamate her conservative humanist educational critique with market forces and devolution of responsibility for public education to locales and markets would have disturbed Hilda Neatby profoundly.
4. For a highly engaging contemporary critique of this view see Kieran Egan’s, *Getting it wrong from the beginning* (2002).
5. In 1954 Neatby wrote in response to her critics that the real roots of decay were not the, “inventions of educators and experts, they have emerged naturally from our modern way of life” (Neatby, 1954).
6. In fact, Neatby pays little attention to actual school practice, focusing instead on an analysis of provincial curriculum documents and a smattering of educational research. The work of Sutherland (1995), Wilson and Stortz (1995) and Cochrane (1987) for example illustrate how these documents were typically not reflected in practice.
7. Throughout the text Neatby reserves her most venomous critique for the educational expert and the kind of teachers they train. She bemoans the intellectual calibre of teachers claiming that they reject thinking in order to remain “part of the flock” (1953, p. 102). Neatby saw these teachers as “doers” rather than “scholars” and she went on to describe them as trivial administrators, thoughtless, cheerful compliant characters interested in sports and social activities and those who feel superior “spending time with the immature” (1953: 123). Teachers college instructors are portrayed as second-rate academics, already nervous because they have no specific expertise and made more nervous because they must teach people with relatively superior academic formation and even life experience. This type of critique has by now become commonplace in the international education restructuring discourse described by Whitty et. al. (1998), Robertson (2000), and Day, et. al. (2000). Other examples are Popkewitz’s poststructural analysis of the *Teach for America* teacher training program and Henry Giroux’s analysis of Leon Botstein’s critique of teacher training which has much in common with Neatby’s critique of the educational experts (Giroux, 2001, p. 82-92).
8. To quote Neatby: “One province attaches a bibliography to its general statement of which out of some forty-eight works, all but five were published in the United States... Canadian teachers then are warned that American findings are standard and are to be disregarded at their peril” (1953, p. 34).
9. Roland Barthes on the other hand argued that schools have been particularly good at producing unquestioning, compliant sheep and not very good at nurturing loud, complaining goats (Church, 1996). Contrary to Neatby, Barthes believed that the people who actually push civilization forward, who create art and culture and who resist fascism in all of its forms are actually the restless goats. In contemporary Canada, the question of the proper role of school is increasingly understood as a political discussion, and one in which

virtually everyone might and perhaps should become involved (Osborne, 1999; Ungerleider, 2003).

10. Neatby wrote: "The unconscious scorn engendered by Dewey for the Christian church and the aristocratic way of life, both of which nurtured a liberal humanist tradition, has cut them off from the living roots of democracy" (1953, p. 236).
11. My own bar-room question concerns whether or not Neatby's ideas still have the same face validity they might have possessed in 1953, and the possibility of an affirmative answer is deeply troubling.
12. For instance Diane Ravitch's work, which is remarkably similar in orientation to that of Neatby, is typically introduced with the idea that all children are capable of learning regardless of their social position or alleged "gifts," and that a failure to recognize this has been one of the main impediments to effective schooling (2000). One frightening and bizarre exception is the re-emergence of the kind of racist scholarship presented by the likes of Phillip Rushton or by Herrnstein and Murray's *The Bell Curve* (1994). For a multifaceted and powerful deconstruction of this work see Kincheloe et al. (1996).
13. In fact, it has been argued that this kind of critical work may have actually contributed to further social class polarization (Ranciere, 1995). In a recent address to the Canadian Society for the Study of Education, Marie Battiste commented that despite individual successes, overall educational outcomes for Canada's First Nations people have remained dismally unchanged (2004).
14. In his examination of curriculum development in Saskatchewan, Donald Cochrane notes that Neatby's analysis of the influence of Dewey and progressivism was effectively moot. He writes: "in Saskatchewan, Neatby's broadside came at a time of teacher shortages and minimal training programs that exposed teachers neither to Dewey nor to the kind of educational ideas Neatby favoured" (Cochrane, 1987, p. 28).
15. While this article was under review, James Pitsula (2001) published an analysis that investigates the "improbable" comparison of Neatby's work to that of Foucault. Pitsula develops the argument that Neatby and Foucault, though very different kinds of scholars and people, shared an interest in the potentially invasive nature of allegedly liberatory scientific, institutional and professional forms of inquiry into human behaviour. Neatby's work does indeed bear a certain resemblance to poststructural educational analysis (Popkewitz et. al., 2001), as well as the philosophical critique of progressivism and its exclusive focus on "experience" launched by Egan (1997; 2002). Additionally, Bowers' (2000, 2003) vision of eco-pedagogy is also predicated on a critique of Dewey's scientism.
16. For example, Neatby wrote: "In practice, however, the teacher and the curriculum are instruments in the hands of the administrator for conditioning children in an approved manner according to the listed 'values' of 'democracy' or occasionally of 'social living' or of 'effective living'." (1953, P. 42).
17. Neatby's attitude to the high school dropout is predictable. She wrote: "We should stop worrying about 'why our high school students drop out.' If they are offered abundant intellectual nourishment and if they prove themselves unable or unwilling to profit by it, then they should not only be allowed to quit, they should be obliged to withdraw." (1953, p. 333).

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LA RELATION ENTRE LE STYLE D'INTERVENTION DE L'ENSEIGNANTE EN LECTURE ET LE PROGRÈS DES ÉLÈVES À RISQUE EN PREMIÈRE ANNÉE DU PRIMAIRE

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RÉSUMÉ. Cette étude vise à identifier les styles d'intervention efficaces en lecture en première année. Des observations mensuelles ont été effectuées dans 18 classes lors d'activités de lecture en début de première année. Les progrès des élèves (n=143) ont été évalués en conscience phonologique et en écriture provisoire. Les résultats révèlent que les enseignantes utilisant les styles Explication, Modelage et Étayage favorisent le progrès en conscience phonologique des élèves plus que celles empruntant les styles Information et Questionnement fermé.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTERVENTION STYLES IN THE TEACHING OF READING AND THE PROGRESS OF FIRST YEAR PRIMARY STUDENTS AT RISK

ABSTRACT. This study aims at identifying effective intervention styles for reading in first grade. Early in the first year, monthly observations were completed in 18 classes during reading activities. Students' progress (n=143) in phonological awareness and invented spelling was evaluated. Results show that teachers using Explanation, Modeling and Support enhance progress in students' phonological awareness more so than those using Information and Closed Questioning styles.

L'apprentissage de la lecture en première année est un sujet qui retient de plus en plus l'attention puisque plusieurs études ont révélé qu'une bonne partie des élèves qui échouent en lecture en première année continuent à être en situation d'échec au cours du primaire et risquent de ne pas terminer leurs études secondaires. Plusieurs pistes de recherche ont été explorées dans le but d'enrayer ce phénomène d'échec en lecture. Bon nombre de chercheurs se sont penchés sur les caractéristiques des élèves en difficulté (Purcell-Gates, 2001; Vellutino, 2003) et sur les meilleurs moyens d'identifier leurs problèmes. D'autres ont exploré le rôle des parents dans la réussite en lecture au primaire en examinant les pratiques de littératie familiale dans différents milieux (Neuman et Celano, 2001 ; Sénéchal, 2000). Mais au cours des dernières années, l'intérêt des chercheurs s'est orienté plus nettement vers

la variable « enseignement ». Un des facteurs qui a motivé cette orientation est sans doute le rapport du comité du *National Research Council* sur la prévention des difficultés de lecture qui conclut qu'un enseignement de qualité au début du primaire est la meilleure arme contre l'échec en lecture (Snow, Burns et Griffin, 1998). Cette constatation a donné l'impulsion à un courant de recherches orienté vers l'observation des enseignantes dans le milieu naturel de leur classe. Il est important de souligner que ce courant est tout à fait différent de celui qui était à la base des études des années 1970 et 1980 : à cette époque, plusieurs chercheurs ont procédé à des observations en classe en vue d'identifier des variables liées au succès en lecture, mais leurs études étaient athéoriques, car les comportements étaient observés séparément sans être intégrés dans un modèle. Il était alors difficile de poser un jugement sur la valeur relative de chaque intervention pédagogique. Aujourd'hui, les chercheurs essaient plutôt d'observer l'enseignement de la lecture en situant chaque composante à l'intérieur d'un modèle cohérent d'enseignement de la lecture.

La présente étude se situe dans ce courant et veut apporter une contribution à l'analyse du lien entre les styles d'intervention adoptés par les enseignantes en classe et les progrès en lecture des élèves au début de la première année du primaire, et ce, en observant les enseignantes dans la réalité quotidienne de leur salle de classe.

RECENSION DES ÉCRITS

Dans cette partie, nous ferons état des recherches en lecture qui ont été effectuées au cours des dernières années à partir de l'observation en classe d'enseignantes exemplaires ; nous tenterons de mettre en évidence certaines caractéristiques communes aux enseignantes efficaces en première année.

Une des premières études d'observation en classe a été celle de Pressley et de ses collègues (1998) qui ont cherché à identifier les caractéristiques d'un enseignement exemplaire de la lecture-écriture auprès de 30 enseignantes de première année : la moitié de celles-ci étaient considérées comme d'excellentes enseignantes et se démarquaient par les bons résultats de leurs élèves, l'autre moitié étaient représentatives de l'ensemble des enseignantes. On observa les enseignantes à plusieurs reprises au cours de l'année. Les caractéristiques des cinq enseignantes les plus efficaces ont été relevées, ce qui a permis de dresser une liste de caractéristiques d'un enseignement exemplaire de la lecture. D'après les résultats de cette étude, les enseignantes les plus efficaces favorisent l'engagement des élèves dans les tâches de lecture, elles planifient et gèrent des activités de lecture et d'écriture nombreuses et variées en explicitant les stratégies et en mettant l'accent sur la littérature et, enfin, elles ont des attentes élevées envers les élèves tout en leur fournissant un étayage approprié.

Wharton-McDonald, Pressley et Hampton (1998) ont également examiné les comportements qui caractérisent les enseignantes exemplaires en première année. Dans cette étude, cinq enseignantes de première année ont été identifiées comme étant expertes et quatre enseignantes comme étant représentatives dans leurs façons d'aider les enfants à développer des habiletés de lecture. Des observateurs se rendaient dans les classes pendant une période de lecture pour noter les interactions. Certaines caractéristiques distinguent les trois enseignantes dont les classes ont obtenu les meilleurs résultats en lecture. Ces enseignantes intègrent de façon cohérente et constante l'enseignement des habiletés de base à l'intérieur d'expériences de lecture et d'écriture de haute qualité, elles incluent plusieurs objectifs à l'intérieur d'une leçon et elles font une utilisation importante de l'étagage, tout en conservant des attentes élevées envers tous les élèves.

Morrow, Tracey, Woo, et Pressley (1999) se sont intéressés aux caractéristiques de l'enseignement de la lecture en première année auprès de six enseignantes considérées exemplaires par leur directeur. Des observateurs ont visité chacune des classes 10 fois pour un total de 25 heures. L'analyse de l'ensemble des données révèle que l'environnement physique de ces classes est riche en écrits, les enseignantes fournissent des lectures pertinentes et enseignent des stratégies de lecture. Les expériences en écriture vécues dans ces classes prennent plusieurs formes et sont rattachées à la lecture. L'enseignement des habiletés de lecture est à la fois planifié et spontané. Les habiletés de décodage sont enseignées à l'intérieur de mini-leçons, mais elles sont consolidées par des activités contextualisées, centrées sur la littérature pour enfants.

Juel et Minden-Cupp (2000) ont aussi observé l'enseignement en classe afin d'identifier des interventions pédagogiques qui favorisent l'apprentissage de la lecture chez des élèves en difficulté. Quatre enseignantes de première année estimées comme de bonnes enseignantes par leur directeur et pratiquant dans des milieux défavorisés ont été observées une heure par semaine durant une année. Dans toutes les classes, les élèves étaient divisés en sous-groupes selon leurs habiletés en lecture. Tous les élèves ont été évalués en septembre, décembre et mai avec des épreuves de lecture. Les résultats de l'étude ont révélé des variations considérables à l'intérieur des quatre classes concernant les pratiques d'enseignement de la lecture. Il ressort de l'étude que l'enseignement explicite du décodage est essentiel pour certains élèves. Les enfants qui, au début de la première année, avaient les résultats les plus faibles ont mieux réussi leur apprentissage de la lecture si leur enseignante leur présentait le décodage de façon structurée dans les premiers mois. Le type d'enseignement du décodage est également important : les enseignantes qui font le plus progresser les élèves à risque sont celles qui misent sur le modelage des stratégies d'identification de mots, le développement des

habiletés en conscience phonologique, la manipulation de matériel, l'utilisation de l'écriture provisoire dans l'enseignement du décodage.

Enfin, Taylor, Pearson, Clark et Walpole (2000) ont examiné les pratiques pédagogiques susceptibles d'expliquer comment certaines écoles favorisent davantage la réussite des élèves à risque en lecture. Au total, 104 enseignantes provenant de 11 écoles participèrent à la recherche. Dans chaque classe, deux élèves à risque et deux élèves moyens ont été évalués à l'automne et au printemps par des épreuves de lecture. Des observations en classe ont été réalisées une fois par mois dans chacune des classes, et ce, durant une heure. L'observateur enregistrait tout ce que l'enseignante et les enfants disaient et faisaient pendant la leçon. Toutes les cinq minutes, l'observateur notait le style d'enseignement observé parmi les suivants : 1- Information, 2- Explication, 3- Modelage, 4- Étayage, 5- Questionnement fermé, 6- Discussion. Les chercheurs ont ensuite calculé l'efficacité des classes à partir du rendement en lecture des élèves. Les résultats révèlent que les facteurs reliés aux enseignants les plus efficaces sont : une gestion de la classe cohérente, une place importante accordée à l'enseignement par petits groupes et à la lecture autonome, l'enseignement explicite du décodage associé à un soutien donné à l'enfant lors de l'application de ses habiletés dans la lecture de textes signifiants, des questions de haut niveau, des attentes de performance élevées envers les élèves. Quant aux styles d'intervention, les résultats révèlent que les enseignantes efficaces utilisent plus l'étayage auprès des élèves que les enseignantes moins efficaces et qu'à l'inverse ces dernières utilisent davantage le style qui consiste à donner de l'information.

Dans les études que nous venons de présenter, une des constantes qui se dégage est l'importance des stratégies ou des styles d'intervention des enseignantes. On peut constater que la majorité des enseignantes exemplaires font usage de l'étayage et de l'enseignement explicite auprès de leurs élèves. L'étude de Taylor et al. (2000) fait même ressortir les styles plus fréquents chez les enseignantes moins efficaces. Cependant, aucune de ces études n'aborde la question de la combinaison des styles. Les six styles proposés par Taylor (Information, Explication, Démonstration, Modelage, Questionnement fermé et Discussion) sont considérés isolément alors qu'il serait possible de les regrouper de façon cohérente. Ainsi, dans une première catégorie, seraient classés les quatre styles qui visent à soutenir concrètement l'enfant, c'est-à-dire les styles qui consistent à expliquer, modeler, étayer et discuter. Une deuxième catégorie regrouperait les deux styles qui consistent à donner de l'information sans explication et à poser des questions fermées dont l'objectif est plus d'évaluer que d'enseigner. Une question de recherche qui reste donc à explorer serait de vérifier si une combinaison de styles explique mieux les progrès des élèves que les styles considérés isolément.

OBJECTIF DE L'ÉTUDE

L'objectif de cette étude est de mettre en relation les styles et les combinaisons de styles d'intervention d'enseignantes de première année avec les progrès des élèves en langage écrit.

Comme mesure de progrès en langage écrit, nous avons choisi deux épreuves qui peuvent être administrées dès le début de la première année et qui sont sensibles aux progrès des élèves, soit la conscience phonologique et l'écriture provisoire.

Les habiletés en conscience phonologique sont de bons prédicteurs du succès de l'apprentissage de la lecture. Les études des vingt dernières années ont montré que la très grande majorité des enfants qui possèdent de bonnes habiletés de conscience phonologique en maternelle réussissent à apprendre à lire sans problème. Ce lien entre la conscience phonologique et la lecture a été mis en évidence dans les études portant autant sur la langue anglaise (Blachman, 2000; Ehri et Nunes, 2002) que sur la langue française (Armand, 2000; Giasson et Saint-Laurent, 1998; Sprenger-Charolles, Béchennec et Lacert, 1998; Ziarko et al., 2000).

L'écriture provisoire, qui consiste à demander à l'enfant d'écrire des mots à sa façon, apporte un éclairage sur le niveau de compréhension du principe alphabétique de l'enfant. Au début de l'apprentissage de la lecture, les mécanismes de lecture et d'écriture sont intimement liés et l'écriture provisoire peut être considérée comme une mesure de lecture puisque ce qui est évalué n'est pas la maîtrise de l'orthographe standard mais les hypothèses faites par l'enfant sur le fonctionnement de la langue écrite. L'écriture provisoire a fait l'objet de nombreuses études auprès d'enfants de différentes langues (Fijalkow et Fijalkow, 1993; Montesinos-Gelet, 2002; Richgels, 1995).

Dans la présente étude, les questions suivantes seront examinées : 1- Peut-on prédire les progrès des élèves de première année en conscience phonologique et en écriture provisoire d'après les styles d'intervention privilégiés des enseignantes ? 2- Peut-on prédire les progrès des élèves de première année en conscience phonologique et en écriture provisoire d'après les combinaisons de styles privilégiés des enseignantes?

MÉTHODOLOGIE

Les classes

L'étude comprend 18 classes primaires situées dans sept écoles. Le milieu socioéconomique des écoles est moyen selon la classification du MEQ (2000). Le nombre de classes par école varie de une à quatre. Les 18 enseignantes observées avaient en moyenne 21,7 années d'expérience.

Les élèves

Dans chacune des 18 classes, quatre élèves à risque et quatre élèves moyens dont la langue maternelle est le français ont été ciblés pour des évaluations et des observations, pour un total de 72 élèves moyens et 71 élèves à risque. Les élèves ont été choisis par les enseignantes de chaque classe en septembre à partir des critères suivants : a) les élèves moyens sont des élèves représentatifs de la classe, b) les élèves à risque sont ceux qui ne manifestent pas d'intérêt pour la lecture et l'écriture, qui n'ont pas été stimulés à la lecture dans leur milieu familial, qui ne voient pas l'utilité de la lecture, qui ont une conscience phonologique peu développée, qui présentent des retards de langage, etc. Ne sont pas inclus les élèves qui présentent un handicap physique, sensoriel ou intellectuel.

Les observations en classe

Les 18 classes furent visitées une fois tous les mois, de septembre à décembre, l'objectif étant d'observer chacune des classes trois fois. Les enseignantes devaient faire une leçon de français d'une durée de 35 à 70 minutes. Les observatrices, deux étudiantes graduées en éducation, notaient tout ce que l'enseignante et les enfants disaient ou faisaient. À toutes les cinq minutes, elles indiquaient si les styles d'interactions suivants avaient été observés : 1- Donner de l'information abstraite (ou des directives sans explication). 2- Expliquer comment faire quelque chose (donner des explications claires). 3- Modeler/démontrer (montrer comment faire quelque chose en réalisant concrètement la tâche). 4- Procéder par étayage (soutenir /aider /superviser l'élève pendant qu'il essaie de réaliser une tâche). 5- Questionner sans demander d'élaboration (questions fermées de type littéral). 6- Engager une discussion avec les élèves (discussion réelle avec échange entre les participants). Avant le début des observations en classe, les observatrices ont reçu un entraînement de deux jours à l'aide de leçons de lecture enregistrées sur vidéocassettes. L'accord interjuge a été effectué en octobre et novembre pour chacune des séances d'observation en classe, il a été vérifié sur 20% des notes prises par les observatrices avec la procédure suivante : le nombre d'accords divisé par le nombre d'accords et de désaccords. Le pourcentage d'accord est de 87 % pour l'ensemble des cotations.

DÉROULEMENT DE L'ÉVALUATION DES ÉLÈVES

En septembre, une épreuve d'écriture provisoire a été administrée de façon collective dans les classes ainsi qu'une épreuve individuelle de conscience phonologique. Les deux mêmes épreuves ont été administrées de façon individuelle en janvier.

Épreuve d'écriture provisoire

L'examinatrice remet aux élèves une page contenant les illustrations de cinq animaux. Elle identifie les animaux avec les élèves (girafe, abeille, escargot, hibou, éléphant) et leur demande d'écrire le nom de ces animaux comme ils pensent qu'ils s'écrivent. Cette épreuve dure environ 15 minutes. La cotation se fait sur une échelle de six points à partir des phonèmes représentés. Chaque mot possède sa propre échelle puisque le nombre de phonèmes varie selon les mots. Le pourcentage d'accord obtenu lors de la vérification interjuge est de 97,2%.

Épreuve de conscience phonologique

Cette épreuve consiste en une adaptation de celle de Yopp (1995) et porte sur une tâche de segmentation de mots. L'épreuve comporte 22 mots dont 10 mots de deux phonèmes et 12 mots de trois phonèmes. La grande majorité des phonèmes de la langue française sont représentés dans les mots. Le score est le nombre total d'items correctement segmentés (sur 22). On ne donne pas de note partielle.

RÉSULTATS

L'analyse des données s'est effectuée en deux parties. D'abord, des analyses de variance des résultats en conscience phonologique ainsi qu'en écriture provisoire ont été réalisées pour deux groupes distincts : les élèves à risque et les élèves moyens. Pour chacun de ces groupes, les élèves furent divisés selon le degré d'utilisation par leur enseignante (faiblement, moyennement, fortement) de chacun des styles et des combinaisons de styles. Ensuite, des analyses de régression pour les mesures en conscience phonologique et en écriture provisoire ont été effectuées, avec les élèves à risque et moyens, selon les mêmes styles et combinaisons de styles des enseignantes.

Données descriptives

Le nombre de fois que chacune des 18 enseignantes a utilisé l'un ou l'autre des six styles d'intervention (Information, Explication, Modelage, Étayage, Questionnement fermé, Discussion) a d'abord été compilé à partir des observations en classe de septembre à décembre. Par la suite, le pourcentage d'utilisation de chacun des styles fut calculé. L'analyse des données révèle que trois styles sont utilisés plus fréquemment que les autres, soit Information (28,52%), Étayage (30,75%) et Questionnement fermé (33,88%). Les trois autres styles sont peu utilisés et parfois même absents chez certaines enseignantes (Explication 2,14%, Modelage 3,35% et Discussion 1,34%). Les données descriptives permettent de constater que les enseignantes utilisent à la fois deux ou même trois styles de façon plus marquée.

TABLEAU 1 : Analyse de la covariance des résultats en conscience phonologique selon le style de l'enseignante avec le pré-test comme covariable

	Groupe 1 Élèves dont l'enseignante utilise peu ce style			Groupe 2 Élèves dont l'enseignante utilise moyennement ce style			Groupe 3 Élèves dont l'enseignante utilise fréquemment ce style			Groupe 1 Élèves dont l'enseignante utilise peu ce style			Groupe 2 Élèves dont l'enseignante utilise moyennement ce style			Groupe 3 Élèves dont l'enseignante utilise fréquemment ce style		
	M	SD	F	M	SD	F	M	SD	F	M	SD	F	M	SD	F	M	SD	F
	élèves à risque									élèves moyens								
Information	9,13	6,38	4,417* ¹	13,27	6,80		9,38	4,97		11,52	4,09	1,303	12,83	4,17		12,74	6,16	
Explication	10,41	7,18	,078	10,58	5,69		10,80	6,38		12,04	5,80	,015	12,71	4,04		12,26	4,95	
Modelage	7,58	6,45	4,558* ²	12,57	4,92		10,47	7,32		10,61	5,24	2,076	13,69	3,87		11,85	5,52	
Étayage	9,82	6,51	,308	11,43	6,17		10,48	6,49		11,71	5,58	,258	12,23	5,33		13,17	3,55	
Questions fermées	10,78	5,83	2,445	11,57	6,02		9,44	6,84		15,17	5,27	5,745* ⁴	12,94	4,38		10,38	4,55	
Discussion	10,88	6,49	,358	8,70	5,91		11,50	5,57		12,40	4,51	,465	13,00	6,27		9,33	5,69	
Exp.Mod. Étay	7,59	5,32	6,367* ³	10,57	6,93		13,76	5,19		10,17	6,16	2,983	13,13	3,99		13,75	3,43	
Inf. et Quest.	13,22	5,12	2,264	8,39	6,95		10,10	6,02		12,91	3,67	1,764	13,18	5,07		10,53	5,51	

NOTE. ¹Bonferroni Gr.2 > Gr.1 $p < ,05$; ²Bonferroni Gr.2 > Gr.1 $p < ,05$; ³Bonferroni Gr.3 > Gr.1 $p < ,05$; ⁴Bonferroni Gr.1 > Gr.3 $p < ,05$; * $p < ,05$; ** $p < ,01$

Les analyses de variance

Le tableau 1 présente les résultats de l'analyse de la variance comparant les résultats en conscience phonologique des élèves à risque et des élèves moyens (janvier) en fonction du style et des combinaisons de styles de l'enseignante avec le pré-test en covariable.

L'analyse présentée au tableau 1 révèle plusieurs différences significatives entre les groupes. En premier lieu, auprès des élèves à risque, une différence significative est obtenue quant à l'utilisation du style Information ($F = 4,417, p < ,05$). On constate que les enseignantes qui utilisent moyennement ce style obtiennent de meilleurs résultats que celles qui l'utilisent peu. Une autre différence significative est obtenue en ce qui concerne le style Modelage. Les enseignantes qui l'utilisent moyennement obtiennent de meilleurs résultats que celles qui l'utilisent peu ($F = 4,558, p < ,05$). De plus, les groupes se distinguent significativement pour la combinaison des styles Explication, Modelage et Étayage. En effet, les enseignantes utilisant cette combinaison fréquemment obtiennent de meilleurs résultats que celles qui l'utilisent peu ($F = 6,367, p < ,01$). En ce qui concerne les élèves moyens, les enseignantes qui font fréquemment appel au style Questionnement fermé obtiennent de moins bons résultats que celles qui le font moins ($F = 5,745, p < ,01$). Aucun résultat avec les tests d'écriture provisoire n'est présenté puisque les analyses ne révèlent pas d'effet significatif.

Les analyses de régression

Des régressions multiples ont été effectuées pour vérifier si on peut prédire les progrès des élèves en fonction des six styles de l'enseignante. Le tableau 2 présente les analyses de régression pour les résultats en conscience phonologique avec le pré-test en covariable. Aucune analyse de régression avec l'écriture provisoire n'est présentée car les styles expliquent une trop faible variance dans les scores des élèves à cette mesure.

Les analyses rapportées au tableau 2 révèlent qu'auprès des élèves à risque, c'est le style Questionnement fermé qui a la plus grande importance dans la régression, et ce, négativement ($\beta = -,54$), suivi du style Information ($\beta = -,29$) qui va dans le même sens. Le Modelage ($\beta = ,23$) est la variable positive la plus élevée dans cette analyse. Ce qui veut dire que lorsque les enseignantes misent surtout sur le Questionnement fermé et l'Information, on peut prédire que le progrès des élèves est moins élevé, tandis que lorsque les enseignantes font du Modelage, on peut prédire un plus grand progrès en conscience phonologique. Pour les élèves moyens, le Questionnement fermé est le style important dans cette analyse ($\beta = -,43$) et il demeure négatif. Cela signifie que le Questionnement fermé prédit les résultats des élèves moyens : plus les enseignantes utilisent ce style, moins les élèves tendent à réussir.

TABLEAU 2 : Résultats des analyses de régression pour les mesures en conscience phonologique avec le pré-test en covariable

Première analyse	Élèves à risque $R^2=,240^{**}$	Élèves moyens $R^2=,188^*$
	β	β
Information	-,29	,00
Explication	,14	,07
Modelage	,23	-,03
Étayage	,02	,05
Questions fermées	-,54	-,43
Discussion	-,14	,05

Deuxième analyse	Élèves à risque $R^2=,203^{**}$	Élèves moyens $R^2=,179^{**}$
	β	β
Information	,01	,05
Questions fermées	-,33	-,36
Discussion	-,03	,08
Explication, Modelage et Étayage	,25	,08

NOTE. * $p < ,05$; ** $p < ,01$

La deuxième partie du tableau 2 présente les résultats d'une analyse effectuée à partir du regroupement des stratégies Explication, Modelage et Étayage et des autres styles seuls. D'après cette analyse, auprès des élèves à risque et des élèves moyens, la variable ayant le plus d'importance est encore le style Questionnement fermé et cela, de façon négative (respectivement $\beta = -,33$ et $\beta = -,36$). Cela confirme donc que le Questionnement fermé n'est pas un style efficace chez les élèves à risque ni chez les élèves moyens. Auprès des élèves à risque, la combinaison Explication, Modelage et Étayage, apparaît également importante ($\beta = ,25$) dans la régression; cette combinaison favoriserait donc la réussite des élèves à risque.

DISCUSSION

Cette étude poursuivait l'objectif de vérifier quels sont les styles et les combinaisons de styles d'intervention des enseignantes qui sont les plus

efficaces auprès des élèves moyens et des élèves à risque au début de la première année. Les enseignantes de cette étude utilisent en majorité trois styles dominants, soit le style Questionnement fermé (33,88%), Étayage (30,75%) et Information (28,52). Ces résultats sont cohérents avec ceux de la recherche de Taylor et al. (2000) qui a révélé que les styles privilégiés des enseignantes sont Information (39%), Questionnement fermé (31%) et Étayage (24%). Dans notre étude, les enseignantes ont donc une préférence pour les mêmes trois styles, mais les moyennes d'utilisation divergent quelque peu. En effet, les enseignantes de notre étude utilisent plus l'Étayage que celles de l'étude de Taylor et inversement pour ce qui est de donner de l'information.

La première question de recherche concernait le lien entre les progrès des élèves de première année en conscience phonologique et en écriture provisoire et les styles d'interaction privilégiés des enseignantes. Des analyses de la variance ont été effectuées en comparant les enseignantes réparties en trois groupes. Les analyses révèlent certaines différences entre les groupes pour les progrès en conscience phonologique. Des analyses de régressions multiples portant sur des styles ont ensuite été réalisées. Celles-ci montrent que certains styles ont plus d'importance que d'autres en ce qui concerne les progrès des élèves en conscience phonologique. Nous n'avons pas trouvé de relation entre l'écriture provisoire et les styles d'enseignement : il semble que cette épreuve ne soit pas assez puissante pour évaluer les progrès des élèves, à tout le moins selon les résultats de la présente étude.

Trois styles distinguent les groupes d'enseignantes. Le style qui a donné lieu aux différences les plus nombreuses dans cette étude est le Questionnement fermé. L'analyse de variance montre que les élèves moyens font plus de progrès en conscience phonologique lorsque l'enseignante utilise peu ce style que lorsqu'elle l'utilise fréquemment. Dans toutes les analyses de régression effectuées sur les mesures en conscience phonologique, c'est le Questionnement fermé qui a le plus d'importance auprès des élèves à risque et des élèves moyens, toujours de façon négative. L'analyse de la variance et l'analyse de régression donnent donc des résultats cohérents et confirment la même idée : l'insistance sur le Questionnement fermé par les enseignantes ne favoriserait pas les progrès chez les élèves.

Le second style à distinguer les enseignantes entre elles est le style Information qui a donné des différences au plan de la conscience phonologique chez les élèves à risque. Les enseignantes utilisant moyennement ce style obtiennent de meilleurs résultats que celles en faisant peu ou fréquemment usage. Ces différences présentent beaucoup d'intérêt puisqu'elles montrent qu'un certain dosage est nécessaire dans l'utilisation de ce style. Les enseignantes donnant peu de directives et d'informations ne favorisent pas le progrès de leurs élèves à risque, peut-être par manque de clarté et de précision dans leur intervention, tandis que celles qui en font trop négligent

d'autres styles qui rendraient les élèves plus actifs dans l'apprentissage. Toujours chez les élèves à risque, lors de l'analyse de régression pour les mesures en conscience phonologique, le style Information est la deuxième variable à montrer le plus d'importance dans la régression et ce, de façon négative (-,29). Cela confirme donc que lorsque ce style est privilégié par les enseignantes au détriment d'autres styles plus efficaces, les progrès des élèves à risque sont plus faibles.

Bref, les différentes analyses concernant les styles Information et Questionnement fermé ont révélé que les enseignantes les utilisant fortement ne stimulent pas le progrès des élèves. On peut donc penser que ces styles caractérisés par la transmission de connaissances et non par le développement de stratégies chez les élèves ne sont pas caractéristiques d'un enseignement efficace.

À l'inverse, le troisième style présentant des différences fait partie des styles qui suscitent l'engagement des élèves; il s'agit du Modelage. Les différences reliées au Modelage sont à l'opposé de celles observées avec le Questionnement fermé et l'Information. Les enseignantes qui utilisent le modelage moyennement sont plus efficaces que celles qui l'utilisent peu. Pour prédire les progrès en conscience phonologique, le Modelage est la seule variable positive d'importance apparaissant dans la régression. Le Modelage est donc une variable à prendre en considération en ce qui concerne le progrès des élèves à risque. Aucune différence n'apparaît chez les élèves moyens, ce qui est digne d'intérêt puisque le Modelage est une stratégie d'enseignement dont la caractéristique est de démontrer une démarche, ce qui aide particulièrement les élèves dont les besoins dépassent les simples informations.

Les résultats présentés précédemment révèlent la présence de liens entre les progrès des élèves et les styles d'intervention considérés isolément, cependant la présente étude visait à voir au-delà du style unique privilégié par les enseignantes en portant attention aux combinaisons de styles d'intervention. Deux combinaisons ont été analysées, une première regroupait trois styles dont la caractéristique est de soutenir concrètement l'élève dans son apprentissage, soit Explication, Modelage et Étayage et une seconde regroupait les deux styles centrés sur le contenu et la transmission de connaissances, Questionnement fermé et Information. Des analyses de variance et des analyses de régression ont donc été réalisées pour ces deux combinaisons. Les résultats de l'analyse de variance montrent que les enseignantes qui empruntent fréquemment la combinaison Explication, Modelage et Étayage obtiennent de meilleurs progrès chez les élèves à risque en conscience phonologique que celles qui l'utilisent peu. Les analyses de régression révèlent également que cette combinaison de styles a un effet positif auprès des élèves à risque en conscience phonologique. De plus, les résultats confirment que

l'utilisation de ce regroupement de styles est plus efficace que l'utilisation d'un seul de ces styles, même lorsque considéré efficace.

Il apparaît donc que la combinaison des styles Explication, Modelage et Étayage soit particulièrement profitable aux élèves à risque. Elle permet aux élèves d'obtenir à la fois des explications claires sur les stratégies, d'avoir accès à des modèles et d'être soutenus dans leur apprentissage de la lecture. Ces résultats sont cohérents avec ceux des recherches antérieures. En effet, les cinq études présentées dans la recension des écrits (Juel et Minden-Cupp, 2000; Morrow et al., 1999; Pressley et al., 1998; Taylor et al., 2000; Wharton-McDonald et al., 1998) arrivent toutes à la conclusion qu'un enseignement explicite des stratégies ainsi que l'utilisation de l'étayage sont des stratégies d'enseignement exemplaire auprès des élèves à risque en lecture. Notre étude non seulement confirme cette idée, mais va plus loin puisque les résultats montrent que les styles Explications, Modelage et Étayage sont des styles qui, utilisés fréquemment par une même enseignante, sont encore plus efficaces qu'utilisés seuls. Il semble donc que les enseignantes qui varient leur enseignement et qui adaptent leurs stratégies en fonction de la tâche à accomplir soient plus efficaces. Puisque cette combinaison de styles profite particulièrement aux élèves à risque, cette étude suggère également qu'une différenciation de l'enseignement de la lecture est souhaitable en première année, ce qui rejoint les conclusions de Juel et Minden-Cupp (2000).

Soulignons en terminant que cette étude est une des rares études québécoises en lecture à fournir des données provenant d'observations directes en classe. Il nous apparaît important de continuer à observer l'enseignement tel qu'il est prodigué en classe. Des recherches futures pourraient examiner l'efficacité des styles d'enseignement sur une plus longue période, par exemple pendant tout le premier cycle. Des études pourraient également comparer l'effet distinctif des styles d'intervention sur les progrès des filles et des garçons en difficulté de lecture.

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La relation entre le style d'intervention de l'enseignante

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DISRUPTING LITERACY PRACTICES IN A LEARNING COMMUNITY: EMPOWERMENT THROUGH VOICING

WENDY CUMMING-POTVIN *Murdoch University*

ABSTRACT. This paper adopts a sociocultural perspective on learning (Vygotsky, 1978, 1986) to explore connections between the concept of voicing (Bakhtin 1981, 1986) and a Year four student's second language learning in Australia. Results are drawn from a qualitative study conducted in the Australian outback, through ethnographic research strategies, which involved implementing a Language and Culture Awareness Program in a Year 4 classroom. Analysis of selected data related to the learning and development of Jerry, a Year four student, is framed within a discourse of values and practice (Bourdieu, 1990, 1993; Cummins, 1996). The discussion relates Jerry's opportunities to explore French through purposeful tasks to the disruption of ritualized practices in a predominantly Anglo-Catholic community.

POUVOIR DIRE: L'INTERRUPTION PAR LA VOIX DE PRATIQUES DE LITTÉRATIE DANS UNE COMMUNAUTÉ D'APPRENTISSAGE

RÉSUMÉ. Cette étude emprunte une approche socioculturelle (Vygotsky 1978, 1986) à fin d'explorer les rapports entre le concept de la voix (Bakhtin 1981, 1986) et l'apprentissage de langue seconde chez un étudiant de l'Année 4 en Australie. Par l'usage de stratégies de recherche ethnographique, on tire des résultats d'une étude qualitative menée dans le outback australien; étude qui comporte la mise en place dans une classe de l'Année 4, d'un programme de conscience de langue et de culture. L'analyse des données sélectionnées relatifs à l'apprentissage et le développement de Jerry, un étudiant de l'Année 4, s'encadre à l'intérieur d'un discours de valeurs et de pratiques (Bourdieu, 1990, 1993; Cummins, 1996). La discussion qui suit établit le rapport entre des occasions pour Jerry d'explorer le français par les tâches intentionnelles et l'interruption de pratiques ritualisées dans une communauté de prédominance culturelle anglo-catholique.

Introduction

In contemporary societies characterized by globalisation and migration, a sociocultural approach to cognition (Vygotsky, 1978, 1986) has become increasingly pertinent for examining children's learning. Over the past

decade, sociocultural research in the area of language and literacy has generated explanations about knowledge acquisition as a process of being accepted into a community of practice, which is linked to the construction of identity (Beaumont, 1999; Dyson, 1999, 2001; Rogoff, 1990). Whilst there is increasing interest in how children construct their identity through mediated action, most researchers have focussed on issues relating to first language learning. According to Toohey (2000) some second language theorists have begun to conduct studies from a social-historical perspective (Norton, 2000; McKay & Wong, 1996), which takes account of learners' position in communities. Still, further research is needed to investigate progress in second language learning while considering aspects such as access to activities, obstacles to participation and negotiation of identities in communities.

This qualitative study aimed to understand how second language learners' identities were negotiated and literacy practices evolved as students engaged in a community of practice. From this perspective, literacy involves mastering the symbolic media and understanding how to manipulate words and concepts in an accepted cultural manner through daily social interaction (Reid, 1998; Rogoff, 1990). Conducted in a context of geographical isolation in the Australian outback, the study tracked the literacy learning of three Year four students, particularly in relation to French as a second language, which was introduced in a Catholic primary school and the local community.

Based on selected results from the study, this paper focuses on Jerry (one of three Year four case study students) who engaged in a Language and Culture Awareness Program (LCAP) with a variety of partners in both formal and informal settings. The LCAP was designed to introduce French, which is described as a Language other than English (LOTE)¹ in the Australian school system. Jerry's learning and development in this predominantly Anglo-Catholic school are discussed and related to home literacy practices and cultural and linguistic background. Jerry's patterns of voicing are also analysed by exploring the connections between appropriation (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Sahni, 2001; Toohey, 2000), construction of identity and use and understanding of language. Here, the work of Rogoff (1990) widens the term appropriation to include not only speech patterns, but also cultural practices, which are often internalised through joint construction, such as children's guided participation in daily activities.

A sociocultural perspective: Cognition, voicing and identity

Many assumptions about cognition, such as the links between human cognition, communication and sociocultural contexts (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) connect explicitly to the social constructivist view of identity (Toohey,

2000; Wertsch, 1991). In particular, the term voices, derived from Bakhtin's works, is pertinent for examining construction of identity as viewed through a process of mediated social interaction. Bakhtin (1981) argued that spoken texts originate through complex and multifaceted exchanges. Each word uttered can be viewed as a joint production between speakers and listeners, although the voices may be distant and unnamed (Toohey, 2000; Winch et al. 2001). Gilligan (1993) suggested that the concept of voice is simultaneously relational, cultural and deeply psychological, which lends to an examination of "the self" as a socially constructed entity located in a network of discourses. Fulwiler (1994) summarized voice as providing a view of personal identity largely determined according to where one lives, works, plays and with whom one interacts.

In addition, the socio-political forces which encourage individuals to adopt the voice of authority within a given community cannot be dismissed (Wertsch, 1991). With respect to diversity, the favoured voice of authority may influence the manner in which children appropriate and transfer information from a second language to a first language and vice versa. Cummins (1996) and Saunders (1991) investigated the influence of socio-political factors, such as official and unofficial language status on learners' linguistic competence. Bourdieu (1993) refers to these forces as linguistic capital and profits, implying that communication even between two people is dominated by overall political structures. For example, in Quebec or in French post-colonial Arab countries where political stakes are high, social situations are characterized by a clear relationship between linguistic status and political power.

In a longitudinal ethnographic study conducted in Canada, Toohey (2000) considered how non-English speaking background children appropriated voice as they learned English in kindergarten, Year 1 and Year 2. Conclusions indicated that second language learning from a Bakhtian perspective can be viewed as a struggle for learners to appropriate legitimized words in the community. From this viewpoint, learners' progression through the zone of proximal development represents more than the accumulation of knowledge (Bruner, 1986; Vygotsky, 1978) but also the construction of a social space through which individual identities are negotiated and communities are established. Particularly during primary school years, Dyson (1999) and Sahni (2001) observed, as children appropriate or transform material in formal and informal contexts they display competency and gain a sense of control over their lives.

Moreover, depending on the participatory culture of the classroom and peer relationships, literacy practices from children's informal worlds can be used to mediate and extend reflections on language in formal educational settings (Dyson, 2001). From this perspective, learning cannot be dissociated

from the process of constructing one's identity, which is perceived as becoming a member of a community by both adopting and rejecting attitudes and practices. This shift towards a dialogical rather than an individual construction of identity focuses on social practices which involve individuals' initiations, the responses of others to these actions and to surroundings.

Methodology and research context

The study was designed broadly to deepen understanding of how Australian educational institutions might adapt to and celebrate the richness of diverse student populations. The research context involved a diverse sociocultural and linguistic community in the outback of Queensland, with particular emphasis on a Year four classroom at Saint Gabrielle's Primary school (pseudonyms are used to protect the anonymity of participants). To understand the multiple relationships operating between space, objects and people within the school, a qualitative approach, which views reality as evolving (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 1985) was adopted. Diverse tools such as videotaping, semi-structured interviews, participant observation, document analysis and a parent questionnaire, were used to triangulate data and assist in the creation of three case studies which focussed on the following Year 4 students: Tom, Sarah and Jerry.

To gain an holistic understanding of how these students' learning and development changed during activities conducted in LOTE and English, ethnographic strategies involving intense and prolonged field contact were utilized. For example, over a period of nine months, the principal researcher, who was also a member of the remote community and a parent of children at the school, adopted the dual role of teacher- researcher in Class 4O, which consisted of 29 students and Mr. O'Hara, the classroom teacher. All of the students had little or no previous experience with LOTE in formal classroom settings. However, in terms of language use at home, data from the parent questionnaire indicated that 17% of the 29 families spoke English and at least one minority language at home.

One of the major ethnographic strategies consisted of a 'teaching experiment' that focused on tracking student learning and development in relation to use and understanding of language and construction of identity. The term "teaching experiment" is based on an innovative research methodology introduced by Vygotsky (1978, 1986) and described by Davydov (1994) to examine children's development, particularly in relation to socio-cultural patterns established through upbringing and teaching. Because this type of experiment involves the researcher as an active participant in the psychological and cultural processes studied, it differs significantly from the verification method that aims to isolate and control independent variables. Cummins (1996) implemented a 'teaching experiment', which was con-

ducted with parents and students in a Californian school community characterized by a high proportion of Spanish-speaking migrants. Positive outcomes for Spanish speaking parents and children were reported, such as the validation of their home linguistic experiences. Cummins' model was adapted for the present study to allow for the design and implementation of a LCAP, which aimed to challenge students to extend their current understandings and literacy practices by exploring a diverse socio-cultural and linguistic environment, which was centrally positioned in a Catholic setting.

Pedagogy involved the researcher's animation and observation of a series of formal and informal literacy activities for students, which focused on bilingual shared reading. These classroom experiences complemented the classroom teacher's planning in other learning areas such as Social Studies and English. Parents were encouraged to participate by animating shared reading experiences in the classroom, with the option of introducing a LOTE through story. As well, the city council librarian conducted bilingual storytelling at the local library and informal bilingual literacy activities were organized in home settings. Although the teaching of French was a focus of the LCAP, languages such as Dutch and Danish were used to construct tasks which were responsive to students' linguistic and cultural background. English was also utilized due to its official status as the national language of Australia and its predominant use in the local community.

History and physical environment of Saint Gabrielle's Primary School

In 1932, an Australian Catholic order of mainly Anglo-Celtic Sisters founded the school, with the aim of providing a Catholic education for Catholic children. Whilst enrolments were originally restricted to female students, from 1985 onwards male students were also accepted. The school's close association with the Order continued with the appointment of Sisters as school principals until 1999. Despite the focus on teaching Catholicism to Catholic children, the school population was characterized by socio-cultural, linguistic and religious diversity. This was partially explained by the predominance of the mining industry in the local community, which employed a workforce characterized by diversity, including numerous ex-patriots.

Whilst the physical surroundings were somewhat characteristic of many state schools, close observation of the school environment revealed an emphasis on acquiring a Catholic identity. Institutional icons placed throughout the school exposed staff, students and visitors to symbols of Catholicism. In all classrooms, "Holy corners" were used to display Catholic devotional icons such as statues of Mary, crucifixes, candles and bibles, which were used during religious celebrations. Crucifixes and pictures of Mary were displayed in the school's front courtyard, staff room and administrative office. The school emblem, which appeared on official school documents and on stu-

dent hats included the motto “know-love-serve” and the symbol “pax” for peace. Whilst many of these icons were representative of a Catholic heritage, the physical environment also reflected the predominantly Anglo-Celtic heritage of the school’s history. For example, the allocation of rooms accommodated several specialist subject areas and resources, which were taught exclusively in English, such as Singing, Learning Assistance, Behavioural Modification and Orchestral Tuition and Rehearsal. However, a school area reserved exclusively for LOTE was absent.

Practices at St Gabrielle’s Primary School: Anglo-Catholic identity and diversity

A number of collective practices were associated with the expression of a Christian-Catholic identity through rituals including routine events, such as courtesy exchanges, prayers, assemblies and the distribution of newsletters. In such settings, students are centrally positioned through religious practices and norms that build literate identities (Lesko, 1988; Luke & Kapitzke, 1994). For example, the principal, staff and students integrated the phrase “Peace be with you” in daily greetings such as “Good morning” and “Good afternoon”. During the weekly school assembly, students were asked to pray to God and to make the sign of the cross at appropriate moments, such as before the presentation of a class prayer, which was often structured using oral language, music and dance to symbolize Catholic values.

Practices that overtly promoted allegiance to the Commonwealth government of Australia or the British monarchy and/or reinforced the expression of an Anglo-Australian identity were also observed. For example, all prayers and religious ceremonies espousing Catholic values, such as Eucharistic celebrations and preparations for Easter were conducted in English. Weekly school assemblies also began with a display of the official version of the Australian flag (which was associated with an Anglo-Celtic version of Australian history and settlement), and the singing of the national anthem in English. This ritual was followed by a collective pledge during which students asked God to bless their Queen, their country and to make them good citizens. Finally, presentations performed at weekly school assemblies or during community-based festivals generally aimed to enhance students’ English language skills. Such practices support the Commonwealth’s position that ‘English is our national language and it is critical – for the individual, for society and for our collective prosperity – that every Australian be given the choice to master it.’ (National Agenda for a multicultural Australia. . . Sharing our future. Commonwealth Government of Australia, Office of Multicultural Affairs, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service. 1989, p.37)

Collective practices designed to highlight the value of responding to diversity were observed infrequently. Such practices received a brief mention in the school newsletter and were often presented with a focus on song and dance. For example, during one week of the school year, Aboriginal culture was introduced to the students via art and craft activities, such as creating traditional Aboriginal dot paintings. In addition to these infrequent collective practices, a Japanese LOTE program was organized for students in Years 5, 6 and 7. The teacher of this program was a school staff member who previously completed some Japanese university courses, but had not trained as a LOTE specialist. Similar to LOTE instruction in many Australian primary schools, particularly in outback settings, this teacher taught as well as conditions allowed while travelling between several classrooms to conduct 30-minute lessons.

Ritualised practices and teaching strategies at Saint Gabrielle's Primary School

The school practice of reciting prayers was reminiscent of the predictable series of events used during school assemblies, which often reflected teacher-directed strategies requiring students to stand, sit, clap or salute the flag only when summoned. Bourdieu (1990, 1993) refers to such routine dispositions as "habitus" which are often used in situations where the authorized speaker is supported by an institution's all encompassing authority, the extreme example being Mass. Before the commencement of classes, before and after breaks and at the end of the school day, the recitation of prayers generally took place under the leadership of the class teacher. At the appropriate signal from the teacher, students stood, made the sign of the cross and recited prayers, which rarely varied and were not discussed.

Observations in Class 4O indicated that Mr. O'Hara's preferred teaching strategies during formal lessons were generally teacher-directed. These initiation, response, evaluation patterns have been described as the predominant mode in many classrooms where teachers present knowledge as a given body of facts (Baker & Campbell, 2000; Luke, 1994; Mehan, 1979). Mr. O'Hara generally stood on an elevated section of the floor near the blackboard to give instructions to students, who were expected to sit quietly at their desks. Frequently, he explained the nature of the task to the whole class prior to students individually working according to pre-determined criteria. Often students were expected to sit cross-legged on the carpeted area, with their hands placed on their heads, waiting for instructions.

Despite the teacher-directed emphasis in Class 4O, students sometimes exercised some control over their learning in formal group or informal social interactions. On most occasions, these activities were accompanied by a less predictable structure for acquiring knowledge. For example, when activities were conducted in groups, despite Mr. O'Hara's modeling of answers from

worksheets, students informally discussed procedures for completing work. They also sat or stood side-by-side or face-to-face while working on tasks, a seating arrangement which has been described as facilitating sharing, interaction and co-operation (Reid, Forrestal & Cook, 1989; Reid, 2002).

Background to Jerry's case study: Family literacy practices

Jerry's mother was born and raised in France. As a young adult, she relocated to the United States of America (U.S.A.), where she met her husband, who was raised in the U.S.A. Both Jerry and his older sister (Ellen), were born in the U.S.A. The Hogans migrated to Australia when Jerry and Ellen were approximately one and three years old respectively. A compilation of Class 40's parent questionnaire responses and data gathered through semi-structured interviews and informal conversations indicated that the Hogan's present and past language use at home and in the community was characterised by bilingual and monolingual practices. Jerry's mother had used French as a child at home and received the majority of her primary and secondary studies in French. In contrast, at home, as a child, Jerry's father used English and received all of his education in English. Mrs. Hogan learned English as a young adult when she undertook tertiary education in the U.S.A. Whilst data from the parent questionnaire indicated the Hogans spoke English at home, Mrs. Hogan also stated that she still spoke "a few French words with the children", such as "pantoufles" (slippers). Mrs. Hogan also spoke only French during long distance telephone conversations with her mother, who lived in France. Data also indicated that whilst daily home-based shared reading experiences were generally conducted in English, Mrs. Hogan occasionally read French books to the children. Still, because Mr. Hogan was unable to speak or understand French, Mrs. Hogan attempted to speak only English in his presence. Mrs. Hogan described this practice as a means of preventing her husband's exclusion from family conversations. In addition, the children's practice of responding in English appeared to discourage Mrs. Hogan from speaking French.

The Hogan's language practices outside the home were also characterized by contending values related to monolingualism and bilingualism. Data gathered from the parent questionnaire indicated that the Hogans rarely used a LOTE outside the home. Mrs. Hogan's practice of using English with her children outside the home appeared to relate to values that equate being proficient in Australian English with effectively functioning in the community. During informal conversations, Mrs. Hogan stressed that competency in English was crucial to migrants' successful integration in Australia. She also stated that because she was presented with few occasions to speak French outside the home, she sometimes felt uncomfortable speaking French in the presence of monolingual English speakers. On the other hand, a

number of Mrs. Hogan's practices indicated that she still wished to facilitate her children's use and understanding of French.

In the 1970s, language shifts towards monolingual use of a majority group's official language were termed subtractive bilingualism (Lambert, 1977). More recently, this process has been studied in relation to social environment, including speakers' group loyalties and perceptions of relationships with interlocutors and of language status in the local and global community (Cummins, 1996; Lo Bianco, 2000; Saunders, 1991). In the Hogan's case, the shift towards English coincided with Jerry and Ellen's decreasing motivation and ability to speak French. Mrs. Hogan expressed regret that on the rare occasions when her monolingual French-speaking mother visited the family, she experienced only limited communication with her grandchildren. For Jerry also, the impact of this inter-generational isolation appeared to be one of frustration and isolation. During a Year 4 student group interview which took place at the beginning of the study, Jerry was presented with an hypothetical scenario about not understanding a LOTE conversation between a friend and their grandmother (see Appendix 1, Students' Group Interview Protocol). In a spontaneous manner, Jerry stated that when his grandmother from France stayed with his family and spoke French to his mother, he sometimes felt angry and went to his room.

Spaces for learning and development: The concept of voicing

Although Jerry was immersed in predominantly Anglo-Catholic school routines and a home environment characterized by a language shift towards English only, in particular contexts during the LCAP, learning spaces emerged to disrupt these literacy practices. To interpret Jerry's case study results in relation to use and understanding of language and construction of identity, the concept of voicing (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) has been drawn upon. This discussion involves a micro-analysis taken from observations gathered during daily interaction during the LCAP, which complements the description of Jerry's background and home literacy practices. Focusing on the interplay between an individual's personal voice and a multitude of social voices, Bakhtin's concept of voicing facilitates the study of intermental and intramental cognition (Wertsch, 1991). This sociocultural perspective involves situating human action in its cultural, historical and institutional setting.

Three different patterns of revoicing (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) have been adapted to explicate the heterogeneity of speech revealed in the teaching/learning spaces that emerged in Jerry's case study. In particular, Wertsch's notion of ventriloquation considers the dynamic relationship existing between various aspects of an individual's utterances, such as semantic context, the speaker's relationship to the utterances and the speaker's relation-

ship to the utterances of others. Directed ventriloquation is defined as students mastering the rules for a particular speech genre with direction from a more experienced partner. Questions are normally posed to direct students' attention and may involve mimicking or paraphrasing certain expressions. Ventriloquation is defined as mastering parts of a particular speech genre in the actual teaching situation without being prompted by a partner. Appropriation refers to direct ventriloquation of speech genres which occur at a later date or in a different context. The internalization of speech which accompanies the process of appropriation is viewed as being linked to the unplanned nature of the utterance or to an alteration of the original utterance. Whilst these three categories of ventriloquation provided a scheme for tracking the dynamic trajectory of students' language use and understanding, data presented here relate to Jerry's voicing pattern of appropriation.

Results from Jerry's case study indicated that as the research unfolded Jerry's learning and development were enhanced in non-traditional spaces characterised by appropriation. The broad term non-traditional spaces was deliberately chosen to capture the various physical transformations in learning settings as well as the social interaction whereby students are encouraged to be actively involved in the learning process. Such spaces are often viewed as student-centred; the controlling authority is more equally distributed between teacher and students, the social interaction between students is intensified and student talk is encouraged (Education Department of Western Australia, 1994; Green, 2000; Sahni, 2001). Of particular interest was how these spaces were created in informal school and home contexts as Jerry's speech and gestures were tracked.

Patterns of voicing: Appropriation in the classroom

Non-traditional spaces that linked home and school literacy practices provided Jerry with opportunities to reflect and build links across languages. During the LCAP, students were introduced to the song 'Il pleut, il mouille' through a variety of strategies, such as choral singing, repetition, gestures and visual aids. After discussing the differences between the French and English versions of the song, students engaged in tasks such as drawing the expressions 'il pleut' and 'il fait beau.' In the activity titled "Extension of weather code breaker,"² students referred to a large poster as necessary to complete the song in writing. For example:

Il pleut, il mouille.
C'est la _____ a la grènouille
Il _____, il fait _____
C'est la _____ au crapaud.

Students then shared their answers with a partner. In this activity, which involved French and English, Jerry adopted a proactive approach that facilitated his quest for knowledge about linguistic conventions. For example, during the LCAP activity “Extension of weather code breaker,” which involved both English and French, Jerry adopted a pro-active approach that facilitated his quest for knowledge about linguistic conventions. As illustrated in the following transcript, in turn one, Jerry asked the researcher/teacher a general question. In turn three, Jerry extended the response by asking a more specific question related to the changing nature of accents in French. Here, it can be argued that the comparisons drawn between English and French pronunciation and conventions support Vygotsky’s hypothesis that learning a second language equates to understanding scientific concepts in that it involves conscious and intentional reflection. In addition, Jerry approached the researcher/teacher after the recess bell sounded. In an informal context, this timing contrasted with the normalized pattern of students asking questions only whilst the teacher circulates amongst students who work individually at desks:

1. Jerry: “What’s that for?”(points to the circumflex accent on the worksheet).
2. Researcher: It’s a circumflex accent. It changes the pronunciation of the vowel (points to the “ê” in the word fête).
3. Jerry: How does it change?
4. Researcher: Can you think of a word in English that’s like “fête”?
5. Jerry: Fete (pronounced fate)
6. Researcher: Right. Like St.Gabrielle’s [school] fete (pronounced fate)
7. Jerry: The Christmas one.
8. Researcher: That’s right. Now, can you hear the difference between fête and fete (pronounced fate)?
9. Jerry: Yea.
10. Researcher: Well that’s how it [the accent] changes the sound of a word.

The objectives of the LCAP activity were consistent with Mrs. Hogan’s desire to encourage the maintenance of French at home. In addition, the teaching strategies used during this activity involved reading French words and guiding Jerry’s attention with examples that built on knowledge and practices established in the home.

Further analysis of Jerry’s case study indicated that non-traditional spaces were also revealed as Jerry appropriated a voice as a user of French. During

the LCAP, Jerry was able to extend his use of French under particular conditions involving purposeful tasks, positive feedback and informal social interaction. In the classroom, this interpersonal space allowed for the integration of French into the curriculum, which disrupted school practices and teaching strategies that were predominantly implemented through the exclusive use of English. In addition, Jerry's motivation to re-utilize French language material in the home context was consistent with certain home literacy practices that connected to the value of promoting diversity.

In a classroom activity that occurred towards the end of the LCAP, Jerry began to adopt an active role in transferring his use of French pedagogical material. During the informal conversation "Jerry takes the game", which followed a formal class activity, the researcher/teacher explained to Jerry that she would return the French word game that Jerry's mother had provided for the class over the past term. Jerry spontaneously offered to take it home to his mother. When the teacher/researcher suggested the game might be too heavy, Jerry insisted on taking the game home himself. Here, Jerry's actions and utterances suggested not only a wish to return the game to its rightful owner, but also a desire to take an active role in determining the game's use. Once Jerry had placed the game into his school bag, he pronounced "I might play it [the game], with my Mom and my sister." It can be argued that as Jerry planned for this personalized use of the material, he proposed not only to consolidate his learning, but also to share his knowledge with others.

Jerry articulated similar intentions during the informal conversation titled "Rice Crispie Squares" when he proposed a personalized application of a bilingual recipe which had been used formally in the classroom. Once the researcher/teacher showed the recipes to Jerry, he took a copy of the hand out, asked questions about the differences between the French and English texts and requested a copy for his sister. Jerry stated "I might make some [Rice Crispie Squares], with my sister." Once again, Jerry's utterances suggested his intention of transferring pedagogical material to the home context and mobilizing a family member's interest in the bilingual activity.

Jerry's patterns of voicing: Appropriation in the community

During the LCAP, non-traditional spaces were also revealed in informal home settings as Jerry engaged in activities that allowed him to articulate his identity not only as a member of the dominant Anglo-Catholic group, but also of the French linguistic and cultural minority group. In a home-based activity during which Jerry chose to collaborate with peers of various ages to understand a French board game, he mobilized his partner's linguistic abilities to create bridges between French and English. When offered a choice of reading books published in English or French or playing a board

game designed in English or French, Jerry (along with Stan, Ellen and Jenny), chose to play “Robin des Bois,” a board game which contained instructions written in French. As illustrated in the following extract taken from the activity “Robin des Bois,” Jerry asked Stan to explain the rules to his sister (Ellen) and himself:

204. [Jerry looks at the instruction sheet, which is printed in French].
205. [Stan begins to set up the board game “Robin des Bois”].
206. Ellen: You can choose anyone? [referring to the various players].
207. Stan: Yea. Anyone.
208. Jerry: Stan, can you tell us how to play? [He places the instruction sheet on the carpet].
209. Stan: [He picks up the instruction sheet and looks at it briefly]. Sure. You’re meant to. . . mmh. . . to push the card in. [He pushes the card into the plastic mountain]. If he goes on that side [points to the side of the board], he moves [moves the plastic player], towards the enemy zone. This is the enemy zone [gestures with the plastic player]. Like that one. If it’s her [Ellen], like that, she would have to try and beat him, like that. You have to push it in and the person who gets the highest numbers wins. And if you win, you get one piece of gold.
210. Jenny: [She has been reading the magazine “Les Debrouillards,” but obviously has been listening to Stan’s instructions. She looks up momentarily from her reading]: Five. Five.
211. Stan: Yea. Five, and you need about five pieces of gold to get past there [points to a location on the game board].
212. [Jerry and Ellen pick up some of the game pieces and examine them].
213. Stan: And when you land on the leaves, there are leaves. I’ll show you. . . [He picks up a card from the pile.] And I’ll ask my Mom to read them. . .
214. [Jenny turns back to her reading. Ellen examines the cards. Jerry looks at Stan and listens intently.]
215. Jerry: I don’t want to lose my gold.
216. [All members of the group laugh.]
217. Jerry: Well, what’s this?
218. Stan: And those, over there [points to the pieces], those, make you go. . .
219. Ellen: Well, what’s this?

220. Stan: That's the place where you end, and if you get five pieces of gold there, no ten pieces of gold here, and go back here [traces pathway along board with finger], or you can keep getting more.

This informal activity allowed Jerry to engage in literacy experiences with peers of differing ages and linguistic abilities in French. Stan and Jenny held membership in the Anglo-Catholic community of St. Gabrielle's School, yet were raised in a bilingual French-English home environment. In a number of ways, these children provided alternative voices from which Jerry could choose to express his membership in the community. For example, six-year old Stan initially attempted to translate the game instructions from French to English by referring to the written guide prior to explaining to Jerry and Ellen in English. When Stan met linguistic challenges, such as reading directions from the French cards, he asked for explanations in English. In addition, Jenny, as she spontaneously read a French magazine and simultaneously corrected her brother (Stan) in English, provided modeling for Jerry to engage successfully in bilingual learning contexts.

During another home-based activity "Literacy and computer," Jerry displayed patterns of appropriation as he used his previous knowledge of computer games when responding to instructions given by the prompting voice in a French CDROM. Jerry and Stan both resisted the researcher/teacher's suggestion to work with a CDROM combining minimal use of French (with English language instructions). They insisted on playing a CDROM game which was designed for native speakers of French and involved exclusive use of French. Here, despite his younger age, Stan facilitated Jerry's linguistic comprehension of the CDROM by providing a voice that translated key passages from French to English. More particularly, Jerry responded to Stan's explanations through actions and utterances that extended the request for assistance; he carefully examined the board pieces, asked procedural questions and expressed personal preferences. As Stan shared his knowledge, the role-switching between speakers took place at a regular rhythm, which indicated engagement on the part of all group members

In contrast to the control often wielded over Jerry's use of repetition in class, in these informal and purposeful tasks, Jerry initiated the strategy of repetition to support his understanding of French. By repeating the question "What does this mean?" Jerry conveyed his desire to learn more about various procedural elements and interactive features of the CDROM. In addition, by repeating the statement "It went still," Jerry conveyed procedural information about the dysfunctional nature of the computer mouse to Stan.

When Stan appeared uncertain of the procedure to follow, Jerry manipulated the computer mouse, which solved technical problems faced by both partners. As illustrated in the following extract taken from "Literacy and computer," Jerry attempted to understand the procedures of the interactive

CDRom by using repetition to support learning embedded in purpose and a collaborative partnership:

72. Stan: See? You're making him go to the next land.
73. DRom music and sound effects.]
74. Jerry [points to the computer screen.] Can this one do anything? What does this mean? [He points to an image and clicks the computer mouse several times.]
75. [The sound of a bell rings from the CDRom.]
76. Jerry: What does this mean?
77. Stan: I don't know.
78. Jerry: This is the control. It went still.
79. Stan: What?
80. Jerry: It went still.
81. Stan: Ah, what can I do?
82. [Jerry clicks on an image and the character on the screen begins to move. He clicks again and the character begins to talk in French.]

As the sequence unfolded, Stan and Jerry continued to assist each other by using visual and aural cues while manipulating the French-speaking CDRom character through various landscapes on the screen.

Discussion

Results linked to Jerry's patterns of voicing affirm the conclusions of Dyson (1999, 2001) Rogoff (1990) and Sahni (2001) which described the process of children's learning as acceptance within a community, that cannot be dissociated from construction of identity. However, for Jerry, identity meant being accepted into a predominantly Anglo-Catholic school community as well a home environment generally characterized by a language shift (from French to English). More particularly, examples discussed in this paper begin to map uncharted waters linking the expression of Jerry's diverse voices to the disruption of a normalised habitus (Bourdieu, 1990) in a community.

Bourdieu (1993) pursued the analogy of 'habitus' by describing its nature as evolving and continually adjusting to new and unforeseen situations. This adaptability of the 'habitus' was viewed as being able to bring about limited, but durable transformations. As Jerry widened his repertoire of literacy practices by exploring a diverse socio-cultural and linguistic environment linking home and school, spaces for empowerment emerged from the resulting zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978). Jerry began to construct and appropriate knowledge, display competency and gain a sense of

control over his actions. As his motivation to use and understand French increased, Jerry also began to construct a social space that allowed for the presence of French in the school community.

Appropriating multiple voices and knowledge through internalization were associated with two factors in non-traditional spaces observed during the study. First, Jerry's partners, of differing ages (ranging from younger and older peers to adults), and who modeled various degrees of bilingualism, provided encouragement and guidance as Jerry became interested in learning more about French. As suggested by Rogoff (1990) the dialogue surrounding guided participation is important for extending the zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978) through social interaction that is explicitly woven into the process of internalization. As Jerry and his younger aged peer Stan collaborated to jointly solve problems in a French game that challenged them both linguistically and technically, they frequently initiated and responded to questions and statements; they spontaneously used repetition as a learning strategy to reinforce and reflect on their utterances and gestures. When partners did make a mistake, it was viewed as a natural part of the learning process. For example, although Jenny spontaneously corrected her younger brother Stan's French pronunciation, the group of children continued to play the game without pausing. Gestures and utterances were used to play the French board game in English, a common goal which group members established without guidance from an adult, thus reflecting a sense of ownership.

Second, the French pedagogical material provided for Jerry ultimately mediated social interaction by linking home and school literacy practices. For example, Jerry's mother initially provided a French word game (that had been used often at home), for use in class. She then explained the rules of the game to the researcher/teacher, who in turn demonstrated and adapted its use for a learning centre. The game was then returned the home setting. Jerry's insistence on taking the game home and his possible intentions to share it with his family can be interpreted as a desire to mobilize the interest of others through his use and understanding of French. In addition, the opportunity to engage in a computer-based CDROM game that was published uniquely in French allowed Jerry to transfer knowledge acquired by using computers frequently at home, to enhance learning in this new informal setting. Finally, activities such as cooking and the use of French recipes in the classroom built on Jerry's interest in cooking, which he frequently engaged in at home, with his mother.

The LCAP provided opportunities for Jerry to explore French through purposeful tasks in both informal and formal settings and with a variety of partners. At school, however, Jerry's use and understanding of language remained framed largely within a discourse of values that promoted a

predominantly Anglo-Catholic identity. Whilst the aim was one of shaping Catholic citizens, practices that overtly encouraged allegiance to the Commonwealth government or the British monarchy also formed part of the weekly school rituals. In this context, the apprenticeship of a second language, which possesses a status deemed unofficial in a predominantly Anglo-Catholic learning community, can be viewed as precarious.

As suggested by Toohey (2000) appropriating personal voice through language that is validated in the community remains a struggle for second language learners. It would appear for Jerry that empowerment remains somewhat contingent on future progress from emergent to fluent use and understanding of French. Empowerment can also be viewed as a personal struggle that may necessitate sustained pedagogical intervention. On a wider scale, the status of English as the predominant and official language of Australia and the popularity of the 'tourist approach' to teaching LOTE in 30-minute lessons in primary schools (Cumming-Potvin, Renshaw & van Kraayenoord, 2003) highlight some of the challenges associated with this struggle for validation. In many Australian educational settings, empowerment in LOTE through the appropriation of personal voice remains fragile and dependent on language use at home, and in the community.

For first generation immigrants such as Jerry's family, a high degree of competency in Standard Australian English is often perceived as the key to successful integration and participation in the Australian community. These successful practices however do not negate the contending values embedded in inter-generational discourse when children, parents and grandparents cannot communicate adequately with each other in English, or a LOTE language. In the case of Jerry, when he spontaneously shared a family experience generated by a hypothetical scenario about not understanding a LOTE conversation, his discourse evoked images of frustration and disharmony. "Sometimes when my Grandma speaks French, she speaks it lots to my Mom and I get really mad and I go to my room", he stated, with conviction. This vivid example of Jerry's isolation in the extended family points to the urgent need for research investigating the long-term links between second language learning, inter-generational language use at home and school and perceived language status in the local and global community.

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NOTE

1. The States, Territories and the Commonwealth of Australia use the term LOTE to describe all languages other than English, including Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages, Australian Sign Language and classical languages (Curriculum Corporation, 1994). However, the author recognizes that in relation to Australia's community languages, the term LOTE may be interpreted as being defined from an Anglo-centred perspective.
2. The term "code breaker" has been taken from the Luke and Freebody reading model. (See Luke, A. & Freebody, P. [1999]. *A Map of Possible Practices: Further notes on the four resources model*. *Practically Primary*, 4(2), pp. 5-8).

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APPENDIX I

Students' Group Interview Protocol

Questions

1. How do you think somebody learns how to read and write?
- 2a. If someone were trying to become a better reader, what would you tell them to do?
- 2b. If someone were trying to become a better writer, what would you tell them to do?
- 3a. How do your parents help you to learn to read and write?
- 3b. How does your teacher help you to learn to read and write?
- 4a. Do your parents read to you at home?
- 4b. What do you do when your parents read to you at home? or What happens when you read to your parents?
5. What do you do when your teacher reads a story to the class?
6. Can you name some languages other than English?
7. Do you know anyone who speaks a language other than English?
8. What language are you learning at school?
9. If someone wanted to learn a language other than English, what would you tell them to do?
10. Do you think you learn another language in the same way as you learn English?
11. Scenario: Pretend that you have a new friend named Yolanda. (Antonio for male participants, as necessary). You are invited over to his/her house for the first time. On Friday afternoon, you and Yolanda walk home from school. When you arrive at Yolanda's house, Yolanda's grandmother opens the door and says hello to you. Yolanda's grandmother speaks to Yolanda in another language for a few minutes. Then you go into the lounge room to play.
 - a. How do you feel about not understanding Yolanda and her grandmother when they speak in another language?
 - b. What could you do to understand some of Yolanda and her grandmother's words?
12. Scenario: Pretend that there is a new boy named Tchai in your class. Tchai doesn't speak or understand English very well. At break time, Tchai eats alone and doesn't play with other children. One day at break time, you are playing on the fort with some friends. Nearby, Tchai is standing alone. He is watching you play.
 - a. What would you do for the remainder of break time?
 - b. How do you think Tchai feels?
 - c. How do you think you can help Tchai learn English?

Disrupting Literacy Practices in a Learning Community

WENDY CUMMING-POTVIN lectures at Murdoch University's School of Education in Perth, Australia. Her research interests include a sociocultural approach to teaching and learning, with a particular emphasis on second languages, multiliteracies and social justice issues. In Canada and Australia, her work has focussed on the application of qualitative methods in urban, remote and socio-economically disadvantaged settings.

WENDY CUMMING-POTVIN enseigne à la Faculté d'Éducation de l'Université Murdoch à Perth, Australie. Sa recherche comporte une approche socioculturelle à l'enseignement et à l'apprentissage, avec un intérêt particulier pour les langues secondes, des littératies multiples et les questions de justice sociale. Au Canada et en Australie également, son travail vise l'application de méthodes qualitatives dans des milieux urbains, éloignés ou désavantagés de point de vue socio-économiques.



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BOOK REVIEWS

BRAZIEL, JANA EVANS & MANNUR, ANITA (Eds.) *Theorizing Diaspora: A reader*. Oxford Blackwell Publishing (2003). 345 pp. pb: C\$29.95; hb: C\$94.54. (ISBN- pb 063123392X, hb 0631233911).

In the study of human societies no trope has had an impact as great as Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities" during the last few decades. The geopolitical world has certainly moved beyond the classificatory nation-state, and academic vocabulary has re-invented 'diaspora' to understand the social formation and cultural patterns of the present era, marked as it is by mass movement of people, an information boom and different foci of global influence. Generally 'diaspora' is used to describe deterritorialised and transnational ethnic groups and is used as a type of consciousness, a mode of cultural production and as a social form.

This edited volume, an anthology of past and more recent texts on the subject, provides critical space to delve into a whole range of emergent issues in the field of diaspora. The book is divided into four sections, namely, modernity and globalism, ethnicity and identity, sexuality and gender, and cultural production- all with a diasporic lens. However, there is no water-tight compartmentalization among the sections. The editors set the tone of the book in their introductory essay by pointing to the importance of diaspora studies at the present juncture of human civilization and chart out the future trajectory of the field.

The first section on modernity, globalism and diaspora has two seminal essays by Appadurai and Gilroy. The former delineates the different points of departure in the global cultural economy and highlights the role of imagination using his terminological discussion (ethno, techno, media, finance and media with a suffix- scape) that forms the basis for the analysis of the current global flows. The latter refutes nationalist and essentialist modes of cultural production and charts out the importance of transnational spaces by means of the African diaspora across the Atlantic to Europe and America.

The piece by Daniel and Jonathan Boyarin, in the section on ethnicity and identity, looks at (Jewish) group identity as generational and not geographical, one linked with kinship and organized around shared 'spirit'. They propose the model of diaspora to replace national self-determination and also to look at the survival of various ethno-cultural groups historically. Most views on ethnicity do not focus on the process but Radhakrishnan suggests that ethnicity is always in flux and is context-specific. He articulates that the experiences of both the older and younger generations in the (Indian) diaspora can be enriched by understanding the changing realities of the home and the host society. Another valuable essay in this section is by Lowe, who interestingly look at transmission of culture both vertically from one generation to another, and horizontally between communities and across lines of gender, race and national origin. She does not consider the Asian American as a distinct group and brings in heterogeneity, hybridity, and multiplicity in the critical vocabulary to study diasporic communities. This complex cultural change is precisely due to what Bhava calls 'third space' in conjunction with 'third place' (Oldenburg 2001).

In the section on 'Sexuality and Gender', Chow chooses to use the increasing interest in 'women' in the field of Chinese studies as a way to focus the problems of third world intellectuals in the diaspora (pp.164). She perceives the efforts of these intellectuals as using their privileged position for masked hegemony in the homeland. The arguments are novel and attempt to unmask the pseudo third-world scholars thriving in the first-world on issues from back 'home', hand in gloves with the western imperialist agenda. The next chapter by Ifekwunigwe is a feminist auto-ethnography documenting the lived experience of women in diaspora and the multiple displacements of geography and identity. The essay by Manalansan IV looks at the conditions for cultural production, circulation and reception of the international transsexual movement in home (Philippines) and host (New York) junctures.

The section on 'Cultural Identity' has the famous essay by Hall, which looks at identity, cultural practices and cultural production of the African Diaspora (primarily in the Caribbean) in the post-modern era. To Hall, identity is a sense of being as well as becoming depending on the various ways we are positioned by and position ourselves within the narrative of the past (pp.236). Hall conveys that the modern black cinema provides a repertoire for identification and this is true for all diasporic films. What is also significant is this piece is that reality and representation are both influenced by the discourse of power. Mercer, in his essay, uses the historical frame of diaspora culture to argue that contemporary black British cinema shows identity as heterogeneous, contradictory and hybrid. Gopinath looks at a Sinhalese novel and two Indian films to see how the desire to belong at home is

infected by gender and sexuality and argues that ‘sexuality functions not as an autonomous narrative but instead as immersed within the multiple discourses’ (pp 275). She also highlights the hegemonic nationalist discourses that are reproduced in the diaspora through the details of the Indian Day Parade in New York.

Additional readings are provided at the end of each section and the post-script by Mannur is lively, with the interfacing of cyberspace with diaspora. Nonetheless, the book focuses on cultural issues and is more an attempt to show the cultural theorization of diaspora. The volume has done preliminary work but leaves many issues unattended. For example, education (formal, informal and nonformal) influences identity negotiation and construction significantly, but none of the chosen essays in this volume addresses the education of diasporic communities. The issues in education of the second generation in the diaspora are especially important in shaping their experience of who they are. Also, the efforts of the diasporic community when adapting in the new milieu and the different socio-economic barriers therein along with the role of transnational networks are imperative and cannot be overlooked when playing with the idea for a holistic theorization of diaspora. Gender role change is another significant issue. However, the book is a good collection of some of the important essays and should interest those in cultural studies, international migration, sociology of immigrants and refugees and global changes.

ADITYA RAJ, *McGill University*

REVIEW ESSAY:

ON REFLECTING ABOUT ETHICAL KNOWLEDGE AND ACTIONS

ELIZABETH CAMPBELL. *The Ethical Teacher*. Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press (2003). 178 pp. \$47.95 (ISBN pb 0 335 21218 2)

In their forward to *The Ethical Teacher*, renowned reflective practitioners Andy Hargreaves and Ivor Goodson write: “The time has rarely been more opportune or more pressing to think more deeply about what professional learning, professional knowledge and professional status should look like for the new generation of teachers who will shape the next three decades of public education. . . . Curiously, though almost no attention is paid to the ethical or moral knowledge that teachers need to inform their professional judgments and guide their relations with children, colleagues and others” (pp. x-xi). Elizabeth Campbell’s book *The Ethical Teacher* is bold, courageous and provocative in confronting the question: ‘Whose values, anyway, should define what is right and what is wrong?’

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It is very useful for all educators in understanding the multi-layered complexities of ethical knowledge, moral agency and applied professional ethics broadly conceived within the contextualized practices of teaching and academia. It is timely as public and academic discussion of the ethical dimensions of schooling and moral uncertainties about social justice and integrity have accelerated. It presents the concept of ethical knowledge as it is revealed in morally supportive empirical descriptions of teachers at work, as it is challenged or subverted by unethical institutions and systems, and as it may be used by educators, parents and researchers. It is a focused appeal to teachers individually and collectively to take hold of themselves “in the name of professional self-determination and embrace ethical knowledge as the measure of independent choices and the building block of renewed schools cultures” (p. 115).

The book emerges from Campbell’s SSHRC funded qualitative studies of the moral dimensions of classroom teaching (K-12) and the ethical dilemmas that complicate teacher’s professional roles as moral agents. Arguing that ethical knowledge must be brought to the forefront of our thinking about teaching, Campbell honestly acknowledges that her intertwined research and teaching mission stems from her personal wrestling with ethical challenges in her own teaching and inquiries in schools and classrooms. Appreciating the interconnectedness of moral agency and professional ethics, she brilliantly orchestrates the book into three parts: *Moral Agency and Ethical Knowledge*, *Challenges to Ethical Professionalism* and *Ethical Directions*. While every chapter in each section contributes to the central topic *Ethical Knowledge*, it is the coherence of all eight chapters that makes the book very distinctive, extremely readable and clearly outstanding. In Part 1, Campbell focuses on real examples of teachers’ ethical knowledge in practice and alludes to some of the challenges that may arise from the moral complexities in teaching. In Part 2, she presents concrete school based realities, dilemmas and tensions that are politically provocative and test one’s integrity and “moral fiber” (p. 58). In Part 3, she articulates explicit expressions of ethical knowledge that range from formal regulatory codes to teachers’ informal day-to-day ethical moments and offers recommendations for ethical actions and contextualized understandings.

Professional Ethics is “conceived broadly as elements of human virtue, in all its complexity, as expressed through the nuances of attitudes, intentions, words, and actions of the professional teacher” (p. 9). The foundational principles of honesty, justice, integrity, respect, kindness, trustworthiness emerge as constant leitmotifs throughout every chapter. With an impressive range of concrete examples she calls “empirical illustrations, she accomplishes her aims: to challenge universal ethical principles and rigid codes, to explore how ethical issues are conceptualized, differently and discursively

handled and mediated by teachers and to understand how ethics are constructed and situated in complex socio-political contexts that are sometimes themselves unethical and conflictual.

I read this book at a time when I see a proliferation of Institutional Review Boards that aim to standardize ethical policies and procedures and develop ethical codes and standards among professional groups within 'a one size fits all model'. Campbell seriously addresses issues of whose knowledge, agency and integrity is at stake in teaching. She clearly confronts power differentials, risks of exploitation, conflicts of interests, embarrassment and bias, favoritism, exaggerated praise or lack of, self-serving interests in human actions and encounters. After three decades in teaching and teacher education, I share her concern about how early in their career teachers relinquish their moral agency. Ethical knowledge fades or disappears when challenges, dilemmas and tensions are left unresolved or not recognized either by newcomers or oldtimers.

Campbell artfully addresses the challenge of universal principles and codes, the importance of being sensitive to socio-political contexts, the scope of being fair to disadvantaged groups, and taking account of the diversity and uniqueness of different teaching practices and nuanced situations. Her introduction clearly sets up her rhetorical argument and certainly caught my attention, given my role as Chair of our Faculty of Education's Ethical Review Board. Making ethical decisions is a process of creating, maintaining and justifying an ethical integrity that is dependent on sensitivity to politics and people as well as ethical principles and codes. She successfully integrates seemingly ordinary but complex and wide-ranging ethical dilemmas from diverse situations such as unfair evaluations, pernicious snippy gossip to dishonesty and downright meanness. She raises a provocative issue about when "being collegial isn't always ethical". Her integration works because of the high degree of intertextual references to integrity, ethically, morally and socially responsible teaching throughout the entire book. Her researcher self-reflexivity engages the reader to seriously think about how "doing ethics" – a phrase she borrows from Margaret Sommerville – in teaching is a complex "pursuit embedded, for the most part, in the layered and often unintentional dynamics of classroom and school life" (p. 137).

Ideas presented early in the first section are taken up and critically examined with challenging, multi layered and realistic moral scenarios in the ensuing chapters which provide the reader with a sense of participating in an authentic, critical, dynamic dialogue about ethics as diverse situated discursive practices. I particularly appreciated that the chapters do not have to be read in a linear fashion. Campbell reminds readers that integrity is about wholeness as much as it is about consistency of action. Ethical knowledge is action oriented. The text stimulates inquiry by addressing

many issues, which confront or should confront the educational community but are frequently dismissed and explicitly or implicitly go unrecognized.

While Hargreaves and Goodson lament the lack of Ethical Knowledge, I have no doubt that this book will change that. New teachers and researchers can learn how to anticipate ethical dilemmas they may likely encounter in the field, use and interpret ethical dilemmas faced by *real* teachers in *actual* classrooms. Practitioner researchers who are interested in gender, teacher action-research methodology and ethics will find this book very useful because it provides concrete examples of ethical dilemmas and ethical reasoning that confront educators in their day-to-day work. There is much for undergraduate and graduate students and professors to explore and engage ethically, morally, methodologically and politically in considering the personhood of teachers and researchers whatever their ideologies or paradigmatic proclivities.

I read this book from different locations: as a qualitative researcher of multiple literacies in heritage language contexts, as a university professor who teaches a graduate seminar in qualitative and ethnographic researcher methods, as an Associate Dean of Graduate Studies and Research, and as Chair of an Ethics Review Board, and as a member of my university's Task Force on Ethics, and as Chair of the Faculty Committee mandated to develop a Code of Ethics for Student Teachers. Whatever the location, the important message that resonates is that we all need to take into account the effects of our actions and utterances on our students, colleagues, participants as well as on public discourse and on policy makers. In this sense, the book fulfills an important gap in Teacher Education by examining the politics of location (how teachers position themselves in relation to their issues and their students) and the politics of interpretation (how lived experiences are or are not transformed into ethical actions) by virtue of what we do or not do.

Campbell does not simplistically explain away ethical quandaries or dismiss even her own self confessed moral muddles. Rather like a reflective practitioner, she illustrates their value by her own moral reasoning and wrestling with the issues and meeting the ethical forks in their journeys to ensure respect for persons, concern for beneficence, and justice. Indeed, they prompt us to be more reflective, self critical and sensitive to our interactions with participants and by extension our colleagues, especially with those with whom we disagree. Ethical knowledge depends on remaining alert and responsive to these challenges and having the courage to disrupt established epistemological principles, regulatory codes of behaviors or exclusionary clubs. For example, she argues "once we see a teachers' prompt return of assignments as a sign of respect and care for students rather than a mark of efficiency, we are creating a glimpse of moral agency (p. 22). Particularly

poignant and what gives the reader a sense of what this book is about is the following quote from her chapter “Learning to create an ethical culture”:

During the time I was writing this book, the world-renowned philosopher, John Rawls, died at the age of 82. Rawl’s, professional work in the area of justice, it was noted in one obituary could be seen as an extension of his character: “Dr. Rawl’s concern for justice and individual happiness is seen in a story from Harvard. When a candidate was defending his dissertation, Dr. Rawls noticed the sun shining in his eyes. He positioned himself between the candidate and the sunlight for the rest of the session.” This quiet application of kindness, consideration and respect to what maybe be regarded as a professional teaching situation is nothing less than what is describes here as ethical knowledge. (p.129)

MARY MAGUIRE, *McGill University*

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References, notes, tables, graphs, and figures should be limited so that they do not detract from or clutter the text of the article.

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